'A Symptom of Something Real':

The Øresund Region on Film and Television, 1999–2014

Pei-Sze Chow

University College London

Ph.D.

Scandinavian Studies

2015

SIGNED DECLARATION

2

I, Pei-Sze Chow, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

_____

ABSTRACT

The Øresund is a transnational metropolitan region comprising Greater Copenhagen (Denmark) and Skåne (Southern Sweden), joined by the Øresund Bridge built over the strait separating the two nations. Historically a site of cultural encounter between Denmark and Sweden, the region took shape as a political-economic entity during the 1990s against a wider backdrop of European Union initiatives to encourage cross-border cooperation. One aim of the Øresund development strategy is to foster regional culture and identity; the production and distribution of audiovisual media supported by the respective national film policies and industries are key here.

I explore how the Øresund region has been imagined and critiqued in popular film and televisual texts since the 1990s and provide new readings of a largely un-researched body of material related to the development of this transnational region. Drawing on a small-nation approach to cinema, I study the emergence and development of screen culture in the region and how audiovisual texts construct the sense of an 'Øresund identity', a cultural and geopolitical identity that is still being forged and negotiated by various actors. In particular, I investigate how the region's spatial identity is mediated to local and international audiences through representations of postindustrial urban change and intercultural encounters. I begin with an analysis of the film-political landscape, followed by close readings of the audiovisual texts against the socio-political context of the genesis of the region and the architectural and cultural policies emerging from the larger region-building project. I argue that the texts imaginatively negotiate, and, to an extent, shape the economic, social, and material development of the region during this period of intense region-building and branding. This thesis is a contribution to scholarship in the areas of small nation cinema, Nordic screen studies, and culture and identity.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BBC	British Broadcasting Company
CFF	Copenhagen Film Fund
DFI	Danish Film Institute (Det Danske Filminstitut)
DKK	Danish Krone (currency code)
DR	Danmarks Radio
EBU	European Broadcasting Union
EC	European Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EU	European Union
EUR	Euro (currency code)
FiS	Film i Skåne
GBP	British Pound (currency code)
MEDIA	Mesures pour Encourager le Développement de l'Industrie Audiovisuelle (an EU programme)
NFSD	National Film School of Denmark
NFTF	Nordisk Film og Television Fond
OFC	Oresund Film Commission
SEK	Swedish Krona (currency code)
SFI	Swedish Film Institute (Svenska Filminstitutet)
SVT	Sveriges Television
USD	US Dollar (currency code)
ZDF	Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen

LIST OF FIGURES

INTRODUCTION

The End

From 1 January 2016, the Øresund region will cease to exist. That is, the region will be renamed 'Greater Copenhagen and Skåne' or simply 'Greater Copenhagen' when marketing the region in international contexts (Amnell 2015). Clearly this is a matter of rebranding. The immediate impact will only be a change of wording on official documents and the renaming of the relevant administrative bodies in charge of political and business affairs in the region. But what motivated this change, and what will the impact be on the region's supposed 'Øresund citizens'?[1] Already, skeptics in Skåne have argued against the Danish 'invasion', insisting that Skåne will be all but invisible, forever reliant on its more powerful Danish partner for recognition and access (Laasby 2015). Others in Skåne are positive about this, acknowledging the benefits of using the Copenhagen brand that is more internationally recognised — and that can be more easily pronounced by foreigners (Qvist 2015). To an extent, this renaming of the region involves obliterating the former association with the Øresund strait, the body of water that forms a large part of the visual identity of the region. This then raises the question: What happens next? How will the 'new' Greater Copenhagen be reimagined? Will the metaphoric significance of the Øresund Bridge to the region's identity change, and how?

News of a possible change in name was first reported in March 2015 when the mayor of Copenhagen proposed the initiative (Crouch 2015).[2] This was followed by an official announcement at the end of June 2015 (E. Löfgren 2015), at a late stage in the writing-up phase of my PhD where I had already formulated the key contention that the audiovisual milieu in the Øresund region is marked by an asymmetrical

---

[1] An OECD report stresses the significance of international branding: 'Efforts to brand the region in a way that contributes to its visibility on a global scale are important, and any international brands should prioritise international audience recognition to go beyond internal political issues' (Nauwelaers, Maguire, and Marsan 2013, 51).

[2] In this article (Crouch 2015), Frank Jensen, mayor of Copenhagen, is reported as saying that 'size matters': 'As Greater Copenhagen we can show it is something special – it is about creating a common identity that the entire region can get behind, and the Skåne region will also strengthen its position by profiling itself in this way.'

relationship between its Danish and Swedish constituents.[3] In some ways, the official announcement was a shock in terms of how it confirmed my findings (and it also provoked minor anxieties about the naming and scope of my project), but most of all, this event makes clear the exigency of my project in analysing how the cultural narratives of the Øresund region *were* imagined before it *becomes* Greater Copenhagen.[4]

In this thesis, I tell the story of the Øresund region from its birth to its rebirth, covering the period from 1999 to 2014, examining the ways filmmakers mediate the region as planners and administrators progressively style the region as an important transnational hub for audiovisual production in Scandinavia.

---

[3] My observations of the asymmetry and that the Øresund brand is increasingly co-opted by Danish interests were presented in a course on Scandinavian Fiction Film and Television at the University of Copenhagen in March 2014 and again at the Nordic Research Network conference in Edinburgh in February 2015.

[4] I do express scepticism as to whether the change in name will slow down the dynamic of regional integration, or whether Scanian identity will take on a more Danish colour. My speculation is that it will not dramatically affect the way people practise the region at a quotidian level.

1.   Planning A Region

Figure 1. Map of the Øresund region. Map data: GeoBasis-DE/BKG 2009, Google 2015.

The Øresund region, a relatively newly-formed transnational region, spans the southern region of Sweden, Skåne (Scania), and the eastern region of Denmark, Sjælland (Zealand) (Figure 1). As a result of several wars between the two kingdoms in the seventeenth century, contact across the Øresund strait diminished and the body of water came to be perceived by politicians as an iron curtain rather than a space to be traversed (O. Löfgren 2008, 198). The Øresund was regarded by the populace as a 'blue wall' and a barrier as it represented the strict national borders and unused economic potential in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Pedersen 2004, 81). Now, it is now a porous and liminal space that joins the two lands. Linked by the iconic Øresundsbron (Øresund Bridge), the economic and political activity of the 'mega-city' region is centred on Denmark's capital, Copenhagen, and the postindustrial city of Malmö that has since become the unofficial capital of Southern Sweden (Olshov 2010, 77).

Historically, the boundary between Denmark and Sweden had not always been clearly marked by the Øresund strait. Parts of Skåne, where Malmö is located, had been Danish territory from the ninth century until the wars of the seventeenth century. Adam of Bremen, in *Gesta Hammarburgensis ecclesiæ pontificum* (*History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*), wrote in the early 1070s that 'Skåne is the most beautiful part of Denmark. … Skåne is the farthest part of Denmark' (quoted in Johannesson 1977, 7). The change in power relations after the war was more keenly

10

felt by Malmö, which faced a long period of decline after the shift from being part of the centre of the Danish kingdom to being in the periphery of Sweden (Steiner 2010, 367–8). Despite their shared history, Sjælland and Skåne developed separate niches in their respective economies up until the twentieth century: Copenhagen focused on administration, financial services, and trade, while Malmö established itself as an industrial hub focusing on manufacturing and shipbuilding (Collinge and Gibney 2010, 482).

It has only been since the 1960s that the concept of cross-border economic integration began to be taken seriously by governments on both sides. From the 1970s until the late 1980s, the two cities separately faced similar problems: wide-spread unemployment, a declining population, competition from abroad, and the demise of the manufacturing and shipping industries. In Europe, the late twentieth century has seen the push for supra-national and inter-regional integration dominate the political and economic stage, reflected in the several inter-regional and cross-border development projects in the European Union, from which the Øresund project draws funding and political support. Since 1996, structural funds have been made available through the EU Interreg II, III, and now IVA programmes that focus on stimulating inter-regional cooperation. According to the programme priorities of the Interreg IVA programme of which the Øresund is a project, an aim is to 'strengthen a common identity in the region' (2014).

Prompted by stagnating economies on both sides, the plan to physically connect the two cities by the Øresund Bridge brought the assurance that the larger Øresund project and associated new infrastructure under the Trans-European Transport Network (TENs-T) initiative would open up the domestic, regional, and national markets to the wider European and consequently international market (Bucken-Knapp 2003, 66–68). Subsequent architectural and urban development projects such as the Ørestad district in Copenhagen, the completion of the Turning Torso in 2005, the tallest skyscraper in Scandinavia, and the complete overhaul of Västra Hamnen (Western Harbour)—the old shipyard district—in Malmö are material and highly visible manifestations of the region's development strategy of moving away from industrial decline and into a knowledge-based economy focusing on scientific research and sustainable development (OECD 2011, 55). Where the bridge joins the two nations and makes possible the movement of people, goods, and ideas across

the region, the skyscraper represents how starchitecture[5] functions here as a node for economic growth and (foreign) capital, and the overhaul of Västra Hamnen's former shipbuilding character in the area's total redevelopment exemplifies the destruction of 'old' identities that is an important part of regionalisation.

The first decade of the rejuvenated Øresund region has seen enthusiastic economic growth and declining unemployment, although several reports suggest that the region has not yet reached its full economic potential (Behrens, Lundemark, and Jørgensen 2012, 14). According to OECD figures, from 1999 to 2008 unemployment in the Øresund region as a whole dropped from 5.2 per cent to 3.6 per cent (2011, 33). For the period 2000–2009, the region enjoyed steady year-on-year growth in GRP (Gross Regional Product), with the Swedish part of the Øresund outperforming the Danish part, due to the higher increase in population in Skåne (Behrens, Lundemark, and Jørgensen 2012, 12–13). As of 2012, about 27 per cent of the combined Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Denmark and Sweden was created in the Øresund region, thereby making further social and economic integration a priority for the largest urban metropolitan area in Scandinavia (Behrens, Lundemark, and Jørgensen 2012, 4–6).

In order to bolster economic integration within the postindustrial region, one aim of the Øresund development strategy is to foster an integrated regional culture and identity. In the past fifteen years, the authorities on both sides of the Øresund have made very conscious and thorough efforts to encourage integration at all possible levels (Hansen and Göran 2010, 201). The concerted region-building effort that began in the 1990s, particularly the efforts to foster a regional identity, continues to demand attention from both governments, with various committees and organisations created to oversee and promote development and integration. This includes the Öresundskomiteen (Øresund Committee),[6] a political platform and organisation established in 1993 and tasked with formulating and executing

---

[5] The term 'starchitecture' refers to the landmark urban projects and prestige constructions designed by high-profile, global, 'star' architects whose works can be found in several major cities around the world (Ponzini and Natasi 2011).

[6] 'Øresund' is the Danish spelling, while 'Öresund' is the Swedish. I maintain the use of the Danish spelling throughout this thesis for consistency, except where I cite works that use the 'Ö' in their original texts, or when a hybrid spelling is used. Employing the 'Ø' also partly reflects my argument regarding the Danish dominance of the region.

development strategies funded by the EU, of which 'cultural integration' is a necessary and important component. Their work focuses on strengthening cross-border cooperation and representing the interests of the region at the Swedish and Danish national parliaments.

As acknowledged in the recent report by various Øresund authorities and governing bodies, *Øresund Trends 2012*, a 'common Øresund regional identity' is still developing, 'but it requires greater reciprocal relations across the Øresund – both physically and mentally' and it should be 'reinforced through many different cultural collaborations across the Øresund' (Behrens, Lundemark, and Jørgensen 2012, 45). Thus, while the planned physical infrastructure now exists, it remains the work of the cultural industries to coax regional inhabitants into identifying with and participating in a social dynamic similar to Benedict Anderson's concept of an 'imagined community' (1991). A large part of the work that fell on regional planners at the beginning of the project was to engage in the processes of marketing the region – that is, to talk it into existence (Tangkjær 1999).[7] However, whether the concept of an Øresund identity has become a part of people's everyday lives is still a moot point. Planned identities orchestrated by authorities can 'become identities only when and if social actors internalise them' (Castells 1997, 7). In the words of a consultant from Wolff Olins, the brand consultancy tasked to manage the place-branding of the region: 'OK, you have a bridge, but that does not make it a region unless it ends up in people's minds' (Pedersen 2004, 86). Culture, and particularly audiovisual media, in this case, can be tasked with cultivating this new social identity – one which is to some extent also subordinate to the globalising agendas that produce such transnational spaces as in the Øresund region.

Despite the political work that has gone into physically constructing the space of the Øresund region, how far can one call the Øresund a region? Gert-Jan Hospers has noted that multiple definitions of the Øresund's territorial boundaries exist — these range from just Malmö and Greater Copenhagen to a much larger area comprising Skåne and Sjælland (2006, 1027). As for the institutional shape of the region, that is

---

[7] John Shotter emphasises that socio-political concepts relating to society, the individual, or citizenship take shape through our *talk* about them: 'We make them "make sense" in the course of our arguments about them', relying extensively on clarification and persuasion rather than being 'proved' in empirical terms (1993, 154).

still in the process of becoming (or possibly even unravelling). His conclusion is that the Øresund region 'is still an "imagined space" that does not correspond to the day-to-day reality in the region' (Hospers 2006, 1028).

In some ways the Øresund project mirrors the challenges of the EU's aims to promote the idea of 'Europe' and a sense of common identity in the hearts and minds of citizens of member states (Dunkerley 2002, 116–7). The notion of 'Øresund' is precisely that – a notion and an idea whose meaning has shifted over the past centuries and is continually in a process of change. The discursive community in the Øresund, of which academics (and the media) also play a large part, has sought to characterise the idea of the region as a community in various ways. However, to follow Gerard Delanty's questions of 'What – and where – is Europe?' and What does it mean to be a 'European'?' (2005), we can also ask 'What – and where – is the Øresund region?' and 'What does it mean to be an 'Øresund citizen'?' As Stylianos Papathanassopoulos and Ralph M. Negrine point out, these questions foreground the challenge of locating and conceptualising an idea and space that has so far never been fixed; nor is one able to 'set out real and tangible boundaries of inclusion and exclusion' (2011, 153).

In a survey conducted between 2006 and 2009, a sample of Danes and Swedes living in the Øresund region were asked the question: 'To what extent do you feel like a citizen of the Øresund?' A large proportion of both Danes and Swedes generally answered in the positive to varying extents, but one trend stood out: the number of Danish respondents answering 'Not at all' increased by nearly 20 per cent between the start and end of the period — as of December 2009, more than half the Danish respondents said they did not identify with the Øresund. Between the Danish and Swedish groups, the Swedes were generally more enthusiastic about identifying with the region, although the numbers replying in the negative were also growing, albeit in a less drastic fashion than the Danes (Øresundsbro Konsortiet 2010, 40).

A survey such as this is by no means an accurate representation of how 'successful' the region-building effort has been over ten years, nor does it give a considerable insight into the multifaceted question of identity. Orvar Löfgren is of the opinion that whether people identify themselves as 'Øresund citizens' is irrelevant, and the more important question is *how* people are using the region in their daily lives

and how they are making use of the opportunities made available by the new infrastructure (Øresundsbro Konsortiet 2010, 29). Despite this, it is interesting to note that those living on the Danish side of the Øresund are increasingly feeling less committed to the idea of the region despite having a stronger position politically and economically (Nauwelaers, Maguire, and Marsan 2013, 38–39). This observation will echo an assertion I make in Chapter Three, where I argue that the relative absence of the Øresund in a Danish documentary is symptomatic of a disconnect between the local community and regional imaginaries. It is no wonder, then, that authorities have responded to this by rethinking the region's branding in 2015, deciding to rename the region 'Greater Copenhagen'.

The problem of exclusion is a crucial one that has not been directly addressed by officials: Who and what is excluded from the Øresund? What ideas, ideologies, or people are not favoured in the discourse on 'the Øresund community'? At issue here is the question of power: who is configuring the Øresund project and how is it being configured? As established earlier, its cultural agenda is in large part driven by the economic priorities and political visions that hinge on the creation of an overarching, generalised, and categorical 'Øresund' identity, one that that is styled after, and indeed influenced, by the EU rhetoric itself. In seeking to develop a sense of identity in the community, these plans necessary construct boundaries that push others into the periphery. Cultural policy, as a bureaucratic system, aids such exclusion in the criteria of which cultural groups and practices to fund, train, distribute, and promote.

In the history of Denmark and Sweden's film-political landscape, previous funding decisions rested on narrow and conventional notions of citizenship and cultural sovereignty that were largely protectionist in nature. In the context of welfare state ideology, the national film institutes of the Nordic countries were established precisely to safeguard the cultural health of domestic film industries, which also means that 'they have been able to dictate the directions of domestic cinema at least to a considerable degree' (Kääpä 2014, 106). But, as Delanty remarks, in an age of overlapping local, regional, national, and transnational affinities, it is impossible for such prescribed identities to be sustained (2005, 17). In the context of filmmaking, the film policies of the region have responded over the past decades to the forces of political convergence and neoliberal globalisation by significantly broadening the criteria allowing non-national creative individuals (and companies) access to state

funds—but only to an extent. It is my argument here that the film industry—including the audiovisual texts produced within this milieu—forms a discursive context that questions and destabilises those power structures in many ways: through official and alternative funding and training programmes and a self-reflexive exploration of themes such as immigration, language, heritage, and the tensions between metropole and periphery. Fundamentally, it is the clash between cosmopolitan vision and local realities that occupies audiovisual representations of the region.

2.   The Roles Of Film And Television

Film policy, to a certain extent, is related to the economic imperatives of the Øresund region. This means that part of the aims of state-supported cultural bodies such as the Danish Film Institute, the Oresund Film Commission, and Film i Skåne include creating the conditions that stimulate domestic and foreign investment in the film industry. This is achieved by advocating transnational co-production and distribution of film and television works, as well as encouraging foreign (especially Hollywood) productions to film in the region and thereby promote the region to local and international audiences via these works. It is important to examine the structures of funding and institutional support and to interrogate the links between policy and the texts, because one of the questions that this thesis raises is whether the rhetoric of a 'common Øresund identity' finds direct expression in audiovisual texts. In other words, does policy affect the way the Øresund region is depicted on screen? How exactly do specific audiovisual policies aimed at fostering regional cultural life and identity translate into the moving image?

Andrew Nestingen, in his introduction to *Crime and Fantasy in Scandinavia*, argues for the need to study popular culture as a site of redefining the nation:

> If we want to understand contemporary Scandinavia and its struggles over transformation, we need to study and discuss popular fictions. Popular fictions are specific texts that circulate and attract attention for the stories they invent, and also for the accounts of social life, the background understandings, that novels and films often invoke but that cannot be assessed as fact. By studying these fictions on multiple levels within a regional framework, we produce the richest account of the reasons for the influence of popular culture and its similarities across national borders. (Nestingen 2008, 9–10)

Audiovisual media are the focus of this thesis, precisely because the circulation of

images of the region serve as a vehicle for the construction, expression, and negotiation of regional identity, as well as having the capacity to engage the imaginations of people and shaping their experiences of the new urban environment. The audiovisual texts analysed in this thesis document and map out the new spatial practices of the various groups of people—environmentalists, politicians, construction workers, immigrants, long-time residents—as they navigate their own experiences within the new urban spaces of the Øresund. Writing about a grassroots cycling event at the opening in 2000 of the Øresund Bridge, Tom O'Dell writes that the event, in the context of 'the experience economy', worked to entice participants to 'rethink their identities in terms of new transnational allegiances' and 'to engage the images they had experienced through the media, and to physically confront and test them' (2003, 51). I take the view in this thesis that popular film and television texts do a similar job of eliciting such identity-construction processes on a larger, transnational scale while also examining gaps between planned space and lived experience. In fact, not only does the moving image work well as a medium in a multilingual region—Danish and Swedish productions have always been subtitled or dubbed in each other's languages—it is also easily exported to wider audiences (Bondebjerg and Redvall 2013, 143).[8]

Also, in industrial terms, film and television production plays a significant part in the region's economy. According to employment figures up to 2011, most people employed in the cultural sectors in the Øresund region were working in the media industry; in relation to employment in all cultural sectors in the whole of Denmark and Sweden, the region also had the largest share of people employed in 'film, video, television, radio and press' along with 'architectural services' (35 per cent). Cinema attendance in 2010 for the whole Øresund region similarly had a much higher number of visits per inhabitant (2.3) compared to the consumption of other cultural activities such as museums (1.9) or theatre productions (0.6) (Behrens, Lundemark, and Jørgensen 2012, 41–42).

The significant political and social interest as well as economic involvement of the population in film and television justify taking an academic interest in the roles the

---

[8] The Nordic Film and TV Fund has existed since 1990 to finance film and television productions across Scandinavia, and has also played a role in promoting cross-border cooperation.

film and television industry and its texts play in the region-building process. Yet, does planned or state-sponsored culture truly enhance economic and political synergy in the region, or could it also hinder the process? The project to foster a common and recognisable regional identity through visual media might be acknowledged to have the potential to have a positive economic impact on the region, but the question remains whether the efforts have been successful at a social level – a theme that is also examined self-reflexively by the audiovisual texts analysed in this thesis. As Tony Bennett puts it, '[w]e need also to be alert to the ways in which the utilization of culture as an instrument of government has exhibited a similar capacity to generate its own fields of counter-politics' (1992, 403). The thesis will therefore consider audiovisual texts that emerge from mix of formal institutions and informal networks as counter-narratives to the larger Øresund project. Audiovisual works are cultural products through which a community of any kind articulates its values and ideals to an audience and that contribute 'something of worth to a larger conversation' (Hjort 2005, x).

3.   Methodology

This thesis draws on established methodologies adopted by scholars in the cognate field of transnational film studies and is anchored in an analysis of the transnational as 'a regional phenomenon by examining film cultures/national cinemas which invest in a shared cultural heritage and/or geo-political boundary', the second of the three main approaches as outlined in Will Higbee and Song Hwee Lim's introductory article to the journal *Transnational Cinemas* (2010, 9). Andrew Nestingen and Trevor Elkington, despite some difference in critical-theoretical emphasis, are also committed to analysing texts as barometers of social and economic change in transnational regions (2005, 16). My strategy of 'reading' cinema in the Øresund region necessarily involves an interdisciplinary approach that analyses not only the text as an artistic work but also as an element in a larger ecosystem of practices and relations on political, economic, and cultural levels. As Albert Moran notes, 'before film can be considered as a cultural object, it must first be conceived as an industry' (1996, 1).

Following an empirical approach, I begin my study from the institutional bases within the region. This allows me to ground my study of audiovisual production in the region in a firmly materialist analysis and to interrogate questions of production in the Øresund region within a socio-poilitical framework where I identify specific policies

and engage with them in my readings of the films. As Mike Walsh writes, 'a concentration on policy acknowledges that films exist and circulate under a series of historically determined conditions, and that any ideological role played by films is not simply ideational, but linked to material practices and interests' (1998, 50). Therefore, part of my methodology is the recognition that policy, manifested through funding, has had an effect on texts, but also does not have exclusive dominion over them; in other words, I am interested in drawing the links between particular film-political strategies and artistic expression. In this manner, I position my project within what is called the 'institutional turn' in film studies (Hjort 2013b, 16). In my analysis of each text, I take into consideration its production context and genre conventions, while simultaneously drawing evidence and insight from regional development studies, film policies, production practice, and regional aesthetic trends in the Scandinavian context.

In describing the challenges and circumstances of the production of these texts, my analysis is also aligned with the aims of the 'small nation' approach that encourages a 'broad awareness of the practices that work, with an eye to transforming these practices into cultural and artistic resources that are transferable to other contexts' (Hjort 2010c). In other words, description can be applied to prescription for other small-nation, and presumably transnational, contexts. Following Hjort's lead in the study of small-nation cinematic practices, my aim is to articulate the problems and solutions of transnational and small-nation filmmaking in the Øresund context and thereby contribute a nuanced analysis of a unique, bi-national cross-border cultural milieu only instituted in the last two decades.

In this project, I analyse the formal elements of the texts—plot, thematic, and compositional aspects—as well as their production contexts as the means of examining the larger themes of transnational cooperation, regional identity, and spatial-economic transformation in the Øresund region. This involves the close reading of the narrative structure, editing, sound, camerawork, framing, imagery, visual and narrative tropes, and genre, in order to account for how the moving image texts envision the region in space and time. I also pay attention to the use of haptic visuality as a strategy in the texts, particularly in how it is used with other effects such as sound to generate meaning and appeal to the senses in a way that communicates specific notions of the region's transformation (e.g. the visible scratches and graininess of archival footage of old landmarks combined with audible silence to

suggest the feeling of immense loss and frustration). The specific qualities of the moving image therefore enable it to register ideas about a changing region that other media, such as photography, would not do so well. For example, in the texts, there are images of the cityscape as a changing panorama with symbolic structures strategically framed in a specific style to suggest a certain character of the place (such as the dark noir-like opening credits of *Bron/Broen* that position the landmarks of the region as locations of transnational urban crime, explored in Chapter Five). In addition, the texts reveal and immortalise the process of transformation, stage by stage, while also mediating how the stories of individuals who shape the space (with their hands, tools, memories, or movements) are part of the fabric of the region, as reflected in the works analysed in Chapters Three and Four. The close textual analysis therefore reveals how different narratives and images of identity and urban space are constructed.

4.   Justification of Corpus

What is the urgency motivating this project? Indeed, why now? As I mentioned earlier, about fifteen years have elapsed since the Øresund region was formally instituted. Now, with the rebranding of the regional project about to take place, my thesis is located in that interval between the end of one cycle of imagining and the beginning of the next phase of transformation; this limits my scope to the year when the bridge was completed in 1999 to 2014, when discussions about the renaming of the region first began and the final episode of the second season of *Bron/Broen* was aired. From this standpoint, my research seeks to reflect on the film and television milieu in the past fifteen years and to speculate on the links between current directions of the audiovisual milieu and future regional imaginaries.

Through the multiple narratives and perspectives presented via short films, feature-length documentaries, and television drama series, the civic and personal spaces of the region are remapped over the dominant, homogenous narrative of the Øresund project. Further, the myriad forms of moving image texts that have emerged from the political rhetoric of the Øresund region represent the shifting notions of Danish and Swedish national self-definition.

I have chosen these texts for several reasons, the foremost being that they

were produced and circulated in the post-1999 conditions of cultural and film policy in the region. The second is that the directors are themselves products of these conditions — either through their film education and training, or being native inhabitants of the region. The third, and most significant reason lies in the aesthetics and narratives of the texts, as they visually engage with the impact of spatial change and the shift in political rhetoric that reimagines the Øresund region as a transnational space. In other words, they foreground spaces of the Øresund as theme and subject matter, not simply as a backdrop. These texts actively negotiate and mediate the social realities of the Øresund region in this period of profound change, and I analyse them in terms of what they tell us about the social, cultural, and institutional values and practices in this period of the region's development. Furthermore, these are texts that have not come under the radar of other scholars of Scandinavian cinema—*Bron/Broen* remains an exception given its popularity—and so this thesis represents the first attempt at providing close analyses of these works in the English language.

I have grouped the texts according to their genres, as this raises interesting points about what functions each particular format plays in the audiovisual milieu and in the imagination of the region. The first is documentary (Chapter Three), and here I examine *Gå på vatten* (*Walking on Water*, 2000), *Bye Bye Malmö* (2002), and *Sossen, arkitekten, och det skruvade huset* (*The Socialist, The Architect, and the Twisted Tower*, 2005), all by Fredrik Gertten, and a lone Danish representative in the form of *Dromme i København* (*Copenhagen Dreams*, 2009). I consider the documentary as a textual form that is fundamentally aesthetic, a 'creative interpretation' that mediates reality through particular artistic and narrative lenses. My concern here is not with the degree of verisimilitude that the films employ with regard to depicting the region at particular moments of its construction, but rather, with the way these changes are imagined and the way particular narratives are generated by the filmmakers' interpretation of the region.

In Chapter Four, I focus on the short film format where I examine *Valrossarna* (*Walrus*, 2006) by Kolbjörn Guwallius and *Out* (2006) by Daniel Dencik. The former is a documentary short while the latter is a fiction short. This difference, in my view, is secondary to the fact that both texts employ the Øresund strait as a strong visual motif that intertwines with the social dramas—real and imagined—driving the main narratives.

Finally, in Chapter Five, the analysis of the television series *Bron/Broen* (*The Bridge*, 2011–) is for many reasons a necessary one. First, it is the only recent text that very explicitly references the Øresund logic in both the narrative and the production process. Second, from the production perspective, it is a unique example of a collaboration that intentionally splits all aspects of production between the two nations. The third reason is its impact on popular culture not just domestically but internationally – the series has been firmly embedded in the 'Nordic noir' trend that has captured audiences in the UK and elsewhere in Europe, for example.

In light of the reasons detailed above, it may be curious why feature-length fiction films have not been included in this thesis. Indeed, it is meaningful that there were no such examples in this particular format that fulfilled my criteria for selection. One can only speculate as to the reasons why filmmakers have not engaged in longer fiction-based portrayals of the region; perhaps one reason is related to the complex socio-political dynamics of the Øresund region. Its multiple layers and stories demand a documentary eye that is perhaps better suited to unearthing the various subjective 'truths' than a fiction-based work, which typically requires the viewer's identification with a single protagonist through a restricted narrative frame, for instance. Furthermore, the feature-length documentary mode offers the filmmaker the capacity to conduct a relatively more truthful—and ethical—intervention in the space, where real people and their authentic subjective experiences are depicted. A fictional work, in this respect, cannot quite claim the same. These are mere speculations, of course, and I can only remark further that the feature-length fiction works that I had initially shortlisted, such as *Lilya 4-ever* (Dir. Lucas Moodysson, 2002) and *1:1* (Dir. Annette Olesen, 2006), are indeed set against the urban backdrop of Copenhagen and Malmö, but do not go much further in terms of engaging with themes of the region and spatial change. Finally, steering the analysis away from the fiction feature film is also guided by a strategic intent in that the genres I deal with are generally under-researched in the fields of transnational cinema, small-nation cinema, and certainly within Scandinavian cinema studies.[9]

---

[9] The *Journal of Scandinavian Cinema*, for example, has commissioned a special issue on 'Contemporary Scandinavian Documentary Cinema', to be published in 2016.

5.   Key Arguments

My inquiry has taken me through the fields of political history, human geography, transnational film and media studies, and the cultural history of the Nordic region, to name but a few. This thesis represents my expedition across this interdisciplinary terrain to answer the central research question: how is the Øresund region imagined on film and television? I have alluded to some answers to this broad research question in earlier sections, but let me reiterate them here.

The key arguments that I make through the course of the next chapters are as follows. First, the audiovisual texts present alternative narratives of subjective experiences of spatial change, and these contest the dominant rhetoric of the Øresund imaginary instituted by regional planners and administrators. Second, in spite of strategies and gestures to foster a transnational imaginary in film policy, texts, and their production contexts, the national resolutely asserts itself, thereby destabilising the notion of cross-border collaboration. Third, each audiovisual work imagines the region in medium-specific ways, and this difference is in part a result of the funding policies and industrial conditions in Denmark and Sweden.

My central contributions to the specific field of transnational Scandinavian cinema lie in two revelations that arise from the arguments I make above. One insight from my examination of national policy contexts in Denmark and Sweden is that there is an asymmetry in the relationship between the Danish and Swedish partners in the Øresund region, particularly in the area of audiovisual production. This is largely a result of differences in the way the respective sub-national regions are administratively managed as well as the real lack of Øresund-level leadership. As I have highlighted at the very beginning of the thesis, this disparity has indeed been confirmed by the news of the region's rebranding. The second contribution is in making visible the conditions that underlie how the mediation of collective imaginaries intersects with cultural and film policy. Policy, in other words, influences the way creative decisions are made, and these connections are particularly traceable in the context of a small region.

What this thesis reaffirms in the broader field of transnational cinema studies is the assertion of the need to locate close textual analyses of audiovisual texts within the specificities of the political, social, and industrial contexts and within theoretical

frameworks that take into consideration questions of space, place, and identity. In the case of this thesis, the notion of scale from which the concept of the cinema of small nations emerges has played an important role in helping to frame my research.[10]

6.   Some Qualifications

First, this is not a thesis about the development of an 'Øresund cinema' as a distinct movement or singular body of texts that demonstrate perceptible aesthetic traits and themes. Rather, my intent here is to analyse the audiovisual cultural products of the cross-border union and their reimagining of new spatial conditions.

The reception of the audiovisual texts is an area of neglect in this thesis, if only because it would entail research of a far greater magnitude than what the scope of my project can bear. Audience research in our current moment is a complex endeavour: it involves not just the study of viewing figures and statistics from various sources, but also conducting surveys and/or mining data from social media platforms to construct a narrative about the formation of fan communities around particular cultural texts, for example. I briefly address the latter in my analysis of *Bron/Broen*, but acknowledge that other researchers are currently working on compiling this information and building a more detailed picture of who is watching what, when, where, and how.[11] From my point of view, the means to measure viewers' responses for all the texts in this thesis are patchy and in any case, viewership figures do not necessarily translate to a clearer understanding of what the texts mean to the (historical) audience of the early 2000s when the bridge and region were 'new' ideas, nor how the present-day transnational spectator of 'Scandi-noir' on television interprets images of the Øresund region. Where I have been able to track down viewing figures, I have done so, in order to construct certain (limited) arguments about the distribution of the texts. But this is emphatically not a thesis that engages deeply

---

[10] That is, thinking in terms of scale helps us to consider how the *smallness* of small-nation cinemas shapes the way policymakers and practitioners adopt particular strategies (both industrial and creative) to survive.

[11] See Annette Hill (2013), who leads a project on researching roaming audiences and their media experiences across Denmark, Sweden, and Great Britain in the period 2013–2016. *Bron/Broen* and its US remake, *The Bridge* (2013–14), form a part of their analysis. Bondebjerg and Redvall have also been keen on tracking viewing figures as one of the myriad ways of understanding the popularity of genres and/or storylines in Scandinavian film and television (2013).

in audience research for various reasons: the methodological complexity (and chaos) of audience research being one, and another relating to the trajectory of my own academic training and subsequent methodological bias toward close reading and text-based research. For the purposes of my thesis, my own engagement with reception goes as far as speculating about the implied consumers of the texts based on what we know about the production and the channels of exhibition. My concern is thus primarily with audiovisual production and signification – and how they speak to these implied audiences.

I do acknowledge more specific issues of age, gender, and ethnicity where they appear in the audiovisual texts as elements related to the negotiation of space and identity, and indeed, they form an important part in the sociological construction of the multifaceted Øresund region. But, unfortunately, a deeper engagement with the theoretical terrain attached to each of those important concerns would be untenable within the scope of this thesis and would certainly require far more space than presently available. I have thus limited my concerns with the theme of agency in the close readings to a generalised notion of the socio-political marginalisation of particular groups of people in relation to space.

7.   The Researcher's Position

Now, a final note to tackle the question, 'why me?' As a non-native speaker and outsider without 'local knowledge' of the Øresund region, I stand at a geographical and cultural distance from the debates and discourses that surround the making and mediation of the Øresund region. Yet it is this distance that has allowed me to identify insights about the film-cultural milieu of the region that specialists embedded in their own national contexts have not—thus far—fully addressed. Hence, I write this thesis not from a Danish nor Swedish perspective, but instead, from the critical position as an external investigator of small (trans)national cinemas.[12] This thesis is as much about the intercultural—and indeed transnational—encounter between myself and the

---

[12] And also as one who hails from an even smaller nation with a very small national cinema (Singapore).

Øresund region as it is about the encounters between filmmakers, nation-states, and regional imaginaries. Acknowledging this distance and my attempt to bridge it is thus my way of recording my fingerprint on this thesis — 'traces of the storyteller cling to the story the way the handprints of the potter cling to the clay vessel' (Benjamin 1968, 92).

In spite of the distance, I have taken a pro-active stance on engaging with the mediascape of the region by gaining a measure of proficiency with the Danish and Swedish languages, which has allowed me to access textual material in their original languages. This has been particularly useful in the case of relevant texts—be they news reports, policy documents, film databases, or online forums—that do not have English translations. Personal travel to Copenhagen and Malmö has also allowed me to interact with locals and to physically traverse the cities and encounter the spaces whose portrayal on film I write about. I must emphasise that my project is not an ethnographic one, nor does it rely exclusively on empirical experience of the urban spaces; nonetheless these personal encounters have had an impact on my gaining cultural awareness of some of the complexities and ambiguities of the regional rhetoric on an individual level.

It is also a coincidence that some time around 2012 during the initial stages of my research, there was a notable surge of British interest in Scandinavian film and television, a fascination that was apparently kindled earlier by *Forbrydelsen* (*The Killing*, 2001–12) and fanned into obsession when *Borgen* (2010–13) premiered on the Saturday 9pm foreign drama slot on BBC Four. By the time *Bron/Broen* ended its first season, the obsession had turned into full-blown mania for all things Nordic. This was no doubt a dynamic and meaningful environment that I could observe first-hand and also participate in. For example, the parallel public interest in Nordic culture beyond audiovisual texts has meant my involvement in public engagement events organised by the Department of Scandinavian Studies at UCL and at Nordicana, the annual London-based fan convention where I have given talks about Nordic architecture and furniture, amongst other topics related to the PhD. These experiences have expanded my participation in a particular discursive community where I have gained anecdotal insights about the Øresund region from Scandinavian and non-Scandinavian pundits.

Let me now finally address the title of this thesis. Kim Bodnia, who plays Martin Rohde in *Bron/Broen*, muses in a 'behind-the-scenes' interview that the crime drama is 'a symptom of something real' (Nimbus Film 2013). While he refers to a growing sense of cross-border integration and a common Øresund identity, I borrow the phrase to refer to the notion that the audiovisual texts analysed in this thesis are an expression of the complexity of the Øresund rhetoric. The reality that the works address is that there is a disparity between the planned visions of the Øresund region and the ways the region is experienced and imagined by its 'regionauts', the people who traverse the region every day and explore its unknown potentials (O'Dell 2003). Policy can only go so far to promote or influence a sense of a common identity in the region, and indeed, it is ironic that at the same time that the interview was filmed, the Öresundskomiteen announced that overall integration 'has declined over the past four years' (Wenande 2013). The gap between conceptualising a regional identity and articulating it in artistic and cultural contexts might not be so easily bridged after all.

8.   Structure of the thesis

This thesis has been divided into five chapters, where each chapter articulates a particular type of 'space' in my examination of the Øresund region. Before diving into specific textual case studies, I first lay out over two chapters the theoretical and film-political terrain that inform my understanding of how the region is constructed cinematically. The subsequent chapters are organised according to genre—documentary, short film, television series—and partly follow a thematic and chronological logic. The documentaries, for instance, cover the (de)construction of architectural edifices, particularly at the early stages of the region's urban transformtion when people were still coming to terms with a new imaginary. The short films then examine individual quotidian space at the middle point of the fifteen year period covered in this thesis, and quite literally take place in the centre of the region, in the water. The television chapter then looks at an ongoing audiovisual engagement with the region, focusing on a text that foregrounds transnational crossings and movement across borders.

The first chapter addresses the spaces of theory: the intersecting concepts and theories that frame my analysis of the different texts that mediate the region. Here, I situate my thesis within the theoretical field of transnational cinema, drawing

also on the conceptual lens of 'smallness'. The works of Michel de Certeau (1984) and Henri Lefebvre (1991) on the production of space are central to my analysis of the ways audiovisual texts interrogate and contest the social space of the Øresund.

The second chapter articulates the spaces of film policy. I first outline the historical trajectory of Danish film policy, which has shifted from an emphasis on essentialist notions of Danish film culture in the 1930s to a more expanded notion of national identity in negotiation with transnational flows of ideas, images, culture, and resources. This is followed by a focus on the shift, around the 1980s, toward regionalism in the Swedish context. In film-political terms, this regionalisation has meant that Skåne has gained some autonomy in carving out its own niche in a regional space dominated by Copenhagen and in a national space dominated by Stockholm. However, I argue that there is a manifest asymmetry between the Danish and Swedish sides of the Øresund, and the attempts to bridge this gap fall short of the aims of fostering a region that celebrates transnational collaboration.

The third chapter focuses on the non-fiction portrayals of architectural transformation and transnational affinity across the region. I examine three documentaries by the Swedish filmmaker, Fredrik Gertten, and suggest that the films can be productively analysed as a trilogy, albeit unintended by the filmmaker. These films are *Gå på vatten* (2000), *Bye Bye Malmö* (2002), and *Sossen, arkitekten, och det skruvade huset* (2005). This is followed by an analysis of *Drømme i København* (2009). I posit that Gertten's trilogy and Kestner's city symphony are cinematic documents of the affective relationships between people and the architectural spaces that they interact with on a quotidian level. Landmarks such as the Øresund Bridge, the Kockums crane, and the Turning Torso skyscraper form the nexus between spatial change and the new transnational dynamic. The theme of the disconnect between the planned and the lived feature prominently in these works and are important visual manifestations of de Certeau's analogy of the voyeur and the walker.

The fourth chapter addresses the spaces of risk and creativity through the lens of short films. This chapter advocates the renewal of scholarly attention on the short film format by arguing for its usefulness for not only filmmakers but also institutions as a tool to manage risk. The theme of risk is not only expressed through the ways short films are conduits through which filmmakers and institutions manage the risks

of filmmaking, but it also appears as thematic concerns in the short films *Valrossarna* (2006) and *Out* (2006). I argue that, driven by the constraints of the format and the values that motivate the convention of socially responsible filmmaking in the region, the short films depict provocative topics that foreground the marginalised voices of the Øresund, producing narratives that challenge the dominant rhetoric of the region.

The fifth chapter shifts the focus to popular mainstream television and the rise of the 'Nordic noir' brand in the contemporary televisual landscape. *Bron/Broen* (2011–) encapsulates the dynamic of the region not only in its portrayal of a cross-border, Danish-Swedish crime narrative, but also in its production processes. I contend that the series is the first mainstream, popular text that self-consciously participates in the construction of the region at the same time as it acknowledges its emergence as a product of the Øresund rhetoric. In my analysis of the text, I draw attention to the genre's conventions, the production design, and the medium-specific characteristics that enable the series' images of the Øresund to circulate to a wider audience beyond the region.

Finally, in the concluding chapter I take stock of the key insights gained from my examination of audiovisual texts that span the first fifteen years of the Øresund region's existence. I reaffirm the notion that the texts are important cultural artefacts that not only document the material changes in the region during this period, but also speak back to the dominant narratives that seek to impose a utopian Øresund identity on the region without acknowledging its own inherent fractures and gaps. In pointing out the potential gaps in my own thesis, I gesture towards new beginnings in the direction that this project has taken, and towards future stories of the Øresund region as it reimagines itself with a new name and as it reshapes its boundaries to form a union with yet another European neighbour from 2020.

Parts of Chapter Three have been published in earlier versions as 'The Landmark on Film: Representations of Place and Identity,' in *Opticon1826* 13 (2012) and 'Under the Scaffolding: Cinematic Representations of High-rise Buildings in Tapiola and Malmö,' co-authored with Essi Viitanen, in *Illuminating the North: Proceedings from the Nordic Research Network Conference 2013*, edited by Agnes Broomé, Pei-sze Chow, Nichola Smalley, Louisa Taylor, and Essi Viitanen (London: Norvik Press, 2014). Part of Chapter Five will be published in a modified version as

'Traversing the Øresund: The Transnational Metropolis in *Bron/Broen*,' in *Global Cinematic Cities: New Landscapes of Film and Media*, edited by Johan Andersson and Lawrence Webb (London: Wallflower Press, 2016).

CHAPTER ONE

Spaces Of Theory:
Counter-imaginaries Of A Small Transnational Community

> Regions are always in the process of being made, never finalised. And they are constituted out of relations that stretch across the boundaries given by the administrative map-makers – who themselves are frequently challenged to develop new ones as those boundaries shift. (Cochrane 2012, 95)

This chapter provides an overview of the main theorists and concepts that have inspired and underpin my investigation of audiovisual texts and their production in the Øresund region. The first part describes the conceptual frameworks that have guided my understanding of the intersections between policy, textual production, and collective imaginaries. This includes concepts of imagined communities, national and transnational cinema, and the lens of small-nation cinemas. The second part is concerned with the theoretical ideas that have informed my close reading of the films, where I pay attention to the ways of thinking spatially about the moving image: I draw on notions of space and place, particularly Michel de Certeau's notion of the disconnect between the planned and the lived, and of the moving image as a way of writing urban space. Finally, I introduce haptic visuality as a means of materially and affectively connecting the spectator to the imaginaries depicted on screen.

1.   Imagined (Audiovisual) Communities

> Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined. (Anderson [1991] 2006, 6)

In the Introduction, I referred to a simple survey conducted by the Øresundsbro Konsortiet asking how much local people using the bridge identified with the idea of being a 'citizen' of the Øresund region. The political category of an 'Øresund citizen' does not actually exist—the term rarely makes an appearance in discourses outside

of regional politics—yet the import of this imagined citizenry to the administration of the region cannot be understated, as observed in the attempt to measure and quantify integration in the region annually through an 'Øresund Integration Index'.[13] The Øresund project is one that self-consciously defines itself as a region, marshalling forth a swathe of region-building institutions and activities that include audiovisual media and culture. In the realm of film and television, the attraction of conceptualising the Øresund region as a *community* of people who share some sense of a regional allegiance is evident, particularly in discussions surrounding co-production and funding, as I will detail in Chapter Two. This raises a few questions: How is a community imagined in the context of a region comprising two states, each with their own national consciousness? What role does the moving image play in generating, affirming, and contesting this imagination?

Here, I turn to Benedict Anderson, whose definition of the nation as an imagined community forms a jumping-off point for my present study. The idea of the nation, he states, is 'an imagined political community — and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign' and it is always conceived as 'a deep, horizontal comradeship' (2006, 6–7). The consciousness of a national identity and community owes much to the development and spread of print capitalism, which enabled the dissemination of ideas, images, narratives, and more importantly, the sense of fellow readers forming 'a sociological organism moving calendrically through homogenous, empty time' (26).

This concept is pertinent in understanding the way film and particularly television as a mass, visual medium work to construct and address the nation — and region.[14] The way that contemporary mass media such as television 'binds' viewers in an awareness of each other across a geographical space at a particular time of viewing a television event is not dissimilar to how the novel enabled the bourgeoisie of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to 'visualise in a general way the existence

---

[13] According to the latest 2015 report, the integration index was at its highest in 2008, but has been on the decline since then (Öresundskomiteen 2015, 8).

[14] It is this awareness of the power of the visual mediation of national identity and its spatial boundaries that led Anderson to include an addendum in a later edition of *Imagined Communities* that concerned maps and the way they visualise, demarcate, and enforce the power of the national (2006, 170).

of thousands and thousands like themselves' and to 'achieve solidarities on an essentially imagined basis' (77). An imagined community of the Øresund region would therefore place Danes in Copenhagen in a position to think of themselves as living lives parallel to those of Swedes in Malmö and vice versa — 'if never meeting, yet certainly proceeding along the same trajectory' (188).

To imagine other readers in a community of individuals and their 'steady, anonymous, simultaneous activity' (26) is something that the early print media first made possible; film, television, and later electronic mass communication mediates this solidarity in a similar, yet more complex way. Readers of a daily newspaper, as Anderson asserts, are brought together by the ritual of reading the paper typically in the mornings on the day of publication and once more if an evening edition is also in circulation (35). For the novel, the potential community that is being formed is not tied to a particular time and place like the readers of a newspaper (Cullan 2003, 37). While on the one hand conventional television resembles the newspaper in engaging viewers at a particular time and within a fixed geographical area, post-network television (through online streaming and on-demand services) and the various film distribution and exhibition platforms construct an imagined community in a manner more similar to the novel.

Working from Anderson's 'imagined community' and in reference to modern Western societies, Charles Taylor develops the notion of the 'social imaginary' to denote the ways that people in a society imagine their social existence, their relationships and exchanges with each other, and the 'deeper normative notions and images' that underlie common expectations in this society (2004, 23). It is worth noting Taylor's emphasis on the visual and narrative aspects of social imaginaries as relevant to my project, since film and television texts play a productive role in generating social reality. In particular, his focus in his study is on 'the way ordinary people "imagine" their social surroundings, and this is often not expressed in theoretical terms, but is carried in images, stories, and legends' (ibid.). Taylor's theoretical description of the social imaginary functions in the singular, despite his acknowledgement of its inherent complexity when applied to actual, heterogenous societies that comprise multiple and sometimes overlapping imaginaries.

Similarly, Anderson's concern was the mapping of an imagined community

within a limited and finite national space, marked by a coherent, shared identity, traditions, discourse, and sense of belonging. However, this concept becomes more complex in the face of the plural nature of modern societies, in particular the multiple histories, allegiances, and cultural differences that can make up a transnational, cross-border region. As Andrew Higson notes, the argument of an imagined community as a stable, fixed entity does not entirely hold when taking into consideration the cultural diversity and difference that are characteristic of modern nations, as well as the transnational networks that operate across national borders (2000, 60). After all, cinema, as a multifaceted art, is a transnational practice, one that can counter official imaginaries and offer alternative and multiple imaginaries at the same time.

2. Transnational Cinema

2.1. The National And The Transnational

The story of the Øresund region is inevitably marked by critical questions of the national and transnational as they pertain to audiovisual media in a cross-border region. In my view, the prefix 'trans' signals the ability of cinema to traverse, move across, bring together, as well as transcend territories, languages, and cultures. On a fundamental level, the term 'transnational' functions in a spatial and material manner, reflecting the global forces that enable the connection and movement of people, goods, businesses and institutions across national boundaries.

Higbee and Lim, in their inaugural article of the journal *Transnational Cinemas*, outline three main frameworks that have emerged in extant scholarship on transnational filmmaking (2010, 9). The first follows Andrew Higson's formulation of cinema operating transnationally at the levels of production, reception, and distribution — that is, the movement of ideas, people, material, and texts across borders, between nations (2000, 61). A second approach takes a broader, but at the same time more particular, perspective in examining transnationalism as a regional phenomenon involving national cinematic cultures that find common ground in a shared cultural heritage or geo-political boundary, such as in the case of Chinese cinema or Nordic cinema. The transnational, in this conceptualisation, works as an additional 'layer' of discourse that encompasses the local and national. The third approach analyses transnational cinema through the prism of diaspora and

35

postcolonialism, characterised by texts that set up visual representations of cultural identity that contest the dominant Eurocentric conceptions of the nation as a stable entity with a unified set of aesthetic and narrative modes. Scholars associated with this approach include Hamid Naficy (2001) and Laura Marks (2000) whose work emphasises the geo-political and aesthetic dimensions of interculturality on screen.[15]

I have primarily adopted a blend of the first and the second critical conceptualisations of transnationalism in examining the particular cultural and political dynamics of audiovisual production in a self-consciously defined region (which sits within and interacts with larger geo-cultural and political regions like Scandinavia and the EU). In this conceptual environment, I also adopt perspectives from the first in that I pay attention to the way the national is imbricated with the transnational in complex and changing ways. In the same essay, Higbee and Lim propose a 'critical transnationalism' towards the study of the transnational in film studies, a discursive stance that attempts to bridge these multiple conceptual trajectories that have emerged in the fifteen years prior to the publication of their article (2010, 18). To a large extent, my research reflects the same critical aims of foregrounding and engaging meaningfully with the cultural politics, economics, and aesthetics of audiovisual production in the Øresund region. Higbee and Lim's approach foregrounds being attentive to the tensions between the national and transnational and the way each shapes the other, and to questions of politics and power as expressed through all forms of cross-border filmmaking activities (17). They write:

> [A] critical transnationalism does not ghettoize transnational film-making in interstitial and marginal spaces but rather interrogates how these film-making activities negotiate with the national on all levels – from cultural policy to financial sources, from the multiculturalism of difference to how it reconfigures the nation's image of itself. (Higbee and Lim 2010, 18)

At the heart of all this is the inescapable notion of the national, which is unsurprising given the binational particularity of the Øresund context where two different sets of national film policy operate. Higson argues in his essay on the concept of national cinema that it can be thought of as a correlate of Anderson's 'imagined community',

---

[15] 'Intercultural' cinema is defined by Marks as a context wherein two or more cultures intersect, 'implying diachrony and the possibility of transformation. […] It accounts for the encounter between different cultural organisations of knowledge' (2000, 6–7).

a product of the tension between 'home' and 'away' (1989). On the one hand, a national cinema looks inward, producing moving images that reflect already existing traditions and culturally specific narratives. On the other hand, a national cinema looks outward to define itself against another national cinema by means of comparison and contrast. However, cinema as an industry does not operate in a (national) vacuum, and so the transnational constellation of networks wherein filmmakers move and films are distributed must be taken into account. From this perspective, Higson asserts that the concept of a national cinema cannot assume fixed and stable imaginings and constructions of identity within particular borders, as the transnational dynamic of filmmaking works to shape and influence the national (Higson 2000, 60). Hence, we must consider the national as intertwined with the transnational. Applied to audiovisual production, the concept invites one to consider the means by which images and film talent travel, which means following the political, financial, human, and technological traffic across boundaries at the national and regional levels.[16]

Furthermore, Higson writes that 'at the level of policy, the concept of national cinema still has some meaning' (2000, 63). Nations have thus far and even now enacted film policies that are organised around 'defensive strategies designed to protect and promote both the local cultural formation and the local economy':

> Such developments have traditionally assumed that a strong national cinema can offer coherent images of the nation, sustaining the nation at an ideological level, exploring and celebrating what is understood to be the indigenous culture. Of equal importance today is the role that cinema is felt able to play in terms of promoting the nation as a tourist destination, to the benefit of the tourism and service industries. Also at the economic level, governments may legislate to protect and promote the development of the local media industries. They may encourage long-term investment (often from overseas). They may create the conditions that might generate significant export revenue. And they may seek to maintain an appropriately skilled domestic workforce in full employment. (2000, 63)

Higson then summarises John Hill's argument that 'national cinemas have a much greater potential to act as forces for diversity and for the re-fashioning of the national

---

[16] As Zhang (2010) summarises, this type of traffic was of little value to previously dominant tendencies in film studies that privileged the more inward-looking theories of semiotics and psychoanalysis. More recent and outward-looking emphases in media studies and industry research have challenged this by focusing on contextual matters — some of the results of this shift is the 'institutional turn' and 'spatial turn' currently in vogue.

cultural formation' (64). Rather than defending the usefulness of 'a national cinema', Higson suggests that Hill's argument is really for a 'a critical (and implicitly left-wing) cinema, a radical cinema' that critiques and questions the limits and definitions of national identity (ibid.).

Thus, as a critical concept, transnationalism acknowledges the porousness and malleability of national boundaries,[17] yet it does not dismiss the national as an intellectual relic; rather, it 'acknowledges the persistent agency of the state, in a varying but fundamentally legitimizing relationship to the scale of "the nation"' (Ďurovičová 2009, x). Elizabeth Ezra and Terry Rowden note the imbrication of the national with the transnational:

> The transnational at once transcends the national and presupposes it. […] From a transnational perspective, nationalism is instead a canny dialogical partner whose voice often seems to be growing stronger at the very moment that its substance is fading away.' (2006, 4)

Central to this conceptualisation also is the remark that transnationalism does not necessarily champion utopian discourse, but instead 'unfolds as an essentially self-motivated, and apparently amoral, cultural force' that 'both reflects and mediates power relations in the postindustrial, digital age' (Ezra and Rowden 2006, 9).

Higbee and Lim admit that transnational cinema 'still has some way to go before establishing itself as a critical concept' given its considerable latitude in application (2010, 18), but it must be emphasised that its currency as a field of inquiry not just in film but also television and other screen-based media studies has only grown, as evidenced by the applicability of the term in ever-increasing numbers of research projects, published material, and papers presented at conferences. As the authors remind us, 'it is imperative not to theorize transnational cinema only in the conceptual-abstract but also to examine its deployment in the concrete-specific so that the power dynamic in each case can be fully explored and exposed' (Higbee and Lim 2010, 10).

---

[17] Here, the term runs the risk of celebrating transnational movement and exchange while disregarding the specific local contexts in which those exchanges take place (Higbee and Lim 2010, 11-12).

2.2.   Transnationalism In The Nordic Context

Nestingen and Elkington's volume on transnational Nordic cinema (2005) is an example of the kind of deployment of the transnational in studying the movement and border-crossing of filmmaking activities within a specific pan-Nordic context. Their approach acknowledges the notion that countries are each 'embedded in globally pervasive forms of cinematic production and reception and participate in a globalized film discourse' (Nestingen and Elkington 2005, 16). Here, production, aesthetics, policy, and regulation are areas of focus as these are sites of negotiation in a defined geographic or cultural region comprising diverse local, national actors that move in different ways through internal and external boundaries.

In an attempt to give shape to the broad remit of transnationalism in Scandinavia, Mette Hjort (2009) introduces a typology of cinematic transnationalisms as a way of making sense of the different models of cinematic production in practice. They are: affinitive, milieu-building, cosmopolitan, epiphanic, experimental, globalising, and opportunistic. Of the seven, let me outline the first four as these relate closely to my project. *Affinitive* transnationalism denotes collaboration across national borders on the basis of a perceived commonality in terms of ethnicity, culture, language, or shared attitudes and concerns. *Milieu-building* transnationalism refers to sustained collaboration designed to develop capacity. *Cosmopolitan* transnationalism arises from personal transnational networks of particular individuals who exercise control over the filmmaking process. *Epiphanic* transnationalism addresses the level of collaboration between supranational entities resulting in projects that 'aim to make manifest supranational or regional cultural identities resting on partially intersecting national cultures' (2010a, 49). Hjort emphasises that the types of transnationalisms are not mutually exclusive, and indeed, it is possible to trace elements of the four outlined here in the Øresund and the larger Scandinavian contexts. The usefulness of Hjort's typology is that it has prompted me to reflect further on the specific concerns that motivate each instance of transnationalism in the context of audiovisual production, and to bring greater clarity to the discussion of the transnationalising strategies adopted by the respective state and non-state actors in the region.

In my thesis I take the view that the space of contemporary film and television production in the Øresund region continually negotiates the complex relationship between the local, national, and the transnational, where the production, reception,

and circulation of texts are concerns and activities that must be interrogated at multiple levels.

2.3.   A Regional Cinema?

One question rears its head. In attempting to understand how audiovisual texts participate in the construction of the Øresund region, are we then speaking of a 'regional cinema'? Higbee and Lim have also raised the same question of terminology vis-à-vis the second transnational approach involving regions (2010, 9). We have to be careful here since 'region' is far too vague a term — it might refer to a geographical area at a sub-national level, or a transnational group of nations connected by a shared cultural heritage or language. Would a regional cinema be characterised by the presentation of regional themes that relate to a particular notion of regional identity, as Peter Lev suggests (1986, 61)? Or would a regional cinema be defined against a national cinema of which it is part, and encompass different regional traditions contrasted against a distinct national culture (Marlow-Mann 2011, 6)? At what point do we substitute 'regional' for 'local'? As is clear, these are notions of the regional as a sub-national category which borrow some of the basic assumptions of a homogenous national cinema including the notion of a fixed cultural identity that can be defined in opposition to another cultural entity. The Øresund region, however, does not fall under this definition, and I maintain the argument that the term 'regional cinema' does not adequately register the inherent complexity of the Øresund project. While there may be attempts to fashion a cinematic region of sorts between Greater Copenhagen and Skåne,[18] these are framed in terms of a 'cooperation' or 'collaboration' between the two states — the conceptual centrality of the transnational is evident. Instead, it is more useful to interrogate the transnational dynamics in the region from a small-nation perspective, taking into consideration also the peripheral position of Skåne as a sub-national region in relation to Stockholm.

3.   Cinemas Of Small Nations

3.1.   A Small Framework

As I have emphasised, one of the key contributions to transnational film studies that

---

[18] The Oresund Film Commission and other initiatives are examples that I discuss in the next chapter.

my project offers is the analysis of the collective imaginaries of the Øresund region—an area relatively unknown outside Scandinavia—through audiovisual texts and, critically, how these intersect with the film-cultural policies of two states. An important view that I take in this thesis is that the transnational cinematic context in the Øresund region is situated in the midst of two small national cinemas which are themselves positioned on the periphery of the European continent — and of the disciplinary remit of 'European cinema'. Here we can reflect on Benedict Anderson, who adopted a 'polemical strategy' to foreground small countries such as the various Southeast Asian nations, Scotland, Hungary, and Switzerland in *Imagined Communities*, as he clarifies in the Afterword to the 2006 edition of the volume (2006, 211). One of Anderson's initial polemical intents in writing the book in the early 1980s was to react against the solipsism and 'big country' bias that dominated the American academic study of history and nationalism. In a similar way, the scholarly shift in film studies toward the cinema of small, marginal, and peripheral territories aims to redress the long-standing neglect of 'other' cinemas that are not Hollywood or, in the main European context, France, Germany, or Italy. Small nationhood, as a critical concept in film studies, has only been brought into focus as recent as 2007 with the publication of *The Cinema of Small Nations*, edited by Mette Hjort and Duncan Petrie.

In keeping with the spatial themes of my thesis, it is clear that the smallness of a national cinema is an important concept by which we can understand the construction of the Øresund region. This concept has been advanced by Hjort and Petrie through their interest in the scholarly analysis of filmmaking and transnationalising practices of small states. 'Small nations or states […] are necessarily a relational phenomenon' in that Denmark is considered a small state when compared to France, and France a small state compared to the United States, for example (Hjort and Petrie 2007, 2). The editors define their sample of small nations by using the following criteria: population size (a full spectrum of up to 23 million people), geographical size (682.7–273,800 sq km), size of gross national product (GNP) per capita (USD 1,200–41,000). The last conceptual criterion the editors suggest is the notion of domination in small nationhood as outlined by Miroslav Hroch: small nations are 'those which were in subjection to a ruling nation for such a long period that the relation of subjection took on a structural character for both parties' (Hroch 1985, 9).

The advantage of using the small nation cinema framework as an analytical lens is that it illuminates some of the ways in which 'subnational, national, international, transnational, regional, and global forces dovetail and compete in the sphere of the cinema' (Hjort and Petrie 2007, 2). Although the concept and its criteria has been used to describe sovereign nation-states, I propose that it can be applied fruitfully to the idea of a small cross-border region, particularly one as deliberately outlined to function in the manner of an integrated socio-economic unit as the Øresund region. In other words, the concept of 'smallness' can be scaled to different degrees to shed light on the ways film culture, politics, and identity are shaped in the region.

Following Hjort and Petrie's criteria, the Øresund region would certainly qualify as 'small'. According to the official Øresund statistics database, Öresundsdatabasen, the region's 2012 Gross Regional Product (GRP) is equivalent to USD 36,000 per capita, and there are approximately 3.7 million living in an area of about 21,200 sq km (Örestat 2015). The region also comprises two sub-national regions of two sovereign states: Sjælland includes Copenhagen, the political, economic, and cultural seat of Denmark on the one hand, while on the other hand, Skåne is a much smaller administrative region on the periphery of Sweden that has only just gained a measure of autonomy from Stockholm. As for the question of dominion, it might be argued that Skåne being a former territory of the larger Danish kingdom would have some relevance. At this level of granularity, it becomes clear that there is an asymmetry in the relationship between Copenhagen and Malmö, an argument I will emphasise throughout the thesis. We can then begin to see the various challenges faced by the respective sub-regional administrations and the Øresund region as a whole — issues relating to the survival and continuity of the respective film industries that, in turn, influence the decisions being made at institutional and individual levels. The conceptual notion of 'smallness' can thus be applied to a variety of other matters to illuminate particular arguments about industrial practices and strategies — indeed, it would be useful to analyse markets, audiences, and even film devices and narrative formats through this lens. In Chapter Four, I interrogate the short film as a compact format that fulfils particular milieu-building roles in the region.

3.2. Periphery

In the same context, the concept of periphery also plays a role in defining the practical

and artistic strategies employed by filmmakers in their articulation of the region. Here, I draw on the 'cinematic periphery' approach as outlined in *Cinema at the Periphery*, edited by Dina Iordanova, David Martin-Jones, and Belén Vidal (2010), which is closely aligned with the small nation approach advocated by Hjort and Petrie. Evidently there are multiple meanings of the cinematic periphery, which the editors and authors suggest allows for a productive synergizing of various approaches (Iordanova, Martin-Jones, and Vidal 2010, 8). Its immediate applicability to Skåne as a peripheral region in Sweden helps to highlight the strategies the region must adopt to meet the challenges (and risks) connected with sustaining a regional filmmaking milieu. At the same time, the concept can be interpreted as a textual concern, a perspective that comes into focus in Chapter Four where I focus on the periphery as an artistic strategy pertinent to both *Out* and *Valrossarna*, via the depiction of peripheral subjects in peripheral spaces. Therefore, the concept may be usefully applied to production and distribution practices in the region, as well as informing the form and content of the films discussed in the thesis.

3.3. Risk

Cinematic risk, as Hjort et al. discuss in the edited volume *Film and Risk* (2012), is a conceptual approach that provokes scholars to think of filmmaking in terms of risk-taking and risk management. The notion of risk obviously lends itself well to economic approaches to film where scholars have examined the ways economic and financial risks and liabilities are infused throughout the filmmaking process — John Sedgwick and Mike Pokorny (1998; 2010; 2012), and Arthur De Vany (2004) have extensively explored financial risks in Hollywood film production and also risk as a factor in film consumers' decision-making. Hjort's argument in the introduction to the book is that risk arises in many other aspects of film culture such as film's institutional milieu, authorship, screen acting, style, and the natural environment, the latter being closely affiliated with eco-critical approaches in film studies. While 'risk' is defined in various ways throughout the volume, my own interest is in highlighting the epistemic conditions under which film policy and film-pedagogical institutions manage financial and artistic risks when subsidising and training filmmakers in the Øresund region. This includes asking questions about what strategies funders undertake when distributing funds and opportunities to newer, emerging filmmakers who have yet to establish an oeuvre or prove success in the commercial or artistic fields.

Meanwhile, I also argue that risk as a textual feature—such as the depiction of people in risky situations or undertaking risky activities—can be read as a strategy to heighten the emotional impact of a scene as well as to underscore the importance and urgency of specific events. The larger aim here is to activate the viewer's imaginative and affective engagement with the story and its themes through the audiovisual communication of risk. Concurrently, and especially in the case of documentary film, the onscreen portrayal of specific risks make it possible for the viewer to learn about a real-life danger without incurring any actual losses (Livingston 2012, 91). With regard to *Out* and *Valrossarna*, the main features of the films are the risky situations taking place in the Øresund strait. I suggest that the films' specific depictions of a refugee in political and mortal danger and a group of adults partaking in an extreme physical activity stimulate the viewer's awareness and recognition of the body of water as integral to one's spatial experience of the Øresund. In other words, the risks portrayed in the short films generate a keener awareness of the marine environment and evokes the landscape as being marked by meaning and history.

In summary, the interrelated concepts of smallness, periphery, and risk not only offer productive ways of understanding the motivations that drive various aspects of audiovisual activity in a small region, but they also function as important themes within texts.

4.   Space, Place, Identity

4.1.   Terminologies

Underlying the themes explored in the audiovisual texts is a critical exploration of how place is constructed and experienced as a material entity, issues that have concerned scholars in cultural geography since the 1980s. The 'spatial turn' in film studies has established itself only relatively since 1990s as scholars began to pay particular attention to spatiality and the critical links between cinema and urban space, especially the city.

In this thesis, 'space' comes to mean not only the empty, continuous expanse of a three-dimensional area, but also the field in which human relations are constructed and articulated. I also refer to cinematic space, developed via mise-en-

scène, as the visual representation of a real space delimited and mediated by time and the filmic apparatus. I should point out that the vastness of the field of spatiality means that vocabularies differ from theorist to theorist, where the key terms 'space' and 'place' are distinguished in different and sometimes contradictory ways. For example, Michel de Certeau defines 'place' simply as physical, stable location, but uses 'space' to denote the human interactions within a place that gives it meaning and expression: 'space is like the word when it is spoken' (1984, 117). Similarly Henri Lefebvre (1991) and Edward W. Soja (1996) eschew the absolute and fixed notion of space and instead propose space as a critical and material category that is a product of social interaction. Others in cultural geography, like Yi-Fu Tuan (1977) and Gillian Rose (1995), use the opposite notion of 'place' as 'emotionally bounded' — of having a strong emotional relationship with a space that one derives one's identity from. 'Place is the locus that registers the tensions between the local and the global,' as Rose remarks (1995, 88). In contrast, Marc Augé proposes the term 'non-place' to denote 'a space which cannot be defined as relational, historical, or concerned with identity' (1995, 78). Place is therefore linked with the construction of identity and subjectivity (Casey 1997), and the significance and meaning of a place like the Øresund region is contingent upon its inhabitants who perform their myriad identities within that space.

Processes of identity formation also work in the other direction. Barbara Kosta writes that '[s]pace, and its myriad manifestations, shape and frame identities and produce affiliations, which are national, local, and transnational' (2010, 345). In a similar vein, Doreen Massey argues that space 'inherently implies the existence in the lived world of a simultaneous multiplicity of spaces; cross-cutting, intersecting, aligning with one another, or existing in relations of paradox or antagonism' (2005, 3). The two writers suggest that our lived, spatial experience of everyday life is composed of simultaneous spaces where meanings and identities overlap and interact, and where politics of power and difference are articulated.

Within film studies, Elena Gorfinkel and John David Rhodes argue in their volume *Taking Place* that place is a subset of the larger category of space (2011, ix), and they suggest a critical 'redirection from space (as a uniform property of cinema) to place (as a strikingly heterogeneous and specific element recorded by and sensible in a film)' (xii). The narrative function of mainstream cinema therefore activates the

articulation of places in a meaningful way and becomes an important means by which we can make sense of real spaces and their relationship to collective imaginaries. De Certeau describes how societies have become fictionalised through layers of stories:

> From morning to night, narrations constantly haunt streets and buildings. They articulate our existences by teaching us what must be. … Our society has become a recited society, in three senses: it is defined by *stories* (*récits*, the fables constituted by our advertising and informational media), by *citations* of stories, and by the interminable *recitation* of stories (1984, 186).

Space, as de Certeau defines it, comes into being—that is, becomes a 'place'—when stories mediate our experience of urban spaces: stories 'carry out the labour that constantly transforms places into spaces or spaces into places' (1984, 118). Augé, building on de Certeau, remarks that places are like 'palimpsests on which the scrambled game of identity and relations is ceaselessly rewritten' (1995, 79).

As I have outlined above, the concepts of space and place are intertwined with the construction of identity, a substantial concern in this thesis. I am interested in the tensions between the notion of the Øresund region as a meticulously planned geographical *place* on the one hand, and on the other hand the region as a *space* and as a composite of more diverse spaces with which different groups of people engage meaningfully through the moving image. It is within this remit that I primarily use these concepts as they offer salient insights for moving image analysis. Where I dwell on particular places depicted in the texts, it is to answer the broader questions of how the images mediate the institutional and cultural discourses of belonging and identity with respect to the Øresund project. In the following discussion of specific theoretical frameworks, I will use the terms as they are deployed by the respective theorists, for the sake of coherence and fidelity.

4.2. Spatial Triads

Lefebvre's triad of spatial practices, or as David Harvey calls them, the 'Lefebvrian matrix' (1993, 17), is a major theoretical framework that has inspired my analysis of audiovisual representations of the region. Lefebvre's volume *The Production of Space* (1991) sets the stage in this regard. On the question of defining space, he argues that it should be addressed as a relational entity that describes social patterns. That is, space embodies a set of social relations, subject to change and revision. Lefebvre's concern lies in the question of how space is produced by these social relations, and

how social space can be analysed according to certain axes. He defines 'social space' as a 'triad of the perceived, the conceived, and the lived' and offers a further triad of critical concepts, namely 'spatial practice', 'representations of space', and 'representational spaces' (1991, 38–39).

First, 'spatial practice' relates to the perceived, physical space of urban reality wherein daily routines are performed by members of society that must be characterised by cohesiveness (but without necessarily being coherent). Next, 'representations of space' refers to the 'conceptualised space' of planners, engineers, and urbanists who conceive space as a system of verbal signs. Lastly, 'representational spaces' concern 'space as directly *lived*' through images and symbols, therefore belonging to the domain of artists, writers, and philosophers who describe, imagine, and reimagine. Representational space 'overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects' to produce often unique, symbolic works, seeking to change and appropriate the (passive) experience of a space through imagination. This last concept of space is where we find cinema as an artistic practice, a representational space that 'is alive', 'speaks', 'has an affective kernel or centre', 'embraces the loci of passion, of action and lived situations', and that is 'essentially qualitative, fluid and dynamic' (1991, 42).

Where Lefebvre was reluctant to declare a preference for representational spaces—or, as Harvey rephrases, 'spaces of representation' (1989, 221)—as the radical space of change and appropriation, Edward W. Soja does so for him in *Thirdspace* (1996) where he builds on Lefebvre's concept to construct 'thirdspace':

> These spaces are also vitally filled with politics and ideology, with the real and the imagined intertwined, […] They are the 'dominated spaces,' the spaces of the peripheries, the margins and the marginalized, the 'Third Worlds' that can be found at all scales, in the corporeality of the body and mind, in sexuality and subjectivity, in individual and collective identities from the most local to the most global. They are the chosen spaces for struggle, liberation, emancipation. (1996, 68)

Thirdspace thus captures the radical potential of Lefebvre's concept and opens it up still further to encompass 'additional otherness' (61). Soja stresses the open-endedness of his concept as one that includes alternative, contingent, and interstitial spaces:

47

a lived space of radical openness and unlimited scope, where all histories and geographies, all times and places, are immanently presented and represented, a strategic space of power and domination, empowerment and resistance'. (1996, 311)

Lefebvre and Soja's critiques of space offer the theoretical terrain wherein we can conceptualise cinema as a material and mental space—comprising both real and imagined spaces—capable of challenging hegemonic discourse. My view is that cinema fulfils multiple roles in this respect. It is an artistic practice that not only produces audiovisual texts that can mediate symbolic spaces of contestation and subversion on screen, but it also works through existing industrial conditions of production and exhibition to challenge dominant socio-political narratives in real and material ways. In other words, while audiovisual texts can represent and make visible stories of change and negotiation to spectators, filmmakers can use the medium in subversive ways to contest the basic assumptions of mainstream production and exhibition, or state policy directives, for example. In the context of my present study, film and television function as an example of representational spaces or thirdspace insofar as, first, the texts convey both the dominant or official images as well as the alternative, marginalised, or contested images of the Øresund project, and second, the production of these texts within and outside of state-funded production systems seek to change and appropriate the spaces of cultural production in the region.

4.3.   Perceiving And Writing The City

Shifting to the articulation of space in the moving image, I turn to Michel de Certeau's theory of 'spatial practices' and his emphasis on human activity and movement in urban contexts, which is a departure from Lefebvre's same use of the term that is concerned more with physical space. In an oft-cited and evocative passage from *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984), de Certeau traces a framework for understanding how urban space is produced and experienced. The contours of his essay have been traversed time and again by writers who have extended his original speculations in different directions. Yet, his thoughts about spatial practice and perception remain seductive and I make no apology for employing his ideas as a central 'tactic' in my own analytical practice because they do help to illuminate important ideas about the aesthetics of the films I discuss and their mediation of the region. What de Certeau fundamentally offers us is a critique of the ways in which we perceive the city: 'a theory of everyday practices, of lived space, of the disquieting familiarity of the city' (1984,

96).

In the section titled 'Walking in the City', de Certeau describes the 'totalizing' gaze of an urban voyeur looking down from the top of the World Trade Center in New York City:

> To be lifted to the summit of the World Trade Center is to be lifted out of the city's grasp. […] When one goes up there, he leaves behind the mass that carries off and mixes up in itself any identity of authors or spectators. An Icarus flying above these waters, he can ignore the devices of Daedalus in mobile and endless labyrinths far below. His elevation transfigures him into a voyeur. It puts him at a distance. It transforms the bewitching world by which one was 'possessed' into a text that lies before one's eyes. It allows one to read it, to be a solar Eye, looking down like a god. (1984, 92)

Gazing upon the city from a high vantage point, de Certeau invokes the 'voyeur-god' perspective that is adopted by city planners, urbanists, or cartographers (1984, 93). The city is regarded as a strategic diagram from this view, he argues, while the process of seeing and reading the city in this manner simultaneously constructs a privileged viewing position—a Foucauldian eye (1977)—that is distanced and disentangled from the lived realities below (de Certeau 1984, 83). Crucially, the 'panorama-city' constructed by this view is 'a "theoretical" (that is, visual) simulacrum, in short a picture, whose condition of possibility is an oblivion and misunderstanding of practices' (ibid.).

De Certeau goes on to trace a contrasting vision of the city, this time through the movements of the ordinary city dwellers or urban 'walkers' who navigate the unseen and unplanned spaces of the city 'down below', for example by taking shortcuts and detours. They are the pedestrians 'whose bodies follow the thicks and thins of an urban "text" they write without being able to read it':

> The networks of these moving, intersecting writings compose a manifold story that has neither author nor spectator, shaped out of fragments of trajectories and alterations of spaces: in relation to representations, it remains daily and infinitely other. (de Certeau 1984, 93)

De Certeau argues that *walking* through space is a way of *writing* the city, a form of individualised writing that produces a fiction and its own 'rhetoric'. He describes the spatial act as subversive, a tactic for inscribing the individual body in urban spatial

reality and for surveying the city's hidden delights in a manner similar to Guy Debord's Situationist practice of drifting, *dérive* ([1958] 1981). The walker creates space: 'Walking affirms, suspects, tries out, transgresses, respects', thereby inscribing a trajectory that 'speaks' (de Certeau 1984, 99). Yet this text, composed of the ground-level movements of a city's inhabitants, resists reading/readability from the planners' perspective because they take place 'below the thresholds at which visibility begins' (93). The complexity of spatial experience cannot be represented and is therefore 'misunderstood' by the voyeurs who look on from above. In other words, the planner organises and bestows a particular order to the city, but the walker, through her individual spatial practices—or 'tactics' as de Certeau also describes them—makes ambiguous this 'legible' order, much like the way dreaming displaces waking life (xiv). Thus, the act of walking in the city articulates its own power in producing an embodied experience of the city: pedestrians 'spatialise' and each, in their own particular (re)appropriation and tactical use of urban space and its elements, contribute to a larger sense of the fabric of the city: 'their intertwined paths give their shape to spaces. They weave places together' (97). [19]

4.4.   De Certeau And Documentary

Following Michel Foucault,[20] one of the main thrusts of de Certeau's project is to lay bare the power structures and relations that govern the spaces of everyday life. Unlike Foucault, however, de Certeau places an emphasis on the individual's agency in realising, resisting, and subverting those power relations. His writing on cinema, particularly non-fiction moving images, underlines the importance of acknowledging the structures of power behind the filmic representation of actuality. In the essay 'History: Science and Fiction', he writes:

---

[19] The metaphor of writing in the city brings to mind a related trope of urban space as palimpsest as already mentioned in the Augé quote. Andreas Huyssen uses the literary connotations of the term to discuss configurations of urban space and the linkages to memory: 'literary techniques of reading historically, intertextually, constructively, and deconstructively at the same time can be woven into our understanding of urban spaces as lived spaces that shape collective imaginaries' (2003, 7).

[20] According to Foucault, visibility is the arena of power and knowledge, where the panoptic gaze at the heart of prison surveillance spills into the social world. Seeing without being seen is the implication of the panoptic gaze as applied to the prison logic, and Foucault does tend toward the negative (1977). De Certeau, however, articulates the opportunities arising from the problem of power and vision. To be able to see these structures of power is to be able to resist them.

The representation of historical realities is itself the means by which the real conditions of its own production are camouflaged. The 'documentary' fails to show that it is the result, in a first place, of a socioeconomic institution and of a technical encoding apparatus – newspaper or television. […] In fact, the situation is told to us in a story which is the product of a certain milieu, of a power structure, of contracts between a corporation and its clients, and of the logic of a certain technicality. The clarity and simplicity of the information conceal the complex laws of production that govern its fabrication. […] Furthermore, this storytelling has a pragmatic efficacy. In pretending to recount the real, it manufactures it. It is performative. It renders believable what it says, and it generates appropriate action. In making believers, it produces an active body of practitioners. (de Certeau 1986, 206)

In this extract, de Certeau references news programming or current-affairs journalism as a frame within which a form of documentary storytelling takes place. He urges us to be conscious of the extent to which contemporary audiovisual representations of reality are products of a particular media-industrial complex and attendant ideological concerns and technological forces. As David Harvey writes, the 'material practices and experiences entailed in the construction' of a place must be 'dialectically interrelated with the way places are both represented and imagined' (1993, 17). A feature-length documentary film, in a general sense, is not dissimilar in that it is also a 'mode of production, a network of funding, filming, postproduction and exhibition tendencies' that aims to construct a particular milieu (Arthur 2005, 20).

5.   Sensing The City

In connection with de Certeau's 'tactics' of writing the city, I contend that tactics of sensing the city through film offers an alternative to dominant 'optical' modes of viewing. 'Haptic visuality' is a mode of criticism that has emerged in this thesis as a provocative and useful way of investigating the artistic approaches that filmmakers exercise to communicate and interrogate the Øresund region through the moving image. In *The Skin of the Film* (2000), Laura Marks argues for a multi-sensorial approach, based on a phenomenological understanding of embodied spectatorship, to the examination of audiovisual media by particularly focusing on the sense of touch and tactility as an alternative to the dominant ocular-centric modes of experiencing the moving image. Haptic visuality is a way of looking at the surface of an image in a way that 'functions like the sense of touch' (2000, 22). She defines 'haptic looking' as that which 'tends to move over the surface of its object rather than to plunge into illusionistic depth, not to distinguish form so much as to discern texture' (162).

How, indeed, do audiovisual works manifest a haptic character? Marks emphasises that such images 'refuse visual plenitude' (177), where particular techniques inhibit identification with the narrative and or even particular objects, forcing the spectator to confront subjectively and contemplate the image as a material object, in contrast to the conventional modes of objective spectatorship. This concept seeks to develop a more intimate and sensuous way of engaging with—and directly sensing—an image, where texture and materiality are foregrounded through the manipulation of the film strip, changes in focus or exposure, graininess, and lingering extreme close-ups of surfaces, amongst other techniques (172). Where audiovisual works achieve a haptic character, the material significance of the object depicted is accentuated and thus invites the viewer to relate bodily to the image. As Marks argues, 'optical perception privileges the representational power of the image, haptic perception privileges the material presence of the image' (163). Haptic visuality 'forces the viewer to contemplate the image itself instead of being pulled into narrative' (ibid.), thereby evoking and yielding knowledge through alternative means, through the body: 'Meaning occurs in the physical, sensuous contact between two subjects before, and as well as, it occurs in representation' (168). Marks emphasises that film can be a source of 'non-visual knowledge, embodied knowledge' that we can access haptically:

> The goal of haptic and sensuous criticism is to enhance our human capacities, rather than entirely replacing critical distance with haptic intimacy. I suggest we embrace and cultivate all our perceptual and cognitive and feeling capacities, keeping in mind the meanings that motivate them. (Marks 2004, 82)

While Marks's concept is based on the context of what she calls 'intercultural cinema',[21] the subject of experiencing fiction and non-fiction cinema through affect and the senses has been attended to by scholars such as Jennifer Barker, whose book *The Tactile Eye* (2009) examines how the film experience as always already embodied and in complex ways, and Lucy Fife Donaldson's *Texture in Film* (2014), which explores tactile encounters through notions of texture and materiality in film

---

[21] Marks primarily works through her concept of haptic visuality using the body of work she calls 'intercultural cinema' which is 'characterized by experimental styles that attempt to represent the experience of living between two or more cultural regimes of knowledge' (2000, 1).

style.[22] As a mode of communicating and accessing non-audiovisual knowledge, haptic visuality allows for a nuanced connection between spectator and image, which I believe opens up a critical perspective that has helped me to navigate the (sensual) complexity of the works in this thesis. To reiterate, one objective of this thesis is to analyse the ways the Øresund region is imagined in audiovisual works — in this attempt I do not preclude notions of the haptic from what would largely be an investigation of audiovisual style. In other words, it would be just as consequential to grasp how the use of haptic images, a non-dominant cinematic technique or 'language' that moves beyond the aural and visual senses, can mediate the lived experiences and social imaginaries of the people negotiating the physical and (inter)cultural border-space of the Øresund region.[23]

6.   Conclusion

In this chapter, I have mapped the theoretical space in which I situate this thesis. My analysis of the film-cultural policies and resulting audiovisual representations of the Øresund region is very much a discussion of how the region constructs itself as an 'imagined community' within the frame of a *small* transnational space. Navigating the political rhetoric and audiovisual imaginaries of the Øresund thus demands an examination of how its socio-political space is produced and negotiated by its various participants. Theories of space intersect with the conceptual dynamic of the transnational in foregrounding not just the power relations but also the disconnect between local, national, and regional interests. As my project largely deals with works that fall outside of dominant modes of filmmaking, I argue that the filmmakers consciously adopt particular textual strategies that enable the audiovisual texts to communicate notions and senses of the region to audiences. Choice of genre, format, and the use of alternative modes of vision all influence the ways the texts work as

---

[22] This is not to say that classical film theory has overlooked the sensuousness of cinema. An early example is the French filmmaker Jean Epstein, who celebrated the *photogénie* and musicality of movement. He conceptualised close-ups as 'the soul of cinema' — the shots that could transform optical information into haptic sight and sensation: 'I look, I sniff things, I touch. Close-up, close-up, close-up' (Epstein [1921] 1988, 236–7).

[23] I would emphasise that to 'mediate' does not necessarily open up the possibility of *knowing* or comprehending. Marks suggests that haptic visuality might also register the unknowability of the object depicted: 'in its effort to touch the image, [haptic visuality] may represent the difficulty of remembering the loved one, be it a person or a homeland' (193). As I will argue in Chapter Four, certain images point towards an idea that perhaps the region is unrepresentable, to loosely borrow a term from Jacques Rancière (2007).

conduits of cultural memory or counter-narrative. What this thesis will do is highlight how these relations are inscribed and contested within the audiovisual texts through medium-specific ways, as well as how the institutional milieu in which the texts are produced and circulated negotiates the same dynamics and strategies, which I detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

Spaces Of Policy:

National Film Cultures And Transnationalisation

> No one really writes about arts funding and support structures – they are perhaps too contaminated with an overpowering sense of bureaucracy and officialdom to warrant the attention of cultural commentators. […] Despite this dearth of serious coverage of the arts, it is worth noting that there is much at stake. There is serious money, […] these funding systems act as cultural commissars determining current definitions and validations of culture – continuing to value traditional art forms (opera, classical music, theatre) while continuing to marginalize other practices (ethnic arts, new technological forms, etc.). (McIntyre 1996, 217).

I quote Steve McIntyre's thoughts at length to highlight two things that form the basis of this chapter: the first is that I agree with his argument that a serious analysis of institutional arts funding structures and the attendant policy discourses is essential when we write about the role and impact of culture in a society. The question of how culture, in its broadest remit, is materially supported by state or independent sources must indeed enter the conversation about representation and creative agency. The second point I wish to raise centres on McIntyre's claim that funding systems—functioning as gatekeepers—value traditional art forms and marginalise newer and emerging forms of cultural expression. In the post-1999 context of the Øresund region, I would argue that both Danish and Swedish film policy frameworks have begun subverting this hierarchy in the face of external and internal challenges that relate partially to the 'new technological forms' as well as shifting notions of 'national' cultural identity.

Peter Duelund, Lærke Bohlbro, and Bjarki Valtysson (2013) make the observation that in the 1990s, the social instrumentalisation of cultural policies in Denmark was merged with economic and political goals. In the context of Skåne, Chris Mathieu also asserts that film, television, and other screen-based media have been consciously incorporated into the domain where the county's socio-political, and economic values and goals are realised (2013, 8). On the one hand, audiovisual media have been conventionally seen as a conduit through which social-democratic

aims of education, enlightenment, and articulating national identity through art are fulfilled. On the other hand, the market discourse of the 'creative industries' that arose in the 1990s heavily stresses the audiovisual industries as an important part of the economic life of a nation, thereby warranting the attention of the state (Rifkin 2000, 167). Given that the production of audiovisual culture is such a public concern, the state is heavily invested—politically and financially—in this field of cultural production. This is particularly true across all the Nordic countries, where welfare ideology has had an integral part in shaping audiovisual politics on national and regional levels.

In the postindustrial context of the Øresund region where policy goals such as cross-border economic and political integration and the creation of a collective identity are necessary for successful economic development, narratives relating to collective identity may be best achieved via audiovisual storytelling.[24] Underlying this statement is the notion that film and television, in their extensive reach across households in the region, have the ability to captivate the audience's interest and generate an engagement with the subject. Domestically produced films and television programmes that feature local actors, stories, landscapes have a stronger relationship with national—in the case of the Øresund, regional—audiences than foreign productions. The film and television industries are therefore areas of public and state attention.

This chapter outlines the historical and contemporary development of the various forms of public policy and support that promote and enable the production of film and television culture in the Øresund region. Although the institutional structures of such support are still organised along national lines, there are elements within the respective film and media policies that address transnational production, specifically those that tackle the challenge of supporting and creating a hybrid cultural space in a binational, albeit uneven, playing field. Neither can we ignore distribution and exhibition, as the dissemination of these cultural products also forms a necessary part of policy and answers part of my larger question of how the Øresund region is

---

[24] Olof Hedling suggests that film has enjoyed a renewed enthusiasm in the public realm since the late 1990s and he attributes this to the uprise of the 'experience industry' or *upplevelseindustrin* in Swedish. In this framework, activities including tourism, events, films, other media, and similar 'experiences' are seen as a key tool for economic and strategic renewal (O. Hedling 2010b, 339). In the context of the Øresund region's renewal and rejuvenation, the opening of the bridge and construction of new architecture contributes directly to this framework, as do the films featuring the landscape of the region.

mediated on screen. In this chapter I will focus primarily on the policy conditions that foster audiovisual production on the national and regional levels, because the amount of material on the complexity of the distribution and exhibition sectors of both nations warrants a separate project to do it justice. My intention here is to discuss the institutions, historical conditions, motivations, and policy decisions that make up the moving image environment in the Øresund region. The EU, as a supranational institution to which Denmark and Sweden belong, is also a significant actor that has influenced fundamental developments in the way the film and television industries are regulated since the 1990s.

I first sketch a historical overview of Denmark's film and television media policies — in particular outlining how the aims and objectives of funding and support initiatives of the 1990s and 2000s have been shaped by particular narratives in state policy that began as early as the 1930s. This is followed by a section on the major differences in the Swedish context and the impact of Swedish regionalisation in the 1980s has had on the Scanian film industry. In both sections I give a précis of the historical moments that fostered the development of the key institutions and structures that now seek to shape the discourse surrounding audiovisual culture in the Øresund. It is important to note that the case studies discussed in the chapters following are the result of the unique interplay between policy, institutions, and the spatial changes in the region.

An obvious clarification needs to be made here: there is no cross-border public institution tasked with formulating audiovisual policy and funding for the Øresund region. Instead, the respective national and sub-national state film institutions are responsible for determining the systems of public funding and support available for audiovisual production, and it is worth remembering that most Danish and Swedish productions rely on public funding to operate, even after commercial sources are taken into account. The criteria that productions must fulfil in order to be eligible for public funding are of interest since they register particular notions of nationality and identity that have changed over time, particularly in response to perceived threats and opportunities from globalisation.

One of the questions I would therefore like to examine in this chapter is what sorts of tensions are there between the Danish and Swedish film policy contexts, (that

is, do the respective narratives complement each other or do they clash?). Do the policies also undermine the Øresund project by prioritising nationally based productions? Through my analysis I contend that in the period of 1999–2014 there has been an explicit tendency in the respective national film policies toward internationalisation and extra-national co-production in policy aims. However, the visions of collaboration become murky when it comes to the Øresund-specific level. I argue also that Copenhagen and Malmö are each concerned with developing their own film industries and cultures, paying lip service to the idea of an Øresund region only when international branding is in question.

1.   Denmark

1.1.   From A National To Transnational Outlook

The use of cinema as an economic and ideological tool in the crafting of the region is reflected very clearly in the development of the film and television industries on both sides of the Øresund. In other words, culture, economic growth, and national identity are very much intertwined. What follows in this section is an overview of the history of Denmark's film culture and, particularly, the path of the state's involvement in film culture and the articulation of a national cinema. In outlining the historical development of Denmark's state-supported film culture and film policies, I trace the movement in film policy from a national to transnational focus. I will primarily be drawing on the work by film scholars Ib Bondebjerg, Mette Hjort, and Peter Schepelern, amongst others, whose accounts of the institutional dimension in Danish film history have been published widely in both English and Danish.

The changing socio-political contexts in Denmark and the larger historical changes in Europe at various times have influenced the state's involvement in the production of and redefinition of Danish film. Through the Cinema Acts of 1922, 1933, and 1938, and as part of the Social Democratic government's modernising welfare reforms, the state gradually became more active in articulating a defensive cultural policy that sought to protect Danish film culture against Hollywood's global dominance and to develop 'films of special cultural value and documentaries' as alternatives to mainstream entertainment films (Bondebjerg 2005, 114). Since the 1930s, there has been a gradual shift in the state's characterisation of film culture in Denmark, from an essentialist definition of Danishness grounded in linguistic, geographical, and political

terms to the acknowledgement of the transnational and global nature of contemporary film productions in Denmark. Even though it was in the 1960s that the first modern breakthrough in the national film policy was made, where film was increasingly seen as essential to the formation of a modern national culture (Bondebjerg 2005, 118), this strong sense of the protection and support for a national film culture can be traced to the first legislative acts in the 1930s with the establishment of film-cultural institutions and the introduction of early definitions of the 'Danishness' of a film. I therefore begin my discussion of Danish film history from the point when national film policy was first instituted.

1.2.   Defining 'Danishness'

In the 1930s, against the backdrop of unemployment of over forty per cent of the population, reforms were introduced by then-Prime Minister Thorvald Stauning's social democratic government (Jørholt 2001, 97), which included the establishment of cultural institutions and bodies with the combined objective of promoting national sentiment and the independence of Danish national culture. This government also had a particular interest in safeguarding the production of film media, particularly from a political, economic, and cultural point of view. Indeed, one of the concerns expressed by the state was to need to combat the 'invasion of American dream-pictures' that were popular since the late 1920s (Jørholt 2001, 116–7). Films of this period were hardly exported and there was very little transnational co-production. In other words, Denmark's national film profile had an inward-looking nature.[25] Nevertheless, imported European and American films still enjoyed prominence in the 1930s alongside Danish heritage films and popular comedies that reflected a nostalgic and nationalistic mood (Schepelern 2010). Denmark's popular film culture of the 1930s was typified by the dominant genres of heritage films and folk comedies with songs, featuring provincial and nationalistic images and subjects in optimistic and escapist tones. This was an era of 'Danish film for Danes' as the arrival of sound film also meant that the language barrier immediately decreased the possibilities for international distribution (Schepelern 2010). It is important to note that before and even during this period, popular film in Denmark was generally privately funded and

---

[25] Bondebjerg emphasises that this was very clear especially when compared to the previous era, the golden age of silent Danish cinema (1910–1917) where film culture and production were more outward-looking and international, driven by global market forces and stylistically influenced by American and European films (2005, 115; 2011).

perceived as mainstream entertainment; film activity was therefore taxed as such, and not considered a legitimate art form that would be eligible for state subsidies.

Concurrently, the provision of educational and culturally valued alternatives to mainstream feature films such as documentaries focusing on Danish social issues was an area that required state intervention and support. Art, culture, and the respective public institutions were considered essential means for raising the cultural and aesthetic competence of all Danes, so as to enable citizens to take part in the development of a democratic welfare society (Duelund, Bohlbro, and Valtysson 2013).[26]

The public institutions and bodies dealing with film production and distribution play an important role in the story of Danish film culture and reaches far back into their first appearances in the 1930s. Bodies such as the Filmrådet (Film Council), Filmfond (Film Fund; and in an expanded form incorporating Filmrådet, 1964–1972), and Statens Filmcentral (National Film Board, 1938–97) all had their roots in the 1938 revision of the Film Law (Bondebjerg 2005, 114). Dansk Kulturfilm (Danish Culture Films, 1932–64) and Statens Filmcentral were responsible for the production and distribution of films of special cultural and educational value. The groundwork for a comprehensive national film institutional framework was thus laid in the 1930s and the creation of these public institutions marked a critical change in the state's conception of film culture: films of artistic, educational, and cultural value (which in practice meant documentaries) were actively and rigorously supported by the state, while mainstream cinema and feature films were not granted much support from the state. One will see that trends such as the support for experimentation, transnational co-production, and policy with no or little financial support already began very early in

[26] A further argument in support of this cause can be found in Poul Henningsen's 1933 book *Hvad med Kulturen?* where he echoes the radical call to arms for the state to take control of Danish arts and culture in order to prevent the spread of 'religious and patriotic lies' and the kind of cultural vacuum present in Germany that unwittingly abetted Hitler's rise to power in the late 1930s (Henningsen 1968, 36).

Denmark's film history.[27]

A Danish film that would be eligible for support was defined in the Cinema Act of 1933:

> Ved danske Film forstås i denne Forbindelse Film, som er optaget med et overvejende dansk kunstnerisk og teknisk personale, for her i Landet hjemmehørende personer eller Selskabers Regning. (*Lov om Biografteatervæsenets Ordning* 1933, § 8)

> [Danish film is understood in this context to be films that are produced by predominantly Danish artistic and technical personnel who are residents or firms based in this country.]

Such an essentialist definition continued throughout the German occupation from 1940 to 1945, which ushered in a darker mood in Danish film culture with a stronger emphasis on national themes and subjects. Paradoxically, it was under the restrictions introduced during the German occupation that Danish filmmaking blossomed. The Nazis banned the screening and import of films from Allied nations at the end of 1942, thus forcing Danish production companies and filmmakers to explore genres outside of the mainstream domestic comedy and heritage film categories. At the same time, mainstream Danish cinema became more internationally oriented and professional owing to the influence of the more sophisticated German films that were screened at every other cinema theatre in Copenhagen; genres such as comedy and noir developed to a higher standard (Schepelern 2010). After the occupation, a distinct realist and artistic style emerged, influenced by the French poetic realism and Italian neorealist aesthetic, while American-inspired film noir, crime, and melodramatic romance genres were also popular. Notably, documentary and experimental film flourished during the occupation. Short documentaries were screened prior to the feature film in the cinema and proved to be more popular than the German weekly reviews. In particular, this provided an opportunity for young directors such as Theodor Christensen to hone their craft by producing short documentaries combining

---

[27] During the classical period in Danish film history, several public institutions were created as a result of increased political attention on film and the resulting legislation Biograflove (Cinema Acts) of 1922, 1933, and the latter's revision in 1938. The extent of film consumption and cinema-going, the large influence on the everyday leisure activities of the mass public—and the resulting debate on film culture—formed the basis of the state's initiative for both control and support policies. A portion of the forty per cent entertainment tax levied on mainstream films was redirected to supporting film production and culture (Dinesen and Kau 1983, 292–3).

information and social issues with poetry and aesthetics. By imposing constraints on the film milieu, the German occupation inadvertently contributed to the further articulation of the national in Danish film culture.

The first move toward a renewed public film policy in 1964 was prompted by the rising popularity of television in the late 1950s and the development of a new wave of Danish art film in the 1960s (Bondebjerg 2005, 118).[28] The 1964 Act represented the government's formal support of film and the cultural establishment's acceptance of film as an art form with larger cultural values (Schepelern 2010). Against the backdrop of the growth of the modern welfare state and its expansive cultural policy, film in all its forms and genres was taken to be consequential parts of a modern Danish national culture.[29] The Film Act of 1964 resulted in a strengthened Film Fund and a new Danish Film School, amongst other measures aimed at supporting an art form considered as being under threat from television. The government's recognition of cinema as culturally valuable continued with the founding of the National Film School of Denmark (NFSD) in 1966, funded by the Danish Kulturministeriet (Ministry of Culture), as well as the introduction of courses at Copenhagen University (1967).[30] It was during this time that film was embraced by intellectuals as a legitimate art form and thereby shook off its former designation as 'entertainment' within cultural politics. Such public support for film as art was strengthened in 1972, when the next Film Law established the Danish Film Institute that supported primarily fiction films and Det Danske Filmværksted (Danish Film Workshop) that supported the production of experimental, grassroots-oriented films.

1.3. Internationalisation of Danish Film Culture

Prior to the 1970s, Danish film culture was influenced by international trends and cooperation only to a small extent and few Danish films travelled internationally or

---

[28] The impact of television on the ticket sales in cinemas was telling: at the very start of Danish television broadcasting in 1954, 60 million tickets were sold at the peak of cinemagoing, then it dropped to 44 million in 1960, then 20 million in 1970 (Bondebjerg 2005, 118).

[29] A similar debate was present in Swedish at the same time, which boosted the argument for the necessity of further state support for film in Denmark (Dinesen and Kau 1983, 397).

[30] Both institutions, over the course of the 1970s and 1980s, became a prominent factor in producing talent that contributed to the emergence of the New Danish Cinema (see Chapter Four). In addition the Det Danske Filmmuseum (now: Museum & Cinematek), which started in 1941 under the leadership of Ove Brusendorff was upgraded as a part of the Film House in Christianshavn, with its own theatre and screenings.

won prizes at festivals abroad,[31] but the gradual expansion of cultural cooperation through the 1980s and 1990s particularly with other Nordic and European nations meant that Danish film culture was not only increasingly influenced by the outside but also made an impact internationally (Bondebjerg 2011).

In the Film Act of 1964, the institutional definition of a Danish film was moderately expanded to include institutions and capital originating from Denmark as eligible elements for funding, but it was only in 1989 that this was significantly liberalised to create a film culture that is more open to Europe and the larger global film culture. Successive Film Acts up until 1989 stated that a film was only considered Danish and thereby eligible for state support if it had a Danish producer and director, Danish themes and storyline, and with Danish actors speaking Danish. In contrast, the Film Act of 1989 included co-productions in its definition of a Danish film, so long as a Danish producer was involved and/or the film brought a significant artistic and technical contribution to film art and film culture in Denmark, whether or not the language spoken in the film was Danish. This flexibility stands in contrast with the Film Act of 1972 that still specified that a film applying for support would have to be in the Danish language and have a producer of Danish nationality (Kulturministeriet 1989, § 21). Recent scholarship in this area suggests two major reasons for this shift. The first is attributed to Denmark's membership in the European Community and the second, to the impact of Lars von Trier's international success.

1.3.1. *Denmark in Europe*

Although Denmark officially became part of the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1973, it was only in the 1980s that film policy began to reflect and incorporate a broader transnational and international perspective. Debates regarding the necessity of defining the 'national film' versus the economic necessity of international co-production were already raging in the 1950s and 1960s amongst members of the Committee of European Film Industries, and co-production agreements were developed between member states of the EEC following the directive of eliminating trade barriers (Bergfelder 2000, 134). Through the early 1980s, amendments were made to the Danish Film Act that attempted to maintain and protect national interests

---

[31] A caveat is necessary here, as Danish post-war documentary filmmakers were indeed prolific and their films were circulated widely to great acclaim, especially in Britain (Thomson 2015).

while responding to legal pressure from the EEC negotiations regarding the free movement of labour in the single market – in this instance, film workers. The particular shift in the redefinition of the nationality and 'Danishness' of a film in 1989 was, in part, to comply with protests from the European Commission to do away with the restrictions on nationality entailed by the Film Act of 1982 (Givskov 2014, 283).[32] But with each further amendment to the Film Act, introduced in response to pressure from the European Commission, the emphasis on Danish origins of film personnel became less prominent and opened up the possibility of supporting English-language films while maintaining a significant contribution to Danish film culture. The point to make here is that Denmark's membership of the EEC and the increasing attention paid by the European regulators to matters of culture meant a looser definition of the national and resulted in a broader interpretation of Danish film culture in policymaking.

1.3.2. Lars von Trier's Influence

The second element that motivated the change in policy was very much attributed to a national scandal involving Lars von Trier's film *The Element of Crime* (1984), which was originally refused Danish Film Institute (DFI) funding as it contradicted the very definition of a Danish film (it was in English and German), but went on to win the Prix Technique at Cannes in 1984. This prompted debate into the film establishment's definition of a national film and the question of whether the Danish language was a necessary marker of a film's Danishness (Bondebjerg 2005, 121). Von Trier's subsequent films, most of them large-budget (in Danish terms) English-language co-productions such as *Europa* (1991), *Dancer in the Dark* (2000), and *Dogville* (2003), were able to benefit from the revised 1989 policy and receive partial funding from the DFI that provided the leverage for further funding (Hjort 2007, 27).[33] Seeing that Danish film now had global cultural capital, it would have been impossible for the film establishment then to deny the changes to film policy that would embrace a more open perspective to definitions of the national and encourage more state investment

---

[32] Cecille Givskov notes in her detailed analysis of the legal proceedings that the Danish government had repeatedly ignored a series of formal petitions from the Commission on the matter of Danish citizenship being favoured over other member-state citizens; gestures of compliance by changing the wording from 'Danish personnel' to 'Danish contribution' in the 1982 amendment was still viewed as discriminatory (2014, 283–4).

[33] Other defining achievements in Danish cinema that contributed to the necessity of broadening policy definitions were Denmark's success at the Academy Awards in 1988 and 1989, where Gabriel Axel's *Babette's Feast* (*Babettes gæstebud*) and Bille August's *Pelle the Conqueror* (*Pelle Erobreren*) both won the Oscar for Best Foreign Film, one year after the other. The latter had also won the Palme d'Or at Cannes in 1988.

in the film industry.[34] That a change in national policy was prompted by an individual's creative vision shows how responsive the film establishment of a small nation can be to new challenges, as well as how the agency of an individual can have a significant impact on policy and the health of a national cinema.

In the two decades prior to the turn of the millennium, the definition of film culture in the Danish context was therefore revised to embrace notions of transnational, Nordic, European, and global film culture, reflecting a transition from a defensive national orientation to a versatile outlook that supported 'a more open, internationally oriented concept of filmmaking' in Denmark, which has continued into the 1990s and the present (Bondebjerg 2005, 122).

1.4. 1997 And After: Current State Support For Danish Film Culture

The latest Film Act of 1997 ushered in a reorganised, new DFI that brought together the National Film Board (Statens Filmcentral, responsible for documentary film), the Danish Film Museum (Det Danske Filmmuseum), and the old Danish Film Institute (Det Danske Filminstitut, until then responsible only for fiction film) under one roof. Bondebjerg, who served as Chairman of the Board at that time, characterises the new period as a movement toward a more 'open, proactive, and internationalized strategy and a more diverse, strategic pluralism' in Danish cinema policy (2005, 122). One of the key themes of cultural policy at that time, and which has continued into the present, was a need to intensify efforts of fostering Danish film culture domestically so as to better face challenges from cultural globalisation and global trends in technology. The new DFI and Film Act therefore sought to extend the effort to further professionalise Danish filmmaking through its new systems of support for not only the production of films but also the development of screenplays, marketing strategies, research into audiences, and digital film exhibition and distribution platforms (Hjort 2007, 30).

In the years since 2000, several initiatives and programmes have been

---

[34] Von Trier's 'artistic leadership' and exceptional influence on the Danish filmmaking landscape is further explored in Hjort's overview of Danish cinema in *The Cinema of Small Nations* (2007, 32–39) and elsewhere (2005; 2006) where she recounts some of the key points that relate to how policy has been informed by globalisation and the mantra of creativity within constraints through the auteur.

implemented that continually expand and renegotiate the remit of the DFI's work. While the DFI was formerly responsible only for art films in the 1970s, it now supports a broader spectrum of formats and genres while embracing the possibilities offered by digital platforms including cross-media projects and computer games. This new vision of the post-1997 DFI places much import on a plurality of media forms and genres that traverse conventional boundaries, notably audiovisual projects that blur the line between film and television – in a similar vein to the efforts to encourage productions that span aesthetic and national borders. Several programmes address this emphasis: New Danish Screen, 50/50 (later renamed to 60/40 and now known as the Market Scheme), New Fiction Film Denmark, and the Centre for Children and Young People.

These new funding schemes and programmes, in concert with the existing Market and Consultant Schemes, were very much aimed at building up the capacity of the Danish film industry to produce and sustain a diversity of cinematic expression, from high quality art films to mainstream, entertainment-oriented films.[35]

1.5.   Artistic Versus Commercial Appeal

Up until 1989, state support for film culture was almost exclusively focused on an elitist interpretation of film as art; proposals submitted to the DFI for public funding under the Consultant Scheme (Konsulentordningen) were evaluated by individual film consultants—also known as commissioners—who served as gatekeepers who exclusively decided which filmmakers and projects to let through to the resources offered by the state, where creative potential was judged based on the consultant's own standards of artistic taste. In this arrangement, consultants—typically practitioners from Denmark's film community—are appointed on three- to five-year engagements with the responsibility and power to assess film projects for which DFI funding is being sought. As apparently impartial gatekeepers, their roles are to ensure a level of quality control and a fair distribution of funds, but at the same time, the consultants are appointed precisely as experts each with an individual vision for

---

[35] Special attention is also paid to satisfying—and, to an extent, cultivating—the film appetite of the domestic audience through measures relating to film distribution throughout the country and especially in non-urban areas (Hjort 2007, 29-30). Facilitating moving image appreciation amongst children and young adults is also a priority, where the commitment is made clear by the establishment of the Centre for Children and Young People which aims to bring various aspects of Danish film culture into the classroom and to get young people involved in film culture as early as possible.

Danish film and specific ideas about what they consider worth supporting. A consultant would be an essential part of a film project's artistic development, shepherding the film through this process and working closely with the filmmaker while also serving as a 'sparring partner' in creative and production discussions where the dialogue 'revolves around the project's strengths and potentials, its weaknesses and challenges' (Danish Film Institute 2012a, 2).

On the one hand, because of the highly subjective element in the decision-making process of such a scheme, the DFI consultants have been accused by others in the industry as dogmatic and limited to a 'single and highly prescriptive conception of Danish film' (Hjort 2007, 27); in other words, there was a perceived problem of consultants' 'personal tastes' getting in the way of diversity in Danish film (Strandvad 2009, 108). On the other hand, however, the Consultant Scheme has been successful at supporting unconventional films precisely because of the political and financial autonomy of this changing body of film consultants who develop an intimate knowledge of each project and who are thus better placed to make funding decisions than a committee assessing a project on paper (Hjort, Jørholt, and Redvall 2010, 27). Former DFI film consultant and current Rector of the National Film School of Denmark, Vinca Wiedemann, outlines in a report on the role of Nordic film commissioners as individual decision-makers:

> [T]he decision to support a film project should be grounded in a personal, professionally competent quality assessment and not be marked by consensus decisions, which tend to gravitate towards safeness and entail a risk of blocking the most daring and visionary projects. (Wiedemann 2009, 5)

The films produced under this scheme were not necessarily targeted at a mass domestic audience and in fact tended toward the artistic, yet supporting them was necessary for encouraging experimentation and the larger goal of ensuring the diversity of output in Danish cinema.

If diversity in Danish cinema were to be supported in a sustainable manner, then the Consultant Scheme had to be balanced with a counterpart that catered for market-driven, popular films. The 50/50 support scheme was introduced in 1989 to mitigate the elitist tendencies of the film consultant scheme and to address the

imbalance between art film and mainstream film.[36] The 50/50 system aimed to support and cultivate feature films with popular appeal that could promote film art and film culture in Denmark, and they were selected based on whether they could attract a large potential audience of at least 175,000 viewers (Redvall 2012, 212). DFI funding would be given on an automatic basis to such a film project with a commercial focus, provided 50 per cent of the budget had been covered by private funding. In 1997, the scheme was renamed to 60/40, where production companies had to confirm 40 per cent of the budget via private funds and present a 'financially and technically sound' project in order to apply for DFI support to fund up to 60 per cent of the production budget. As the scheme that receives the second largest share of the DFI's support funding (after the Consultant Scheme), films supported through 60/40 have not only performed very well in the domestic market but have also secured international distribution (Hjort, Jørholt, and Redvall 2010, 27).

Although there were initial fears that the policy would only produce the kind of popular comedies that many considered 'low art' and decidedly *not* national film, the flexibility that filmmakers had to pursue popular genres and Hollywood-style narratives was rewarded and eventually legitimised by national and international success.[37] The success of the 60/40 policy demonstrates two things: first, the necessity of some measure of state withdrawal from the overall management of the film production landscape in order to further stimulate creativity, and second, perhaps more significantly, films made to attract large audiences using generic storylines are by no means excluded from Danish film art, nor even the larger category of European film art.[38] The 60/40 scheme is still in force today under a new name since October 2012, the Market Scheme (Markedsordningen), with the addition that 25 per cent of the supported films (typically two films each year) are allowed to have a smaller potential audience size if children and young people are specified as the target audience (Danish Film Institute 2014b).

---

[36] Also, by the 1980s, the film landscape had changed to the extent that mainstream, market-driven, privately-funded films no longer existed; the production of *any* type of film would not be possible without some form of public support (Bondebjerg 2005, 121).

[37] Examples include Nicolas Winding Refn's *Pusher* (1996), which spawned two sequels and a remake, and Ole Bornedal's *Nightwatch* (1994), which was also remade in the US in 1998.

[38] Refn has gone on to produce a critically acclaimed oeuvre. His more recent successes (some would say provocations) with *Drive* (2011) and *Only God Forgives* (2013) in box offices and film festivals worldwide have helped to further the Danish cinema brand.

Since 2001, and in the wake of the Dogma 95 movement, the combined effect of the Commissioner and 60/40 schemes has been a strong performance of Danish films in the domestic market – local films have secured a considerable share in the region of 24 to 32 per cent of the market (Redvall 2012, 212). Despite the financial success and the marked contribution to economic growth, experts and practitioners in the film milieu understood that the risk of inertia setting in had to be arrested. As Vinca Wiedemann warns, 'too much success can be a problem' (Skotte 2006, 3). Furthermore, as the two schemes catered to mostly established filmmakers with ambitious budgets, there had to be space given to develop aspiring new film directors (and even experienced ones) who require extra support for realising experimental work and new forms of cinematic expression. To address these conerns, New Danish Screen was created.

Before moving on, let me draw some attention to the Dogma 95 movement, to which I have made some references thus far. The movement was a creative challenge and provocation that Lars von Trier and Thomas Vinterberg issued to filmmakers (and themselves) at Cannes in 1995 through a manifesto and list of ten commandments—the 'Vow of Chastity'—based on stripping the conventional filmmaking process of its 'cosmetic' layers such as special effects, props, and genre. Its principle of creativity under constraint has been immensely influential in cinema, not least in influencing Danish institutional policy in the late 1990s.[39] New Danish Screen is a direct manifestation of the Dogma 95 phenomenon in the institutional milieu.

1.6.   New Danish Screen: 'Conventional Thinking Is Not A Priority.'

For a small-nation cinema conscious of the dangers of conformity and stagnation, it was not enough for the film establishment to rest on the laurels of the international achievements of Lars von Trier, Susanne Bier, and Thomas Vinterberg. Drawing on the ascetic principles of Dogma 95 that championed artistic constraints as a source of innovation and creativity, the New Danish Screen (NDS) was established, as a matter of exigency, 'in anticipation of the moment when Danish cinema would once

---

[39] Dogma 95 remains a fascinating artistic phenomenon that this one paragraph does not do justice to — indeed, I tackled the subject in my BA and MA dissertations. Let me point the reader instead to the many scholars who have offered much fuller discussions of the avant-garde movement and its global impact since the 2000s (Roman 2001; Hjort and MacKenzie 2003; Stevenson 2003; Hjort 2005; Bainbridge 2007; Simons 2007; Thomson 2014).

again recede into the background' (Hjort, Jørholt, and Redvall 2010, 28). NDS is an institutional initiative and talent development subsidy scheme that supports the development and production of fiction, documentary, and hybrid productions, and it is aimed at sustaining and strengthening the diversity and dynamics of Danish cinema culture by focusing on experimental work (Danish Film Institute 2014c). Launched in 2003 with a starting budget of DKK 100 million over three years, the NDS scheme is jointly managed by the DFI, Danmarks Radio (DR), and TV 2 Denmark.

NDS is a small subsidy scheme, but one that continues to have a significant impact on Danish film. Its budget for 2011–2014 was DKK 112 million and only made up about nine per cent of the DFI's total annual budget for 2014 (Danish Film Institute 2014a, 2).[40] According to the NDS manifesto, the scheme expressly subsidises projects conceived as low-budget and made in a professional production environment, and it is specifically aimed at facilitating creativity in the national film culture by supporting 'manifested talent' – new and experienced talent with ideas that 'push them a step further in their approach to filmic storytelling'. Its larger goal is 'to support and inspire the development of the film idiom and narrative technique, thus maintaining and furthering the dynamics and diversity of Danish film' (Danish Film Institute 2014d). The Dogma 95-inspired constraints set by the scheme are aimed at the development of a new generation of filmmaking talent in the region that is keen on experimenting with a diversity of genres, narrative styles, methods, and forms of expression within the constraints — 'a framework within which creativity and limited resources are integrally connected' (Hjort 2007, 35).[41] Most significantly, the work of NDS has been to release a creative wave of 'films that didn't fit in and therefore had difficulty finding their way in the system's classification boxes' (Høgel 2014). *Out*, discussed in Chapter Four, was a recipient of NDS funding.

In the ten years since its launch, the NDS scheme has supported 133 films in diverse formats that include hybrid film (on the border of fiction and documentary) and cross-media works that span multiple platforms such as film, television, internet, gaming, and mobile phones. The majority of the output consists of short fiction films

---

[40] In comparison, 46 per cent of the DFI's 2014 budget is allocated to production and development subsidies for feature films, while 13 per cent is allocated to short films and documentaries (Danish Film Institute 2014a, 2).

[41] Note, however, that filmmaking on a restricted budget is not a Dogma 95 'commandment'.

and feature-length films, a selection of which are available to view for free on the NDS website (Danish Film Institute 2014c). DR and TV2 also hold the right to broadcast NDS-supported productions in a license period of six years, ensuring a broad television audience for these works. Many of the NDS-supported films have travelled the film festival circuit, garnering various accolades at the major film festivals in Venice, London, Berlin, Sundance, and Cannes (Strandvad 2009, 112).[42]

The positive critical reception at international film festivals is the sort of success that cements NDS as a necessary part of a small and continually evolving film industry, despite the fact that the films produced under the scheme do not have large domestic box office receipts. A great deal of trust and risk-taking is evident in NDS where the commercial viability (i.e. size of the potential audience) is not a key determining factor in the assessment of funding decisions. An openness to failure, an inevitable outcome in some cases whether artistic or financial, is also a key part of the NDS philosophy that foregrounds the provision of freedom for radical creativity. Wiedemann emphasises that in NDS, 'there is nothing to "sell" – the whole idea is to explore your material in a process of artistic experimentation' (Skotte 2006, 3).[43]

In some ways, NDS marks a return of sorts to the narrower, elitist focus on art film as support is given to film projects based on the principle of freedom of artistic expression; that is, freedom from the commercial demands of the market and government policy linked to economic growth (Redvall 2012, 211). In Eva Novrup Redvall's assessment of NDS as a 'risky' and valuable investment in Danish film culture, the scheme characterises a return to the principles of the Nordic cultural model that supports and places emphasis on individual artistic experimentation rather than the box office receipts of market-driven film projects (2012, 222). What the NDS offers through its funding and support is a safe and open space, or what Hjort calls 'zones of play and innovation' (2005, 16), for both new and established filmmakers to

---

[42] 2006, in particular, saw Pernille Fischer Christensen's *En Soap* (*A Soap*, 2006) and Christoffer Boe's *Offscreen* (2006) winning awards and boosting the Danish cinema brand on an international platform.

[43] The work of NDS can be situated within a longer narrative of state awareness of the necessity to subsidise experimentation in order to foster a sustainable national film culture. The Minister for Culture in the 1960s, Julius Bomholt, asserts that 'the importance of short film as an independent art form and as one of the most important tools for enlightenment in the broadest sense has for years not been adequately recognized in this country' (quoted in P. Berg 1987, 464). The 1965 Kortfilmråd and the later Filmværksted could also be argued to have the same impetus as NDS.

leave aside the tried and tested to stretch the limits of the cinematic medium through experimentation in a low-budget context (Hjort 2007, 40). The return on this risky 'gamble' has been the corpus of creative and unorthodox work by emerging talent working at the borders between genres and formats, and who also go on to produce high-quality and original films, thereby contributing to the artistic and critical success, and more importantly, the renewal of Danish film culture.[44]

It is worth emphasising that the NDS scheme, while concerned with the revitalisation of Danish film culture, takes its cue from the current institutional definition of a national film culture. That is, the strict sense of geographical national borders is less of a concern for the NDS and the talent that it has supported, which includes filmmakers from across Europe, South America, the Middle East, and New Zealand.[45] Some of these filmmakers have also trained at the NFSD. As noted by NDS's former Artistic Director until 2014, Jakob Kirstein Høgel: 'It is a gift that the film environment around Øresund is so stimulating that many foreigners have a desire to make films here' (2014). Regional subsidies are provided for under the NDS terms and conditions, where productions taking place outside of Greater Copenhagen may also be subsidised (Danish Film Institute 2012c, 9).

1.7. Co-production Beyond National Borders

The notion of co-production in the European context has faced considerable scorn in film studies via its 'Europudding' reputation in the 1980s and 1990s (Crofts 1998). As Tim Bergfelder notes, 'the issue of co-production has featured in national film histories at best as a cursory footnote, or as a tolerable exception to the more desirable norm of indigenous and self-reliant national film production' (2005, 323). Be that as it may, co-production as an economic, cultural, and political strategy has become an integral element in the European audiovisual sector and is given generous support by the EU.

---

[44] Other filmmakers lauded at international film festivals for their NDS work include Anders Morgenthaler and Omar Shargawi, whose *Ma Salama Jamil* (*Go With Peace, Jamil*, 2008) has also been awarded recognition by the FIPRESCI (International Federation of Film Critics). Scholars note that these are the types of ground-breaking films that 'legitimate the the existence of New Danish Screen', suggesting that 'the DFI's efforts to foster innovation and renewal are far from misguided' (Hjort, Jørholt, and Redvall 2010, 28).

[45] The filmmakers include Runar Runarsson (Iceland), Samanou Acheche Sahlstrøm (France), Carlos Oliveira (Brazil), Jeremy Weller (UK), Emma Balcazar (Mexico), Milad Alami (Iran/Sweden), and Daniel Borgman (New Zealand).

Denmark is an example of what Hjort calls the 'transnationalizing state' whose national cultural policy places an emphasis on pro-actively reaching out beyond national borders to create collaborative creative opportunities (2005, 15). Before the 1990s, film policy was crafted with conventional notions of national culture and operated in a defensive strategic mode, but the developments in the national and Scandinavian film industries through the 1990s, coupled with Denmark's entry into the EU, have changed the former defensive attitude into a very internationally oriented one.

The institutional attention on transnational cooperation with Nordic nations and European neighbours is a strategic move in both furthering the Danish film brand as well as attracting a large share of Nordic and EU co-production funds (Hjort 2005, 15; Bondebjerg 2016). In other words, the push toward increased co-productions was not just a matter of ensuring the vitality of a national film culture and its cultural heritage, as economic imperatives also played a significant role in shaping policies that can sustain a national industry that is able to take advantage of the opportunities in the European and global markets as well as contending with the competition from these same markets (Givskov 2014, 292). For the Øresund region, fuelled by the international brand value of New Danish Cinema and the successful track record of its professional workforce,[46] the Oresund Film Commission (which is financed by the EU) is one such transnationalising initiative that aims to develop and brand the region as an attractive site for film production for international film projects (Hjort 2005, 15).

The opening up of the media landscape in the 1990s to include new forms of production was also a part of a larger strategy of the internationalisation of Danish film culture, where co-financing and co-production,[47] especially at the European level in the context of enhanced opportunities offered by EU media funding programmes, were regarded as crucial to the economic success of the industry (Bondebjerg 2016, 8). Cultural policy was primarily linked to the support of national culture, but

---

[46] A key actor in Denmark's transnationalising push is Zentropa, the production company founded by Lars von Trier and Peter Aalbæk Jensen. (Bondebjerg forthcoming).

[47] Pil Gundelach Brandstrup and Eva Novrup Redvall note that co-productions may denote 'a cultural and creative collaboration', but in other cases 'it primarily denotes a purely financial collaboration' (2014, 20). So, a transnational production may bear no mark of foreign participation on screen. These are 'co-financed' rather than 'co-produced'. The latter would (ideally) have a mixture of actors, locations, and/or languages.

policymakers were operating with a keen understanding of the importance of the regional European and international dimension (Hjort, Bondebjerg, and Redvall 2014, 20). Danish films in this period reached a larger domestic and international audience – the latter mostly due to the success of filmmakers of the Danish New Wave such as von Trier and Vinterberg, and the worldwide popularity of the Dogma 95 aesthetic. The trend for the increased emphasis on internationalisation is made clear in a 1999 document outlining the DFI's support policy: 'the national film policy must emphasize the Nordic and European dimension because film today is, more than ever, transnational' (Bondebjerg 2005, 124). The focus on the international dimension was also at the top of the government's agenda in the 2011–2014 Film Agreement that shone a spotlight on 'an even more active strategy' of globalisation for Danish film while safeguarding Danish national identity (Bondebjerg 2016, 12). The Film Agreement opens thus:

> Globalisation demands that Danish film, even more so than today, must be an active and constructive part of the international film scene and build on the good reputation that Danish films have abroad. At the same time, it must be ensured that there is continual film production that builds on Danish language and culture, and that is targeted at a Danish audience.
>
> The challenge is to arm Danish film against increasing international competition in Denmark, while we strengthen the export of Danish film. (Kulturministeriet 2010, 1, my translation)

The fundamental logic that pervades film policy is clearly the need to support and sustain national culture, yet policymakers are also aware that this also needs to be linked to strategies of reaching out beyond national boundaries to ensure the survival of Danish film.

For all the flexibility and opportunity offered by the myriad support schemes and subsidies since 1997, there was still the sentiment that there was far too much state regulation and micro-management in the public film effort (Nielsen 2010). This led to the current state of film support in Denmark, where the call from the film industry to 'set film free' from the constraints of bureaucracy and to address the declining levels of subsidies resulted in increased funding from the government and more flexibility for cooperation with the private sector. In the 2011–2014 Film Agreement, the Danish parliament agreed to provide over DKK 2 billion to Danish cinema over the four-year period up to 2014 and allow greater flexibility in the support system to support new

initiatives and further develop other media forms such as computer games for children and youth (Kulturministeriet 2010).

Under the current Market Scheme, co-productions with foreign producers in the minor role can qualify for funding of up to 40 per cent of the production budget if at least one of the producers is Danish and the Danish financial, artistic, or technical contribution is substantial. Under the Co-production Scheme, projects in which a Danish production company is not the majority partner are also eligible for DFI funding for up to 60 per cent of the Danish share of production costs (Danish Film Institute 2012b). Co-productions across borders, particularly regional cooperation in the Nordic context, have taken on a much stronger accent and continue to be an important part of the film and television landscape. The DFI's new schemes to finance transnational co-productions, its long-standing involvement in pan-European funding programmes and organisations such as Eurimages (established in 1989) and the Nordic Film & TV Fund (NFTF, established in 1990), and the growing political openness towards what constituted a national audiovisual culture contributed to the increasing number of co-productions across national borders in the 1990s (Brandstrup and Redvall 2005, 146).

1.8. Television

In particular, television co-productions have taken the lead in this area. In the Scandinavian region in the period 2002–2006, co-production and co-distribution were more significant in television drama compared to film (Bondebjerg and Redvall 2010, 5). The reasons for this are that the co-production structures in place for television and the transnational networks between Nordic public service television stations have been established for more than 50 years, while collaborative structures in Scandinavian film are less developed, even despite the role of the NFTF and growing commitment of the national film institutes to support film co-production (Bondebjerg and Redvall 2010, 5–6). The Danish Kulturministeriet has announced that for the period 2015–2018, an annual budget of DKK 2.5 million will be earmarked for television productions made in collaboration with regional film funds (Kulturministeriet 2014, 7).

Let me add that it is important to understand that within the Nordic context, policy and the production of television media has always been intertwined with the

film milieu. Hence, when researching matters of film policy in the Danish and Swedish contexts, a similar rhetoric applies to television productions. Not only are public and private television broadcast companies involved in film and television co-production, the subsidies allocated to them by the state form a significant part of their budgets (Danish Ministry of Culture 2010; Sveriges Television 2012).

The link between film and television in Denmark is present in two ways: the first is in the subsidy opportunities for filmmakers who may apply for funding through the two public television stations, Danmarks Radio (DR) and TV2. The Film Policy Accord of 2007–2010 states that DR and TV2 must co-produce feature films as part of their public service obligation and commit a total of DKK 145 million during this period to such co-productions. In other words, public service broadcasters must contribute to Danish film production by financial contributions to the DFI and direct investment in short film and documentary production. In fact, most Danish feature film productions would not be financially viable without a co-production agreement with one of the television broadcasters (Hjort, Jørholt, and Redvall 2010, 28).[48]

A similar framework exists in Sweden, where SVT, TV4, and the other television broadcasters part of the Film Agreement must contribute set annual amounts to the national film production budget.[49] SVT's share is the largest of the television companies. From 2013 to 2015, it has committed to making annual contributions of:

> at least SEK 42.1 million per calendar year. In addition to this, the company guarantees to use on average at least SEK 41.3 million per year for co-production, co-financing and licence fees for new Swedish feature films and new Swedish short and documentary films ('guaranteed amount'). At least SEK 17.2 million of the guaranteed amount shall be used for co- production and co-financing of films that receive advance production funding under this agreement. (Ministry of Culture 2013)

---

[48] The latest Media Policy Agreement for 2015–2018 states that both DR and TV2 will each contribute DKK 65 million annually to the film production sector, while the DFI will receive DKK 25 million per year from television license fee revenues to support film production (Kulturministeriet 2014).

[49] The broadcasters part of the 2013–2015 Film Agreement are: Sveriges Television AB, TV 4 AB, Modern Times Group MTG AB, SBS TV AB, and C More Entertainment AB.

The second point lies in the mobility of practitioners such as scriptwriters and directors between the film and television milieux. Broadcasters have hired such film practitioners to write and direct several award-winning drama series, and this has contributed to the professionalisation of Danish cinema, in that the demanding production conditions common in television production serve as a training camp of sorts for young directors who have yet to acquire key skills such as quick and efficient decision-making and large-group management (Hjort, Jørholt, and Redvall 2010, 28).

1.9.　Contemporary Challenges And Change

The question of art versus commerce did not disappear in the new millennium. In the face of various economic and political pressures, the 60/40 and Consultant schemes continue to seek an equitable balance between art cinema and mainstream cinema, and it is a delicate balance indeed that undergirds the sustainability of Danish film. The anxiety over the 'death' of artistic Danish films or that Danish film is experiencing artistic crisis is still being echoed by many (Grasten 2014; Høgel 2014), and there is plenty of hand-wringing over the threat of digital platforms offered by video-on-demand (VOD) providers like Netflix and HBO Nordic to conventional film exhibition outlets.

More recently, however, the Consultant Scheme has been criticised as somewhat flawed as film consultants are still beholden to audience potential as an implicit selection criterion. Regner Grasten, a film producer, places the blame on the wording in the DFI's terms of subsidy for the Consultant Scheme that still draws attention to 'audience appeal' as a factor, thereby lessening the will of consultants to invest in more unconventional and 'risky' artistic projects (2014). The terms for support for development subsidies state:

> Subsidies can be awarded under the Commissioner Scheme, if development is judged to be significantly important to strengthen the project artistically, financially, or production-wise, or in terms of the film's target groups or audience potential. Subsidies can be awarded under the Market Scheme, if development is judged to be significantly important to strengthen the project dramaturgically, financially, or production-wise, or in terms of the film's target groups or audience potential. (Danish Film Institute 2012b, 4)

A real absence of Danish art films in more recent international film festivals has been noted by experts in the film community who, in a panel discussion at the 2014 edition of Copenhagen's annual film festival CPH PIX, have voiced their fear that the luxury

of public support may be interfering with risk-taking and even creating a 'monoculture' where the industry backs safer choices instead of more experimental work by new voices. Even the former Artistic Director of NDS, Vinca Wiedemann, lamented at the same panel that during her stint there was simply not enough risk-taking in the applications she received: 'Producers don't want to take risks themselves, they want the support system to do it' (quoted in Mitchell 2014). The threat of complacency leading to homogeneity looms large on the horizon, a challenge that is more keenly felt by a small nation cinema. Despite this, the various schemes created to engineer and promote creative talent such as NDS, other one-off and grassroots initiatives (e.g. Super16, Super 8, Shoot It!), and regional efforts (e.g. Aarhus Film Workshop) must push on with more funding and a greater commitment to neutralising any tendency towards the tried and tested.

I have detailed these funding traditions and schemes at length because, as I have emphasised, my project is very much concerned with the conditions of filmmaking in the region and how these conditions engender particular audiovisual mediations of the Øresund project. State policy and funding certainly form the bedrock of film and television in the region, and outlining the institutional values and policies that are formulated upstream of actual audiovisual production has much to contribute to the conversation in film studies on the constellation of factors that feed into the production and circulation of texts. The relevance of the DFI's policies and funding schemes to the Øresund region cannot be understated, as the approach of the DFI in recent years has been to foster a small nation film culture that, while mindful of and committed to specific elements of its national culture (language, in particular), ensures its own survival through opening its artistic, economic, and geographical borders to regional and international partners.

1.10. Danish Efforts In The Øresund Region

In the absence of a dedicated cross-border film institution, the Oresund Film Commission[50] (OFC) was created in 2003 to promote the region as a film location and provide business support to international film and TV productions shooting in the region. The organisation is led by a Danish and a Swedish head and co-funded by

---

[50] It is interesting to note that the outward-facing commission eschews the Scandinavian 'Ø' or 'Ö' in favour of a neutral 'O' in a modest attempt to appeal to a broader international market.

Copenhagen Capacity and Region Skåne.[51] According to the Swedish head, Mikael Svensson, he sees the OFC as an organisation that works primarily with economic development, more so than with culture: 'By attracting a film production to an area, we create an inflow of capital to our regions, jobs are created, companies are hired, and the investment will end up in the local film industry' (quoted in Caruso 2015). To date, the OFC is the only Øresund-branded transnational film organisation committed to supporting film production in the region. However, its so-called transnationalising activities are mostly limited to promoting local film locations to foreign productions as a means of boosting economic activity in those related locales, and not necessarily with the aim of engaging with or advancing a transnational imaginary.[52]

In a related attempt to consolidate a regional cultural hub, the Danish Kulturministeriet (Culture Ministry) and the 26 municipalities in the Danish Capital Region signed a binding agreement titled *KulturMetropolØresund* (KMO) to establish and support cultural collaborations over a four-year period within the region (2012–2015). There is also the intention to reach across the Øresund to create a 'unified cultural metropolis' in the Øresund region. It is aimed at raising the level of support for arts and culture in the Danish parts of the region as well as strengthening regional cooperation between cultural actors, institutions, and the government. The agreement is emphatically a political decision, which brings together a total of DKK 25.75 million in a joint fund from the municipalities, the Capital Region, and Kulturministeriet, to be distributed to projects in six focus areas (KulturMetropolØresund 2014).

The Copenhagen Film Fund (CFF), founded in 2013 with a budget of DKK 35 million lasting until 2016, is one such project supported by KMO. As a fund where the money has been allotted as investment capital, its objectives are focused purely on the economic stimulation of the local film and television businesses in the nine municipalities of the Capital Region (Region Hovedstaden) and its ancillary industries. This remit includes the Danish sections of the Øresund region. Pia Allerslev, the Vice-

---

[51] Copenhagen Capacity, in turn, is a state-sponsored organisation for (mostly foreign) business development and investment promotion.

[52] Maria Hellström Reimer suggests that the OFC is an example of a 'spatializing actor' (2009, 66). In a brief study of the OFC website's database of film locations, Reimer argues that the presentation of shooting locations de-identifies and de-contextualises individual places; at the same time there is a tacit association with spatial ideals and stereotypes that emphasise the conventional notion of locations as static background and not part of the dynamics of plot (2009, 68).

Mayor of Culture and Leisure in Copenhagen, emphasises that the CFF is 'a trade fund, not arts support', and the DFI is also not involved in the fund (Dam 2013). The types of screen productions eligible for funding are either international co-productions with Danish co-producers, or Danish productions with international co-producers; national and international distribution must already be in place. The CFF's focus is on film and television productions shot within the region. By providing funds for set in the municipalities in Greater Copenhagen, the larger aim is to create a 'film metropolis' in the region, producing films for a national and international market, as well as 'to brand the Fund's member municipalities and Danish film talents' (Dam 2013). While the result is an overall economic boost to the Øresund region by creating jobs in the film industry and related businesses, the CFF is explicitly more interested in providing the necessary conditions to boost the film industry on the Danish side (Myrup 2014). Notably, also, a side effect here is the positive representation of Greater Copenhagen and Danish film production to the outside world, which also has implications on the way particular production decisions are made in film or television works, as I will touch on in Chapter Five.

However, where is Skåne in all of this, if Copenhagen's financial and political dominance in this particular area only draws foreign investment into Denmark? That Denmark looks set to be the main beneficiary of this new arrangement that started out as a shared, equal enterprise with Sweden seems 'irrelevant', to adopt its CEO Thomas Gammeltoft's formulation in answer to this question: 'It is irrelevant that we come from Copenhagen. It's the money that counts. … We complement each other very well. Copenhagen is a city region and Skåne has amazing scenery that we lack' (News Øresund 2014). The interesting thing about the CFF is that it is a regional film fund for the capital region of Denmark, much like what Film i Skåne does for Southeastern Sweden (discussed in Section 2.7 of this chapter). While CFF is a relatively new player in the field, as it were, it is catching up in significant ways. It would not be too far off the mark to suggest that the CFF is even competing against Film i Skåne to an extent while at the same time collaborating on high-profile (and highly profitable) cross-border productions such as *Bron/Broen*.

In conclusion, the Øresund region defined here seems to be a predominantly Danish Øresund that mostly privileges the capital. This is no surprise as most of the film and television talent and relevant infrastructure are already set up in and around

Copenhagen. However, funding markedly runs along national lines and in KMO and CFF documents, there is scant mention of Skåne except for the vague statement that the project seeks to establish closer ties and cooperation with the authorities of Region Skåne for the purpose of knowledge-sharing and activating the combined resources, experience, and opportunities of the larger binational region:

> Vi vil gøre det ved, at:
> […]
> Etablere et tættere samarbejde med svenske kommuner og region Skåne, så viden og erfaringer kan deles — og områdets samlede ressourcer, oplevelses- og udfoldelsesmuligheder aktiveres. (KulturMetropolØresund 2014)
>
> [We will do this by:
> …
> Establishing closer cooperation with Swedish municipalities and Region Skåne so that knowledge and expertise can be shared — including the area's combined resources, and activating experience and development opportunities.]

Concrete details of how these closer ties will happen or be funded, have not been made available, at least at the time of writing.

The work of the KMO agreement and the CFF may be targeted at cultural activities on the Danish side of the Øresund region, with indistinct gestures that only pay lip service to the idea of binational cooperation. The point here is that the Danish side of the Øresund clearly has more resources and perhaps more comprehensive institutional support to reach out to the municipalities outside of Copenhagen. In the next section on Sweden, I discuss the asymmetrical relationship between the Danish and Swedish film sectors within the Øresund region and consider the reasons for this.

2.   Swedish Film And The Move Toward Regional Film Centres

According to Mette Hjort and Duncan Petrie (2005), a national cinema such as Sweden's would not entirely qualify as a 'small' cinema as it is far larger in terms of geographical reach than Denmark. In the context of this discussion, it is relevant to discuss the smallness of Sweden's *regions* from this perspective.

The focus of this section is on the key differences in the historical trajectory of

Sweden's film industry compared to Denmark's. As a neighbouring country subject to similar cultural influences and economic pressures, the historical development of Swedish film is largely mirrored in the Danish experience. Despite this similarity of trajectories, I argue that the main difference in the film histories of the two nations, particularly in more recent times, is Sweden's move toward decentralisation in film policy. That is, since the late 1990s, there has been a distinct shift toward developing regional film production with the associated establishment of funds and institutions toward that aim. This stands in contrast to the centripetal nature of film activity in Denmark, where most film production and policy-making is drawn to and remain dominant in the capital with only marginal activity in the peripheries of the country.

In this section, I have chosen to focus on the development of this recent attention to building regional film capacity in Sweden, particularly in the case of Region Skåne that forms the Swedish half of the Øresund region. In view of Sweden's much larger geographical size, it would not be feasible for reasons of space and scope in this thesis to cover the history and development of all of Sweden's film-cultural efforts nor indeed to draw out a comparison between the various regional film funds in Sweden. However, one reason why this section makes special mention of the earliest appearance of cinema in Sweden—in Malmö in 1896—and the subsequent historical development of cinema in the country is to highlight the point that the attempt to build a regional film industry in the Swedish cinematic landscape is not solely a phenomenon of recent times. This early effort at regionalism was of course supplanted by various forces and actors that opted for centralisation in Stockholm as the more viable way forward. I will then consider the basic conditions of Swedish film policy and the general tendency toward regionalisation since the 1980s, then move on to a more focused analysis of recent developments with respect to Skåne and the Øresund region.

The important points I want to highlight here are the reasons for and the main actors involved in Stockholm's early dominance in Sweden's film production and the subsequent redistribution of funds and agency to regional centres.

2.1. Malmö, The Almost Film Capital Of Sweden

The first moving pictures that arrived in Sweden were screened in Malmö in 1896. For a city that actually first saw the arrival of film in the country, the role of Malmö as a

film centre for the southern part of Sweden has been slow to develop, despite many initial attempts in the early history of Swedish film to bring it to the fore of the nation's filmmaking enterprise. The city was poised to be the nation's film capital in the early twentieth century, partly because of its proximity to Copenhagen and the main European continent, and partly due to the presence of two of the country's most prolific production companies at the time: Svenska Bio and Frans Lundberg. However, changes in the Swedish film landscape pertaining to censorship, domestic film production, and distribution networks led the main production companies away from Malmö and to Stockholm, which remains the centre of Swedish filmmaking.

A significant point to note is that an early form of transnational, film-cultural exchange across the Øresund was already active in the first decades of cinema. This exchange was driven by a few personalities whose area of business was to import Danish fiction films or to produce copies of the popular Danish genres for the Swedish public. For example, the company Frans Lundberg was the main competitor of Svenska Bio and was run by the eponymous enterprising businessman-turned-film pioneer who had several connections with Copenhagen across the Sound. Lundberg's ambitious productions, mostly theatrical scenes acted out by amateur actors (most of them Danes) in front of a film camera in summer theatres, were significantly successful with domestic audiences and were very much influenced by Danish melodramas.[53]

Lundberg and his associates, however, stood as lone figures because much of Swedish public opinion was increasingly against Danish film – sensationalist melodramas, crime thrillers, and erotic fiction films were the type of products regularly imported from Denmark in the early twentieth century. The concentration of such unsavoury film activity in Malmö was also a point that supported an initial suggestion by Svenska Filmförbundet (the Swedish Film Association) that a national film censorship authority be established there (Soila 1998, 137). Even before Statens Biografbyrå (the National Board of Film Censors) was eventually established in Stockholm in December 1911, debates were initiated in the public sphere by the Swedish Pedagogical Society about the corrupting effect these moving images had

---

[53] These were produced mostly by Copenhagen-based Nordisk Film Kompagni. N.P. Nilsson was another prominent figure, particularly as one of the earliest and largest importers of the same type of Danish melodramas (Soila 1998, 138–140).

on children, a claim frequently supported by medical experts then (Soila 1998, 136). Hence, the very film imports that were popular with audiences and that Lundberg and other producers modelled their productions on were also the critical target of conservative swathes of the public and later, the national censorship board.[54]

The first and oldest Swedish film company, Svenska Biografteatern or Svenska Bio, was established in 1907 in Kristianstad, about an hour away from Malmö. Domestic films produced by Svenska Bio were distributed from Kristianstad to other parts of Sweden until 1911, when Charles Magnusson, a producer at Svenska Bio, decided that if the company were to expand in the domestic film industry, it would be essential to move operations away from the periphery of the country to the capital where there were more resources (Soila 1998, 141). It was at this time too that Magnusson made use of the fact that popular opinion was against Danish films, and particularly, the melodramas produced by Danish companies such as Nordisk Film Kompagni were viewed as 'demoralising and dangerous to watch' in contrast to 'pure Swedish products' such as those produced by Svenska Bio (Soila 1998, 145–8). Lundberg's close association with Danish films tarnished his reputation and he eventually left the industry after a prolonged period of persecution by the Swedish censors.

One could argue that there was the early possibility of building closer film-cultural ties between Copenhagen and Malmö through personalities like Lundberg and the early Svenska Bio productions that carried a particularly Danish flavour – after all, Danish films were very popular with the Swedes and domestic Swedish production of fiction films was insignificant before 1909 and hence heavily relied on imports from its neighbour as well as further afield from France and the United States (Dahlquist 2005, 30). Gustaf Berg, the first chairman of Svenska Bio, had already in this early age acknowledged the potential for a trans-Scandinavian mode of cooperation and collaboration between the film companies in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway

---

[54] Biografbyrå soon gained the reputation of being far more severe and stricter than its Danish counterpart, Statens Filmcensur (established in 1913), if not the strictest in the world at that time, according to contemporary scholars (Bachmann 2013, 152).

(Bachmann 2013, 172).[55] However, it was primarily the tension between Swedish state censorship and the growing, widespread perception of Danish films as immoral that prevented the further development of transnational cultural exchange across the Øresund.

Furthermore, the establishment of the censorship board in Stockholm engendered an productive increase in Swedish film production. On the one hand, with an official government agency now in place to evaluate film material, it seemed apparent that cinema exhibitors could not only rely on foreign imports as far too many were deemed unsuitable and therefore banned. On the other hand, this provided the scope and opportunity for companies such as Svenska Bio, in cooperation with Pathé Frères, its French-owned competitor, to produce films domestically in accordance with 'local tastes' and often featuring scenes of the capital city (Dahlquist 2005, 34). As the censorship agency was located in Stockholm, it was therefore more convenient for the production companies to be situated in the capital so as to expedite the vetting process of their films. This is not to say that these companies were immune from the censorship board's severe judgements of morality in film; films produced by Pathé were frequently banned and despite numerous appeals, the national censorship agency refused to reverse these decisions (ibid.).[56]

The other reasons that contributed to the decision to concentrate operations in Stockholm was that, firstly, distribution would be made simpler as there was a far larger number of theatres and renowned performers in the capital and through Pathé's branch in the city, and secondly, Svenska Bio's films could be more easily marketed to an international audience (Soila 1998, 148). Svenska Bio went on to build Sweden's first film studio on Lidingö, an island in the archipelago of Stockholm, and embarked on an agreement of cooperation with Pathé. Through this agreement, Svenska Bio was able to access a larger and more established distribution network not just within Sweden but through parts of continental Europe. Pathé established its headquarters

[55] In 1914, Berg applied for a state grant to arrange a yearly conference between the three countries, but this plan was stalled due to the onset of the First World War; from that point onward Sweden cooperated on a regular basis only with Norway, especially since the latter had adopted similar censorship practices to Sweden (Bachmann 2013, 172).

[56] Swedish censors soon gained the reputation amongst the Scandinavians for being the world's strictest board that banned ten times more films than the Danes and had an open distaste for Danish film (which, interestingly, was not reciprocated) (Bachmann 2013, 152).

in Stockholm in 1910 which was responsible for business in Sweden and Norway; branches in Malmö (1912) and Göteburg (1914) followed soon after (Dahlquist 2005, 32).

During and after the First World War, Swedish films had an advantage in that Sweden was politically favoured by France and Britain whose film industries were severely disrupted by their military efforts; Denmark's close economic connections with Germany were frowned on by the Allied nations. This set of conditions meant that Svenska Bio was in a position to address the high demand for films in the Allied countries – this gave the company the opportunity to produce and distribute films to an international audience, and Swedish directors and film workers were able to gain much practice and skills in film production due to the high turnover during this period (Soila 1998, 150). The success of Svenska Bio and in these early years and its successive efforts at expansion and acquisition of other smaller companies thus cemented Stockholm as the film production centre of Sweden, while Malmö became a mere outpost in the national production landscape.

2.2. The Swedish Film Institute

Before 1951, the Swedish state provided minimal support for fiction film production;[57] film was not yet considered an art form of cultural value by the state and therefore not a part of Swedish cultural policy; in fact, the domain of popular culture, under which film was classified, was largely neglected by official cultural policy until the 1950s (T. Larsson and Svenson 2001, 87). The only state involvement with film came in the form of censorship and taxes, particularly as a means of restraining the industry. Yet, the government acknowledged, from an economic point of view, that the film industry—like other industries producing commercial goods—needed state support in order to survive and produce Swedish films for Swedish citizens. The first step to subsidise filmmaking was taken in 1951 when the parliament decided that the income collected from the entertainment tax would be distributed to film producers. At this time in state film-political discourse, there was no mention nor discussion of the artistic qualities of film, and the change in direction in 1951 was really only prompted by the threat put forth by the film industry to stop producing films altogether if their demands

---

[57] Documentaries and informational films, on the other hand, were co-produced with Danish counterparts (T. Larsson and Svenson 2001, 87).

for greater state support were not met (Soila 1998, 184).[58]

Through the late 1950s, two major forces shaped the state's reconsideration of film that resulted in the film reform of 1963. The first was that a growing circle of cultural critics increasingly came to influence the ideology of state policy through their critique of the government's lack of engagement with film as a legitimate art form. The second force was the arrival of television in 1956–7 that marked the beginning of a period of crisis for the film industry, forcing the state to intervene in a significant way. The impact from the arrival of television was startling for practitioners in not just film, but most of the other popular art forms such as theatre, dance, and music. As more Swedes embraced television in their living rooms, fewer visits were made to the cinema.[59] Increasing numbers of smaller cinema theatres either shut down or were amalgamated under larger companies, and film workers began leaving the industry in droves as there were more lucrative opportunities in television (Krems 1988, 8–9).

By the early 1960s, the crisis in film had become so urgent that the industry's cooperative committee invited Harry Schein, engineer-turned-businessman-turned-film critic, to draw up a proposal to reform film and cultural policy and to rally the state into decisive action. Schein's 1962 book titled *Har vi råd med kultur?* (*Can we afford culture?*) put forth a proposal for the administration of state subsidies to domestic film productions. His proposal was fast-tracked through the relevant governmental departments and resulted in the decision made by Parliament to found a national film institute and to co-sign a new 20-year Film Reform agreement with representatives of the film industry (Soila 1998, 208–9).

In July 1963, the Svenska Filminstitutet (Swedish Film Institute, SFI) was founded in Stockholm as part of the film reform and new national film policy that aimed to stimulate the production and distribution of 'quality film' of similar artistic value and

[58] In the spring of 1951, the film industry collectively engaged in a 'film stop': no films were produced at all that period, rapidly leading to new legislation in their favour, passed within a matter of days (see Soila 1998).

[59] From 1956 to 1963, the total number of admissions to Swedish cinemas had dropped from 78.2 million visitors to 39.5 million visitors and film production during this period also dropped by half – by 1963 only 20 films were produced, compared to 39 films in 1956 (N. G. Nilsson 1980, 84).

of international currency as Ingmar Bergman's oeuvre (M. Larsson 2010a, 217).[60] The SFI was led by Schein as its CEO. Under the new agreement, the entertainment tax was abolished and a new 10 per cent tax on the receipts from cinema admissions would go to the SFI – this meant that the SFI would receive ca. SEK 12 million each year (Dinesen and Kau 1983, 397). These funds were distributed to three main areas: one-third of the money was set aside for a general grant for Swedish producers, one-third for a 'quality' film grant, and one-third for efforts to promote film culture in Sweden.

The distinction between funding films of commercial appeal and films of artistic quality in the first film agreement was a result of the state's recognition of film as an art form eligible for public support on the same terms as the other established arts (Blomgren 2008, 6). The arbiters of 'artistic quality' in this case were a select committee at the SFI that judged the artistic merit of individual films according to its own standards, which were often in a similar vein to contemporary trends in European art cinema, 'à la Bergman' (Sundholm et al. 2012, 32). Over time, this narrow definition of quality and of artistically valuable film production was gradually expanded when the scope for funding a broader variety of film activities was widened to include exhibition, distribution, and formats other than fiction film.

By the 1980s, the SFI became the key player in the Swedish film landscape, producing and co-producing more than 300 films in that time (M. Larsson 2010b, 272). Over time, the definition of 'Swedish film' shifted along similar lines as in the Danish context, where the nationality of a production was not strictly dependent on citizenship and language, but has now expanded to include persons and entities with a legal connection to Sweden as eligible. Section 9 of the 2013 Film Agreement states:

> For the purposes of this agreement, a film is considered to be Swedish if its producer is Swedish and if the participation of Swedish artists is of substantial importance.
>
> The term 'Swedish producer' refers to a natural person residing in Sweden, or a company, a branch of a foreign company or another legal person registered in Sweden.

---

[60] Bergman had just won two Oscars in a row for Best Foreign Language Film in 1959 and 1960.

> A film that does not have a Swedish producer will still be considered Swedish if the film satisfies the requirements laid down in the European Convention on Cinematographic Co-Production.[61] (Ministry of Culture, Sweden 2013, 3)

The developments described above show the workings of the film-political arena at a national level, and it is worth reiterating that most film-related activity still gravitated towards Stockholm, especially since the SFI was located in the capital.

We can see so far that Swedish film policy has been historically characterised by top-down and centralised control, implementing reform mostly in reaction to larger industrial and economic concerns. The oil crisis of the 1970s and the subsequent worldwide recession marked yet another turning point in the state's approach to film-cultural policy, resulting in refocusing political attention onto Sweden's regions.

2.3. New Regionalism And Cultural Industries Policy

At this point, it is useful to briefly reflect on the emergence of regionalism in Swedish politics and its relation to cultural policy, particularly in view of Skåne's postindustrial transformation. The existing scholarship on regionalisation is complex and rich and it is difficult to do it justice in a short summary, but I will draw on the main themes while focusing on the Swedish context. Understanding 'new regionalisation' as a political and economic process is an essential piece of the puzzle of what makes up the Øresund region and its cultural priorities. The process of regionalisation in Swedish film therefore has to be understood within the larger context of the political transformation of the country.

2.3.1. New Regionalism

While there are diverse interpretations of the features of new regionalism, a key feature is that the regionalisation process and the discourse surrounding it is no longer contained within a national frame of government. The political idea of new regionalism focuses on the territorial dimension where regions form 'a new system of social regulation and collective action below the traditional nation-state' (Blomgren 2008, 4). It is a complex set of processes and influences that considers function, identity,

---

[61] The Convention provides a legal basis for multilateral co-productions to benefit from the national funds of co-producing countries, so long as the levels of participation for each co-producer is at least 20% and the co-production helps 'to promote a European identity' (Council of Europe 1994, 3–5). Denmark and Sweden are both signatories.

political mobilisation, and (sub-)systems of government in relation to changes in the world economy and the new limitations and demands arising from European integration (Heywood, Jones, and Rhodes 2002, 3). One characteristic of 'old' regionalisation, according to Jörgen Gren, is typically a top-down approach where regionalisation directives are issued by a national authority that remains unchallenged (2002, 81). New regionalism, or 'neo-regionalism', is typified by a bottom-up character – it is 'an assertion of the regional interest in a situation of increasing regional competition internationally' (J. Johansson 2000, 132).

Another distinct feature of new regionalism relevant to the Swedish experience is the breakdown of the national authority's capacity to manage local and regional matters such as spatial change and economic development, especially in the period after the oil crisis of the 1970s (Olsson and Åström 2003, 78). Pressures from the increasing influence of transnational corporations, globalisation of finance, recession and fiscal trouble in the 1980s and early 1990s, restructuring of the economic environment, and Sweden's involvement with the European project eventually eroded the national authority's powers, eventually necessitating a restructuring of the central authorities' functions and a transferral of powers to regional authorities. Dissatisfaction with national policy has made regional governance a necessary condition for dealing with change in the international and European political economy (Ingebritsen 1998, 8). As Gren writes, 'external European influences in the form of further regionalization within Sweden's main trading partners and supranational pressure, combined with internal needs, had forced the regional issue to the top of the Swedish political agenda' (2002, 93). Hence, we can see that there is a combination of global market forces and increasing Europeanisation that made central policy control untenable.

Sweden's new-found regionalism has been labelled 'surprising and interesting' for several reasons, particularly as the country has had a strong social-democratic tradition of top-down governance led by Stockholm and aimed at producing similar conditions throughout the country with limited room for regionalisation activities (Olsson and Åström 2003, 67–8). In Sweden's case, as I have emphasised earlier, the regionalisation process is more of a decentralisation of powers to regions rather than the 'natural' emergence of regions in competition with the state:

> From the national authority's viewpoint, there is the argument that decentralization has been a deliberate policy in order to push the region as an agent of development, as an independent entrepreneur searching for investments and as the level on which the opportunities and threats of the European integration process and a globalized economy should ideally be met. (Gren 2002, 79)

In 1991, the Swedish government set up a study looking into the regional reorganisation of the public sector, with a motive of economic effiency. Although the recommendations of the study did not effect concrete changes, four separate regions negotiated to embark on a national experimental project involving strong regional self-government, commencing on 1 July 1997 (Olsson and Åström 2003, 72-3). The regions were the counties of Gotland, Jämtland, Kalmar, and Skåne.

For Skåne, and especially for the city of Malmö, the experimental programme presented the opportunity to redefine its peripheral status as a city and region isolated from the dominant political thinking in Stockholm and suffering from severe economic problems. Officials in the region emphasised close ties with continental Europe and with Copenhagen; from this perspective, Malmö's peripheral geographical location was acknowledged as an asset since it is much better placed than other Swedish cities, including Stockholm, to interact with the rest of the EU (Jerneck 2000, 200–1).

Therefore, within the context of European integration, a region such as Skåne has much to gain from with its involvement in the Øresund region project:

> In Skåne, European integration is a very important part of the argument for self-government. However, it is not related to regional structural funds, but to the opportunities available for inter-regional cooperation which transcend national boundaries and which are legitimized and encouraged by the institutions and ethos of the Community. (Olsson and Åström 2003, 82)

2.3.2. Cultural Policy

The general tendency of Swedish cultural policy has been to focus on the traditional areas such as music, theatre, literature, dance, and public libraries, with directives issued at a national level by the Swedish Arts Council. Consequently, funding for these activities, including those on a regional and local level, is largely provided by the national government (Johannisson 2010, 129). In terms of administration of

cultural affairs and policy-making, however, regional governments have been steadily gaining more responsibility and authority over such activities, in line with political regionalisation processes in the country.

Sweden's modern national cultural policy is dated to 1974 with the report *Ny Kulturpolitik* (*New Cultural Policy*); the idea of regional administrations taking some form of responsibility for cultural affairs was already discussed then although it was later decided that the time was not ripe for this. Subsequently, when the expansion of regional public cultural institutions was in full swing in the early 1980s, the call for decentralised administrative responsibility for regional cultural policy was put on the agenda (T. Larsson 2003, 231). The report called for a division of funding responsibility between the national, regional, and local-municipal levels, and this set-up has remained through the 1996 revision of the national cultural policy through to the 2000s (T. Larsson and Svenson 2001, 88).

As the experimental regionalisation programme since 1997 was very much driven by economic and political motivations, culture was not a dominant theme despite being recognised as an important function in identity construction in the 1995 report from the National Committee on Regional Affairs (Johannisson 2010, 135). Nevertheless, the trend of incorporating cultural policy into the economic restructuring of regions that was practiced in Great Britain in the 1980s, for example, influenced the subsequent and currently ongoing development and transformation of regional cultural policy in the Swedish regions. Cultural policy in Sweden has therefore mirrored the trends in other west European nations where the cultural industries as a whole are increasingly a key element of regional and urban redevelopment and growth. This is particularly the case for many Western European cities and regions that suffered from economic decline from around the 1980s as a result of shifts in global economic trends. Traditional manufacturing industries were in decline, prompting local and regional authorities to reconsider industrial policy and the role that cultural policy plays in reviving a specific territory at a sub-national level.

2.4.   Regional Production Centres

Regions and municipalities were notably excluded from film policy since the 1960s, with support for film production being concentrated in Stockholm and the major industry actors based in the capital (Blomgren 2008, 6). One problem of having all

film activity concentrated in a country's capital city, such as in Copenhagen and Stockholm, is that most of the infrastructure, capital, talent, and policy are either solely focused on or drawn to the capital, leaving the peripheral regions with very little in terms of resources. For more than eight decades, Stockholm was the centre of Swedish film production and distribution, in part due to the fact that the SFI was set up there in 1963 and also constructed its own studios in the same area in 1969. While Stockholm may still be the dominant force in Swedish filmmaking today, there has nevertheless been a gradual regionalisation of film production and culture that began to gain ground in the mid-1970s. In fact, Olof Hedling notes that one of the biggest changes in the Swedish film production landscape since the late 1990s is that shooting locales have shifted away from Stockholm and to smaller provincial towns and regions (2010a, 72).

The decentralisation and eventual regionalisation of Swedish film did not only begin in the 1990s. As mentioned earlier, 1974 marked the beginning of the movement toward regionalisation in cultural policy discourse. A new resolution was debated and passed by the *Riksdag* (Parliament) that year with the *New Cultural Policy* report, calling for the 'geographic equality' of policy across Sweden (Blomgren 2008, 7). Regional theatres and museums, for example, were established by the central government. At this point, the need to decentralise film policy was also part of the discussion, but film production was not yet the focus; instead, the government began its support only in the form of subsidies to regional film distributors and exhibitors in 1975, and even this support was not formally written into the public film policy agreement, nor was any decision-making power transferred to regional or local authorities. While other cultural institutions—such as museums, theatres, orchestras—already came under regional administration from the mid-1970s, film policy and activity was still centrally controlled.

It took about 20 years for film activity to be a legitimate political concern at the regional and local levels and for the state to finally acknowledge the need to decentralise film production and spread the serious appreciation of film culture throughout the country. A parliamentary commission on culture that started in 1993 proposed two years later that the SFI should subsidise regional film production funds (Statens Offentliga Utredningar 1995, 84). Regional 'film pools' or production centres such as Film i Skåne, Film i Väst, Filmpool Nord, Filmpool Jämtland, and Film i

Dalarna were also created around this time—although not as a direct result of the commission's proposal—with the aim of promoting professional production (Sörenson 1996, 87). The significant point to note here is that despite the state's acknowledgement of the need for regional institutions, the initiative came mostly from the regional level, and as Blomgren argues, the motivation was not for broad cultural aims, but rather to create jobs and encourage economic growth in the regions, as was the case for Filmpool Nord. Anna Stenport echoes this motivation as well, where regionalisation was driven by the acknowledgement that political, economic, cultural, and educational interests had to be dispersed so as to 'counteract concentration' in Stockholm and increase output in regions (2013, 86).

Apart from the parliamentary commission report, perhaps the more significant force that contributed to the rise of regionalism in film policy discourse was Sweden's entry into the EU in 1995. Being a member meant that Sweden's regional film centres had access to money offered under the regional development funds of the EU whose aims were to create economic regions that would develop new industries and employment opportunities (Stenport 2013, 86; O. Hedling 2010b, 335). About half of the funding for Film i Väst and Filmpool Nord came from the EU's regional development funds, for example. While film production was not initially one of the main objectives of these regional centres, the EU funding meant that the regional centres were able to be involved in film production by offering top financing to productions in the region (Blomgren 2008, 8).

The regional turn in Swedish filmmaking has been met with confidence and enthusiasm not just amongst the filmmaking community but also by regional and local politicians, particularly in those regional sites of production. In addition to the economic benefits, regions also benefit from the increase in place marketing via media exposure and tourism. According to Hedling, film and television production in these regions is used specifically to strengthen regional identity on top of serving as a source of employment and rejuvenating the regional economy: for example, 'territorialization clauses' are included in the contracts with producers to ensure that film shoots take place in specific locations or studios in the relevant region (2010a, 72). The majority of feature films made since the 2000s were filmed on location and in studios in smaller towns such as Ystad and Trollhättan, which have both experienced a boost in film-related tourism (Hedling 2010b, 334).

To further quantify the success of regionalisation, there has been a real increase in the overall number of feature-length films produced annually in Sweden due to greater investment into developing regional production centres. About 15 films were produced annually in Sweden before regionalisation; after 1999, this doubled to roughly 30 films per year (Blomgren 2007, 9). This increased further to 43 in 2005 and by 2013, 49 films were made (Svenska Filminstitutet 2014a).

Other important effects of the regional turn and the decentralised infrastructure include an influx of new talent, more co-productions between Scandinavian countries due to increasingly liberal subsidy regulations, and more importantly, a gradual transfer of power from the SFI to the regional centres (Lange and Westcott 2004, 69). Andrew Nestingen argues that provincial- and regional-level support also made an impact on shaping the style of Swedish cinema in that the agency attributed to regional film bodies such as Film i Väst challenges the gatekeeper function of the national institute and even undercuts the aesthetic criteria enforced by the SFI (2008, 68). As an example he refers to Lukas Moodysson's *Show Me Love* (1998), which was initially rejected by the film consultants at the SFI. When the project was eventually supported by Film i Väst and Danish partners such as the DFI, Zentropa Entertainments, and Trust Film Sales, the SFI reevaluated its position and eventually backed the project (ibid.).

However, one of the problems that has emerged in the Swedish regional production context is that despite the increase in regional opportunities for film education, the majority of film education programmes are still oriented toward 'a lingering notion of film and moving image generation as nationally oriented and constituted'; such regional film education programmes still train students according to a set of policy directives and production contexts established in the 1960s, wherein films serve some public utility by being filmed in Sweden with Swedish dialogue, relating to Swedish culture, and made by film practitioners considered Swedish by virtue of having been trained in a Swedish film school (Stenport 2013, 100).

Another challenge is that there has so far not been much evidence of a skilled workforce developing across all the regional centres. Like film production, film training had been largely concentrated in Stockholm and was dominated by the Stockholm

Academy of Dramatic Arts, instituted in 1963. With the move toward regionalisation in film production in the past two decades, there has been an emergence of formal and informal training programmes, but development has not been even throughout the country (O. Hedling 2010b). On the one hand, the development of film training initiatives in the Gothenburg region and Västra Götaland County has been rather successful and has also contributed to influencing the growth in public and EU support received by the region's film industry (Stenport 2013, 86). Formal programmes in film directing and film production are offered at the universities, while informal training programmes are delivered through various outreach initiatives of local municipalities and film festivals organised in the region.

On the other hand, in Skåne, just two important institutions play a role in providing the talent necessary for the industry: Film i Skåne and Filmcentrum Syd, a college and talent development programme. In contrast to the rather comprehensive film ecosystem in Denmark where filmmakers educated in various film schools and programmes find themselves easily inserted into the film and television community and go on to produce films in the region (primarily via Copenhagen), there is only a fledgling film-pedagogical community in Skåne – the majority of filmmakers are churned out of film schools in Stockholm or Gothenburg. Many film workers also still work on a freelance basis and in several capacities and occupations at different levels on film projects – this leaves them with little opportunity to develop expertise in specific functions in the film production process. Because of the temporary nature of film projects, film workers and artistic talent have also been reluctant to relocate to regional centres, thereby creating a gap in the creative capacity of the regions while Stockholm retains the majority of film talent (Hedling 2010b, 341–2). Region Skåne, however, is alert to this problem and has so far been negotiating the imbalance by accommodating talent from Copenhagen where possible and establishing further training and film-pedagogical opportunities via initiatives such as Filmcentrum Syd (Film i Skåne 2013, 24).

2.5.   Region Skåne And Film

As of 2014, Skåne has become an important market for film in Sweden. The latest statistics from the SFI show that Skåne sits amongst the top three counties with Stockholm and Västra Götaland when it comes to number of film releases, movie theatres, admissions, and population per cinema screen (Svenska Filminstitutet

2014a, 38–39). With regard to film financing, regional sources of funding now form a substantial part of the average budget for a feature-length film (after the SFI's contribution and the producers' own investment), making regional film funds an important driver of overall film production in the Swedish context.[62]

As for policy-making powers, the Region Skåne administration has, since 2003, had the strategic responsibility for formulating its own cultural policy and the authority to allot nationally provided funds to its regional cultural institutions (Johannisson 2010, 135–6). On the one hand, expenditure on film has increased significantly since the start of the regionalisation experiment, and film has risen as a policy area that has high priority. On the other hand, the region's administrators are still grappling with the problem of articulating a coherent regional film policy to further strengthen the place of film in overall cultural policy. In a study completed in 2013, researchers at Lund University concluded that Sweden's national culture policies do not seem to support film very well and if the state is unwilling to take on this role of film-political initiatives, then it is up to regions to fill this void with a coherent strategy and policy (Mathieu 2013, 20).

According to the 2012 report *Samhällets utgifter för kultur* (*Society's Expenditure for Culture*) by the Swedish Agency for Cultural Policy Analysis, overall government expenditure on film culture at the national level rose from SEK 287 million in 2000 to a peak of SEK 355 million in 2009, but since then this has dropped to SEK 302 million in 2011. Out of the total expenditure on all cultural activities, only five per cent was spent specifically on film. Museums, theatre, and dance receive the largest shares. At the regional level, film still occupies only about four per cent of total regional expenditures. While regional expenditure on culture on average has nearly doubled since 2000, Skåne stands out as a region that experienced a sharp and rapid increase in its production and consumption of arts and cultural activities. In 2000, Skåne spent SEK 121 million on culture (adjusted to 2011 levels), and its expenditure rose almost six-fold to SEK 663 million in 2011 (Myndigheten för kulturanalys 2012, 17–26). This

---

[62] According to the SFI's latest statistics, the average financing for a feature-length fiction film comprises 42.9% from the SFI, 17.6% from the producer's own funds, and 12.2% from a regional fund, the rest being made up of a combination of monies from distributors, foreign funds, national public and private television broadcasters, donations, and foreign tax incentives (Svenska Filminstitutet 2014, 23).

certainly represents a huge commitment to developing and supporting cultural life in the region.

As of 2014, authorities in Region Skåne have only just begun discussions to develop a specific film and moving image strategy for the region. At the broad level of culture and the creative industries, Kultur Skåne has produced a regional strategy document outlining the structure of support for entrepreneurial efforts in the area. As part of its larger Regional Culture Plan for 2013–2015, the strategy for film and moving image in Skåne aims to create the conditions for a developing film culture and the related enterprises on the Swedish side of the Øresund region, and also to increase cooperation across the Øresund and across the EU (Kultur Skåne 2013).

The aim for the regional authorities is to strengthen the infrastructure and expand resources to build a sustainable industry. According to Region Skåne, there are roughly 150 companies and 300 film workers circulating between assignments in film, advertising, and freelance work in television and feature film projects. About a dozen of those companies are experienced in feature film production and a handful directly produce programmes for television (Kultur Skåne 2013, 17). There is, therefore, a medium-sized community of film and moving image production talent in the region that needs to be supported, and the reinforcement of the infrastructure surrounding film, moving image, and transmedia has been identified as a key objective for the authorities. As the report states, '[t]he flow between talent development, semi-professional, and professional fields is central to film's future in the region and must be continually stimulated' (ibid.). Specifically, this ecosystem includes film theatres, institutions for film education and training at various levels (e.g. for young children, high schools, universities), programmes for artistic experimentation, festivals, and resource centres such as libraries and archives. The report also highlights that collaborative activities within the film industry, the Øresund region, and the Nordic countries will also be encouraged to enable the fruitful exchange of skills and expertise with more established film communities. On a practical level, the funding priorities identified for Film i Skåne in the 2014 budget were the development of film and television for children and youth, pedagogical initiatives, building film-cultural competence through shared platforms such as festivals and forums, and talent development programmes for young filmmakers (Region Skåne 2013, 47).

2.6. Film i Skåne

Film i Skåne (FiS) is one of the four arms of Business Region Skåne. It has been active since 1995, and became an official regional production centre in 2000 (Krona 2006, 81). In 2013, FiS became a contractual party to the national Film Agreement. This meant that FiS had a further SEK 1.875 million from national coffers. According to its 2013 Annual Report, FiS took over the Swedish part of the Oresund Film Commission from Region Skåne in 2006 and has since been responsible for the film-business development activities in the (Swedish part of) the Øresund region (Film i Skåne 2013).

In the last 10 years, FiS has embedded itself into various networks at national, Nordic, and European levels, a strategy strengthened by the advantage of being in the Øresund region and having access to the international influence of Denmark's film milieu (Krona 2006, 98). This includes participation in Nordic talent development networks and the European Documentary Network. Clearly, these connections are important not only in terms of creating more co-production possibilities in the short term but also in terms of developing the local film talent and expertise as well as stimulating the local economy in the longer term.

FiS is now a major partner of a larger talent development scheme called Moving Sweden—the Swedish answer to New Danish Screen—which is a three-year programme that started in April 2013 and aims to support new and experienced filmmakers shooting in 30, 40, or 60-minute formats. Up to 90 per cent of the production budget of each film is supported by Moving Sweden, and distribution is guaranteed for all films via Swedish Television (Svenska Filminstitutet 2014b).

The national Swedish film landscape, as this section has shown, is emphatically characterised by the tension between the capital and the peripheral regions, where the latter have had to take matters into their own hands and nurture local audiovisual culture largely without firm support from Stockholm. It has only been in very recent years that the state is addressing this by devolving powers to regional film centres and injecting more money into regional funds. Despite their small and peripheral status, regional film centres like FiS are continually seeking to ensure their own survival by adopting similar strategies to what Copenhagen has done — that is

to foster transnational collaborations and partnerships. That the audiovisual milieu in Skåne has largely been organised in an independent, bottom-up spirit that is less reliant on central government support is also significant, particularly when taking into account the outlooks and practices of the Swedish filmmakers whose work I examine in the next chapters.

3.   Conclusion

Paul Willemen, in an essay published in 1994, identifies some problems stemming from the increasing focus on international and extra-national relations in film studies, one of which is the seemingly forced and sometimes elective internationalisation of national film industries based on economic reasons. His criticism is that such a tendency marginalises non-mainstream and oppositional practices in the name of marketability (1994, 210–211). I would disagree with this particular concern in the case of the Øresund region, as the effort to internationalise the film market has also led to a deliberate inclusion of and support for the 'non-mainstream' and alternative practices, as a means of spreading risks. The DFI and SFI's focus on 'screens' other than film—mobile, hybrid genres, etc.—is a case in point.

As emphasised elsewhere, the Øresund region is very much a work-in-progress that is still finding its feet in terms of film and television production and support. While Copenhagen has had a head-start, the cultural life of Skåne is still somewhat in its infancy with its film policies still being under discussion and revision – a new strategic plan for film and moving images has only been published in early 2015, which places an emphasis on partnerships with educational institutions, developing new audiences, digital media development, and international collaborations (Region Skåne 2015).

For Skåne, being situated next door to Copenhagen has the advantage of the direct and indirect presence of two national film institutes and regional/municipal infrastructure where public funds can be channeled into film and television production in the region. Copenhagen's strong international reputation as a production hub also helps to reinforce the Øresund region's profile. However, Copenhagen's position as a talent and funding magnet does put Skåne at a disadvantage. One of the challenges that Skåne faces as a neighbour of Copenhagen is that there is usually more attention

and funding drawn to the Danish film environment. For Scanian film and television talent, there are simply more prestigious projects and better training and career opportunities on the other side of the strait. Such talent therefore tends to travel towards Copenhagen, which inhibits the development of excellence in Skåne. Another problem is that there is a lack of sustained organisation in the region. In the past few years, several institutions and actors have been established – all providing a high level of competence and commitment to the goal of increasing and improving production in the region. However, as Mathieu notes, financing and coordinating the relationships between these actors into a coherent structure has been a challenge (2013, 20).

Nevertheless, mobility in the region means that while Scanian talent benefits from the professional expertise and film education programmes in Copenhagen, they are at the same time building strong relations with Danish counterparts which can only be a boon for the region's overall audiovisual production landscape. Against this backdrop of cross-border knowledge-exchange and collaboration, the growth in numbers of talent across the region raises the profile of the Øresund region and may contribution to greater integration and increased creative and social dialogue.

In the next chapter, I focus on two examples of this burgeoning talent pool in the field of documentary filmmaking. One independent Scanian production company is WG Film, led by Fredrik Gertten, who illustrates the commitment to building relations across the Øresund and who participates in the construction of the region by telling stories about it — Gertten's documentaries depict the human and material transformations of the Øresund project. Gertten's work is then contrasted with the work of the Danish director Max Kestner, who, as a product of a national institutional milieu, mediates the region in markedly diverging ways.

CHAPTER THREE

Spaces Of Trans(national)formation:
Documenting Social Relations Through Architecture

> Architecture is much more powerful than sculpture in terms of the scale.
> You can penetrate it. You can see it far away in the landscape.
> —Santiago Calatrava, in *Sossen, arkitekten och det skruvade huset*.

This chapter focuses on the documentary representations of architectural change in the Øresund region — in particular, the tensions that emerge from the transformation of national spaces in the service of the formation of new transnational imaginaries. A key theme running through the films I discuss here is the tension between the planned and the lived, as de Certeau outlines in his analogies of the voyeur and the walker. I begin with a brief overview of the documentary genre and how the different modes relate to the films I examine here. In the section that follows, I analyse three documentary films by the Swedish filmmaker Fredrik Gertten that focus on the landmark architectural projects in the region: *Gå på vatten* (*Walking on Water*, 2000), *Bye Bye Malmö* (2002), and *Sossen, arkitekten och det skruvade huset* (*The Socialist, The Architect, and The Twisted Tower*, 2005).[63] The films record particular architectural changes—they follow the construction process as the structures are built—and simultaneously depict the attendant social debates that the Swedish part of the region experienced around the first few years of the Øresund project. The spatial reconfiguration of the Øresund region was more profound for Malmö, being the partner city that had more to gain from the transnational union in economic and material terms, hence the succession of films documenting the city's transformation.

As a contrasting piece to a Swedish depiction of the Malmö's place in the region, the final section of this chapter examines Max Kestner's documentary film portrait of Copenhagen nearly 10 years after the birth of the region, *Drømme i København* (*Copenhagen Dreams*, 2009). The poetic city symphony continues the

---

[63] An exception is *Gå på vatten*, which was co-directed by Lars Westman.

focus on architectural edifices, but with a keener eye on the material surfaces and textures of the city while the layer of social critique fades to the background. The film is the one Danish documentary production that has emerged in this period that explicitly documents the capital as an urban text, serving as a snapshot of Copenhagen at a particular time and from particular perspectives that reveal the city's ambivalent relationship to the Øresund region.

Another theme that runs through these films is construction. Three layers of construction are apparent in the films: first, they literally document the physical construction of architecture in the region, and in the case of *Bye Bye Malmö*, the dismantling or de-construction of a significant landmark. Second, on a metaphorical level, the films therefore also document the role of architecture in the negotiation and construction of transnational identities. A third layer of construction happens on the level of the medium, where one could also study the ways that the materiality of the film intersects with the spectator's sensual experience of the places depicted. These documentaries about the changing urban spaces of the Øresund region are of interest because they capture a region in the process of becoming through a visual study of not only the architectural space of construction itself, but also the intimate spaces of human experience and memory.

Each film documents the web of human relationships surrounding the construction of different landmark architecture in the 2000s. From a wider perspective they are an investigation into the social and spatial transformation of the Øresund region, and they feature the complexities of transnational identity, where the characters in the films negotiate their lived realities with respect to the architectural spaces in which the documentaries unfold. Therefore, the documentaries raise the following questions: what identities and relationships are constructed by the people who are actually involved in the physical creation of the space? How is a sense of place negotiated in these contexts and communities? In other words, what social realities have they constructed for themselves, vis-à-vis their relationships with the respective landmark architecture?

1. Representing Reality: Documentary Modes

Despite little consensus over whether it is a genre or style, the form is most commonly associated with non-fiction audiovisual works that record 'real' people and events. Jane Roscoe and Craig Hight argue that 'documentary holds a privileged position within society' because of its promise to construct the 'most accurate portrayal of the socio-historical world' (2001, 6). Yet this promise is riddled with the tensions between fact and fiction, between objectivity and subjectivity, and further problematised by digital filmmaking. That documentary can be equated to truth is evidently a problematic assumption (Grierson 1966). Nevertheless, the notion that documentary 'captures' the referential realm as it unfolds, pure and unmediated, still holds cultural sway: 'the indexical image possesses a strong evidentiary power that has strongly contributed to the appeal of the documentary film' (Nichols 2001, 35).

After all, the documentary serves a social function as a form of storytelling; it has 'a vestigial responsibility to describe and interpret the world of collective experience' and joins other discourses such as law, family, politics, and nation 'in the actual construction of social reality':

> Documentary films, though, are part and parcel of the discursive formations, the language games, and rhetorical stratagems by and through which pleasure and power, ideologies and utopias, subjects and subjectivities receive tangible representation. […] The goal of documenting reality, the hope of arriving at a final resting point where 'reason and order,' truth and justice prevail, of achieving freedom and diversity within a frame of perfect symmetry, recedes. (Nichols 1991, 10)

Bill Nichols is an American film theorist best known for his influential volume on documentary filmmaking, *Representing Reality* (1991), which was among the first texts to distinguish between the different 'modes of representations' in documentary filmmaking. Nichols' taxonomy of documentary styles, developed over several books (1991; 1994; 2001), include the following modes which I will briefly explain: expository, observational, participatory, performative, reflexive, and poetic.

The *expository* mode is very often the 'classic' form in documentary storytelling. Narration in the form of a 'voice of God' voice-over is used to deliver commentary—its 'objective truth'—about the subject, be it a social issue or phenomena in our world. The narrator typically speaks from behind a cloak of

anonymity, and is assumed by the viewer to be an objective commentator on the subject. Images of the pro-filmic world are always subordinate to the narration, as the latter serves as the dominant rhetoric that drives the text forward in service of its argument (Nichols 1991, 35). *Participatory* documentaries, as the term suggests, involves the filmmaker's active participation in the milieu being represented. The *performative* mode places the filmmaker within the screen, whose investigation into the subject drives the narrative. The audience thus 'learns' about the subject through the filmmaker's performance within the pro-filmic space, where she works to provoke and elicit responses from subjects to reveal opinions, ideas, and feelings. The *reflexive* mode emphasises the film's constructed nature through a Brechtian approach of making visible the artificiality of the filmmaking process, at the same time breaking the engagement of the audience with the story being told (ibid.).

The final two modes, the *observational* and *poetic*, are the domains to which the works in this chapter relate. The observational documentary style is otherwise referred to as direct cinema or *cinéma vérité*, and it stresses the filmmaker's bodily detachment from events—'the nonintervention of the filmmaker'—where events are depicted from a 'fly-on-the-wall' perspective:

> Observational cinema affords the viewer an opportunity to look in on and overhear something of the lived experience of others, to gain some sense of the distinct rhythms of everyday life, to see the colours, shapes, and spatial relationships among people and their possessions, to hear the intonation, inflection, and accents that give a spoken language its 'grain' and that distinguish one native speaker from another. (Nichols 1991, 42)

In some ways, watching an observational documentary is akin to watching a fiction film in that the viewer looks in and overhears 'social actors' (ibid.). There is no commentary nor interview as the emphasis is on the pro-filmic event unfolding before the camera. Far from an objective 'eye' that merely observes, this mode does raise the uncomfortable question of voyeurism especially in the case of scenes that peer into the intimate spaces in the lived experience of actual people. Another problem to consider with this mode is the unacknowledged or indirect intrusion into the pro-filmic world. That is to say, do the people depicted conduct themselves differently in some situations with the knowledge that the camera is recording them, or that the filmmaker is present? Despite these concerns, Nichols argues that the observational mode exhibits particular strengths in giving a sense of duration of actual events and the

presence of the camera 'on the scene' affirms a sense of commitment to the immediate as well as fidelity to the events depicted (2001, 112–3).

The poetic mode, on the other hand, is more aligned with the modernist avant-garde in that rules of continuity editing and the development of psychological depth of social actors are sacrificed. Instead, the mode is 'particularly adept at opening up the possibility of alternative forms of knowledge to the straightforward transfer of information, the prosecution of a particular argument or point of view, or the presentation of reasoned propositions about problems in need of solution' (Nichols 2001, 103). In the poetic documentary, depictions of reality are subject to aesthetic experimentation in distinctive ways that offer the potential to 'see the historical world anew' (ibid.). One of the more obvious criticisms of the poetic mode centres on its abstract, lyrical nature of its representation and the lack of specificity.

My aim in summarising the distinguishing features of different modes of documentary filmmaking is to understand how the particular modes as employed by Gertten and Kestner in this chapter work in particular ways to nuance their respective depictions of the referential world of the Øresund region. Nichols' theory of documentary modes is certainly not a definitive nor prescriptive framework; a documentary may express one or more modes, or a filmmaker may adapt or subvert a particular mode, or new modes may emerge. The point is this: each mode offers us a way of understanding the underlying principles that drive particular emphases in each filmmaker's representation of—and arguments about—lived experience in the region. After all, filmmakers are always working with and against established modes to articulate their own creative voice. Nichols locates the documentary filmmaker as a practitioner in a community and institutional context: 'Documentary filmmakers may shape and transform the traditions they inherit, but they do so precisely in dialogue with that tradition and with their cohorts' (1991, 15).

In the context of the documentaries I examine in this chapter, it is the construction and contestation of regional imaginaries that form the thematic focus. However, the two directors approach these imaginaries in different ways, employing, I would argue, varying levels of the observational and poetic modes to participate in discourses of identity, belonging, and transnationality.

2.   Bridge, Crane, Skyscraper

2.1.   Fredrik Gertten and WG Film

Gertten formed the Malmö-based WG Film with Lars Westman (Westman & Gertten AB) in 1994, and it is the production company responsible for the Swedish documentaries discussed in this chapter. Gertten has emerged as the more public-facing of the two, due to his high-profile documentary about corrupt practices by the Dole Food Company, *Bananas!** (2009), and the subsequent documentary where he turns the camera on himself, chronicling the lawsuit brought against him by Dole in *Big Boys Gone Bananas!** (2011).[64] Gertten maintains his professional identity as a journalist, environmentalist, and filmmaker, having built his early career on the former.

WG Film is of interest here as it has established a significant presence in Malmö's film production scene, particularly as a company specialising in high quality documentary films about socio-political topics of local and global interest. Gertten's three documentaries analysed here, for example, are part of WG Film's earlier series of documentaries focused on local stories in Malmö and Skåne. The company's work is also an important example of the independent, grassroots milieu-building efforts in the region that emerge from existing connections that regional institutions now seek to enhance. WG Film states their commitment to cultivating links with the Danish film industry across the Øresund:

> Since 1998 we have had an expanded cooperation with some of Denmark's foremost editors like Nils Pagh Andersen, Jesper Osmund and Åsa Mossberg. This link to the Danish film industry has been and still is an important part of our identity and of our future. Our shared experience gives us a lot to contribute to younger filmmakers in need of a producer. We have created a strong environment that contributes to projects both artistically and economically. (WG Film 2015)

Hence, not only does the company place a keen focus on telling local stories and working with local film practitioners, it acknowledges that what is at stake for Malmö and their own survival is an engagement with Danish partners through collaboration. It is also important to point out that the production company works within and outwith the state subsidy system, and it is keen to reduce its dependence on national sources such as the SFI and SVT by expanding its channels of distribution and increasing co-

---

[64] The asterisks are a typographical feature of the film titles (WG Film 2009).

productions with international partners, with help from the EU Creative Europe Development and Slate Funding programme (WG Film 2015).[65]

2.2.   Architecture In Malmö

Since 1995, Gertten has produced eight documentaries about Malmö and its changing character,[66] but only three deal directly with architectural transformations that were closely linked to the Øresund rhetoric. Whether it is the construction of significant new urban forms or the erasure of a well-known industrial landmark, the films are united by the themes of identity and belonging, borders, and the disjuncture between the transnational and the local.

It is my view that Gertten's style places a distinct emphasis on the characters' agency and self-representation, which he achieves partly through the mode of observational documentary. The argument I am making here is that Gertten's use of the aesthetic strategies of the observational style reflects an attempt to establish counter-narratives—the personal stories of the so-called Øresund citizen whose life is materially transformed by new architecture and new imaginaries—to contest the official cultural discourses of the Øresund project narrated by region-planners and administrators. His involvement in the pro-filmic world tends to be minimal and we assume the position of seeing events unfold from an uninvolved observer's point of view, behind the camera. Gertten's choice of casting is significant in this respect: protagonists tend to be marginalised characters, the ones typically passed over in favour of the more eminent personalities such as the architect or politician.

In all three films, the focus is on the protagonists' individual experiential realms. They are filmed in their respective work or home environments, where sequences unfold in real time, especially when characters are caught up in something that demands their attention while the camera tags along behind. Characters engage with each other and speak to the camera candidly about their experiences, inviting

---

[65] The Development and Slate Funding programme provides funds for audiovisual works that have the potential to circulate in the EU and beyond (European Commission 2015b).

[66] These include: *Malmö – Montevideo, My Place in This World* (1995), *True Blue* (1998) and its sequel *The Way Back: True Blue 2* (2002), *The Death of a Working Man's Newspaper* (2000), *The Poetry General* (2001).

the camera into particular spaces or directing the camera's gaze at specific objects of meaning to them. Often, these are spaces or objects that do not ordinarily warrant much attention in the context of the larger architectural project wherein the documentary takes place, such as the locker room, a worker's domestic kitchen, or the disputes arising from cultural clashes between contractors and the architectural team about the minutiae of the design.

Gertten's journalistic stance is clearly one of foregrounding the 'little man', often using the figure as a proxy for the multiple voices of difference, complexity, and resistance that are subsumed into dominant narratives of transnational region-branding. In an interview, Gertten articulates his perspective:

> I'm interested in telling the story of a nation through one single person in the street. That is more rewarding than meeting kings and presidents. For me, one of the greatest tasks of the political documentary is to show 'the others'. To portray them as fellow human beings we can respect, and not just as victims. (Quoted in Säfström 2009)

The protagonists are typically caught in the midst of the region's transformation, where issues of identity and belonging become increasingly fraught as local places become reappropriated as transnational spaces. In the following examination of the narrative and textual attributes of Gertten's documentaries, I argue that the films would be more usefully regarded as a trilogy that examines multiple perspectives on the question of identity and belonging amidst processes of transformation. The tripartite form, in this context, does not seek to present a unified worldview of the Øresund region, but instead points to the impossibility of this endeavour in light of the diversity of outlooks presented across three works. In my analysis, I posit that the multiple histories of characters of diverse nationalities and cultures are woven into the (de)construction of the structures, producing a visual space that interrogates the meaning of 'identity' in an increasingly networked and global world.

2.3. *Gå på vatten* (*Walking on Water*, 2000)

Gå på vatten was co-directed by Fredrik Gertten and Lars Westman, produced by WG Film for SVT and TV2 in Denmark, with the support of the Swedish and Danish film institutes, NFTF, and the EU MEDIA programme. It is an 83-minute documentary that follows the construction of the Øresundsbron over the course of five years, exploring the space between neighbours – the shared space and borderland of the

Øresund strait. At the heart of the film is the symbol of the bridge. In the film, the erection of the physical bridge is interwoven with the mental/cultural bridges that are constructed via the personal narratives of those working on the construction site. On the metaphor of bridges, Georg Simmel writes that '[t]he bridge becomes an aesthetic value insofar as it accomplishes the connection between what is separated not only in reality and in order to fulfil practical goals, but in making it directly visible' (1994, 6). Similarly, de Certeau asserts that the bridge is an ambiguous element of a frontier-space in our spatial experience: 'It alternately welds together and opposes insularities. It distinguishes them and threatens them' (1984, 128). This echoes Martin Heidegger's conception of the bridge as a paradoxically separative architecture in his lecture, 'Bauen, Wohnen, Denken': 'The banks emerge as banks only as the bridge crosses the stream. The bridge designedly causes them to lie across from each other' (1954, 154, my translation). These paradoxical conceptions of the bridge are indeed expressed in this documentary through the tension between official projections of regional unity and the personal expressions of the cultural gap between the two nations. In other words, the documentary does two things: its complex representation of the Øresund Bridge's construction celebrates the effort accomplished by those involved in the transcultural project of linking together two peoples and constructing a new region, yet at the same time it highlights the acute fractures—or teething pains—that occur underneath the veneer of unity and collaboration. I contend that the bridge as portrayed in the film articulates a marked discourse of separation, more so than the intended unity it seeks to foster.

The opening shot shows the film's title set against the sparkling surface of the Øresund. The text then subtly morphs: 'vatten', meaning 'water' in Swedish, becomes the Danish 'vandet', easily unnoticed at first viewing. It is understandably difficult to spot this minor change, but the point it makes is as if to underline on this first textual level that the two peoples are bound together by a shared linguistic origin. This is also a very self-conscious gesture to the intended binational audience.

At the start of the documentary, Sven, the Swedish director of the construction company building the bridge, speaks enthusiastically about the ideology behind the Øresund project:

> We are not only building one of the world's biggest stay cable bridges, but also the world's biggest immersed tunnel. We're building a big, artificial island.

> We're building a peninsula. Steel and concrete are exciting things for a builder. But that's not really the point. We're involved in building a new region. Sweden and Denmark are suddenly closer. Scania and Zealand are closer. Linking countries and people is what's important.

Sven's comment echoes the rhetoric of the Øresund project – a narrative that imagines the idea that the material connections serve the larger aims of bringing people together. The declaration of the importance of the bridge to the imaginative construction of a regional identity is set up at the beginning, from which moment on the ideal begins to unravel as the documentary traverses the cultural boundaries of the two countries.

Mid-way through the film, Sven is shown preparing for a meeting with his Danish counterparts. Now facing the day-to-day reality of intercultural collaboration, he remarks on some cultural differences in a resigned tone: 'In Sweden we start work at eight o'clock. In Denmark they start at half past eight or quarter to nine. We work for 40 hours, they work 37 and a half.' He and his colleague go on to grouse about having to check every word in the documents and contracts with their Danish colleagues, to make sure that every expression is articulated clearly and that there should be no misunderstandings despite the seeming affinity between the two languages: 'There are so many nuances. You think they don't exist, but they do.'

The film places a focus on the cultural tensions between the Danes and the Swedes as they navigate their shared working space on the bridge's construction, which becomes a test-bed for the potentiality of a Øresund community. As the bridge stretches further out into the Øresund and the concrete link between the two countries begins to take shape, the documentary repeatedly juxtaposes serene images of the shared body of water against scenes that show the various characters unable to locate themselves in this new nexus of place-making. What language should they speak to each other? How do they reconcile differences in working attitudes and styles?

From the beginning there is already a strong sense that the two groups do not understand each other, and both sides are hesitant to reach out to the other. Already, cracks in the planned vision of 'one region, two cities' begin to show, as the Danish and Swedish workers involved in the building project start out with concerted efforts to define themselves against the other. For instance, the construction workers express

their immense difficulty at understanding their 'foreign' colleagues, that despite now having taken the first steps of bridging the physical distance between the two nations, language still remains a strong barrier. In particular, Janne, the Danish owner of the on-site lunch café speaks vehemently about the Swedes and 'that horrible language of theirs'. Like so many of the other workers on the construction site, Janne is experiencing the initial confusion of having to negotiate her place in a landmark project meant to bridge national and cultural borders, while still defining her own sense of *national* cultural difference as a Dane. As Löfgren says, 'the nationalising eye is scanning the terrain for the small differences' (2002, 259), despite significant similarities in the way life looks on both sides of the bridge.

David Morley and Kevin Robins write that encounters with globalisation provoke experiences of orientation and disorientation, and the production of 'placed and placeless identities':

> The global-local nexus is associated with new relations between space and place, fixity and mobility, centre and periphery, 'real' and 'virtual' space, 'inside' and 'outside', frontier and territory. This, inevitably, has implications for both individual and collective identities and for the meaning and coherence of community. (1995, 121)

The bridge, filtered through the lens of its construction, becomes a 'heterotopia', a space that comprises multiple layers of meanings, relationships, and identities. Foucault describes heterotopias as spaces that are both real and imagined, 'capable of juxtaposing in a single real space several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible' ([1984] 1986, 25). Visually, the camera constructs the heterotopic quality of the construction site as it weaves the various spaces depicted with the individuals and their personal experiences. The spaces include those on the work site (the lunch café, to the workers' dormitories, common room) and even their personal spaces (home, car, wedding celebration, football match). The characters also bring other real and imagined spaces into the site – a crane operator's memories of former travels to other countries, mediated images of Janne taking part in a reality TV show, Jill's political and environmental protests, and the construction worker Vagge's domestic relationship and promises of marriage and home. These spaces are expressed via narratives of disorientation and placelessness experienced by the characters followed by the camera.

For Janne, navigating new transnational imaginaries and collective identities is made even more frustrating as she is the only woman in a male-dominated workplace. This added experience of gendered marginalisation is a compelling nuance to the way the space of the bridge project is deconstructed in the film. She complains of constantly being the object of male attention and of feeling trapped in the repetitive ennui of the everyday experience in the small café on the construction site. From a wider perspective, perhaps Janne's position as the only female on the site foregrounds the question of women's roles in the transnational network of cultural and economic exchange. Towards the end of the film, we see her celebrating in a café with friends after being told that she has been selected to be a contestant on the Danish version of *Expedition Robinson*, a Swedish reality television show that the American *Survivor* series is based on. While she celebrates her selection on the show as an escape from her job at the construction site, it is clear that she has only just substituted the construction site for being marooned on a tropical island under the constant surveillance of cameras. We last see her hermetically sealed within the television screen and frame, being monitored by the very same construction workers whom she complained about before. The documentary puts forth a provocative notion that the manifest 'writing' of the Øresund story and the construction of its transnational spatial identity does not quite register women's voices.

Another character's story underlines this notion. Vagge, a Danish team leader working on the tunnel construction, lives onsite in workers' accommodation away from his family and home. He explains that life on the construction site is difficult and isolating, although he is very excited and proud to be part of an exciting structural project. In a later scene, he arranges for some female members of his family including his fiancée, Jytte, to visit the site. As the women follow behind him on his tour of the various spaces where he works, they—and the camera—cannot help but notice and dwell on the pornographic images of naked women plastered on random surfaces around the worksite. Photographs of a recent celebration that involved a female stripper adorn a wall by the makeshift pantry. As the women sip the coffee Vagge has poured them, they gaze uncomfortably at the photographs while Vagge explains the dimensions of the steel sections to another (male) visitor. When asked if Vagge would return home after the bridge is completed, Jytte shrugs, only saying that he has promised to do so and not move off onto another construction project overseas. The women featured in the documentary therefore exist at the margins of the site: they

are made out to be extraneous and placeless individuals who do not belong in the Øresund rhetoric, either framed in a domesticised role—in the small lunch café like Janne, or as curious wives of the workers visiting the site in ill-fitting protective gear—or represented as social and political outcasts linked to other marginalised discourses. In a region where its constituent countries dominate the top ten ranks of the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Index (Hausmann, Tyson, and Zahidi 2011) the film hints at the idea that not only the transnational market but also spaces of cultural production and the narrative of region-building are still dominated and constructed by men.[67]

A third narrative thread deals with the suppression of dissent from those concerned about the environmental costs of the bridge and the region-building rhetoric. Jill, a young Swedish environmental activist opposing the construction of the bridge, is similarly marginalised or outright excluded from the process of regional imagineering, despite her dogged attempts to have her voice acknowledged as a legitimate part of this future Øresund community. The camera follows her to various demonstrations, sit-in protests, discussions with activists, and the court hearing where she and her colleagues are being charged for trespassing on the Swedish side of the construction. Narratives of regional identity depend not just on the built environment, culture, and economic success, but also on ideas of nature and the natural landscape (Paasi 2003, 477), which, in the case of the Øresund strait, is indeed a focal point. The Øresund project has consistently communicated a 'green' and 'sustainable' profile—eco-branding the region as environmentally progressive—that Stefan Anderberg and Eric Clark suggest amounts to 'greenwashing' (2013, 606). Even before the bridge was built, a problematic political debate centred on the tension between environmental consequences of the fixed link and the predicted economic benefits from mobility and communications between Denmark and Sweden. Economic growth was taken for granted as a positive value by most political parties

---

[67] Incidentally, I must acknowledge that all of the works discussed in this thesis are produced by male directors. It is not my intention to dissect the gender politics of film production in the region as this is indeed a significant area of study that would necessitate another thesis, but I will mention that gender equality has been institutionalised in the Swedish context since 2011: it is a requirement in the Swedish Film Institute's funding contracts, yet there is no Danish equivalent. The Swedish industry maintains statistics on the involvement of women at various levels, while the Danish does not. This is not to say that Danish film landscape does not recognise the import of gender diversity — many of the film commissioners, producers, and directors (Wiedemann and Scherfig are examples) who are active and playing leading roles in the industry are women. The Nordic Gender & Media Forum presents more detailed findings on gender balance in the film industry in a report published in 2014 (Nordicom 2014).

but there was no concrete discussion of how this would weigh up against the environmental impact on diverse species and the flow of water in the strait, not to mention increased pollution from vehicles (Melin 2013, 107).

Through Jill, the documentary registers those environmental anxieties produced by the new bridge that were not given due, democratic hearing at higher political levels. This is most clearly expressed in the scene of the demonstrators staging a 'die-in', coughing and collapsing outside the venue where the (male, middle-aged) Swedish and Danish ministers are due to meet with EU commissioners about the bridge. As the demonstrators lie 'dead' at the entrance to the building, the politicians with briefcases simply walk over them while smiling and waving to Gertten's camera, which they probably mistake for a news camera. Jill is clear about her social and political identity as well as her affiliation to the place: she wants to sustain and map out civic space via discussion and protest, yet at every turn, she is dismissed by not only engineers and workers who mock her attempts to disrupt the construction process, but also by society at large, which sends her to court for disruption and trespassing on the construction site. The trajectory of Jill's story in the documentary ends on a note of defeat and impotence as she breaks down in tears while gazing at the completed bridge from the Malmö harbour.

One of the final sequences in the documentary juxtaposes scenes from Vagge and Jytte's wedding with scenes of the Crown Prince of Denmark and Crown Princess of Sweden celebrating at the mid-way point on the bridge in a topping-out ceremony surrounded by members of the media and politicians. Denmark and Sweden are once more united and the future shows great promise — the region looks set to be marked by a successful partnership. Vagge, happy to be back on his farm and finally settling down, delivers a heartfelt speech to family and friends about his love for Jytte. However, after the end credits, we see Vagge not too long after his wedding, this time at the construction of Copenhagen's new metro system: he has broken his promise to Jytte that he would return home permanently. Once again, he is working hard at the expense of his health to build material connections between other people, yet failing to attend to his own personal relationship. This sequence, simultaneously humorous and poignant, stands as an allegory for the doubt and uncertainty surrounding the promises of integration in the Øresund context — that Danish and Swedish identities would be assimilated into a new imagined community.

According to the SFI film database, *Gå på vatten* was screened on television in July 2000,[68] just days after the high-profile official opening of the Øresund Bridge, thus reaching an imagined 'Øresund community' that would have been, by that time, inundated by celebratory images of unity and integration orchestrated by media teams (Linde-Laursen 2010, 248–9). If the screening of the documentary was an attempt to intervene within the dominant utopian discourse, it did so from a point in time when the bridge had already been built and when people would have started to physically cross the bridge, practicing the region instead of just imagining it. The timing of its screening on public television is, in my view, significant as it is a work that can be seen as presenting an alternative story of the Øresund region, giving voice to some of the marginal discourses that were dismissed by the 'regional elite' (Lovering 1995) and that directly contested the utopia of a unified regional consciousness. In reclaiming the voices of people like Jill, Vagge, and Janne, the film brings together each individual's personal spaces, memories, and experience, forming an alternative cultural tapestry of the region, and of alternative collective identities at the personal level. Through the characters' personal experiences, the documentary problematises official narratives of the collective Øresund identity and shows us several layers of identity-construction that constantly morph at each stage of the construction process, highlighting the instability and uncertainty of what the Øresund identity really is.

2.4. *Bye Bye Malmö* (2003)

The symbolic and affective power of the Kockums crane in Malmö is expressed in this sympathetic description from a *Bloomberg* article:

> A 128 meter-tall crane known as the 'Tears of Malmoe' towers above the Hyundai Heavy shipyard in Ulsan — a reminder of the fall of European shipbuilders, who had dominated the industry until the 1980s. Hyundai Heavy bought it for $1 from the now-gone Kockums AB shipyard in the Swedish city of Malmoe in 2002. Residents of the city are said to have cried as they watched it depart. (Cho 2007)

Bye Bye Malmö is a sentimental portrait of one of Malmö's most visible landmark structures at the end of its 'life'. The 50-minute long documentary had a much more limited exhibition period than *Gå på vatten*: it was broadcast on SVT only in November

---

[68] It had already premiered in cinemas in May 2000.

2003, but has been subsequently made available for online viewing through the National Library of Sweden. The film was a co-production by SVT's documentary arm and Film i Skåne, with support from Malmö Museum.

In contrast to *Gå på vatten* and *Sossen, Arkitekten och det skruvade huset* which both trace the construction of structures, *Bye Bye Malmö* records the dismantling of a noted landmark that stood as a geographical point of reference for a community for almost three decades. The 138-metre-tall ship-building crane was located in the midst of the old shipyard in the Västra Hamnen (Western Harbour) district of Malmö, which was in the 1960s and early 1970s at the centre of the global shipbuilding industry. After its removal from the Malmö skyline, the crane has since been reconstructed and brought back to life, as it were, in Ulsan, South Korea, now the largest shipyard in the world. Its removal in 2002 was an emotional event for those who had organised their lives around the crane since its inception in 1974. While it fulfilled functional purposes as an essential part of the shipbuilding industry as well as a geographical landmark, it was more importantly a symbol of the city's industrial rejuvenation after a major recession in the 1970s. With the establishment of the Kockums shipyard and the crane's reputation as the largest in the world came increased employment, immigration, and a bustling community by the harbour. Hence, the crane was invested with much pride and significance for the people living around and with it. The film demonstrates this aura through archival footage of the crane in the 1970s, along with long shots of the crane standing tall and prominent in the skyline of Malmö.

Yet, as described in the documentary, the 1980s saw the gradual decline of Malmö's fortunes and the eventual demise of its global shipbuilding dominance. Kockums Industries ceased operations in 1986, and by the mid-nineties Malmö had the highest unemployment rate in Sweden. *Bye Bye Malmö* captures the harbour's postindustrial environment where the hub of the global shipbuilding industry has long since shifted to another part of the world, and Malmö is in the midst of negotiating its postindustrial identity by rebranding itself as part of the Øresund region and as a city of knowledge and innovation. The time has come for the crane, a relic of an industrial past, to be dismantled and give way for something newer.

2.4.1. *Disorientation*

At the beginning of the film, there is an emphasis on disorientation. The film opens

jarringly, with the uncomfortable metallic sounds of the tense steel wire cables whipping in the wind and the handheld camera seemingly disorientated while recording a panorama of Malmö from atop the crane.[69] The cameraman then makes his way down, pausing at the control cab as the opening titles appear. Here, we are introduced to Paul, the crane's operator. There is an immediate jump cut to the ground level, to a much steadier shot of another character, George, looking steadily back up at the crane. The steady groundedness of the shot, however, gives way to narrative instability and uncertainty as we learn that the crane is to be dismantled.

George is a foreman from Scotland tasked to manage the entire project of dismantling the crane with a team of diverse nationalities. His narrative is interspersed with shots of the crane from various perspectives, as well as juxtaposed against the path of the second primary character, Paul, the immigrant worker who used to operate the crane. Throughout the film, the handheld camera is invested with the ability to travel into, over, under, through the scaffolding, and into the very anatomy of the structure, as it were – into the space of experiences and relationships. The camera thus allows us to experience and deconstruct the space and the role of the crane in the production of meaning, identity, and social dynamics. The way we experience the tearing down of the crane and seeing its constituent parts being dismantled and lowered to the ground is a meditative process, such that what the camera suggests is revealed are the layers of social discourses and structures of identity that have been built over the space, over time. It is through this material deconstruction and deconstructed space that the various transnational communities and discourses interface with one another. Even in its removal, the crane still exists as a node where transnational flows of people pass through, converge, or come into conflict, as conveyed by the various nationalities involved in the project. There is the Scottish project manager, a team of German crane specialists, the new South Korean owners of the crane, and the Yugoslavian crane operator. Most are transient characters that come into Malmö to work on this project, and when the job is done, they leave for the next project in another part of the world. In fact, the narratives depicted in the film form a very cosmopolitan constellation of transnational circulation. As the crane is being taken apart, its ephemeral presence still articulates varying configurations of

---

[69] In the later section on *Drømme i København*, I refer to a particular scene from *A City Called Copenhagen* (1960) by Jørgen Roos which features a similar, but also contrasting, shot.

interaction and social relationships between these groups of people.

One significant aspect of this constellation of relationships is the notion of place and belonging that seems to be diminished within the larger discourse of global flows and spaces of transnational interaction. With respect to this notion of identity crisis, the most important character I want to draw out is Paul, the middle-aged immigrant-Swede who moved to Malmö from Yugoslavia as an 18-year-old to work at the shipyard, and who had worked as the crane's operator for almost the entire span of its existence. Paul's perspective plays a chief role in this documentary, as his emotional expression is the only one that the camera dwells on. Through the use of long takes and close-ups of Paul's expressions and movements, the camera draws us closer to the intensity of his attachment to the crane. As he shows us, the crane *is* his anchor in Malmö. Its presence validates his sense of belonging to the city, and provides a spatial context for bodily experience. Like de Certeau's walker in the city inscribing personal experiences across the urban 'text', Paul has etched his own life onto the space of the crane and the shipyard.

In other words, Paul's sense of belonging is mediated through the material presence of the crane and his physical interaction with the space itself. The camera follows him into the crane's operating cab, and into his home, where the crane is still a dominant object of reference. An instance of Paul's reflexive negotiation of his identity through the crane is in the scenes of him looking out of the kitchen window in his home. Even within the domestic sphere, he maintains an affective connection with the crane: he enthusiastically reenacts for the camera how he typically has his breakfast every morning, seated at the table positioned just by the window, looking wistfully into the far distance where the crane is situated amongst the other smaller structures around it. The viewer is also brought into this affective space through the camera's privileged perspective into Paul's embodied relationship with the space of the crane and the cultural meanings produced through this relationship.[70] The intensity of Paul's attachment in this short scene is expressed through the close-up of his facial expressions whilst looking at the crane, which is framed by his window. The

[70] Doreen Massey (2005) conceptualizes 'space' as a kind of surface upon which people, places, and culture are spread out. Here, my understanding of 'affective space' is concerned with the subject's spatial experience.

former expression of pride from claiming the best view of the crane from his breakfast table now turns to a melancholic sobriety at being reminded that this view will cease to exist when the crane is dismantled.

Similarly, in another scene when the crane's operating cab is finally lowered to the ground, Paul emphasises that the cab was the heart of the crane where everything was controlled. He steps into it with a nervous laugh at how strange it feels to be in the cab on ground level where there is no view of the sky and the city. The scene is pregnant with sadness, and Paul is clearly emotional as he lingers in his seat in the cab with the awareness that this is the last time he will be part of the crane. A brief sequence from an archival film shows a much younger Paul, pressing the buttons on the cab's control panel and manoeuvring the levers. The next shot cuts back to present-day Paul, sitting silently in the lowered cab, processing what the crane's imminent departure will mean for him. Later in the film, he says to the camera, 'It has been a friend after all.'

The documentary of the dismantling of the crane is thus also the documentary of Paul's eviction from his job. The event also marks Malmö's material shift towards a postindustrial identity, a necessary step that will put it in line with the transnational dreams of the Øresund region. As a few men from the project team joke about how Malmö's residents will now lose their way on the streets without the crane-as-landmark to guide their way home, Paul is one significant person who will be, in a sense, emotionally lost: with the loss of the crane, no further coordinates will guide his narrative beyond the film.

In some ways, the documentary subverts de Certeau's concept of the planner's panoramic gaze as associated with privilege and power. It is noteworthy that Paul, an accented and now-displaced immigrant (Naficy 2001), is the one who has had a panoramic view over the city for so many years and who has been responsible for operating the structure so crucial to the city's identity and economy — the cab *is* the heart. As Paul traverses the boundary between immigrant and citizen, between belonging and not-belonging, the crane functions as an anchor point around which he imagines and re-imagines a sense of belonging to a community. The documentary's depiction of Paul and his subjective experience of being made redundant, like the crane, reflects the idea that it is difficult for the ordinary working-

class individual to situate himself in this contemporary nexus of global-local networks and new capital flows. Over the next years after the events of this film, the shipyard area and the Western Harbour district will leave behind its industrial past and transform into a trendy and densely built area for knowledge creation and sustainable living, a milieu in which Paul does not yet know where he might fit. As Nilsson has emphasised, immigrants comprise a significant percentage of the Øresund region, but are rarely spoken of as active participants in the regional project (2000, 198). Despite being active locally and transnationally, they are still considered outsiders in the imagination of the region. Indeed, discussions of intercultural integration in the region typically focus on the dynamic between Swedes and Danes — but what about the 'others'?

A sentimental tone is reflected in the documentary, particularly in the manner in which archival footage from the crane's bustling early hey-days since 1974 is juxtaposed against the emptiness and derelict appearance of the shipyard towards the end of its tenure in Malmö. In a digital film, the use of archival footage is particularly significant as it serves as an indexical intervention, bringing traces of the past to light. The removal of the crane parallels what seems to be the removal of Malmö from the global network of trade and commerce – the city's shipyard can no longer claim to house the largest crane in the world. As this documentary-within-the-documentary continues, the voice of the jaunty commentator changes to that of Gertten's, who, as a Malmö native, conveys a sombre nostalgia while his narration takes over the image: 'We recall 1974 as a happy time. The world's most modern shipyard. Then came the crisis and the yard died.' A montage of various shots of quotidian life from different perspectives follows, always with the crane prominent in the background. Beyond expressing a certain nostalgia, the inclusion of the archival footage seems to suggest that even the visual memory of the past is at stake, and that preserving the images here in the documentary is the first act of preserving this memory.

2.4.2. *Mediating Identity And Memory*
The film explores how identity and belonging are mediated through embodiment in space, demonstrated through George. Like many working in the construction business, the nomadic nature of his job means that he spends long periods away from home. In his temporary office at the base of the crane, he describes the background

image on his computer screen which shows a view of the Scottish hills from the front fence of his home. He looks fondly upon the image, chuckling to himself about how it is always raining back home.

Laura Marks argues that digital images are existentially connected to the objects that they 'record' and that the electronic image has 'a strong indexical relationship between the object and image through all stages of recording, transmission, and reception' (2002, 174–5). She writes against 'the assumption that what is virtual must be immaterial, transcendent' and pursues the understanding that we desire the indexical and the real; such virtual images, be they reality television shows, or webcam video, all supply a material connection to the event (ibid.). Hence, for example, sensual traces of a place represented visually on a computer screen might have the potential to elicit particular emotions in the viewer.[71] As a construction specialist who travels constantly from project to project around the world, George mediates his desire for home through a portable and virtual image of the view from his front yard in Scotland. The space of his home in Scotland is compressed and translated onto his computer's *home* screen. I contend that this scene highlights the affective relationship between George and this particular digital photograph. Identity is mediated through a digital image on a computer screen and this indexical reproduction gives him some solace amidst the chaos of his workplace. For George, the image bears material traces of home; his act of gazing upon it every day articulates an embodied sense of identity and belonging.

We can extend this idea to *Bye Bye Malmö* as Gertten's way of recording a physical trace of the Kockums crane, and of recording and mediating Paul's embodied memories of the crane and its influence in Malmö. As the protagonists carry out the dismantling process, and as each part of the crane is disassembled and lowered to the ground, the emotive connection that the former workers had with the crane and the shipyard around it becomes clearer and clearer. The camera directly participates in this process of dissecting the crane, while at the same time working to salvage the spaces of memory inscribed upon the crane through the protagonists' narration and

---

[71] Marks's discussion, drawing from theories of quantum physics, focuses on 'how electrons remember': she argues that an electronic image bears material traces of the object whose image it transmit through the assumption that 'all matter is intimately interconnected by wave-surfing electrons' (2002, 168).

use of archival footage. Their narratives and voices are thus concretised, as the documentary itself, into an audiovisual and affective reconstruction of the essence of the landmark as an extension of social and place identity.

The documentary raises the question of the affective relationships between such architecture and lived experience: what are the marks that Paul, George, and the rest of the project team leave behind (or not) on the crane, and what are the emotional, psychological, even *physical* marks that are left on the people by the space of the crane? The social functions of the crane are made clear through the film: the crane as a site of belonging and memory, as a physical representation of a local identity that is soon to be replaced by a newer identity indirectly marked by shifts in the global economy.[72] I contend that the film therefore participates in the act of memory-making, and the inclusion of local archival footage in the film performs yet another layer of memory, inviting the viewer to engage haptically with the juxtaposition between analogue and digital filmmaking. The archival footage is at times blurry, unfocused, and physical scratches on the film produce imperfections in the image. The viewer's attention is thus drawn to the materiality of these images and made aware that the footage is a physical artefact from another time, carrying traces of the crane and shipyard within its images.

The crane does not belong in Malmö anymore, having lost its symbolic function as a shared landmark; instead, it has become what it originally was, a form of capital in the global industrial network. Malmö, in line with the Øresund vision, has now has moved on to rebrand itself as a cultural, middle-class cosmopolitan city, displacing those who were part of its shipbuilding heritage. Who, then, belongs in such a rebranded space? What new symbol of the socio-economic identity of the city takes the place of the crane?

2.5. *Sossen, arkitekten och det skruvade huset* (*The Socialist, The Architect, and the Twisted Tower*, 2005)

The last in the Øresund trilogy is a 60 minute-long documentary that was produced and supported by a host of local organisations: WG Film, Film i Skåne, and support

---

[72] Interestingly, and perhaps ironically, the crane's last job was to lift the pillars forming the foundations of the Øresund Bridge.

from local private and public funds: Sparbanksstiftelsen Skåne (a regional bank foundation), Malmökulturstöd (Malmö Culture Fund), and Konstnärsnämnden (the national Swedish Arts Grants Committee, a government agency). Like the earlier documentaries, the film had a theatrical premiere, which took place shortly after the official completion of the Turning Torso skyscraper in 2005 and was screened on television in 2006 on SVT.

The residential skyscraper is the tallest in Scandinavia and has since won the accolade of Best Housing Project at the MIPIM Awards[73] in 2005 and become the default symbol of the 'new' Malmö and the Øresund region. The Turning Torso was originally proposed as part of the Bo01 housing exposition in 2001 (Rosenberg 2006, 2). Held in the Western Harbour district, the event came with a tagline, 'City of Tomorrow', and was conceived with a very progressive and future-oriented ethos, aimed at attracting international attention and at the same time serving as a model for modern, sustainable housing in Malmö. It showcased innovations in residential construction—'bo' means 'dwelling' in Swedish—with a focus on technology, ecology, aesthetics, and urban design, while also emphasising social responsibility by foregrounding mixed forms of home ownership. The Turning Torso was the crown jewel of the Bo01 exhibition, its provocative architecture intended to dominate Malmö's skyline and nudge Malmö into the exclusive network of global cosmopolitan cities with similar prestige, starchitectural projects. Local politicians were, and continue to be, driven by a future-oriented vision which motivated the strategy to rebrand Malmö as a global 'city of tomorrow', meanwhile shedding its blue-collar roots of yesterday. In the wake of the housing exhibition, the district has developed into an expensive neighbourhood, home to a largely wealthy, and white ethnic Swedish populace, in spite of the original plans for a diverse, egalitarian space that would take into account Malmö's multi-ethnic character — about 40 per cent of Malmö's inhabitants are of non-Swedish origin (S. Rose 2005; Danish Architecture Centre 2014).

The skyscraper has replaced the Kockums crane as a recognisable vertical landmark in Malmö's skyline, but the meanings generated by the new structure differ vastly. *Sossen, arkitekten och det skruvade huset* explores the period of transition

---

[73] MIPIM is a major event in the global real estate industry held in Cannes every March.

when the city's inhabitants had to come to terms with a new landmark. This was also a period of intense reflection and negotiation about the future character of the city. The documentary tracks the construction of the skyscraper, from initial conceptualisation to completion, and foregrounds the personal and communal conflicts that emerged from the process of constructing not just a new landmark building, but a new identity for Malmö as it finds its feet in the new Øresund dynamic. One of the main themes framing this narrative is the tension between the transnational and the local, represented by the conflicts of vision occurring between the different protagonists involved with the construction project. My larger argument about the documentary is that it makes manifest the question of how the social space of the Øresund region is negotiated and produced through the tension between planned visions and actual, lived experiences. To this end, I suggest that the film visually articulates Lefebvre's triad of conceived, perceived, and lived space, and by juxtaposing these spaces in the narrative, the film exposes the problematic nature of the regional imaginary.

2.5.1. The 'Formula One of Housing' Versus The Socialist Ideal

At the construction's groundbreaking ceremony, a local politician announces, 'the Turning Torso is modern and advanced architecture. It creates new values.' One of the conflicts depicted in the film is the battle between these 'new values' and old ones, and in the middle of this ideological conflict stands the figure of Johnny Örbäck, the idealist originator of the project and CEO of HSB Malmö (Hyresgästernas sparkasse- och byggnadsförening), the local branch of the Swedish housing association. Alongside the drama of the construction process, the documentary also depicts Örbäck's uphill task of convincing the conservative local populace of the merits of the new structure. In a contradictory fashion, the more the building materialises and as more layers of the concrete structure get built, the more opposition confronts Örbäck. Local inhabitants and shareholders of the HSB regard the Turning Torso as an unwelcome, foreign concept that flies in the face of Swedish ideals of egalitarianism; the project is accused of being one man's vanity project that has not been adequately analysed and contextualised (Svensson 2005, 39). Furthermore, Örbäck's burden is not lightened by his insistence on referring to the skyscraper as 'the Formula One of housing' throughout the film. His argument, presented at the various public events captured in the documentary, is that the unorthodox design will not only be a symbol of Malmö's future, but will also set a new standard for the future of Swedish housing

— in the same way that innovative technologies used in Formula One cars eventually filter down to consumer vehicles. However, this is perceived very differently by the local people who are concerned that the residential skyscraper will only serve the wealthy and elite of society and exclude everyone else. To which Örbäck replies, 'Why shouldn't we do that?' Evidently this is a clash between Örbäck's grand vision of doing something truly unique—and provocative—to reshape Malmö and the future of Swedish housing on the one hand, and the ordinary inhabitant's immediate concerns about the disruption the Turning Torso will bring to social(ist) balance of the city.

This conflict serves as an acute conceit for the tensions between the Øresund rhetoric and lived experience, between visions of the transnational and the national. The dominant narratives of the Øresund project, that of mobility, transnationalism, and future-oriented innovation, have been largely driven by neoliberal planning, which makes it unsurprising that projects like the Turning Torso and the Western Harbour transformation found little purchase in a society known for its mixed socialist-capitalist approach to housing provision (Gilderbloom and Appelbaum 1988, 13). As much as Örbäck would like Malmö to look beyond quarrels of morality and embrace change, he is overwhelmed by the ideological resistance. As the building takes shape, Örbäck's voice becomes weaker; by the time it is completed and wins the MIPIM award, Örbäck has been written out of the building's story. As a matter of fact, the documentary already announces his defeat in the opening scene, which also introduces the other protagonist, Spanish-born and Zürich-based Santiago Calatrava, an internationally renowned 'starchitect', engineer, and artist, whose sculpture of an abstracted human torso in a twisting posture inspired Örbäck to approach Calatrava with the idea of replicating its form in a residential building in the first place. In the opening scene, Calatrava is asked what he thinks of Örbäck's role in the project, and in his reply he emphasises that the latter must not be thought of as a 'loser', but instead 'a hero and martyr'. As we find out towards the end of the film, Örbäck was sacked from his job, even before the building had been completed, for allowing the project to run immensely over-budget. When the skyscraper goes on to win international acclaim, his efforts go unrecognised.

2.5.2. Architect, Dreamer, Voyeur

Calatrava is depicted in the film as the transnational figure and creative visionary who has little interest in getting involved in the disputes on the ground. This proves difficult

for the Swedish construction company who are used to the Swedish-style hierarchy where architects are subordinate to them, and this is emphasised several times throughout the film: 'Architects have a weak role in Sweden'. In scenes where Calatrava is pressed by the team to solve technical problems, his response is always to rise above what he thinks are petty arguments and insist on solving the real, cultural impediments to progress, and speaks instead of the higher aim of collaborative team spirit. Indeed, Calatrava's voice is elevated to a status akin to de Certeau's 'voyeur-god' who maps and plans urban space from a distanced perspective, incognizant of the lived, spatial practices on the ground. The documentary signals this by foregrounding his physical detachment from the actual issues on the construction site, and by situating his voice and story at one remove from the Swedish characters. The camera plays witness to his participation in ceremonial events, his rare appearances at meetings, his conversations to people all around the world in multiple languages about his other projects, and the way he philosophises about the architectural significance of the Turning Torso to audiences who look unconvinced, save for Örbäck. Interspersed through the documentary are shots of Calatrava sketching on a sheet of glass the shape of a twisting human torso touching the silhouette of the Turning Torso building next to it. As he narrates the structure and speaks lyrically about the materials and the symbolism of building's human-like shape, Calatrava invests the building with a strong sense of coming alive at his words, and of belonging to a completely different category of architecture that Malmö has not yet experienced. At one point he speaks of his profession as having the power to make dreams a reality, associating the role of the architect with that of a divine creator.

But the translation from dream to reality is where things prove problematic, and even Calatrava acknowledges this. Looking back on the project, he remarks that the way Örbäck was treated in spite of his vision and achievement reflects badly on the country: 'Sweden is not a place for visionaries.' The dreams of a new symbol for postindustrial Malmö and the dreams of a new Øresund region are indeed the work of the architects, planners, and politicians who do give some shape and form—the planned and conceived *representations* of space—to the regional imaginary, but what the documentary asserts, through Örbäck's painful experience and his problematic dialogues with inhabitants and the construction company, is that the regional imaginary is a muddled complexity whose negotiation comes at some cost. One of the things about this documentary that differs from the earlier two is that the

protagonists, Örbäck and Calatrava, are in positions of some power within the matrix of socio-political relations in the Øresund region, unlike characters such as Paul or Jill, whose agency is limited. The protagonists of this documentary are precisely the transnational planners and architects whose ideas (and bodies) move and interact on a global level. They are the transnational 'elite' whose interests shape the region and make it 'work'—indeed, Örbäck lives in the skyscraper, the 'drömhus' (dream house) that he 'built' (S. Johansson 2006)—yet whose perspectives do not always cohere with that of the inhabitants on the national and local levels. As the documentary suggests, neither are they immune from the conflicts emerging out of their imposition of a new transnational regional identity upon the existing social space. The gulf between planned fantasies and lived reality is far too pronounced, and the dreams can only begin to materialise when sacrifices are made. My point here is that the documentary emphasises how the Turning Torso is less of a beacon of a 'transnational region, a new and cosmopolitan metropolis' and more of a space in which the fractures in this collective imaginary are registered (O. Löfgren 2000, 29). In other words, the Turning Torso *embodies* the conflicts and contradictions of the Øresund rhetoric.

The arguments between the characters are frequently punctuated with shots of the camera climbing higher and higher up the scaffolding, and finally surveying the surrounding landscape from the very top of the structure in a 360-degree pan. From that high a perspective, people and their spatial practices down below are imperceptible; the only things visible are the vastness of the Øresund strait and the bridge, and the rest of Malmö appears as a uniform mass of land. The planner's eye at the top sees everything and nothing at the same time.

2.6.   An Øresund Trilogy

It is my intention to suggest that Gertten's three documentary portraits of Malmö and the Øresund Bridge can be discursively constructed as a trilogy about the region, albeit one unintended by the filmmakers. According to Claire Perkins and Constantine Verevis in their volume *Film Trilogies*, the trilogy form can be perceived and used in a variety of ways, which the editors narrow down to the industrial, textual, or critical levels (2012, 3–4). Falling under the broad categories of sequels and series, a trilogy is generally characterised as a series of three works that are linked by continuities of style, narrative concerns, or visual motifs, for instance. A definition such as this is

inherently vague and the editors acknowledge that different definitions of a trilogy are contingent on several factors, pointing to the plasticity of the term.[74] One approach Perkins and Verevis highlight is the critical trilogy, where trilogies are discursively constructed through practices of film criticism (and are therefore ultimately unstable), most pronounced in the field of so-called 'international art cinema'. Using the works by directors associated with this field, such as Olivier Assayas and Fatih Akin, the editors argue that 'the critical designation of three films as a trilogy is made to emphasize the director's fixation on particular subject/s, or his/her development and treatment of a theme and/or style' (2012, 16). The critical trilogy refers to works unintended as a trilogy, each with independent stories on their own, but when viewed in light of each other, present multiple layers of meaning and signification.

Using these parameters, the first justification for grouping what I will call Gertten's 'Øresund trilogy' is the thematic and stylistic unity between the works. As discussed, the documentaries form a series of meditations on the subject of architectural transformation in the region, where each work extends and develops the question 'What does the Øresund region mean?' through the themes of change, identity, and intercultural encounter from different perspectives. Put together, the films give voice to the social implications of the shift towards a regional imaginary. Stylistically, they reflect Gertten's strategic preference for the observational documentary: the narrative is led primarily by the people whom the camera follows and, as I have argued, this is an attempt to shift the agency of voice and self-representation to the subjects, be they the transnational planners or the local inhabitants. Second, while each work deals with a different architectural form, there is a certain symmetry that emerges when they are analysed together. When taking into account the time-span and sequence in which the films were released, we can read the trilogy as a story of how different built architectural forms mediate different senses of the region. *Gå på vatten* deals with the construction of the bridge, a horizontal, connective structure, upon which the transnational dreams of the region are piled. *Bye Bye Malmö* traces the dismantling of and absence of an older landmark, showing the implications of those dreams and economic and spatial reorganisation.

---

[74] For instance, whether there are plot-based links between the works, or a repetition of style or theme, or whether, in the industrial context, exhibition and promotional formats evoke the designation consciously.

Lastly, *Sossen, arkitekten och det skruvade huset* examines the fraught construction of the skyscraper, a now-globally recognised vertical form that juts out into the clouds and that constitutes the nexus of tensions between national and transnational, disruption and continuity, future dreams and present experience.

In essence, I contend that Gertten's films can be seen as an unplanned or 'accidental' trilogy of cinematic portraits that assert the link between socio-political changes and architectural transfiguration in the region at successive moments in its early 'life'. The reasons why I draw attention to this contextualisation of the films is my belief that the trilogy plays an important role in chronicling socio-spatial memory. Indeed, I am making a case for the cultural significance of the documentaries as they register important ideas about the challenges of negotiating a regional imaginary in a transnational space. The trilogy not only records official narratives of the construction of the landmark projects, but more importantly the memories and experiences of the autonomous individuals who shape (and complicate) the regional discourse. Not only are they individual records of specific architectural projects, but together, as a trilogy, they are connected by the metaphor of construction — their formal and aesthetic elements both *construct* and *deconstruct* the social relations emerging from the spatial dynamism stemming from the Øresund rhetoric.

The Swedish documentaries discussed thus far captured the wider political, social, and ideological conflicts and confluences of the region at the time of its 'birth'. Gertten's documentaries of Malmö and the landmarks of the Øresund are works that draw on a keen journalistic motivation to tell specific stories of champions, victims, and transient persons involved in the building of a region on a transnational scale. The Øresund rhetoric presents an ideal where the flows and relationships between Copenhagen and Malmö are articulated as complex and inextricable. This is, of course, the primary vision of the Øresund region and its planners, that the two cities must be considered in relation to each other and as nodes within a shared space in a context of globalisation and broader global change.

As a counterpoint, *Drømme i København* delves inwards, into the quotidian life of Copenhagen anno 2008, and so much so that the artistic documentary portrait of the city reveals a certain solipsism of Copenhagen and its inhabitants. In contrast to Gertten's cinematic snapshots of Malmö at the time of the bridge's construction,

Kestner's film captures Copenhagen barely a decade after the event, in 2008, when all the dust and magic from invoking a new transnational region would have largely settled and inhabitants are getting on with their everyday lives. While the rhetoric of the Øresund imaginary was ever present in Gertten's documentaries, in *Drømme i København* it is the local and immediate context of the Danish capital that is in focus — the dynamics of the Øresund project are glaringly absent.

3.   Windows, Walls, Façades

3.1.   Max Kestner and *Drømme i København* (*Copenhagen Dreams*, 2009)

Max Kestner graduated from the National Film School of Denmark in 1997 and has since worked at DR and produced a string of award-winning documentaries while also lecturing at the NFSD. He was awarded the Dreyer Prize in 2005, which is given to young directors who have distinguished themselves artistically (Hørsman 2005). According to the DFI film database (Danish Film Institute 2015a), *Drømme i København* premiered in Denmark as part of the CPH:DOX festival in late 2009, and shortly after it was screened in cinemas (January 2010) and on television (June 2010). The documentary was funded by the DFI (via the Consultant Scheme) and various other Danish film funds. It won the Best Documentary Prize at the Beijing International Film Festival in 2011.

It is clear that Kestner is very much a part of the Danish institutional milieu, and continues to make his mark as a documentary filmmaker interested in Danish stories — his current project is about two Danish engineers trying to build their own spaceship from ordinary materials (Danish Documentary 2015). Writing about Kestner's earlier documentaries, Britta Timm Knudsen remarks that the filmmaker displays a proclivity for oppositions, depicting worlds from a clinical and emotionally uninvolved perspective, yet at the same time portraying people and objects through a humane and interventional gaze (2006, 88). Peter Schepelern asserts that in Kestner's earlier documentaries, his mastery unfolds in the tension between distance and engagement, the universal and particular, and the infinitely large and the infinitely small (2005). These tensions continue to structure the visual and narrative frame in *Drømme i København*, where perspectives of the city at different scales are brought

into contrast.[75]

Yet, I contend that a documentary that shuns the Øresund is just as significant as one that explicitly investigates it. Kestner says of his films that they are marked by a transgression of the line between documentary and fiction modes, and he makes the point that while his documentaries are indeed staged, they contain no less 'truth' than a documentary that is unplanned or unscripted (Kestner 2005). The realism and truth that his documentaries seek to portray lie not entirely in simply representing actuality and recording situations *à la* 'direct cinema', but instead they are epiphanies elicited through some degree of the filmmaker's intervention: 'Truth is that which makes us laugh and cry, that which makes us feel and empathise' (ibid.). What emerges from his pursuit of 'truth' in his visual representation of Copenhagen in *Drømme i København* in this specific period is the unintended revelation that the ambitions of the Øresund region and its attendant rhetoric has failed to penetrate the domain of the everyday to become a part of the local inhabitant's urban identity. Kestner's place-specific interpretation of the collective Copenhagen experience inadvertently illustrates what Øresund proponents agonise about: the uphill challenge of bolstering a sense of a regional identity amongst local communities.

While some elements of spatial change in Copenhagen can be ideologically linked to the larger Øresund project, such as in the case of the Ørestad district that I will comment on later in this section, the film shows us the major city in the Øresund that does not directly relate to nor imagine the region's spatio-cultural ambitions. Where the Øresund and the local Copenhagen everyday do briefly intersect, the result is a community that engages the rhetoric of the former only to specific material and technocratic ends, otherwise consigning it to the distance — a regrettable outcome after some 10 years of region-building. Kestner's documentary shows that the planned visions of the Øresund region instead forms an additional 'layer' on top of quotidian experience, one that does not interact with the city's physical and existential concerns.

It is for these reasons that I have chosen to analyse Kestner's documentary in

---

[75] I use scale as an important ontological parameter in this section as a way of understanding how the film produces different meanings at various levels of spectatorship.

conjunction with Gertten's cinematic investigations, and my intentions here are to show how Kestner's framing of urban Copenhagen from a pedestrian perspective invites a deeper reflection on what the spectator can and cannot perceive about the city and the region, and to show how the city mediates—architecturally and cinematically—the sense of a larger transnational region. The documentary builds on the connected tropes of verticality, height, and vision, that run through this chapter, and one aim of this section is to distinguish how these motifs function in this documentary.

3.2.   Openings

On the cover of the DVD case of *Drømme i København*, issued by Upfront Films (Kestner 2011), is a still from the film: a long shot of a glass-fronted building at night, with human figures visible on different floors that are illuminated within; to the right of the image is the urban backdrop with what looks like a warehouse by the waterfront. Opening the case, we find the disc for the film and a separate CD containing the soundtrack and a list of titles, all in English. A quick scan of the titles point to a certain ethereal and romantic sentiment with pieces such as 'They Fed The Sparrows Leftovers And Offered Grass To Scherfig's Turtle', 'They Dream They'll Get There', 'A Memorial Garden On Enghavevej', and 'Here, They Used To Build Ships'.

Clearly stated on the front cover of the DVD case, the soundtrack is composed by Icelandic-born and Copenhagen-based musician Jóhann Jóhannsson, whose aural impression of Copenhagen comprises gentle, pastoral pieces for piano and strings, accompanied by light percussion, evoking overall an ethereal mood of a city dreaming. Estella Tincknell notes that 'musical soundtracks have become pivotal to the circulation of a film's extra-textual meanings, both in terms of marketing and at the different moments of reception' (2006, 134). Before even watching the film, this initial encounter with the extra-textual material of *Drømme i København* in its physical form already signals particular ideas of Copenhagen — modern, cool, charming, and otherworldly. These thoughts remain with us as we watch the documentary and attempt to match the soundtrack's titles to specific images and shots in the film.

The final pieces in the soundtrack take on a more dramatic and emotional tone, building in complexity and intensity, conveying a sense of collective optimism, confidence, and hopefulness. It is as though the final build-up to a stirring, grandiose

conclusion is announcing that this is a city that is on its way to great things. Aptly, the final piece on the soundtrack is titled 'They Imagine the City Growing Out Into the Ocean' referring presumably to the Øresund. Yet, throughout the documentary, the sense of a larger transnational region nor, indeed, the Øresund itself, is neither mentioned nor directly visualised at all, hinted at only in the final text spoken by the narrator who describes a man who dreams of houses being built over the sea, toward Sweden:

> There is a man in Copenhagen, who dreams of taking on the sea itself. He imagines the city, growing out into the ocean, grasping towards Sweden. He sees people in the future, living where the sea wind whips over the houses, and you row to your neighbour, if the elements permit. He dreams of a city that belongs to everyone, but is always and forever its own.

In Kestner's documentary portrait, Copenhagen and its inhabitants are dreaming and imagining the present and future spaces of the city. The film opens up to us a city performing itself to viewers who see the capital of Denmark as a self-contained urban space marked by small spatial changes throughout its past, present, and future. Apparently, this is an image of the city that is not just being torn down and built up and over, but it is also a city that imagines a more horizontal growth, opening up, spreading outwards, and extending its reach across the Sound to neighbouring territories.

The cover and the soundtrack's promises point to an optimistic self-styled cosmopolitanism. But these are promises that are not kept.

3.3.   Scales Of Imagining

Drømme i København is a paean to the buildings and streets of Copenhagen and examines the way peoples' lives are shaped by urban spaces, and vice versa. The film was produced with support from the DFI, DR, Realdania, and the Dreyer Fonden, making this an emphatically Danish production indeed. Elements of the Lefebvrian triad of the city as material, lived, and imagined run throughout the film, and the documentary's main narrative concern is with how these three modes interweave to 'produce' Copenhagen. Walls, windows, and façades are shot in sharp focus, no longer the backdrop to the people in the frame — the latter move in and out of focus within the frame while the camera remains fixed on the physical surroundings.

Sequences of banal conversations between Copenhageners are interspersed with other sequences depicting streets and outdoor spaces overlaid with an energetic voiceover by a narrator who describes the minutiae of everyday life in each sequence. The pace of the voiceover is quick, commenting on particular elements of the shot or details about the people or place in one image before jumping to the next without pause.

The film shows different levels and scales of imagining: the totalising, future-oriented gaze possessed by urban planners and architects is contrasted with the subjective, social, and present-oriented activity in inhabitants' everyday lives. The imagining done by the former group results in physically reconfiguring space and potentially altering urban relations, in contrast to the inhabitants of the local community who simply move, adapt, and re-articulate the spaces they traverse on an everyday basis. Both groups are just as involved in 'building' the city and negotiating their respective social identities via continuities with the past and projections of their immediate future.

In my reading of the film, I argue that the documentary dances around this disconnect between the different levels of imagining by the different groups of Copenhageners. City planners and inhabitants each have their own dreams of the capital, where each vision is meant to form a small part of a much larger tapestry of the city. However, I want to suggest that, when reading the documentary in the context of the transnational region, its narrative points toward a larger, and more fundamental clash between cosmopolitan visions of the Øresund project and local realities of the city. On an acutely individual and local level, the regionalist aspiration of the Øresund project barely registers in the film's portrayal of Copenhagen, and, in my view, its omission from Kestner's audiovisual lens is significant. It is therefore my argument that *Drømme i København* functions on two levels. First, as a visual document and cross-section of the city, the film registers the disconnect between the planned and the lived as a defining characteristic of a city in the midst of urban change and growth. Second, the documentary critically nuances, albeit not by design, the grand notion of the city as a site of transnational flows and globalised spaces — what is articulated instead is an ambivalence of local perspectives toward the new transnational urbanity advanced by the Øresund project. The city, as imagined by its inhabitants and by the film text, remains a resolutely national space.

3.4.   Walking Through Copenhagen's Dreams

Recalling de Certeau's analysis of walking in the city, there are two ideas I will draw on that are particularly germane to my reading of *Dromme i København* and that relate the film to de Certeau's emphatic call to analyse urban subjectivity and everyday spatial practices, or, to use his more provocative term, tactics. As already mentioned, the first has to do with de Certeau's categories of the planner/panoptic eye/voyeur and the inhabitant/walker/*flâneur*, and the criticism that the planner's view does not correspond to the lived experience of the city, which emerges from the juxtaposition of conversations between architects and planners theorising and rationalising the plans for new structures and spaces in the city on the one hand, and scenes of inhabitants engaged in similar planning on the other hand. The second relates to the way the film creates a map of the city by moving or 'walking' through spaces as it traces the everyday activities of the various inhabitants. Through multiple viewpoints, the documentary examines a city in progress, where its planners and inhabitants are dreaming on a daily basis through time and space.

3.4.1. Aerial Shots, Planners, And Perspective

Peppered through the documentary are aerial, top-down shots, which are juxtaposed against the eye-level shots that travel, track, and pan across the horizontal space of the city. These are two perspectives that Kestner engages in the film which, in my view, critically reflect the disconnect between the planned and the lived. At various points in the film, Kestner employs the aerial and establishing shots to 'look down' on the city and frame sections of Copenhagen as idealised spaces from a position of privilege and power — the 'planner's gaze' (Vidler 2011; Webb 2014). In these particular shots, the viewer is suddenly dangled above the city and invited to study the clean lines, shapes, and forms of the city's urban layout. The opening shot, for example, presents an orderly and functionally spaced intersection in the Nørrebro neighbourhood. In one long take, the camera focuses its gaze on the empty road junction while the narrator reels off statistics on banal things in the city: 'Copenhagen has 109 football fields. 395km of bike lanes, and 3591 benches painted a special colour called "Copenhagen green".' Gradually, the frame fills up with people, cars, and bikes crossing the junction in a burst of movement in specific directions as determined by the rational logic of urban traffic management. Another aerial shot toward the end of the film features the neat rows of uniformly coloured amber rooftops in a

nondescript residential neighbourhood occupying the entirety of the frame, mimicking the two-dimensional schematic drawings in urban planning.

The aerial viewpoint activates both the 'utopian and projective' visions of planners (Vidler 2011, 656), validating an epiphanic perspective that allows for an enlarged field of vision and suggestive of power over the space. From this perspective, the framing does not draw our attention to any particular person or group of people. Instead, the movement of inhabitants through the space is only one variable in the larger project of urban city planning. In various scenes, the documentary develops the figure of the architect or urban planner in such positions of power, like Calatrava in *Sossen, Arkitekten, och det skruvade Huset*, who dreams ambitiously and continually attempts to distinguish the city as a node in a global network of urban centres by modifying the 'spatial texture' of the city (Thacker 2003, 20), recalling once again Lefebvre's 'representations of space'. The architects and planners are depicted in teams, clustered in their offices, discussing the spaces of the city over cardboard models and posters in technocratic terms. As planners, they debate, plan, design, imagine, calculate, and quantify the urban fabric of the city, diagramming and dissecting Copenhagen into abstract forms or 'representations of space' linked to certain ideologies, codes, and signs. The place of the planners in the film, however, is always subordinate to the images, sounds, and presence of the city outside of their offices. One sequence features a group of planners and architects in a seminar room discussing the value of public squares while the camera is focused on the windows, the view outdoors, and the sounds of seagulls squawking mingle with the human voices, at times even distracting from them.

Yet these technocrats are not the only planners in the city, as inhabitants are also shown actively making plans for their own urban environments, albeit on much smaller and personal scales. For example, a residents' committee in Christiania, an autonomous—and politically controversial—neighbourhood in the centre of the city, discuss the agenda for their next meeting to improve relations in their community. A couple are in a houseboat negotiating its price with an agent and wondering about the potential of setting up a home business in there. A woman haggles with a dealer of second-hand furniture over a Swedish mirror and a chest of drawers, and asks if they can be delivered up to the third floor. Two friends are in the midst of remodelling a flat, bouncing ideas off each other about whether to build a wall between the kitchen and

the bathroom. The contrast between such scenes of earnest planning at different levels shows the agency of the individual: like de Certeau's city-walker, urban space is being profoundly shaped by individuals on their own terms, and with greater meaning and material consequence in contrast to the architects and planners, whose dreams for the city remain unrealised in the form of sketches or miniaturised models.

3.4.2. Pedestrian Perspectives Of Lived Space

On the other hand, the planner's perspective is set in opposition to the horizontal articulation of the city. Indeed, the documentary is preoccupied with and driven by a kaleidoscope of pedestrian perspectives of the city: the camera visually engages with the city at eye-level for the most part, particularly with panoramic shots ('pans') and tracking shots, emphasising a horizontal perspective of a very horizontal city. The panoramic impulse in Kestner's documentary seeks to capture as much of the urban landscape from a pedestrian point of view, taking the spectator through the city in a way that is not dissimilar to de Certeau's pedestrian-*flâneur* who traverses the city as a pedestrian, gazing at people and places in the city on a quotidian level, while at the same time also writing the the city.[76] The film 'walks' the city step by step with the inhabitants—and here we see the parallel between walking and cinematic motion which is composed of successive shots—recording their 'lived space' and mundane social activities. The spectator is embodied in the film via the camera's eye; she is imbricated into the interior space of the documentaries.

Cinema, like walking and de Certeau's 'writing', becomes a means of resisting the panoptic gaze of authority that seeks to organise the spaces of the city according to a particular controlling logic. What the walker—and the film—does by wandering in and around the myriad urban spaces is to chart subjective representations of the city, especially those hidden, reappropriated places and unintended trajectories that are summarily overlooked, representations that are essential to our interrogation of the disjuncture and tensions between the planner's gaze and the walker's spatial practice.

---

[76] The *flâneur* is, strictly speaking, a literary figuration of the nineteenth century—later popularised by Walter Benjamin—that embodies a passive way of experiencing and sensing the city. De Certeau adopts the figure walking through space—the city pedestrian—as a more active way of charting an embodied experience of urban space where the walker *writes* the city in her appropriations of urban space.

For the most part, we move, following the camera's perspective, with characters as though we were present in the space of the scene as silent observers. As Celia Dunne notes, the narrative convention of situating the spectator at the same level as characters while they move through space works to assimilate the spectator into the referential realm—in this case, Copenhagen's everyday, living spaces—on familiar terms to our everyday existence, as well as to engender a sense of involvement in the film's events (2011, 159). I would stress that there is a crucial difference in *Drømme i København* as the spectator is not at all 'involved' in the action in the scene. The camera is mostly static; when it does move, it pans and tracks from a short distance away. Most of all, it is unacknowledged by the characters depicted. As a result, the documentary projects a neutral stance, distanced and yet voyeuristic at times; the spectator, through Kestner, is an observer and a voyeur.

The film shifts, like a dream, between the general and the particular, cross-cutting between aerial shots and close-up interior tableaux, at no point asserting a definitive statement nor image as representative of Copenhagen's form or spirit. A Danish critic Kim Skotte notes, the film is emphatically 'not a tourist film' nor does it attempt to push certain political agendas (2009). Instead, Kestner glimpses places and people with the goal of producing a composite portrait of the city, with a greater focus on visualising the material, concrete landscape of the city.

3.5. Concrete Copenhagen: Reframing The City

> Since Copenhagen is not Moscow or any similar large capital city that has colonized the imagination of millions, it allows Kestner to focus on the city as it is as opposed to what it must be or live up to. (Raggett 2012)

In the first instance, the documentary is committed to making the city transparent by depicting and reframing places and sites of the ordinary, the unseen, and the private. Locations include domestic kitchens, common courtyards of residential buildings, a building superintendent's office, the inside of a public bus, nondescript public spots, corridors, seminar rooms, and office workspaces. These spaces are the subject of the documentary, while the people who fill these spaces with their activities are peripheral, providing a bare sense of a narrative that connects the places to one another: the city becomes the text, not the context. Through frame composition and the placement of the camera, shots of the walls, windows, and façades of buildings foreground these

textures and quotidian spaces as aesthetic objects in their own right.

In other words, the film invites us to perceive the city as one reads an audiovisual text, to regard the city as a multifaceted, 'signifying body' open to interpretation, as Richard Koeck notes (2013, 74). Koeck argues that in the twenty-first century the ability to read an urban landscape through a cinematic lens is, at least in the western world, shared by all who have learned to view and interpret moving images since childhood:

> So, as we are so familiar with film practices, do we not already naturally gaze at architectural spaces and cities as if we were a filmmaker ourselves […] in terms of reading the city cinematically? (Koeck 2013, 73).

What does it mean to read the city 'cinematically' in the case of *Drømme i København*? One particular sequence in the film self-reflexively comments on visualising the city cinematically as critical to the experience of those who practice and consume the city on a daily basis. We follow a young girl who splits her time between her father and mother who are separated, commuting by bus across the expanse of the city at least once in a week. While the camera is trained on the girl, silent and immobilised, she looks out of the window where the fabric of Copenhagen whizzes past outside the bus windows like the movement of a film strip. We are, as it were, watching the girl watching Copenhagen through the windows. As the narrator continues with stories of coincidences, our gaze is drawn away from the girl to the view outside, following the acceleration, turning, deceleration, and braking of the bus that runs on a particular route through the city.

Here, the film draws our attention to the relation between transport and cinema and the sense of a constrained perspective thus generated in this case. It is worth mentioning that de Certeau excludes automobiles from his analysis of walking as a spatial practice: he argues that the train and bus, vehicles of public transport, are 'a travelling incarceration' where human bodies remain immobilised within 'a bubble of panoptic and classifying power, a module of imprisonment' that reproduces the 'military order' of 'an organisational system' (1984, 111). The implication here is that the girl's view from inside the bus is a controlled and constrained view, and indeed the shot reproduces the sense of being trapped and immobilised. One is forced to see only the city as it rolls by outside the window; the alternative is to dream.

My interest here is in the ways the camera frames the spaces of the city, using different types of shots and focal lengths that range from the particular to the general: from interior scenes, to building façades, to wider aerial shots. I suggest that each type of shot employed in the film works to draw the viewer into the space depicted, as if to insist on the specificity of the space by placing the viewer squarely and firmly in Copenhagen. I argue further that the framing is characterised by a restricted view of the city, one that projects a certain insularity of the city which dismisses the city's real and imagined relationship with the world beyond Copenhagen. Finally, I also show how the film paradoxically demonstrates the difficulties of representing the contemporary city as a distinct entity.

3.5.1. Interior Spaces

Walter Benjamin emphasises in 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction' that the medium of cinema offers more than a novel mode of representation – it offers the power to disrupt the viewer's perception of an urban space, revealing new visual forms and spatio-temporal possibilities of exploring a city:

> By close-ups of the things around us, by focusing on hidden details of familiar objects, by exploring common place milieus under the ingenious guidance of the camera, the film, on the one hand, extends our comprehension of the necessities which rule our lives; on the other hand, it manages to assure us of an immense and unexpected field of action. Our taverns and our metropolitan streets, our offices and furnished rooms, our railroad stations and our factories appeared to have us locked up hopelessly. Then came the film and burst this prison-world asunder by the dynamite of the tenth of a second, so that now, in the midst of its far-flung ruins and debris, we calmly and adventurously go travelling. (Benjamin 1968, 236)

Drømme i København not only opens up the city's closed spaces by featuring scenes that take place in ordinary, everyday locations, the documentary extends this gaze to the physical fabric of Copenhagen's urban and architectural landscape, which is portrayed in a remarkably neutral temper, quite unlike the explosiveness that Benjamin describes, but with the same inquisitiveness. Kestner's camera casts a steady, penetrating eye on the banal surfaces of physical surroundings, for example on a section of the wall and windows behind the group of people discussing urban planning in a seminar room, while ambient sounds from beyond the windows remain clearly audible. In another scene, we are in the sitting room of an elderly woman's apartment as she reads a book and waters her plants, while the whole time the

camera is locked on to the yellow wallpaper and the curtains of her windows. Another scene takes place in a residential courtyard where a building superintendent and a resident discuss the urgency of convincing their municipality to look at their proposal to protect their courtyard, apparently the only one in Copenhagen open to the public; only the superintendent is visible in the lower corner of the frame, while the resident is outside the shot.

The stillness of the camera in these scenes marks an emphasis on placing the spectator in the role of an invisible observer who is privy to the conversations and activities that usually take place behind closed doors. In this perspective, which makes up the larger part of the film, we are placed in the privileged position of an observant of the ordinary goings-on of Copenhageners in both public and private spaces; the camera is often in a fixed position while subjects move in and out of the frame. An element of voyeurism is certainly at play in most of the scenes, but the camera's gaze brings interior architectural elements to the fore while drifting away from the people and their concerns. Even where a scene is filled with the sound and fury of a couple's argument in their kitchen, the camera remains focused only on the surfaces of their spatial surroundings and the way they move around it. We visually and aurally experience these everyday spaces as the people in the film would do: on the one hand we are participating in the immediate activity of listening in on a discussion about the contemporary utility of public squares in urban Copenhagen, while on the other hand the sound of seagulls calls our attention to the bright sunshine outside the window, our eyes longing instead to peer outside.

3.5.2. Exterior Façades

From scenes of interiors, we move to scenes of the exteriors of buildings. Shots of the façades of various buildings emphasise modern architecture's capacity to function as a screening device, a tool for looking into the private spaces of many people at the same time. Paul Virilio writes in *The Vision Machine* (1994) that postmodern city landscapes and their forms such as market places, squares, and shop and apartment windows, relate very closely to an optical, televisual apparatus:

> This putting behind glass of objects and people, the implementation of a transparency that has intensified over the past few decades, has led, beyond the optics of photography and cinema, to an optoelectronics of the means of television broadcasting. These are now capable of creating not only window-apartments and houses, but window-towns, window-nations, media

megacities that have the paradoxical power of bringing individuals together long-distance, around standardised opinions and behaviour. (Virilio 1994, 65)

Kestner's camera dwells on the façades of residential and office buildings, as well as a hotel. We observe various people and their stories unfolding simultaneously, like a tableau, each framed and separated by their windows. Yet, the tableau of everyday stories is only one element in the mise-en-scène. Beyond the façade, the sky and urban landscape—other buildings, other windows—of Copenhagen are visible, reminding us through this representation of spatial depth that we are witnessing only a handful of so many more private spaces and dreams throughout the city. The city is thus framed as a story-machine, a dream-machine, generating multiple images and spectacles that demand to be consumed.

Also, by focusing so intently on walls and façades, the camera makes haptic gestures toward these surfaces, calling attention to the concrete, brick, and glass of the urban environment that we know so well of a city. Yet the prolonged, studious shots of these surfaces insist that the viewer engage with them sensually, evoking a sense of 'seeing for the first time, gradually discovering what is in the image rather than coming to the image already knowing what it is' (Marks 2000, 178). Ultimately, the patchwork of scenes come together to create spatial impressions of the city, some of which may activate a viewer's own personal memories and experiences of traversing, living, and sensing an urban environment. Tom Conley comments in *Cartographic Cinema* that there are similarities between the way one reads a map's geographical information along with one's own past and anticipated memories of a place, and the way spectators of a film, while watching the moving image, 'mix and sift through souvenirs and images of other films and personal memories' (2007, 2). Throughout the film, we look at—and sense—the city through the eyes of a local inhabitant and we experience the city as a familiar, tactile landscape. The direct, horizontal angle at which the camera looks straight at the façade and into apartments simulates the perspective of another city-dweller looking out of her apartment window into the dwellings of fellow residents. The camera draws us into the frame, placing us in the position of seeing what urban dwellers in Copenhagen see every day. I would point out further that one is struck by the familiarity of the quotidian experiences depicted in *Drømme i København*: to some degree, most of the images, situations, and experiences speak to a wider global shared experience of urban city-dwelling. Whether in Copenhagen, London, or Singapore, the experience of looking out of one's

apartment window into another residential complex opposite, or of complaining to the building superintendent about the behaviour of another neighbour, is a relatively common experience in similarly dense, urban, 'global' cities. My claim here is that the documentary's highly specific representation of Copenhagen paradoxically signals an ambivalence about the visual identity of the city: present-day Copenhagen is not very different from other cities after all.

3.6. Insular Tendencies

One remarkable thing about this documentary is that it visually depicts a Copenhagen that is insular. For all the interconnectedness of the urban condition that the documentary's narrator suggests, the city remains self-contained, even cloistered. The film largely depicts its inhabitants alone and within the walls of their own spaces, minding their own business. Verticality is generally not part of the city's aesthetic, where most buildings—particularly in the city centre—are no higher than six storeys and there are only a handful of locations from which people can grasp a sense of the city's expanse and, crucially, of what lies beyond the city. Copenhagen's skyline, after all, is predominantly horizontal. One scene of a couple having lunch takes place in a restaurant at the top floor of the historic Radisson Blu Royal Hotel, formerly known as the SAS Royal Hotel, which is located in the heart of the city in the Vesterbro district. In the foreground of the shot, the couple is blurred while the camera focuses on the view outside of Copenhagen's rooftops and the striking blue horizon of the Øresund framed by the window. As the young couple gaze out of the windows, they comment on how they have never before noticed the row of offshore wind turbines just at the eastern edge of the city. After a few seconds' pause their conversation turns to where they live and their favourite streets in the city centre. While they speak, the camera leaves them and tracks to the left, following the row of windows that continue to frame the panorama of wind turbines and the water.

For most Copenhageners, a paucity of high-level vantage points means that people navigate the city in an insular manner on a quotidian basis, somewhat unmindful of the city's wider reach across the Øresund. The couple's comment points to a certain nescience—also on the documentary's part—of Copenhagen's urban relationship with spaces beyond the city limits, surprising as the Øresund is certainly not an unknown entity among inhabitants. The suggestion here is that the Sound is not part of Copenhagen's visual and urban identity, at least not from the point of view

of this Copenhagen couple; on a quotidian level, it is not visible to the person on the street, nor is it thought of as forming a part of the everyday landscape of the city: 'A sight from the situated context of a body in the world may not always see things that are visible to a "high-altitude" or "God's-eye-view"' (Jay 1988, 19). At twenty stories high, the Radisson building is hardly a skyscraper in the contemporary sense, yet the top floor is one of the few actual vantage points—what Lefebvre calls 'the *elsewhere* where the urban reveals itself' ([1970] 2003, 116)—high enough for one to see not just a consolidated view of the city but also the marine hinterland that Copenhagen shares with Malmö. At the time of its completion in 1960, the SAS Royal Hotel was the tallest building in Denmark, the first downtown hotel in Europe to incorporate an airport terminal, and the capital's first skyscraper, but notably one that was built to function as a gateway (and globalised 'non-place' in Marc Augé's view) to Scandinavia for foreign tourists travelling across the Atlantic (Agerman 2011).[77]

However, this vantage point and the ability to command a broader view of the city was, and still is only accessible to a specific, even exclusive, group of urban *bons vivants* who have the means to dine in one of the city's top restaurants — a slightly different modification of de Certeau's 'planner's gaze'. I interpret this restricted and exclusive ability to even perceive the Øresund from within the heart of Copenhagen as a reflection of the Øresund project being an *additional* and exclusive layer on top of the quotidian.

3.7. Capturing Cultural Shifts

While I assert that the film shows an insular Copenhagen, I should nuance this by asserting that the film makes a point of also capturing the internal cultural shifts—linked to larger forces of transnational movement—that the city has experienced, and this is shown through the glimpses of new family units, class difference, sexuality, and immigrant cultures, further articulated through the depiction of street façades across the city. The shots of particular neighbourhoods with a high concentration of immigrant communities or crowded buildings for social housing, for example, and of shop names

---

[77] The building, including all the details of its interior furnishings down to the tableware and cutlery, was designed by Arne Jacobsen, and has since been declared one of Jacobsen's major works and his *gesamtkunstwerk* (Tøjner and Vindum 1999, 10). A large part of the hotel's international appeal at its inception was its design element and the notion that the structure (and its interiors) were a bastion of mid-century Danish modernism.

and graffiti in different languages trace the heterogeneity of the city and of the impact of the global flows of people on the physical urban environment. Saskia Sassen writes that the space of the city is 'a far more concrete space for politics than is that of the nation. It becomes a place where nonformal political actors can be part of the political scene in a way that is much more difficult at the national level' (2003, 25). In other words, new minority groups of Copenhageners, including their attendant politics, become visible on the street – they gain presence in the city, here made visible through film.

3.8.   Narrating A Dream

Through the voice-over, Kestner underlines the sense of interconnectedness that makes up a small city like Copenhagen — the unseen connections and coincidences between people, places, and things whose paths have crossed and will inevitably cross and intersect at different times. The rolling commentary works to trace people and objects as they move through the city over time and compresses all of these individuals' lives into a dense, shared urban space, introducing a sense of layers upon layers of subjective experience and of inhabitants living in urban community. At the same time, the narration emphasises how each inhabitant's life is imbricated not just with the next person's, but also with the lives of Copenhageners past: they travel on the same bus routes, move into an apartment that had once housed another family, use the same launderette, pass through the same junction every day where someone else's grandfather had died in a crash 20 years earlier, and jog down the promenade that had once been an urban planner's dream. On the one hand, the film articulates the alluring idea of people writing their emotional and subjective lives upon an urban palimpsest that rarely changes. But on the other hand, the distanced commentary of the voice-over, like the rest of the documentary, presents an objective and detached impression of the city — one critic describes the film as 'a lifeless floor plan' (Rasmussen 2010).

This density of human experience that the narration portrays becomes more intricate and complicated by the dream-like quality of the film's visual representation. Overlapping the narration with the visual depictions of the urban surface adds to the oneiric texture of the documentary. Like a dream then, it is difficult to grasp at a particular image and notion of the city in the documentary, which also raises the question, 'What *is* Copenhagen?' At times, the narrator describes things that might

have been and of dreams that were not realised, for example a young architect's dream of constructing an Eiffel tower in one of the Copenhagen lakes, a design that was never approved, but what has materialised in its place instead is a pavilion now known as Søpavillonen (The Lake Pavilion). Presenting the city as a dream emphasises the notion that answering the question of what Copenhagen is is a largely impossible task. The identity of a place is ever-shifting, ever-negotiated by different social and political actors at different temporal junctures.

3.9. 'The Ørestad Is Ahead Of Schedule'

> Cities are not simply material or lived spaces — they are also spaces of the imagination and spaces of representation (Bridge and Watson 2000, 7).

So far, I have suggested that the Øresund is largely omitted from the documentary's portrayal of the city. Yet it must be noted that the ethos of the region manifests itself in a different way in the documentary. In a scene shot just outside a show-flat attached to a construction site, a sales representative for a new residential complex in the developing Ørestad district persuades a young family to imagine themselves as pioneering settlers forging a new path through an unknown land. The people are framed standing in the balcony of a show-flat just next to a building clearly still under construction, while a green field is visible in the background.

The Ørestad district, located on Amager island, is only a short distance to the south of the central part of the city and was, until the late 1990s, composed of green, open fields (By og Havn 2011, 5). It benefits from a strategic location, being only minutes away from both Kastrup airport and the city centre. Prior to the 1990s, spatial planning was driven in large part by the public sector as part of the welfare state philosophy. However, an abrupt change of spatial planning policy in the 1990s led to an emphatic market-oriented 'entrepreneurial' philosophy that resulted in the Ørestad development, a plan to construct a 'city annex' to central Copenhagen at the same time as the fixed link between Copenhagen and Malmö would be constructed (Majoor 2008, 123). What is significant about the Ørestad development is that it is the most visible physical representation in Copenhagen of the Øresund agenda after the bridge, especially since it is attributed to the same discourse of European integration and regional competition and, more importantly, it was framed by city developers and the Ørestad Development Corporation as forming a strategic part of the emerging cross-border region (Majoor 2008, 127).

This scene captures the particular moment where the Ørestad development is already under way and the work that remains is convincing people to actually live in this space – a microcosm of the larger Øresund 'problem' of convincing local people to buy into the idea of region-building. The scene of the young family considering a move to Ørestad records the space in the midst of its transformation, and, in some ways, a sense of a tabula rasa upon which a new social and urban dynamic is being written. The planning of the Ørestad project was conducted in a top-down manner, and throughout its development, it attracted much controversy for a number of political and economic reasons that Stan Majoor recounts in his detailed case study (2008). As a part-public and part-privately funded endeavour, Ørestad was criticised for over-running budgets and mostly for the lack of transparency in decision-making, where the social and civic communities had difficulties identifying with the project (Majoor 2008, 131). New buildings and the new metro transport line were eventually built—at an inflated cost—and commercial development had been slow to take root. The mixed reception to the Ørestad plan can be summarised and related once again to the disconnect and misunderstandings between the planned and the lived, between the ambition and imperative of commercial interests on the one hand and the interests of the local community on the other hand.

To briefly return to the oneiric metaphor, I posit that the fleeting appearances of the Øresund in these scenes are like the repressed memories in the subconscious of the city, which only appear in so far as they impact on ordinary lives. As much as the documentary—or Kestner—avoids engaging with the regional dynamic to instead focus on a national space, elements of the region's dreams and aspirations still creep into the space of the city and the film.

3.10. Reworking The City Symphony

Drømme i København is a reworking of the canonical 'city symphony' films of the 1920s that reflected the breathless pace and energy of the industrialising metropolis, a rhythm associated with what Georg Simmel termed the acceleration of one's nervous system: 'die Steigerung des Nervenlebens' (1903, 188). At its core, the city symphony genre celebrates urbanity and the sense of energy that new modernity brought, and its development in the early nineteenth century ran in parallel with developments in motion picture technology, with new ways of visually capturing,

dissecting, and seeing the populated city. One important characteristic of the genre is its function as a mode of defining national identity—via the urban city—at particular historical times.

As Alexander Graf notes, the genre is typically characterised by 'a mixture of architectural photography and figurative, documentary-style sequences' and usually displays 'an interest in rhythm and associative editing' (2007, 78). Walter Ruttmann's *Berlin – Die Sinfonie der Großstadt* (*Berlin - The Symphony of the Metropolis*, 1927) and Dziga Vertov's *Chelovek s kino-apparatom* (*Man with a Movie Camera*, 1929) are key examples of the genre that can generally be described as a dawn-to-dusk portrait of the daily cycle of a city, mostly through an extensive use of montage – the dialectical juxtaposition and intertwining of fragmented moving images (Petrić 1987, 95; Turvey 2011, 143). The desire to celebrate the city's urban textures has not waned throughout the history of cinema as there have been as many city symphonies as there are cities, both new and old. It is useful at this point to open a parenthesis to consider an earlier Danish example of a city symphony film as an intertext, and, through the comparison, discern how Kestner reworks the genre to offer his definition of the city's identity in the early twenty-first century.

Not too long ago, Copenhagen had more vertical dreams in terms of its growth. The city was looking up. In 1960, the city's first skyscraper was built, a 20-storey-high symbol of Denmark's entry into the jet age and firm commitment to modernist aesthetics. The Scandinavian Airline Systems (SAS) Royal Hotel signified a city ready to break with convention and its horizontally oriented skyline. In the same year, *En by ved navn København* (*A City Called Copenhagen*) was released. The film was written, directed, and shot by Danish filmmaker Jørgen Roos and was nominated for an Academy Award in 1961. The jaunty documentary portrait celebrates the city's modern energy, bustling post-war industry, and creative outlook, reflected not just in the film's content but its avant-garde form too. This city symphony comprises short shots of different groups of working class Copenhageners engaged in various occupations and activities: people are busy doing something or producing something in a specific site. The kaleidoscope of scenes feature children learning in classrooms, women busy sorting bottles at the production line of the Carlsberg factory, activity at the fishing port, shipbuilding yard, architects rearranging architectural models in an office, and artists hard at work sculpting and designing — one proudly displaying his

canvasses of abstract painting.

Throughout the documentary there is a general sense of activity and productivity, of a people engaged in a collective exercise of building and producing the nation as one, marching forward into modernity and an optimistic future. Roos' documentary comprises a mix of shots of people and places at a time of transition and economic growth, when the manufacturing industries overtook agricultural activity (Henriksen 2006). Roos cuts together a montage of this burgeoning economic trade—Carlsberg factory, shipbuilding, skyscrapers—enabled by technological advancement and a growing global capital market. The 1960s was a period of nearly full employment and burgeoning economic growth, and this was reflected in the sense of optimism and a strong wave of nationalism as depicted in images of flag-waving Danes in the city. This sense of industriousness is borne through the documentary's rapid cuts, frantic pace matched by a lively soundtrack, and even the vibrancy and richness of its colour palette, shot using Eastmancolor. Adopting a highly experimental sensibility, Roos' work is a montage that juxtaposes scenes of different durations, at times accompanied by a non-diegetic percussive soundtrack, evoking an element of surprise at times that demands the viewer's continual engagement with the image. The film ends with a final shot filmed from the construction elevator of the SAS Hotel, capturing the city's skyline while moving up the vertical shaft (Thomson Forthcoming).

If *Drømme i København* is Kestner's updated version and reinterpretation of the city symphony, it is one that enacts a different spirit, a different urban experience in the particular experience of late modernity. It is a decidedly apolitical documentary that eschews investigative depth of social and political issues for a broad study of the surfaces and structures of the urban text. For instance, the camera simply pans across an empty lot at Jagtvej 69 in Nørrebro, which in 2007 was at the heart of civil conflict in the city. Similarly, Freetown Christiania, a controversial autonomous commune in the middle of the capital, is briefly captured without delving into details of the ongoing political debate about its governance.

The documentary therefore operates on a much quieter and less formal level compared to its forebear, as the title and (lack of) narrative suggests. My argument here is that the film is an attempt to redefine the city symphony for the present age. The aesthetic for the documentary had already been trialled in Kestner's earlier short

film documentary called *Verden i Danmark* (*The World in Denmark*, 2007), a whimsical poetic montage of moving images of the nation. The film photographs the country's ordinary landscape on a national scale and is Kestner's contribution to the *Danmarksfilm* canon.[78] *Drømme i København* continues in a similar aesthetic: it is less visually busy and crowded with people than Roos' film, for example, and the people who are portrayed do not *move* very much within the frame. At any time in the documentary there are at most two individuals within the frame who are mostly depicted either sitting or standing, sometimes not even saying anything. Muted colours evoke a sense of the banality and prosaicness of their daily experience. This is Copenhagen as seen through a very quotidian lens. The stillness of the camera adds to this sense of quiet reverie, and while the film is split into six parts, each 'movement' shifts to the next without any change in rhythm or theme; the intertitles that separate the sections are perfunctory. Even the locations depicted in the documentary are less distinct since most of them are residential spaces that, for the most part, look similar to one another and have nondescript features.

Roos' documentary celebrated and focused on the life of the city's inhabitants and their keen sense of industry as a community, but Kestner's contrasting view interrogates their inner lives and attempts to mediate their thoughts through the narration. Furthermore, Roos' film was commissioned by the city and port authorities of Copenhagen and intended for export to inform foreign audiences about the city. As an 'official' depiction of the city called Copenhagen, this contrasts with Kestner's portrayal of lived subjective realms. The depiction of a collective will that Roos' documentary reflected in 1960 becomes, in 2009, a fragmented society where space and experience, albeit shared, are all highly individualised and disconnected endeavours.

Instead of an ending that visually points toward the nation collectively looking up in optimism and determination, as in Roos' documentary, *Drømme i København* depicts a city that is spreading out of its older confines into an unknown — new spaces are being constructed, both geographically and mentally. Quite unlike a classical

---

[78] The *Danmarksfilm* genre refers to documentary films that, quite simply, portray Denmark. The earliest moving image representations that took the nation as a subject appeared as early as 1917, but it was Poul Henningsen's *Danmark* (1935) that marks the genre (Schepelern 2009).

symphony in music which typically has a clear ending that reiterates key motifs and themes that bring the piece to a close, Kestner, in this instance, opens up possibilities for yet more imagination, pointing to a city whose identity is still being (re)imagined. If Kestner's documentary marks a new model of the city symphony for an age of 'global cities', then it is one that acknowledges the paradoxical sameness of different articulations of the urban condition across the world.

4. Conclusion

What is striking about the role of the camera in the films in this chapter is that it makes visible what we cannot see when encountering whole architectural edifices; the camera is able to penetrate, articulate, and deconstruct the layers of relations woven into the material surfaces of urban space. The three films by Gertten, for instance, make visible the 'simultaneous multiplicity of spaces' enmeshed in each respective landmark edifice (Massey 2005, 3), revealing the affective connections that are imbued in the spaces in Malmö that people inhabit and construct. *Drømme i København* does the same work of attempting to excavate the relationships between people and space, this time shifting the focus onto the urban spaces of Copenhagen on the other side of the Øresund strait.

However, one key difference between the Swedish and Danish texts is the manner in which they address the transnational transformations of the respective (national) spaces. On the one hand, Gertten's documentaries directly tackle the clear disparities between the vexed dreams of the Øresund project and the lived realities of the inhabitants, with architecture as the interface between the national, transnational, and global. In my analyses of Gertten's documentaries about the landmarks in and around Malmö, I have also contributed a suggestion that the films be considered as a trilogy, a discursive frame that helps to articulate alternative and counter-narratives of the Øresund rhetoric bound by similar themes and motifs.

But on the other hand, in *Drømme i København*, the dreams of the city are characterised by a degree of solipsism — architecture instead emphasises the insularity of inhabitants' experiential realms instead of engaging with dynamics beyond the city's boundaries. The documentary's poetic stance places an intense focus on the surfaces and particularities of urban living, while also dipping into

personal spaces. The city's multiple layers of history are expressed through a spirited and spellbinding narration that seeks to draw the viewer deeper into the spaces of the city and the dreams of its people; yet these acts belie a pronounced sense of ambivalence and distance. That is, like a dream, the film can only grasp at a sense of the city's identity, unable to define what it is. In this reverie, one can only just make out the Øresund vision appearing in certain places and from certain (high) perspectives, but otherwise, the quotidian realm remains ignorant of transnational gestures from across the Sound.

Finally, I argue that the documentary mode is a bona fide way of registering the dynamics in urban places undergoing spatial—and social—transformation; each documentary is a cinematic act of memory-construction that intervenes, through its production and exhibition, in wider conversations about the changing spaces of the region. The significance of the films also lie in the fact that they are all material and indexical fragments of the places and social practices that they depict, and of the respective historical moments in the larger story of the Øresund region. In the next chapter, I continue with this notion of the film as a small fragment — a compact visual document that captures particular moments and social practices in the region.

CHAPTER FOUR

Spaces Of Risk And Creativity:
The Usefulness And Smallness Of Short Films

The short film is the neglected stepchild of cinema studies. (Hjort 2000b, 81)

In this chapter, I turn to the short film format and its importance in the training and education of filmmakers in the region. Interrogating short films through the lens of 'useful cinema', I examine the parameters of institutional support for the format and its position in Swedish and Danish film culture as a platform for creative experimentation and artistic risk-taking. Furthermore, risk is a thematic thread that runs throughout this chapter and I posit that it can productively be applied to understand how the short film participates in the cultural imagining of the Øresund environment and the artistic decisions that filmmakers undertake to this end.

I contend that it is important to examine the pedagogical values expressed through practice-based film education to gain a fuller understanding of the conditions that make the development of screen culture in the Øresund region viable. As Hjort remarks, film education, 'be it formal and structured or more fluid, ad hoc, and improvised, is also, much like archives and institutes, part of the institutional fabric of cinema' (2012, 13), and therefore warrants closer study if we are to have a more nuanced understanding of the underlying values that inform filmmakers' artistic decisions within a small-nation context. It is worth noting that this overlooked facet of the institutional significance of film schools and critical study of film training in general is now being pursued by the scholars already established in small-nation cinema studies, for reasons having to do with a desire to understand and identify the complex challenges faced by small nations in their pursuit of filmmaking. These scholars include Duncan Petrie and Rod Stoneman (2014) in the British context, Hjort, Bondebjerg, and Redvall in the Danish context, and by the small but growing number of scholars concerned with national cinemas dealing with issues of small nationhood — the various scholars in Hjort's two-volume *The Education of the Filmmaker* project

published in 2013 represent the pioneers of this field of study. It is my intention to build on this work to examine the relationship between film education and the filmmakers' mediation of the Øresund region.

Following a consideration of the cultural arguments for short film production and its production context in the Øresund, I look at two examples of short films produced in the region and that are about the region: *Out* (2006) and *Valrossarna* (*Walrus*, 2006). Through a close reading of these texts, I trace the connections between, on the one hand, the constraints and opportunities offered by film policy, and on the other hand, the form and content of the films. In other words, the argument I want to emphasise is that conditions of filmmaking do have a connection to the artistic decisions filmmakers make in their work. Also significant to this analysis is building an understanding of how ideas and notions of the Øresund region can be compressed into a short narrative — a unifying visual motif is the water as a site that is at once liminal, indeterminate, and at the same time imbricated with identity-building processes. I further contend that discourses about the maritime environment are vital to our understanding of culture in the region which is fundamentally built around a body of water — the strait registers tensions between belonging and alienation.

The following questions motivate my line of inquiry in this chapter. As a 'peripheral' format—in terms of not quite having the cultural cachet of feature-length films or television programmes, lacking critical attention in contemporary scholarly studies, as well as in terms of lacking visibility in the industry compared to the feature-length film—what role does the short film play in the construction of a region and its film culture? In particular, what role does the short format play in fostering emerging talent in a small region, and how are narratives of the Øresund region rendered in a short, compact visual form? Indeed, what is the 'use' of short films?

1.   Useful Cinema

In Haidee Wasson and Charles Acland's introduction to the volume *Useful Cinema*, the category is defined as a body of films and technologies that 'perform tasks and serve as instruments in an ongoing struggle for aesthetic, social, and political capital' (2011, 3). In particular, such films include experimental and didactic films that span fictional and non-fictional, narrative and non-narrative modes (2011, 4). Working from

Tony Bennett's understanding of 'useful culture' (1992), the authors examine cinema as one element of culture where films are conceptualised and accordingly analysed as tools or objects with specific uses within an institutional and discursive context. After all, films are produced and viewed in circumstances that are shaped by political, industrial, and regulatory forces which all act according to particular public and private mandates. Film can therefore be crafted by various individual, state, or commercial interests into a *useful* tool within this matrix, 'a tool that makes, persuades, instructs, demonstrates, and *does* something' (Wasson and Acland 2011, 6). Bennett writes:

> Rather, what a text is, and what is at stake in its analysis, depends on the specific uses for which it has been instrumentalized in particular institutional and discursive contexts – some of which, of course, will be governmentally constructed and organized.' (Bennett 1992, 404)

One concern of Wasson and Ackland is to build on the interest in obscure film objects that typically fall under the categories of 'minor', 'non-theatrical', and 'marginal' and to explore the ways in which the films, in their specific contexts, 'influence minds, shape taste, and affect behaviours' (2011, 5). In addition to formal and aesthetic analysis, Wasson and Ackland argue that 'methods of analysis that consider institutional location and deployment' are crucial to a fuller understanding of useful cinema, which they apply to discussions of film texts and objects from mid-twentieth century American cinema (2011, 5). This includes focusing the conceptual lens on experimental films, informational films, industrial films, and other such pedagogical/didactic cinematic devices, most of which tend to be short works.

My concern is to apply and extend the concept to discuss short films within the institutional context of the Øresund region and evaluate them as useful objects that perform various practical and symbolic functions. Further, I relate their role as a useful tool to the development of film culture in the region. The concept of useful cinema highlights a keen sense of agency as a feature of the short films in question, in that they 'do' something – either to bring a community together, to participate in region-building, or to advance aesthetic innovations of the form. In the case of *Out* and *Valrossarna*, their 'usefulness' is two-fold: they are essential stepping stones and practical pedagogical tools for emerging filmmakers in the region, and they mediate particular visions of the Øresund region that speak to broader discourses about space and identity. While the same might be argued for all audiovisual work of any format, it is the conventionally low-risk and low(er)-budget nature of short film production that

makes the format particularly 'useful' and especially mobile for the mediation of ideas and images to a much broader viewership.[79]

I want to suggest that the concept of the useful becomes more salient when set in dialogue with the concept of risk-taking in a positive sense, especially in the context of a small-nation cinema. What I mean by the term 'useful risks' in the filmmaking context can be understood as cinematic risks that are taken by institutions or individuals to bring about epistemic gains and that possess a specific utility in contributing to the sustainability of a small-nation film culture. On an individual level, an emerging filmmaker risks many things when making creative decisions in the filmmaking process, such as one's reputation and the chances of receiving support for future projects if the present work is deemed to be either an artistic or commercial success. In the effort to differentiate oneself from so many others in a small community, choosing a provocative social issue or obscure subject to make a film about can be a risky decision, but one that nevertheless serves a wider usefulness in raising awareness or contributing a visual record of a marginal community: the two case studies in this chapter are examples of this. Similarly, public and private institutional actors need to take particular risks that effect useful results for the long-term sustainability of the film industry. These risk-taking and risk management strategies could be in the form of financially investing in new, emerging talent and taking chances on experimental projects that may not garner immediate commercial success. For example, the fledgling regional cinema of Skåne is one that operates under an almost-constant threat of being overshadowed and overtaken by the film-industrial dominance of Copenhagen or Stockholm. Yet this imperative to survive and sustain itself has led to some institutional players taking useful risks by investing in cross-border, inter-regional, and trans-media platforms.

2.   Short And Not Marginal

Historically and culturally, the short film has been a significant and particularly

---

[79] A caveat: 'short' does not always mean 'cheap', nor does it necessarily suggest 'low-risk' all of the time. It is certainly possible to produce big-budget and high-concept short works, as the world of popular music videos demonstrates: Michael and Janet Jackson's 'Scream' (1995) still holds the record for 'most expensive music video', costing USD 7 million — or USD 10.7 million when adjusted for inflation (Michalski 2014).

germane format for Nordic filmmakers for several reasons. First, the format is indispensable in the education of a filmmaker, serving as a platform for experimentation and as a stepping stone to more complex, larger-scale film work. Second, it had historically been adopted by both states (in the form of *kulturfilm*) as an effective vehicle for the communication of specific ideologically driven campaigns; the short film is what Myles Breen calls 'a powerful persuader in our society' (1978, 3). As a bite-sized moving-image work, the brevity of the format forces the filmmaker to distill specific ideas and themes into a very concentrated form, and at the same time allows for creative freedom within its temporal limits.

The short film, as Dylan Cave rightly notes, is the 'the feature's older but less celebrated brother' (2014). In the contemporary context, experimental, avant-garde, fiction, documentary, advertisements, educational shorts are some of the various types of short films that have garnered critical attention. In the age of digital media, even animated GIFs might be classified as part of the short film genre, in addition to web videos on YouTube or Vimeo, and music videos (Jameson 2013). In the early years of the medium, all films were short films, yet the art form has been relegated to a marginal status over time, particularly when compared to the cultural influence and reach of feature-length films and television. Yet its significance in contemporary film criticism is understated in scholarly studies. With the possibilities opened up by technological changes in digital filmmaking, the resulting increase in short film production, and its growing distribution and visibility beyond national screens, advocating the serious study of the genre is a timely endeavour. As Jeremy Howe remarks, '[w]ith the huge increase in the number of film and media schools and the democratization of film-making made possible by new low-budget technology, there have probably never been more shorts produced than now' (2004, 177).

Scholarly monographs on the genre are few; the publications that do exist tend to be practical 'how-to' guides to short filmmaking. Hence, the academic study of short films in contemporary film studies can be considered a relatively young area of focus; the journal *Short Film Studies*, first published in 2011, is an attempt to address this lacuna. This chapter therefore seeks to build on the momentum of studies dedicated to the genre, and specifically, to draw attention to the connections between the short film and its role in the cultural sphere of the Øresund region.

2.1. Definitions

The definition of what makes a short film remains elusive. The films I examine in this chapter are examples of the short film as a genre of filmmaking. We may consider as defining traits its sub-feature length running time and formal characteristics such as a compact plot structure. Breen writes that '[t]he short film can legitimately be considered as a showcase for technique' (1978, 11), where the format encourages 'the drive to be succinct, the opportunity for technical and formal innovation and the potential to influence and revitalise the mainstream industry' (Cave 2014). Economy, brevity, and leanness are the hallmarks of the short format, but these characteristics do not discount the richness and dynamism of the short film as a field of cultural production. Richard Raskin argues for a balance in the interplay between simplicity and depth in the short film, arguing that a 'good' short film 'foregoes unnecessary complications':

> Once inside, we engage in the curious process of simultaneously constructing and exploring its inner space, actually exploring our own constructions of the story's potential meanings. And this largely reflective process is what deepens our experience of the film. (Raskin 2002, 170)

How short is a short film? A definition of the length of a short film, or its running time, is one of the elements that have eluded scholars on the topic, and is further complicated by the diverse length requirements issued by the various platforms—most of them film festivals—in which short films are exhibited. Works submitted to the short film competition at the Festival de Cannes must be under 15 minutes long, while those that are between 15 and 60 minutes long may be registered for a separate platform dedicated to screening short films (Festival de Cannes 2015). In other major festivals, the accepted length of a short film hovers around 40 minutes, the limit adopted by the International Short Film Festival at Clermont-Ferrand, the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, and the Uppsala International Short Film Festival in Sweden (Rea and Irving 2010, 10). Raskin concedes that there is no consensus on what is the maximum running time a short film can have as this can be as long as 60 minutes (which can easily pass as a feature-length work), although he acknowledges that specific 'in-between' forms exist in some cinematic cultures: the *novellefilm* in Scandinavia, at circa 40 minutes in length, is something of a miniature feature film with fewer characters and a simpler plot (Raskin 2002, 3; Raskin 2014, 29). According to Henrik Poulsen, where the feature film allows for unfolding of several narrative

threads, the *novellefilm* 'looks inwards', concentrating on one narrative and telling a character's inner story; compared to a shorter film, the *novellefilm* is less experimental and is a more 'classic' film narrative (2004).

It is thus unsurprising that, in the Swedish and Danish institutional contexts, there is a similar lack of clarity on the definition of a short film. In my survey of all available documents on film support funds, I have found that very few funding documents provide a straightforward definition of running lengths that fall under the rubric of 'short', despite there being distinct categories of funding and support specifically for short fiction or short documentary films. Buried deep within the terms and conditions for the SFI's grant for the dissemination of short films, short films are defined as works that are under 70 minutes in length (Svenska Filminstitutet 2014c). For production grants, one is left to infer from the terms of support for feature-length films: a feature film (*långfilm*) according to the SFI must be over 70 minutes long, therefore it follows that anything under 70 minutes long must be considered a *kortfilm*. The SFI's funding scheme for experimental filmmaking, Moving Sweden, indirectly targets the short format without actually branding itself as a scheme for short films; it distributes funds to film productions that are either 30, 45, or 60 minutes long (Svenska Filminstitutet 2014b). The documentation for the DFI's regular short film grant on the other hand does not contain any definition. Like Moving Sweden, the New Danish Screen initiative does not supply a definition of a short nor feature-length film, instead broadening the categories of format and duration to the following: 'under 10 minutes, 24-28 minutes, 38-42 minutes, 52-58 minutes and +75 minutes' (Danish Film Institute 2014b).

One reason for the uncertainty might be due to developments in film technology. While filmmakers were formerly limited by the cost, availability, and physical restrictions of the analogue recording media used, digital filmmaking is now only potentially limited by the cost of specialist cameras and perhaps hard disk space. Digital media also allows for easier transferral across different platforms, screens, and viewing formats — there are many possibilities to manipulate the raw, unedited material in different ways. Hence, the question of digital media problematises any stable understanding of what a short film should be, and for how long. Medium-based distinctions between the genres of television, film, and web-based work are increasingly blurred, making the short film a versatile format that transcends narrative,

thematic, or aesthetic distinctions (Lisi 2013).

2.2.   Short Film As A Cultural And National Good

What I do want to emphasise is that the ambiguity of running length does not suggest that the format holds a marginal position in Nordic film cultures. On the contrary, short films, both fiction and non-fiction, are institutionally supported at all stages from script-development to production and distribution. In other words, the short film is emphatically recognised by the respective states as an art form of cultural value and as equal in status with, if not more fundamental than, feature-length film art in building a sustainable industry and articulating a progressive film-cultural identity. Short films are a cultural and national good in three major ways: first, as a vehicle for stimulating innovation and creativity in filmmaking; second, as an economical means to train new filmmakers, ensuring renewal and sustainability of talent in the long run; and lastly, as a field in which representations of social identity circulate.

A brief history of the institutional support behind the short film will shed some light on changing perceptions of the format. Earlier in the history of Danish film, one institution stood out as a champion of the short film format: Dansk Kulturfilm (Danish Cultural Film)[80] was a semi-independent agency established in 1932 to produce and distribute short films (primarily) for 'education, enlightenment, and general propaganda' (the latter term was dropped in 1958 in favour of 'cultural content'), in other words, 'useful' films (Thomson 2016). Until its closure in the mid-1960s, and in consort with its institutional twin Ministeriernes Filmudvalg (The Government Film Committee, established during WWII), the agency was a key pillar of national film policy and was responsible for around 400 short films and some feature-length films on mostly 'educational' topics designed to serve the interests of national associations, industrial groups, tourism boards, and government ministries (ibid.). Financed by the state and with some directed by leading auteur figures like Carl Theodor Dreyer, these films travelled the country and were screened in cinemas before feature films, in schools, and other educational institutions. The short films under the Dansk Kulturfilm banner were a form of cultural mediation: they propagated and shaped the values of the welfare state in Denmark, screened to national and international audiences. The

---

[80] Dansk Kulturfilm formed a triumvirate with Statens Filmcentral and Ministeriernes Filmudvalg to advance the cause of short films.

late 1950s saw the predominantly utilitarian uses of the short film—as political advocacy and social enlightenment—being replaced by a view of the short as an independent art form (Nørrestad and Alsted 1987, 672), and later in 1965, the Kortfilmrådet (the Short Film Council) was established and became responsible for the support of 'artistic short films or short films with cultural or topical social issues' (Larsen 2011). Significantly, a third of the funding offered by the Council was to go to 'free artistic short films' which could be experimental and marked by the filmmaker's personal style, while the other two-thirds went to 'bound' short films that covered topical social issues.

In Sweden, the short film production unit at Svensk Filmindustri that operated between the 1930s and 1940s is notable for its effort at encouraging 'divergent production' that enabled filmmakers to explore an expanded film language beyond conventional models (L. G. Andersson, Sundholm, and Widding 2010, 16). Two other production companies were notable in the promotion of the educational short film: Filmo (established in 1938) and Nordisk Tonefilm (originally a Danish company but later acquired by the Swedish Folkbiografer and began producing films from 1948). Both were frequently commissioned by labour and trade unions, housing cooperatives, and various state agencies to produce information films which increasingly projected the rhetoric of the Swedish welfare state ideologies at the time (Vesterlund 2013, 54). Institutional support for the short film as an art form came later in the 1950s after much lobbying by Harry Schein, whose subsequent radical leadership at the SFI ensured that the short film would not be ignored by the establishment that previously tended to be critical of the genre (Vesterlund 2013, 56).

If the aims of postindustrial regional authorities such as Skåne are to restructure the economy, encourage cultural development, increase international visibility, and expand the tourism industry, how does funding the short film—with its limited visibility and limited potential to fulfil those objectives—benefit the region? That the aesthetic value of the short film is not widely acknowledged by the public is also a recurring issue (O. Hedling 2008, 269), so why would institutions fund a risky format? One way to answer this is to understand that the short film is a mode through which institutions can usefully invest in creative talent and ensure the sustainability of an historically important art form and its related industrial milieu. Writing about contemporary experimental film culture in Sweden, Lars Gustaf Andersson, John

Sundholm, and Astrid Söderbergh Widding note that the short film format has been the preferred vessel for experimental film art, and the possibility to be innovative with form and aesthetics was also achieved through the 'institutionalised short film' such as industrial films, information films, and commercials (2010, 63). From the 1960s, short films gained in importance in film-cultural discourse, in part due to the work of the SFI: special funding and awards were provided and the SFI's film school produced primarily short films that were widely reviewed in film journals (Andersson, Sundholm, and Widding 2010, 115).

From the perspective of the state the function of short films has, over time, shifted in emphasis from being educational and informational works instrumental to building the welfare state, to becoming a vital part of the national film-artistic landscape, particularly as a means to encourage experimentation and innovation with the art form. Arguably, the two functions are not vastly different, as early short filmmaking was already very much experimental and artistic even if these were public information films — there was, in fact, help for directors looking to 'seek out new directions for the art of film with economic support from Dansk Kulturfilm' (Dansk Kulturfilm 1949, 46). Dreyer is an example of a noted film auteur who, in between larger projects, was involved in producing informational short films that were radical aesthetic experiments at the same time (Thomson 2016). The Moving Sweden and New Danish Screen funding initiatives are the most recent instances of institutional commitment to the short format, particularly as it serves a crucial role in talent development and encouraging risk-taking, which all contributes to ensuring sustainability in the film community. The DFI states:

> The purpose of DFI's support is to ensure continuous production and distribution of different types of films, so that the total supply of Danish short film—in terms of artistic quality, diversity, quantity, and audience appeal—maintains and develops Danish film art and film culture, both domestically and internationally. (Danish Film Institute 2014c, 3)

Even though short film budgets are typically low and have far smaller market potentials, by providing generous funding, institutions are effectively removing the element of financial risk faced by production companies and filmmakers. This further encourages the type of creative risk-taking needed for a thriving film culture and enables a continuing supply of film talent into the industry while at the same time rejuvenating the art form. The New Danish Screen initiative is, as Redvall puts it, 'a

targeted strategy aimed at ensuring innovation in Danish film by creating a space for artistic risk-taking' (2012, 209).

The short film's importance for the healthy development of Danish cinema is further illustrated by firm targets. Henrik Bo Nielsen, CEO of the DFI, in an appeal to the Danish Parliament, contends: 'It is the DFI's opinion that 20–25 features and 35 shorts and documentaries a year is the *necessary minimum* for providing a broad selection of films for all Danes' (Nielsen 2010, my emphasis). That short films are a indispensable part of audiovisual culture in the Nordic countries is worth highlighting, especially since their value as a cultural 'good' does tend to be overshadowed by the various successes of more high-profile feature-length productions. The idea of providing films for 'all' members of society echoes, to a degree, the 1930s social-democratic ethos of protecting and supporting national film culture as a means of raising the cultural competence of all Danes as democratic members of the welfare society (Duelund, Bohlbro, and Valtysson 2013). Nielsen's statement can be read further as a more contemporary call for ensuring a diversity of artistic expression and perspectives that can speak to Danes of all stripes and colours, particularly in more recent contexts of multiculturalism and globalisation. As McIntyre asserts, film cultures—especially peripheral ones—have 'a central role to play in articulating progressive notions of national identity' (1985, 67), and as illustrated in the quote by Nielsen, short films in particular have taken on this urgent and indeed progressive role of aiming to produce works that speak to a socially, economically, and politically diverse society.

2.3.   Short Films As Educational Tools

The 'institutional turn' in Danish and Swedish film studies—in which I locate my thesis—has thus far focused on examining institutional modes of production via the dominant (often national) institutional culture, policies, and practices. Recent attempts to document the diversity of models of film education and processes of change that shape practitioners' agency are reflected in the co-edited *Danish Directors* series (three volumes, 2000–2014) and Hjort's two volumes on *The Education of the Filmmaker* (2013), where both series contain sustained analyses of practice-oriented educational initiatives and include accounts from film practitioners—a form of empirical data—that have been largely marginalised in film scholarship. In the context of small nation cinemas, the commitment to the study of film education and the

experience of practitioners is shaped by the pursuit of greater understanding of 'the ways in which systemic constraints are transformed, through practitioners' agency, into creative opportunities and the conditions needed for an entire milieu to thrive' (Hjort 2013b, 6). The urgency and relevance of this strand of research in the Danish context, Hjort claims, is to bring a fuller awareness of the institutional conditions that make New Danish Cinema possible (Hjort, Jørholt, and Redvall 2010, 21–22) as well as to draw out possibilities of conceptual refinement from subjective accounts of the institutional underpinnings of film (Hjort 2013b, 16–17). In the Swedish context, Andersson, Sundholm, and Widding (2010) and Stenport (2013) represent the first attempts in English-language scholarship to map the contemporary constellation of official and alternative modes of film training in the country.[81]

To address the need to diversify the voices heard through film, it is essential to diversify the intake of fledgling filmmakers and expand the possibilities for their own creative development. Short films are a means to this end. One key 'use' of the short film is, as mentioned earlier, as an opportunity for aspiring film practitioners to practice and improve their narrative skills at an early stage of their artistic career (Riis 1998). Since 1964 and in the first years of the inauguration of Sweden's first film school, film students were given a 'free hand' in a curriculum that was non-profit oriented in a film culture that held—and still holds—the conviction that 'the director [is] the true author of the film'; the first years of SFI's film school saw the production of a great quantity of short films that were experimental in character (Andersson, Sundholm, and Widding 2010, 125). In the Swedish context, short films were, since the 1960s, regarded as relevant and necessary for the vitality of national cinema:

> Short filmmaking was viewed both by the institutions and the trade as a necessary training ground before the 'real thing'. On the other hand, the critics and the SFI supported short filmmaking because it was considered to enable the most intense and interesting experiments. (L. G. Andersson, Sundholm, and Widding 2010, 137)

Thus, for newer filmmakers, the short film is their 'calling card' – the work upon which

---

[81] I must emphasise that my aim is not to replicate the work of mapping the network of film training opportunities in the region. Rather, my contribution to this area of research is the critical situation of short films within the institutional milieu as a vital tool by which film-training outcomes are achieved.

cultural gatekeepers, funders, and institutions base their decisions of whether to support and promote the filmmaker. From an institutional point of view, the quality and quantity of short films produced with state support play a role in projecting a commitment to building a film culture that values aesthetic experimentation.

In spite of its perceived limitations and 'shortness', at the heart of the short film format is its relative flexibility, and this is where I want to suggest that institutional policy intersects with aesthetic representation. There is less pressure to pander to commercial interests and popular taste which allows filmmakers to take artistic risks by casting a critical eye on risky topics or highlighting diverse social issues that exist on the margins of dominant socio-political discourse. Thus, the short film can be used as a radical cinematic tool with the potential to project counter-narratives that challenge various forms of dominant power. The low-budget nature of most short film production (and funding) also has an impact on *where* filmmakers shoot and *how long* they can spend on a production. I posit that financial and other material limitations necessitate filming locally and in the case of documentaries, dealing with topical themes or stories present in the filmmakers' social milieux and with subjects that filmmakers are familiar with or have access to, as in the case of *Valrossarna*. Often these are stories on a very small scale, motivating a more intense and/or straightforward focus on the selected topic yet without compromising on richness of insight. *Valrossarna*, for example, is a compact documentary portrait of a day in the life of a small group of young Swedes partaking in a modified ritual experience of bathing in the Øresund strait in winter, *sans* post-bathing sauna. The film is touted by its production company as 'a short documentary about an odd group of people in Malmö' (Kooliproduktion 2006) and, by this statement, we can note the emphasis on making visible an otherwise marginal sub-community in a specific locale.

As a social and cultural good, the short film is at once a training tool for young filmmakers and also essential as a format that allows—and encourages—filmmakers to take risks and experiment with the form while giving voice to minor, marginal subjects that may otherwise be untenable in a longer format. According to Lisa Nyed, a project manager at Film i Skåne who deals with short films, the organisation views the short film format as a relatively cheap way to train talent; for them, supporting short film production is like being a film school of sorts (O. Hedling 2008, 269). Within a regional context, the importance of the short film becomes even more pronounced

as it forms part of the long-term strategy of developing and sustaining a regional film industry.

2.4. How Are Short Films Distributed?

In the Øresund region, as is the case in other international contexts, the film festival circuit remains an important exhibition channel for short films and for emerging filmmakers who have yet to establish a reputation with filmgoers. Winning accolades at international festivals is also another way for these filmmakers to gain recognition and for funders to ascertain their cultural value as worthwhile investments. Naturally, one criticism relates to the fact that the festival audience is limited and fragmented, and this also depends on which festivals the short film gets selected for, and even where and when in the festival schedule it is being screened. Nevertheless, the point here is that the short films in the present period have the potential to travel widely via different formats (e.g. DVD, online streaming) and be seen by diverse groups of people, be they other filmmakers, critics, journalists, cultural gatekeepers, curious filmgoers, or film enthusiasts. In the digital context, a short film's smaller data size makes online distribution more feasible and obviates the older constraints of film length and the associated costs and risks of shipping internationally. More often than not, festival audiences will be international and therefore foreign to the Øresund, thus the compact and digestible format makes the short film a useful format indeed for mediating the region internationally.

Still, when viewed from an institutional and policy perspective, the short film is a very national project and therefore takes local audience-building as a priority when distribution is discussed. In the Danish context, a typical funding agreement for a short film production states that the DFI may undertake non-commercial distribution of the film on several platforms after the film's commercial release period. This means that after an agreed 'hold back' period where the film is screened commercially, the DFI will retain the non-commercial distribution rights to distribute and screen the film on public television channels, through DVD sales, the Internet, and through other institutions such as libraries and schools (Danish Film Institute 2014d); this includes online VOD sites such as the broadcasters' own 'catch-up' players and the online services Filmcentralen.dk and Filmstriben.dk, and through state-run libraries (Bondebjerg, Hjort, and Redvall 2014, 22). DR and TV2, through their funding agreements with DFI, are also obliged to screen the films as a public service, ensuring

a wide national audience for these short works that would otherwise remain unseen and unheard of by the wider public. Through the Nordvision alliance which comprises the public service television companies of Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, and Finland, short films have further exposure across the Nordic region as part of the broadcasters' exchange of free programmes.

On the surface, the myriad distribution possibilities suggests that short films, at least in the Nordic context, are being viewed by a much wider audience. However, in reality there are technological, legal, and commercial obstacles still standing in the way of a truly open, democratic, and even global distribution. Online distribution of short films in the Danish context, for instance, is for the most part still limited to the typical welfare state institutions such as schools, libraries, and research institutions in Denmark. Without credentials from an approved organisation, films remain hidden behind this nationally demarcated digital wall.

To sum up this section on defining the short film, there is clearly a strong commitment to the production and distribution of short films in the Danish and Swedish contexts not only because of the format's utility in the artistic development of local filmmakers, but also because it possesses immense cultural value as an essential art form in film culture. Short films are also vehicles by which unique, cinematic snapshots of the region travel to a broader audience. This is achieved by distributing short films widely through national and regional television channels and online platforms aided by the film institutes. Nationally and internationally oriented film festivals provide a window for short films to be circulated to a transnational market and audience (Bondebjerg and Redvall 2013, 139).

3.   Risky Business: Educating Danish and Swedish Filmmakers

Both directors of the two short films examined in this chapter are products of their respective national film education initiatives: Dencik graduated in editing from the National Film School Denmark (CPH:FORUM 2013, 81), while Guwallius received film training at the Öland Documentary School (Ölands Dokumentärfilmskolan), Lund

University, and Malmö University (Guwallius 2015).[82] My approach in this section is to consider the pedagogical contexts of film in the region as a way of understanding how the short film plays a foundational role in the training (and production) of filmmakers in the region. In particular, I posit that the notion of risk shapes filmmaking in the region, and this is very much driven by small-nation considerations. A second point I wish to make here is once again the dominance of the Danish pedagogical network in the region.

In the Swedish context, support for short film has come from both national and regional funds. In 2006, the SFI's consultant for short films distributed support funds of between 200,000 to 750,000 SEK to 28 productions, all of which had already secured regional aid (O. Hedling 2008, 266). While on the one hand, the regional turn in Swedish film policy has brought about a greater vitality in regional film production, film training and education remains something of a challenge for regional administrators. While smaller, independent and grassroots initiatives do exist, the National Film School of Denmark across the Sound and the Stockholm Academy of Dramatic Arts are still the main sources of comprehensive pedagogical training.

The success of New Danish Cinema—Denmark's 'second golden age'—owes much to the institutions that have played a significant role in training filmmakers in their craft. Aside from the official film school (NFSD), the state also funds workshops such as the Copenhagen Film Workshop and Aarhus Film Workshop (since 1985), amongst those in other provinces, aimed at nurturing new talent, providing the space for experimentation, and most of all, to democratise access to filmmaking in the country (Hjort, Jørholt, and Redvall 2010, 22–25). The diversified film education landscape also comprises independent, grassroots-led film schools in the private sector, some with partial state funding: the Danish Video Workshop in Haderslev which existed from 1977 to 2006 and was recreated as the Odense Film Workshop in 2007, the European Film College in Ebeltoft (since 1993), Super16 (established in 1999 by applicants who had failed to gain admission to the NFSD), and Super8 in

---

[82] What has also struck me is that the filmmakers are multi-hyphenates, e.g. author, journalist, filmmaker, poet. This is suggestive of how the various arts and media are interlinked within a creative eco-system where filmmakers are necessarily talents in other areas. For instance, screenwriters are also TV chefs (Adam Price of *Borgen*), journalists and writers are also filmmakers (Gertten and Guwallius). The necessity to be involved in multiple fields might be said to be particular to a small-nation context.

Western Denmark (since 2002). These workshops play an important role in milieu-building for several reasons. They serve as crucial stepping-stones for new filmmakers who later do go on to train at the NFSD and also in some cases provide an alternative opportunity to be involved in filmmaking, particularly for the groups of people who may lie outside the reach of the official state-funded route. Even for experienced filmmakers, the workshops are a platform for them to experiment with alternative ideas (Sundholm et al. 2012, 156). As these latter workshops are grassroots-led, there is also something to be said here about civil society in the Scandinavian context, where opportunities to train in filmmaking are not only provided by the state. Citizens and other private actors are also highly involved in self-organising grassroots initiatives to broaden access to these skills, particularly in areas peripheral to the major cities. As these are mostly small, independent enterprises, they are constrained by low budgets and limited resources which are in themselves advantageous in stimulating creativity.

The emphasis on constraint has had a great deal of influence on filmmakers' artistic practice as well as film policy, as I argued in Chapter Two; after all, the roots of the Dogma 95 movement came from the filmmakers' experiences at the NFSD while learning the craft under figures such as Mogens Rukov (instructor of screenwriting) and, for the younger generation of filmmakers, Arne Bro (vice-director of NFSD and head of the documentary film department).[83] The Dogma 95 aesthetic is clear in the pedagogical practices of the NFSD, where the mantra of 'less is more'—creativity under constraint—pervades the curriculum. For example, 'penneprøver' ('pen-tests') assignments demand that student-directors work with a specific set of externally imposed restrictions – a method driven by Jørgen Leth who served as an instructor at the school and mentor to New Danish Cinema's 'golden talent' such as Lars von Trier, Thomas Vinterberg, and Ole Christian Madsen of Dogma 95 fame (Hjort, Jørholt, and Redvall 2010, 23).

Specifically for the NFSD, scale is an important factor in its achievement with

---

[83] This is not to say that Dogma 95 is intended as a low-budget mode of filmmaking — it is anything but. The Vow of Chastity does not mention budgetary constraint at all. Instead, the emphasis is on aesthetic constraints. Furthermore, von Trier and Vinterberg's provocation was targeted at experienced auteurs, inviting them to break out of the straightjacket of a consistent personal style.

producing filmmakers—graduates include Scherfig, Bier, von Trier, and Vinterberg—whose works speak to popular and critical audiences internationally. Poul Nesgaard, the director of the NFSD since 1992, reiterates that the institution's small size is crucial because small cohorts make possible the intimate environment in which personal and unique expressive capacities can be drawn out and in which strong ties emerge between students and trusted practitioner-teachers (Hjort 2013a, 130; Bondebjerg, Hjort, and Redvall 2014, 5). Six students are admitted to each of the five specialities in the film department (directing, producing, cinematography, sound design and editing) in the school, making this a very intimate and intensive pedagogical space indeed with only 30 students per cohort who will be working together over the four-year programme (Cineuropa 2011). In any case, the community that emerges out of this environment is one that nurtures, as Dencik puts it:

> We are blessed with a great team-spirit. A success for a colleague of mine is a success for me. We are all really involved in each other's projects. I think a lot of it comes from The Film School, but there's a generosity and a naïvety all around the place—from the Danish Film Institute to the local festivals—which is a good base for making dreams come alive. If you are weird and twisted, you are not looked down upon — on the contrary: if you are weird, twisted and talented you are the king of this country. (Quoted in Knegt 2012)

Inculcating a healthy appetite for creative risk is something that has been emphasised throughout the system, from incorporating a risk-taking approach in film policy (Redvall 2012, 215) to encouraging institutional trust and risk-taking in artistic choices through the respective Consultant schemes and initiatives focusing on low-budget and alternative format productions such as New Danish Screen and Moving Sweden. Much of this form of institutional risk management is about creating favourable conditions for filmmakers to enhance their craft and build on the sustainability of their film industries. Institutional risk-taking when it comes to nurturing young and emerging talent is very much a valuable strategy in the context of a small nation:

> The past decade has seen the implementation of a number of initiatives designed to set up what might be called zones of limited risk, the idea behind them being essentially twofold: young novice filmmakers should be given every opportunity to prove their promise; and the risk involved in allowing novices to perfect their skills and refine their artistic vision constitutes a legitimate gamble with public monies if the relevant budgets are kept within clear limits. (Hjort 2005, 15)

The emphasis here is on providing a 'safe' space for experimentation and artistic risk-taking, and how state-funded film institutions such as those in the Nordic nations are about 'transferring risk from the private to the public sector' (Hjort 2012, 13). Setting up specific 'zones of limited risk' ameliorates the financial constraints that novice filmmakers typically face when making their first films. Clearly, the kind of risk described above is informed by the concept of creativity under constraint, fostered by the Dogma 95 principles as well as the dynamics of 'gift culture' in Danish film.

The relevance of the concept of 'gift culture' to the training of Danish filmmakers is worth highlighting, especially in light of how it forms one of the underlying values driving both Danish and Swedish film culture. In the collaborative film experiment *De fem benspænd* (*The Five Obstructions*, 2003), von Trier issues artistic rules or 'obstructions' to the elder filmmaker Jørgen Leth to remake his 1967 short film *De perfekte menneske* (*The Perfect Human*) in five different styles and within specific limitations. The externally imposed constraints constitute, as von Trier puts it in the film, 'gifts' that allow Leth to reignite his creativity and to move beyond his artistic comfort zone (Hjort 2006, 125–7); the Dogma rules are similar 'gifts' to the filmmakers, enabling them to rediscover their craft by severing them from habit and convention. Hjort emphasises the influence that Dogma 95 has had on the rejuvenation of Danish cinema since the late 1990s:

> Dogma 95 taught Danish filmmakers and, just as importantly, Danish policy makers, to think of constraints linked to the realities of small-nation filmmaking as opportunities to foster creativity, rather than as debilitating and demoralizing obstacles. (Hjort 2010a, 61–62)

The main emphasis in 'gift culture' lies in the way it encourages filmmakers—and indeed other artists—to experiment with new methods and collaborate creatively with one another to find creative solutions to limitations. Building on this, Hjort suggests that the concept of a 'gift culture', where power and prestige lie in the capacity to give and share (2005, 23), has come to pervade the Danish film milieu, not least in the area of practice-based film education. A collectivist approach to sharing skills and knowledge amongst members of the community is crucial to the sustainability of a small-nation cinema. Where a 'no-budget' limitation is imposed on a film student, for example, it forces one to embrace artistic collaboration with others

in the community, 'taking the network in new directions that could not have been charted in advance' (Hjort 2013a, 138). Confirming this notion, a study of the 1987, 1997, and 2007 cohorts of NFSD students reveals that the students emphasised the network gained at the film school as one of the most valuable aspects they have taken from their time there, and that this social network is 'at least equally important to technical or creative talent' (Mathieu and Bertelsen 2012, 8–9).

The larger point here is that the gift culture concept is one approach to understanding the milieu-building work happening within the Danish context, motivated by the challenge of sustaining the industry in a small nation. The 'gifting', as it were, goes beyond the imposition of creative frameworks like Dogma 95, and can be seen in the commitment of film practitioners to 'give back' to filmmaking in Denmark in a wide range of capacities. Take, for instance, Lone Scherfig, director of *Italian for Beginners* (2000), *An Education* (2009), and *The Riot Club* (2014), who is acknowledged as one of the most internationally prominent and highly experienced filmmakers in Denmark and serves as a teacher, mentor, and member of the admission committee at the NFSD (Hjort 2010b, 25–26). As mentioned in Chapter Three, Max Kestner is also a lecturer at the NFSD.

How can the models of gift culture and risk management in film apply to film education in the larger Øresund context? It is my contention that cross-border sharing at the film-pedagogical level between Skåne and Copenhagen is not happening enough. The NFSD has been charged as elitist (Mathieu and Bertelsen 2012, 1) and is certainly a competitive *national* film school that admits only one or two international students per cohort; students must be fluent in Danish as a language requirement. The peripheral status of Skåne as a small, but growing, regional film hub at the edge of Sweden means that the survival and sustainability of its film culture depends on informal inter-personal and transnational alliances. Gifts in the form of institutional support and alliances with similar organisations in Denmark, peripheral Sweden, and further afield can help to build a milieu that can sustain itself in the long run. As I outline in the section on Skåne in Chapter Two, some individuals and production companies are already taking the initiative to foster these connections by actively collaborating with film workers across the strait, but these take place at a grassroots scale.

In the more robust institutional environments for film education such as the NFSD, students are taught to negotiate the tensions between taking personal artistic risks in filmmaking and the 'risk-averse tendencies of the film industry in which the film school graduate will eventually have to make his or her way' (Hjort 2012, 14). With this in mind, we can see that the short film as a pedagogical tool relates well to the risk management strategies of film institutions and specifically in the educational context of film schools. Within the film school context, students are allowed—even encouraged—to commit errors within a safe space, as Asger Leth remarks: 'What I was attracted to was the free zone that School represented; a space where you're actually allowed to make mistakes' (Leth and Hjort 2014, 230). On the one hand, by limiting short film budgets, institutions and filmmakers are not exposed to significant financial loss if, by some measure, the production is deemed a failure. On the other hand the exercise of producing a short film achieves the material—and immensely useful—aim of training young filmmakers to work creatively within limitations of budget and curriculum time. Outside of the film school context, funding schemes like the NDS, which focuses largely on the sub-feature-length format, also function as 'gifts' from the film institution to the filmmaker and take on the challenge of 'risking the interesting failure' when emerging (and established) filmmakers step outside of their comfort zone to take artistic risks (Redvall 2012, 213).

However, it must be acknowledged that this may not work perfectly in reality. More recent testimonials from Danish filmmakers in the fiction and documentary fields such as Kestner complain of a 'structural problem' in the national film industry:

> But there's a pervasive fear of failure in the system these days. The film commissioners have sometimes been almost afraid of supporting films, and the TV people are also afraid of committing themselves to film financing. Nobody has the courage to get a production process going in the absence of some kind of thorough analysis that ends up promising large numbers of TV viewers. In a way, the TV stations' commissioning editors, with the support of the DFI, are now the people who decide which films get made in Denmark. In other words, the decisions about which films to produce are not being made by people who are knowledgeable about film. (Kestner and Bondebjerg 2014, 170)

This disappointment is echoed in some quarters of the film milieu: one such voice is documentary filmmaker Anders Høgsbro Østergaard, of *Burma VJ* (2008) fame, who speaks of the arrogance and bureaucracy of gatekeepers in the film and TV milieux who still seem to prioritise audience-centred and commercial criteria over artistic

quality when making funding decisions (Østergaard and Bondebjerg 2014, 384–5). Such opinions have led the last NDS head to proclaim that film is at a crisis point, warranting a big shake-up (Høgel 2014).

I argue that risk as a theme in short film policy and film education can be connected to the way it becomes a narrative concern in short films. To illustrate how a complex regional context may impact on the form and content of short films, I now turn to the close textual analysis of two works that compress notions of the Øresund region and its changing society into a short narrative. The two short films—one Danish, one Swedish—share a characteristic in that the Øresund strait is foregrounded as an important spatial motif that embodies different types of risk, shifting the focus away from the urban space of the Øresund region, to the marine environment that gave this region its name.

4.   *Valrossarna* (*Walrus*, dir. Kolbjörn Guwallius, 2006)

> Make your way to Ribersborgs Kallbadhus, one of the best known spots in Malmö, and sample some real winter bathing with sauna. Here you will find 'die-hard' local residents who have been winter bathers for decades alongside the younger creative generation of Malmö residents. (Malmö Turism 2015, 103)

> Hannes: 'It's for life. Once you've started, you know…'
> Anna: 'I have to feel that I'm a Walrus, then there will be a tattoo.'

The Walruses are a group of bathers who take a dip in the Øresund during winter time. In *Valrossarna*, we follow four adults in their twenties as they embark on the challenge of bathing naked in the freezing seawater. For them, the activity is at the same time an act of creative expression and also a rite of initiation into a specific social group — their identity as Walruses is confirmed with a tattoo of the mammal. The film takes place on a day when the individual members of the group meet up to bathe in particularly cold and blustery conditions: the narrative of the group members making their way to their bathing site is interspersed with footage from their individual interviews where they describe the activity and how they came together to form their own bathing group. The short film is about nine minutes long and is filmed in high contrast black and white on digital video.

The film opens with Hannes and Kalle greeting each other on the street,

followed by short statements to the camera about how and why they started winter bathing. Kalle mentions there is another group of bathers who call themselves the Polar Bears and who would not let them join the group. Next is Anna, who says that the idea came to her a long time ago, although Kalle and Hannes started long before she and Rasmus, who says they heard about it from other people at parties. The couple admit that it sounded 'suspicious' at first, but they were keen to give it a go, and have now become converts. They describe what it feels like to jump into freezing cold water in detail. In the next half of the film, the group are at the water's edge, taking turns to strip off their winter clothes and quickly dipping into the water for just a few seconds before climbing back up. As they recover back on land, their bodies contrast against the white glare of snow-covered streets and fields. They banter with each other, once again describing the how cold it was while sipping a hot drink. When asked when Walruses' bathing season ends, Kalle replies, 'When it's silly, like a normal bath. Then we pack our walrus things and go into our summer lair.' The film fades to black as the others laugh.

4.1. Bodies In Space

Winter bathing is a popular activity in Scandinavia and in Malmö, and bathing in the Øresund during winter time is a common practice with locals. As a group of young Swedes, the Walruses are reclaiming and transforming this local practice in an even more extreme way: by bathing only 'when it's ridiculously cold' and without going into a sauna after bathing, as is the traditional practice. In some ways the Walruses are a response to the exclusionary admittance policy of the more established Polar Bears, a winter swimming club that accepts no more than one hundred members, and that has been admitting only men since 1930. A lone report in a small Scanian news platform raised the question of the Polar Bears' men-only claim on Malmö's 'best bathing site'—rented to them by the City of Malmö 'for a pittance'—only to find the club's executive committee unwilling to open up membership to women (Rooth 2013).

But why make a short film about four Swedes who go bathing in the Øresund in the middle of winter? The director, Kolbjörn Guwallius, is a journalist, author, filmmaker, and photographer who has been living in Malmö since 1997 and whose film and literary work deal with subjects relating to creative expression in public

spaces and alternative culture groups in society.[84] I interpret *Valrossarna* as his contribution to social history; in particular to a much longer lineage of creative efforts to document a popular local tradition – winter bathing.[85] Co-produced by Guwallius's own film company Kooliproduktion and Film i Skåne, the film is an emphatically local documentary about a small group of local people and one of the ways they engage creatively with shared space; it is an attempt to document a small part of how social practices and rituals have evolved in the region. Perhaps due to its highly localised subject matter, the film has not had a wide distribution. It premiered in theatres in Lund and Stockholm and was screened at the Umeå Film Festival in the same year. Nevertheless, Guwallius has made the film freely available for viewing on YouTube (Guwallius 2012), in a way freeing the film from its physical and cultural constraints by archiving it in the public domain.

The film is essentially a (short) social history of 'an odd circle of people in Malmö', as stated on its press materials and website. It is a document of one of the ritual pleasures of the region, and in particular, one of the many myriad social groups that inhabit the Øresund region and whose particular identity is shaped by the water that defines the area. The Walruses' pursuit is a form of performance of alternative identity where they engage in a play of belonging and not-belonging to a sense of a larger, local community. The formation of their own club is thus a small act of staking a claim to their own agency by forming an alternative to the traditional swimming club, keenly differentiating themselves in various ways: they are a grassroots club, practice gender equality, membership is life-long and marked by a Walrus tattoo, and they do not use a sauna after bathing unlike the Polar Bears who do.

Even though the film, as a short documentary, offers only a brief glance of a specific quotidian practice of a very small group of people in Malmö, it is nevertheless engaging with the larger project of visualising the tapestry of diverse social groups in

---

[84] For example, his documentary, *Rätten till staden* (*The Right to the City*, 2008), deals with the role of street art in Swedish society. The title, incidentally, echoes the famous slogan from Lefebvre's *Le Droit à la ville* ([1968] 2009).

[85] The film's older official website (Kooliproduktion 2006) provided a list of links to more short documentary films archived in the SVT online archive about winter bathers, made between 1928 and 1945. The fact that these links are now inactive says something about the ephemerality of online media and of the perceived lack of importance of a short film like *Valrossarna*.

the Øresund region. To visually recreate and imagine a region, it is necessary to engage with what people actually do on the scale of the everyday, be it work or leisure. *Valrossarna* is therefore implicated in the wider cinematic and audiovisual imagining of a region by featuring how a small, minority interest group participates in conventional leisure activities within the social space of a larger community. Their interpretation of winter bathing, as it were, leads to an alternative mapping of the local space in transition.

Through the social practice of winter bathing, the film explores how the Øresund becomes a topos for an intersecting set of discourses about the right to public places, pleasure, and social norms. How is mutual social place and the quotidian activity of bathing in the Øresund negotiated by the various groups of local inhabitants, young and old, male and female, traditional and 'odd'? *Valrossarna* depicts an example of how ordinary individuals practice a form of de Certeau's spatial tactics, reappropriating space via creative, albeit limited, resistance.

To an extent, the short documentary seeks to legitimate the group's claim to the space by committing their practice to film and to record what Thomas Elsaesser calls the 'thereness of things and the presence of human beings in their transient singularity and evanescent particularity' (2014). The Walruses articulate their group identity through the expository interviews and the kitchen scenes where each of them discuss the import of their commitment to the group, and this is reaffirmed at the end when they gather in a spirit of solidarity after having overcoming their individual physical challenges. The film emphasises the notion that this is not a random whim, but rather that the Walruses are unwavering in their drive to establish themselves as a legitimate bathing club, even as a small one. As Hannes remarks in earnest, 'you don't call in sick to the Walruses'.

4.2.   Bodies In Water

The main spectacle of the short film is the moment when the four take turns to immerse themselves in the icy water, set up as an extraordinarily risky challenge that the group must physically and mentally overcome to prove themselves as Walruses. Part of the suspense in the narrative is driven by the bodily risk that each of the Walruses take in jumping into ice-cold water — visceral thrills are enhanced by the visual depiction of this risk. The sequence lasts only about a minute, and it is, to an

extent, an underwhelming spectacle as the briefness of their encounter with the water, the crux of the film, undermines the build-up that came before. Nevertheless the intensity of their bodily contact with the water is made palpable through the hapticity of the image. The verbal descriptions in the first half have already constructed notions of the sensation of being in cold water, and this is further materialised through the use of the high contrast, the distinct sound of wind blotting out some of the characters' speech, and the close-ups of their bare bodies enveloped by the ink-coloured body of water which is also set against a larger backdrop of the snow-covered coast. As the film was shot on digital video, images appear sharp when a shot is filmed indoors, yet in the outdoor shots saturated with sunlight, forms are rendered moderately indistinct by the high-contrast black and white quality of the image that communicates a sense of the extreme weather. This draws the viewer's attention to the perception of textures and surfaces and works to draw us further into the social and physical space that the characters inhabit.

In the slightly overexposed black and white image, the dark surface of the water immediately presents itself as an unknowable element, a mysterious territory in to which the characteres must step. It contrasts vividly with the glaring white of the snow and of the characters' bodies. We hold our breath as the hand-held camera stands at a distance from the bodies in the water, yet its focus is trained on the bodily gestures of the characters as they emerge gasping and shivering from the water with beads of seawater clinging onto their skin, their limbs registering the frigidity of the environment. As they each exclaim how bitterly cold it is, their voices bear the silght chattering of teeth, a recognisable aural marker that, combined with the sound of the blustery wind through the microphone, evokes a tangible sense of the coldness. When the camera cuts to the next shot of the group now dressed in parkas and wool hats drinking hot beverages from a flask, a close-up of the steam visibly and slowly curling upward from their cups articulates a degree of warmth and *mysigt* that contrasts sharply with the chilliness of the earlier scene.[86] The minor frenzy from before settles into a calm cameraderie of having achieved their goal for the day.

Nature, in the form of the Øresund, acts as a dynamic interface for the study

---

[86] *Mysigt* is the Swedish equivalent of the Danish *hygge*, a culturally specific term which very broadly translates to a sense of cosiness one experiences with a group of friends or family.

of the relationship between space and identity; it is both an obstacle and a conduit through which the Walruses construct their identity and tactically challenge societal categories. On the one hand their bodies are in a playful battle against the sea, yet on the other hand they are 'baptised' by it, gaining self-awareness and affirmation through this act of forming a material connection with the water. As Pietari Kääpä argues, films can take an active part in the vital discussion of the relationship between nature, human ecology, and national identity (2014). In this respect, *Valrossarna* reflects on the imagination of the Øresund strait as a place for leisure and as a space that registers processes of identity negotiations and social change. In the next film, *Out*, this relationship is taken to a political extreme to problematise the notion of the region as a shared, political space.

5.   *Out* (dir. Daniel Dencik, 2006)

Daniel Dencik is frequently cited in the Danish industry as an emerging filmmaker who was accepted to the National Film School of Denmark at a young age and graduated in 1999 with a qualification in film editing (Knegt 2012). *Out* is Dencik's directorial debut and first short film; he has since gone on to direct feature-length documentaries *Moon Rider* (2012) and *The Expedition to the End of the World* (2013), which have both won prizes at European and international film festivals. More recently he received the prestigious 2014 Nordisk Film Award, an honour given annually to outstanding young talent in the Danish film milieu since 1996, when the prize went to both Lars von Trier and Ole Bornedal. Dencik insists, however, that he is still not quite part of the film industry: 'I have always seen myself as an outsider in the film industry' (quoted in Olsen 2014).

Dencik was awarded a production grant of DKK 1.7 million (ca. GBP 163,000) for *Out* under the New Danish Screen scheme. The film was released in 2006 under the Short Fiction category in the New Danish Screen catalogue and was screened at the Copenhagen International Film Festival in September 2006; it also screened on TV2 and DR television channels shortly after. The screenplay was written by the Swedish performer and writer, Yasmine Garbi, who also plays the lead role of the Chechen fugitive. Virtually nothing has been published so far on this *novellefilm* in either Danish or English, which is surprising given the film's technical accomplishments and topical themes.

Out is a film about the risks taken by transnational figures who do not fit into the predominant notion of the 'Øresund community', and frames the Øresund in those terms: an open, but paradoxically exclusionary space in which the only way to survive is to risk one's life. A strong sense of uncertainty and ambiguity is expressed through the visual motifs of the strait. The short film stars Kim Bodnia and Yasmine Garbi as two nameless characters, listed in the credits as 'Mand' (man) and 'Flygtning' (refugee) respectively. The former is a recluse living and ostensibly working as the warden on Saltholm, the Danish island situated in the middle of the Øresund, just to the west of the border between Denmark and Sweden. The latter is a refugee and fugitive—a suspected Chechen terrorist—who is on the run from Danish police who were escorting her to Kastrup Airport to be sent to Russia. Garbi's character flees mainland Copenhagen through the Danish tunnel section of the Øresund link, then hides herself in the man's small boat which he rows back to Saltholm. Once on the island, she begs Bodnia's character to help her escape and cross the (marine) border into Sweden. At first, he is skeptical and wary of the woman's intentions, believing her to be a threat to his safety since it is reported in the Danish television news programme that the fugitive is connected to the Black Widows of Chechnya, and is possibly armed with a suicide belt. However, when she shows him who she really is—a pregnant refugee who had suffered physical torture and nothing more—his attitude towards her changes and he appears willing to help. He offers her a change of clothes and passage to Sweden on a motorboat. As they set off across the Øresund strait, he stops the boat mid-way and waits for the police helicopter to approach. The film ends with the refugee jumping into the water, trying to swim her way to Sweden while being followed by the police helicopter.

Structurally, the first third of Out constitutes a prologue where we are introduced to the refugee, man, and the Danish part of the Øresund, which I argue is imagined in the film as closed, unwelcoming, and difficult to read. The middle section is where the two characters come to some level of negotiation and mutual understanding. The final third throws this shared understanding into doubt, where the film ends in a similar way to how it begins: with the refugee on the run.

5.1.   The Centre As Periphery

The setting of Out is significant in that the space of Saltholm, the island where the

story takes place, and the water surrounding it, sits in the centre of the region. But this space is simultaneously the peripheral borderspace of the two cities. The borderspace of the Øresund is projected as a threshold, a space of transition from one state to another. The narrative takes place both physically and symbolically in this liminal space, on an island suspended between two countries, cultures, and attitudes towards outsiders. Is the fugitive a refugee or terrorist, a mother or warrior? Will she be protected or persecuted? These are questions that the film raises about the woman and indeed, she belongs to neither category. Instead, she lies in between political and social identities, the indeterminacy of her situation reinforced by the geographical setting.

The film highlights the 'other' spaces of the Øresund strait that have been overshadowed by the visual dominance of the bridge. While Danish, Swedish and most other international citizens move easily across the bridge, the refugee, as a victim of a foreign political conflict, struggles to cross the Sound safely and freely. In this case, the bridge excludes safe passage for those who do not fit into the prescribed ideal of the transnational citizen who makes these privileged crossings. The space of the bridge is framed as a site of power, accessible only to 'legitimate' transnationals and policed by authorities. The island of Saltholm, to which I will return shortly, is also a protected space that is exclusively for the use of particular groups of people — and animals. On the one hand is the woman, who is excluded from the status, power, and protection accorded by the ability to use the bridge and traverse the island. On the other hand is the 'legitimate' transnational, in the figure of the man who, is not only Danish but also the warden of Saltholm. In his position of legitimacy, paradoxically, he is able to transgress.

The opening sequence of the film is of Bodnia in a boat, rowing to the rocky shore on the Amager coast—where he has hidden a stash of marijuana called 'White Widow'—to smoke, the bridge appearing in the background, but faintly. As he looks upward to the sky in his drug-induced haze, the sound of seagulls and water gently lapping against the rocks evoke the expanse and open nature of the island. We are then introduced to the refugee who is already on the run: she has just made it to the beginning of the tunnel that will take her onto the Øresund Bridge. As she glances back to see if she has been followed, a large sign by the road that says 'Last Exit in Denmark' stands just behind her. The bridge, just about visible in the background, is

a legitimate space she cannot physically cross nor use as a free citizen or migrant. Instead she has to rely on the water to carry her to Sweden on the opposite side of the Sound. As the man returns to Saltholm with the refugee hiding under some tarpaulin in the boat, the soundtrack of wind chimes enters the diegesis, signifying a sense of otherworldliness and calm — the island is a wildlife sanctuary, after all. They have now left mainland Denmark and entered the in-between territory, the threshold.

Visually, the island is depicted in very bright conditions. Occasionally, the camera catches the sunlight, blinding the viewer's perspective while, in the fuzzy distance, the bridge is just about visible. The artistic imagination of the island as a liminal space is emphatic in the film, and acts as a mirror of the woman's uncertain identity as a fugitive/terrorist/refugee, and the man's ambivalent character. Not quite the hero figure, it is left somewhat ambiguous what the man's intentions from the start are – early in the film he was about to call the Danish police to alert them to the woman's whereabouts, but then he offers to help her with some reluctance, particularly after learning that she is indeed pregnant and not carrying explosives on her body. The sequence in which he lifts his rifle, appearing to shoot her but instead shoots her handcuffs off, is also framed in an ambiguous tone. These sequences are juxtaposed with blurry images of the bridge hovering just above the Øresund — visible, but out of reach. At the end, it appears that he might have cooperated with the police after all, and the film closes with a sequence where the camera, from the point of view of the helicopter, swoops over the water, skimming across its surface.

Shot on location in Saltholm and its surrounding waters, the film highlights the island as a sparse, exposed, and flat natural space, a kind of neutral ground upon which the characters' intercultural encounter takes place and where they both come to a deep, albeit brief, understanding each other. It is on Saltholm that a transformation in the characters take place. Once off the island, they revert to their former roles of fugitive and warden.

The island of about 16 square kilometres—including the coast of Amager—is designated a protected nature reserve by the European Union. Immediately south of the island lies Peberholm, an artificial island created to mitigate the environmental risk

posed by the construction of the Øresund Bridge.[87] Saltholm has served as a safe and protected space through most of modern history, not only for animal species but also for those whose lives were in danger. During the First World War, it was used as a fort by the Danish government, and it was the site of conflict in August 1915 where two German destroyers attacked the British submarine HMS *E13* that was stranded on Saltholm's shoreline due to navigational problems.[88]

During the Nazi-led operation to deport Jews from Denmark in October 1943, the island was once again a site of resistance and transition as more than 7,000 Danish Jews—aided by fishermen, other ordinary Danes, and sympathetic Germans—were evacuated across the the strait and into neutral Sweden (Paulsson 1995, 431). Many Jews fled in small boats, kayaks, fishing vessels, and some also resorted to swimming across the strait to Sweden which, in some places, would be five to ten kilometers away (Stræde 2010, 18–19). In *Out*, the refugee's situation is directly associated with that of the Jews in the 1940s. Bodnia's character alludes to this historical incident as he reveals that his father used Saltholm and the storage-bunker as a launching point to ferry persecuted Jews from Denmark to Sweden. His act of rescuing the woman thus mirrors his father's involvement in helping the Jewish refugees (although he denies it); there are similar intentions to protect and facilitate the woman's escape from persecution. History and fiction intersect as the Chechen refugee retraces the journey undertaken by the Jewish refugees across the Øresund by boat with a Dane's help. The only difference is that by the end of the film the saviour appears to have had a change of heart and the woman even resorts to swimming away in the same desperation that the Jewish refugees once faced.[89]

---

[87] Constructing an entire bridge across the Øresund strait was not feasible due to the restricted airspace zone around Copenhagen Kastrup airport; a tunnel had to be built at the Danish end for this reason. Peberholm was designated as the crossover point between the tunnel and the bridge. Another reason for its construction was that the Øresund had to be dug deeper so that the flow of water would not be impacted by the bridge – the material was used in the construction of Peberholm (Skanska AB 2009).

[88] By attacking the British vessel on Danish territory, the Germans violated Denmark's neutrality in the war and this led to Danish forces intervening and driving off the German attackers (Balsved 2001).

[89] Elsewhere in literature, Saltholm serves as the location where travellers are stranded in Hans Christian Andersen's novel *Kun en Spillemand* (*Only a Minstrel*, 1845). This particular idea of being stranded in a sort of no-man's land surrounded by water and in between two countries stands in some contrast with the imagination of the space being a stepping stone to safety.

5.2. Refugees, Immigration, And The 'Øresund Community'

I contend that the film directly problematises the notion of the *ideal* Øresund community and criticises the repeated characterisation of the Øresund citizen as either Dane or Swede, and which excludes others of foreign origin or of different political and economic situations, as Fredrik Nilson notes in his study of 'insiders' and 'outsiders' in the regional imaginary (2000). The construction of the fugitive's identity is marked by a constant process of othering: her identity is mediated by the news (terrorist), history and circumstance (stateless, victim, female, with child), and always in opposition to the warden (Danish, saviour, male, in isolation). In the film the man says to the woman, 'I don't mind shooting your kind', still in the belief that she may be a terrorist. Up until this point, the film sets up a clear line of opposition between him and her, Danish and not-Danish, legitimate and illegitimate. What 'your kind' can mean is perhaps deliberately left as open as the woman's identity, upon whose figure various 'others' may be projected. This could be an immigrant, a refugee, asylum seeker, or just simply one who does not belong for any variety of political, economic, and social reasons, ethnicity often being one of these reasons. The term 'immigrant' in popular discourse in the region, for example, 'no longer refers to a process of migration but to persons of non-Nordic origin' who are emphatically portrayed as an 'other' in an 'us' versus 'them' rhetoric (Westin 2006).

After all, the official synopsis for the film reads: 'We won't stop them from having children, nor will we kill them. We'll even give them a sum of money to leave, if they cooperate. When their case is settled, they have to leave. Everyone thinks so. …'. This is a clear and direct reference to the contemporary 'problem' of asylum seekers, refugees, and (chiefly non-Nordic) immigrants — the transnational groups of people who are part of the region, but who exist in the gaps between states and cultures, and who risk their lives for safety yet face open hostility and marginalisation from 'native' inhabitants of the region. The positioning of the collective 'we' in the film is ambiguous, and even suggestive of moral guilt in ignoring the plight and desperation of 'them'. On whose side are 'we'?[90] The final shot of the film aligns the viewer's perspective with that of the police helicopter, as if a damning statement of

---

[90] At this point it is worth noting that the film assumes a particular category of viewer — one who is familiar with the role Saltholm played in the war, and with this knowledge the Scandinavian, if not Øresund or Danish, viewer is further implicated in the text and its ethical concerns.

'our' complicity in the attempt to hunt down the refugee and eventually send her back to possible death. At the same time, one cannot help but acknowledge the shame of such a situation, reflected in the man looking away from the helicopter as the camera sweeps overhead past him.

5.3.   Seeking Asylum

Through the woman's journey, the film signals the ways transnational space and national boundaries are mapped via differences in Danish and Swedish asylum policies. That the two countries have different political attitudes toward asylum seekers is made very apparent in the woman's decision to escape to Sweden. In Denmark, she became a political prisoner whose request for asylum had been denied several times, and is instead labelled and hunted as an armed terrorist. As a Chechen purported to be affiliated with the Black Widow movement, she is thus caught in between the spaces of legitimacy and she can neither gain access to safe haven nor return to her home, where, as we learn from a brief flashback sequence, she had been severely tortured.

In the scene in the bunker, a historical site where Danish Jews hid before attempting the crossing to Sweden, the man does not give a clear reason why he is helping her, yet insists that it is not because of a desire to repeat his father's deed during the war: 'You are not a persecuted Jew, and I am no hero.' Even here he is denying her the condition of humanity. He then goes into a rant about asylum seekers and indirectly reveals widely held and no doubt widely circulated misconceptions and generalisations about how people like her are fleeing unrest at home only because they do not want to fight and only want an easy way out (to a rich country). Revealing the scars and wounds on her body, she says to the man that she cannot be expected to return to the people who did that to her, which is what the Danish authorities intend to do with her. She says, in Danish, 'You are so afraid of terrorists. But you want to send me back to the people who will make me one.' Seeking refuge across the Øresund in Sweden is therefore her only option, which she assumes to be safer than either Denmark or being sent to Russia.

Compared to the stricter asylum and immigration policies in Denmark (Østergaard-Nielsen 2003, 448), Sweden is considered more welcoming of refugees, asylum seekers, and immigrants, whose presence is keenly felt particularly in Malmö

where some 80,000 inhabitants out of 300,000 are of non-Nordic origin (Traynor 2010).[91] Against this backdrop, the film distills these discussions into the narrative of the refugee and the man. Immigration is no doubt a complex political issue, but it is also a topic that involves people, cultures, and emotions. The challenge of the filmmaker, then, is to address these human aspects sensitively.

As I suggested earlier in this chapter, the short format demands a certain dexterity when it comes to aesthetic representation within a limited temporal frame. The nameless characters, lack of contextualisation, hand-held aesthetic, and use of extreme close-ups to evoke intensity are all traits of the short film. For example, to evoke the ethereality of the Øresund and emphasise its liminal character, the camera lingers on close-up shots of the water's surface in bright sunlight, emphasising the impossibility of visually fixing the patterns of the waves. Medium and long shots of the characters walking on the island foreground the vast, mossy expanse of the island, accompanied by the echoes of seagulls. These shots articulate a natural space where raw emotions and sentiments dominate. One of the ways the viewer is emotionally and directly drawn into the intercultural dynamic of *Out* is through the emphasis on haptic imagery, put to economical but effective use in the short film to communicate the intensity of particular moments in the film. In the dark space of the bunker's interior, for instance, the camera zooms in on the beam of the torchlight falling onto the stone walls upon which the names of actual Jewish refugees are carved. The camera, following the woman's gaze, traces the marks on the wall, inviting us to similarly touch the carved names with our eyes. Fiction and reality collide in this shot of the wall which only lasts a few seconds — yet through an intense, haptic engagement with the image, the viewer is entwined in the film's engagement with history.

I assert that *Out* is a critical reflection on the suspicion, mistrust, and resentment that would have been palpable in popular discourse at the time of the film's making, and which still continues at the time of writing, in light of the so-called

---

[91] Social problems arising from ghettoisation have caused local friction, where the mayor of Malmö formally complained to the Swedish national government in 2004 about the city's disproportionate intake of refugees (Baeten 2012, 30). The state of ethnic and economic segregation, an issue often only dealt with at the local level, is often referred to as a 'ticking time-bomb' (From 2007, 23).

'refugee crisis' in Europe. Unemployment among immigrants was notoriously high in the immediate socio-political context in which *Out* was made, and the rise in overall population size and related stresses on local services have since tested the limits of Swedish openness: a general election was held in 2006, which saw the rise of anti-immigrant sentiment that allowed the extreme-right movement to gain a foothold in national politics. In this period, Malmö saw a marked shift in the public mood about the porousness of its borders to asylum seekers, leading locals to reconsider Sweden's reputation of having 'the most generous welfare, asylum, and immigration policies in Europe' (Traynor 2010). At present, the 2014 figures from Eurostat, the statistical office of the EU, show that Sweden took in the most asylum seekers per capita—about 3,424—amongst all EU nations, and about three times as many per capita than Denmark; in real terms, Sweden took in 33,025 asylum seekers in 2014, while Denmark accepted only 5,765 (Juchno and Bitoulas 2015).

On one level, the film asks questions about a politically sensitive topic, that of Denmark's stance on refugees and asylum seekers. One reading takes the film to assert that the risk of extending help to political 'others' is worth taking; it behoves the viewer-as-citizen to undertake the moral obligation to assist and shelter those who are at risk and seeking help, regardless of their origins, as Denmark once did during the Second World War. On another level, the Øresund imaginary is the other problem highlighted in the film: how can a transnational region with very different national policies cooperate on and deal with the topic of asylum seekers? Does the imagined community of the region want to develop into an 'exclusionary community', as Nilsson suggests (2000, 198), which privileges the notion of an idealised ethno-transnational elite while ignoring those that do not fall within the Danish-Swedish-Nordic nexus? Like the films analysed thus far, *Out* rejects the notion of the Øresund region and its imagined community as an utopian, essentialist given.

6.   Conclusion

The comparative 'shortness' of this chapter is a result of two things. First, my intent with the relative brevity is in keeping with the spirit of contemporary short film scholarship, as demonstrated in the journal *Short Film Studies*, which endeavours to mirror the animating principle of the works described and not to belabour textual analysis beyond what is relevant to a project's central concerns: 'brief but rich in

substance' is the axiom adopted here (Raskin 2010, 3). The second, and more practical, reason is that in my survey of short films produced in the region since 1999, *Out* and *Walrus* stood out as the only two that directly engage with the Øresund as setting and theme, particularly dealing with the material connections between people and the space of the region.[92] That both films embrace the water as a prominent visual motif is an interesting coincidence that says something about the centrality of the Øresund strait to the visual imagination of the region's geographical identity. The bridge often dominates imagery of the region in contemporary political and social discourse; but what is often neglected is the negative space, so to speak, of the water itself. Through the narrative and use of haptic imagery, the films engage the viewer in a sensual perception of this space, a mode of producing knowledge of the region that forms an alternative to rhetorical modes of constructing a regional imaginary.

As outlined in the introduction to this chapter, my main aim is to draw attention to the ideas of risk and usefulness and to show how short films embody these notions by fulfiling particular roles in the filmmaking milieu. I have argued that short films are important cinematic artefacts that constitute a part of a national and regional cinema in small, but significant ways. *Out* and *Walrus* reflect the type of work done by emerging filmmakers, who use the format creatively as a training platform and calling card by which their professional identities as artists are realised, leading to further support for making more ambitious works as in the case of Dencik and Guwallius. By nature of their compact temporal frame, short films also work profoundly to express themes and ideas about the region in a persuasive way that focuses the audience's attention. In this respect, the filmmakers have shown a tendency toward taking creative risks as well as depicting risk as an aesthetic strategy, an approach endorsed by the predominant logic in Danish and Swedish filmmaking. Dencik and Guwallius, like the individuals they depict in their films, are 'local navigators in the transnational', to borrow a phrase from O'Dell (2000, 238), whose personal takes on things happening in their immediate milieu form unique perspectives that problematise and challenge dominant region-building narratives.

I have suggested in this chapter that, by locating the action of both films in the

---

[92] A short film directed by Martin Werner bears the title *Øresund* (2012), but has little to do with the region; instead it is a story about a child with attention deficient hyperactivity disorder.

maritime centre of the Øresund region, the two films enforce a shift in perspective away from the urban spaces of the cities, refocusing our attention onto the water, the natural feature from which the region draws its name. Water in general, and the strait in particular, forms a crucial part of the visual identity of the region, not least as a natural feature that separates and joins the two nations. In the short films discussed here, the water is brought front and centre, no longer just a part of the backdrop but instead portrayed as a means of conveyance, pleasure, escape, and to a certain degree, as an important habitat for wildlife in the region. Thus, the strait is entrusted with an potent role in the imagination of geographical space through these particular films, in a way reasserting and reminding us of its central place in the region.

Furthermore, the imaginary of the Øresund region as a mutual and shared place comes into question in the context of the two short films. They are examples of how marine imagery reflects important ideas about real and imagined borders, as well as national and social identity. In *Out*, instead of a symbol of borderless collaboration and integration in a shared space, the body of water registers the exclusionary nature of the Øresund rhetoric and moral indeterminacy in particular political contexts. The water embodies the various risks that face the two characters in the film: crossing the strait carries risks—physical, political, and ethical—for the both of them. The film conjures the layers of historical and imaginary border-crossings across the Sound, of people caught in the interstices between legitimacy and illegitimacy. By highlighting these real and imagined stories of risk, the film problematises the economic, political, and psychological realities of the notion of a 'borderless' Øresund region and community. Similar themes are realised in *Valrossarna*: imagining the Øresund as a shared place means acknowledging that it belongs to all inhabitants within its boundaries through personal and historical ties — 'a community that does not lose the sense of the heterotopia' (Kirkeby 2000, 116). What is clear from these two films is that marginality and the sense of (not-) belonging are sentiments that have emerged from the overwhelming discourse of transnational integration pervading discussions of the region.

I have argued that one of the medium-specific characteristics of the short film is its ability to communicate provocative ideas—large and small—succinctly in a compressed form, albeit to a far smaller audience than other popular media. The next chapter explores how television works in the opposite way to tell multiple stories of

the region in an extended serialised format through the lens of a popular fiction genre: 'Nordic noir'.

CHAPTER FIVE

Spaces Of Imagination:
Traversing The Televisual Øresund

The assignment from our producers was to:

1. Create a show that was equally set in Denmark and Sweden.

And

2. It had to be a thriller.

That meant detectives. From two countries. (Rosenfeldt 2014)

In 2006, Hans Rosenfeldt, Nikolaj Scherfig, Måns Marlin, and Björn Stein began work on creating the television series *Bron/Broen* (*The Bridge*, 2011–), writing and developing the storyline and screenplay for a further five years until funding was confirmed and the final phase of scriptwriting was completed (Scherfig 2012).[93] The series, now in its third season, is produced by Filmlance International (Sweden) and Nimbus Film (Denmark) and financed by the Swedish and Danish state broadcasters, SVT and DR.

My view is that *Bron/Broen*, as a product of a bilateral co-production venture, emerges from the transnational rhetoric of cultural collaboration in the Øresund region. But, more crucially, how does the popular crime series in turn reimagine the region and the notions of cultural integration and a 'common identity'? On the one hand, as a manifestation of a transnational production context, it has performed a major coup in boosting the profile of the region internationally and domestically.[94] On

---

[93] The long gestation time is not unusual of the creative process in contemporary Scandinavian television production culture, wherein writers typically spend a substantial amount of time developing the conceptual basis for a series before even moving on to the writing of drafts (Redvall 2013, 124).

[94] Writing about *Borgen*, Redvall argues that the popularity and impact of the series demonstrates how a television drama can play a tangible role in the political space. Not long after the fictional character Birgitte Nyborg assumed power as Prime Minister in the series, Helle Thorning-Schmidt became Denmark's first female prime minister in 2011, prompting pundits to question if the series might have had an impact on real-life politics. Redvall summarises this in *Writing and Producing Television Drama in Denmark* (2013, 135-6).

the other hand, while it imagines an integrated Øresund region into existence via the stylistic lens of 'Nordic noir', I argue that its influence in cultivating a sense of a regional identity is ambiguous and even problematic. The thematic and artistic concerns of the series construct a sphere of identity that is fraught with tensions and uncertainties that may not quite cohere with the aims of the region's cultural policies. Furthermore, in light of the relatively recent announcement in February 2015 by Copenhagen authorities that a new political project is now underway to rebrand Skåne as part of Greater Copenhagen, I want to understand how *Bron/Broen* is indeed 'a symptom of something real', as uttered by Kim Bodnia, one of the key actors of the series. The phrase, when seen in light of the production context of the series, points towards the possibility that the region might be, after all, a Danish-dominated Øresund.

This chapter first outlines the historical development and contemporary significance of the crime genre. This is followed by the production context in which *Bron/Broen* is made. Through the textual and paratextual analysis that follows, I examine how the television series articulates an imagined, discursive space in which the national, the transnational, and a spatial sense of the region are negotiated through the genre of the crime serial and representations of nationally marked space. This performance of identity and space is especially complicated when we consider the production and reception contexts of the series. The jumping-off point of this chapter is that *Bron/Broen* is the first major production to specifically address, represent, and reimagine the themes of cultural integration, transnational identities, and cross-border relations in the Øresund region. An argument I make in this chapter is that the narrative being constructed here through *Bron/Broen* is, in most respects, dominated by Danish producers.

1.   Plot

Bron/Broen is a series—of three seasons so far—about two police detectives from Malmö and Copenhagen working together to solve a cross-border murder case and subsequent string of crimes taking place across the Øresund region. The two main characters are the Swedish detective Saga Norén (played by Sofia Helin) and her Danish partner Martin Rohde (Kim Bodnia), who work together to cooperate on a murder case that stretches over two national jurisdictions.

Ostensibly, *Bron/Broen* is a crime drama series that foregrounds the working relationship between two cops with clashing personalities, but this is played out against the urban landscape spanning two countries, a transnational metropolis. A larger part of the drama lies therefore in the detectives' movement—both physical and linguistic—across the metropolitan Øresund region, a space that is characterised by vastness and claustrophobia, and a space that is at once familiar and unfamiliar.

The first episode begins with an establishing shot of the Øresund Bridge at night; the lights on the bridge are suddenly cut and when they come back on, a bisected female corpse is discovered on the border line on the bridge. On the Swedish side of the line is a torso belonging to a Swedish city-council official, and the legs, lying on the Danish side, belong to a Copenhagen prostitute. The distinctive placement of the body parts across the two countries therefore sets the stage for Saga and Martin's respective teams from Länskrim Malmö (Malmö Criminal Investigation Department) and Københavns Politi (Copenhagen Police) to work together to track down a self-proclaimed 'Truth Terrorist', a former police officer whose crimes purport to be bold statements on social problems. The second season (2013) takes place a year later and follows a similar format where the detectives work together once more to apprehend an anonymous group of eco-terrorists and a mysterious mastermind. The second season also has a stronger focus on the development of the friendship between Saga and Martin as well as their own struggles within their personal lives. The third season is in production at the time of writing and is due to be broadcast in the Scandinavian countries in the autumn of 2015.

2. Crime fiction

Bron/Broen latches on to the current popularity and transnational commercial viability of the 'Nordic noir' brand, and in particular the stylistic conventions of the police procedural sub-genre. Before launching into my discussion of the series, let me briefly sketch the key contours of the literary 'noir' genre and note how this has changed in its transition to audiovisual media.

Nestingen asserts that the rise of crime fiction in the past forty years has political consequences for Scandinavian national literature, whose gatekeepers in the

form of critics, scholars, and cultural institutions, had for so long excluded 'trivial literature' from its ranks (2008, 205). Especially since the 1990s, the crime fiction genre has shifted in status to an important and popular genre that blurs notions of 'high' and 'low' culture; this is mirrored in the many literary prizes awarded to crime fiction authors, growing scholarly attention, and its domination of the book publishing marketplace. The weakening of the hierarchical structure that separated high literature from popular culture has thus engendered a new space within which the genre and its texts (both literary and audiovisual) have taken on a 'new social role' while attracting increased attention from scholars (Nestingen 2008, 208).

Another aspect of the genre that has become more prominent since the 1990s is the manifest socio-political criticism of the welfare state and anxieties arising from the creeping logic of neoliberalism that accompanies globalising strategies of Western European nations. To varying extents, the welfare state model of the Nordic states is deconstructed against the backdrop of EU membership, a border-free Europe, and the attendant social, economic, and political shifts in social identities and communities across the region. Crime stories engage with these debates and anxieties, producing particular representations of society and at the same time challenging dominant state narratives of the nation within the realm of popular culture. Therefore, in addition to the long-standing hallmark of crime fiction as socially critical, perhaps the most significant feature of the form since the 1990s is that authors of crime fiction are using it to interrogate and critique the conventions that have thus far shaped national cultural identities as well as political attitudes (Arvas and Nestingen 2011, 13).

The genre is thus one that is germane to the discussion of how *Bron/Broen* not only maps the socio-political terrain of the Øresund region, but also shapes and influences discourses of identity in the region. To better understand the popular cultural context in which *Bron/Broen* is situated (and from which it emerges), the next section outlines the key features of Scandinavian police-procedural crime and the changes from its literary roots to its contemporary televisual manifestation.

2.1. The 'Police Procedural'

Maj Sjöwall and Per Wahlöö's popular series on homicide detective Inspector Martin Beck is widely acknowledged to be not just the pioneer of the police procedural but the archetype of modern Swedish crime fiction and, indeed, of Scandinavian crime

fiction (Forshaw 2012, 16). The series of ten novels was published between 1965 and 1975 and was the first literary crime series to be adapted for the screen. Several iterations of adaptations for film and television in Sweden and abroad were made in the years that followed, with the latest being a made-for-television series of film adaptations made between 1997 and 2009 (Peacock 2014, 10).

It is important not to forget that the Scandinavian literary crime tradition is very much influenced by its Anglo-American forebear, 1950s detective fiction (Povlsen 2011, 92).[95] Broadly speaking, the police procedural is characterised by a set of police characters as protagonists, typically detectives, whose investigations into one or more crimes take centre-stage in the narrative. The main characters are usually supported by a team of diverse police officers, each with a particular expertise and all working collectively to solve the case (Bergman 2011, 34–36). I bring this to attention for several reasons, one of which is that Nordic noir sub-genres are particularly germane to trans-atlantic adaptation on television, and part of the success overseas of *Bron/Broen* is precisely due to the fact that the contours of the genre are so recognisable to most audiences that are already familiar with the American form. Where the Scandinavian rendering differs, as I will elaborate shortly, is in the marked focus on socio-political criticism of the contemporary welfare state.

In a chapter on the changes in the literary genre in the new millennium, Kerstin Bergman suggests that the Swedish police procedural is seeing a regression in social and political criticism (2011, 34), in that the layer of critique of the welfare state, a key characteristic of the sub-genre, has been diminishing in significance. However, in the case of *Bron/Broen*, the proximity of the narrative to the geographical reality of the Øresund region being represented demands a keen focus on such criticism. The series can hardly disassociate itself from the topical socio-political concerns related to the transformation of the region and its wider context, nor can it be disassociated from stylistic and genre conventions while at the same time driving these in new directions.

---

[95] The point that Nordic noir has distinctly Anglo-American roots seems glossed over or omitted in much scholarship on the genre in the Scandinavian context. Scholars have remarked that most accounts of Scandinavian crime fiction attribute the modern form of the genre to Sjöwall and Wahlöö, while ignoring the point that they did not actually pioneer the police procedural sub-genre in the 1960s, but rather, adapted the American 'precinct genre' emerging in the same period (Arvas and Nestingen 2011, 3).

2.2. The Audiovisual Turn In Scandinavian Crime

What are the characteristics of Nordic noir on screen? It typically contains the necessary elements of a gruesome murder and a socially challenged detective who goes all out to solve the crime at the expense of maintaining a normal social life. Most of all Nordic noir serves as a catch-all term for any crime thriller drama from the Scandinavian region that has a characteristically bleak visual style layered over a wintry, Northern European setting and a specific sensibility that tends toward uncertainty and pessimism (Peacock 2014, 3). While Paula Arvas and Andrew Nestingen suggest that Scandinavian crime fiction or the 'Scandi noir' brand has already been very popular with European and North American audiences since the 1990s (2011, 1), Hedling nuances this assertion further with the statement that the 'audiovisual turn' of the wave has only seen a breakthrough in gaining international recognition since 2009, with the release of *Män som hatar kvinnor* (*The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo*, dir. Niels Arden Oplev) which took in ca. USD 104 million worldwide across 202 theatres (of which 90.3% came from foreign receipts) (O. Hedling 2014, 1; Box Office Mojo 2015a). The subsequent American remake by David Fincher, *The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo* (2011), earned a total of ca. USD 232 million (domestic US earnings comprised 44.1% of this sum) and was released in 2,950 theatres (Box Office Mojo 2015b). The Fincher adaptation was nominated for five Academy Awards and won the award for Best Editing; the wider release and success of the latter film, aided by the Hollywood marketing machinery, has evidently embedded Scandinavian crime in mainstream popular culture.

Bron/Broen and other high-profile Scandinavian television crime series such as *Forbrydelsen* (*The Killing*, 2007–2012) and *Wallander* (1994–2014) not only have benefited from this 'turn' but are also forerunners in their own right. Clearly these are not the only television series to have emerged from the region, but it is significant that television crime drama as a genre has been eagerly embraced by European and American audiences in very recent years and the profile of Scandinavian television productions has risen dramatically. 'Scandi-crime', as the genre is also called, is

perceived as a 'quality' product that is uniquely associated with the region.[96] What I do want to emphasise here is that *Bron/Broen* not only works out of Nordic noir conventions, but is renewing the genre as well by introducing transnational, cross-border relations as a translatable plot premise and multilingualism as a feature of the performance. It is also argued that the contemporary aesthetic form of Nordic television noir has influenced more recent television series in the UK and US such as *The Fall* (2013–), *Broadchurch* (2013–), and *True Detective* (2014–) (Creeber 2015, 21). In a way, Scandinavian crime, in its transatlantic crossings, has 'returned' to its source.

What the crime genre has done for the cultural industries of the small Nordic nations is an example of what Kääpä calls 'cultural reciprocity', where he argues that Nordic producers' strategy of marketing specific genres as a distinct cultural product to the global marketplace—what Hjort calls 'reactive globalisation' (2006)—not only increases the visibility of the national film culture but also economically bolsters the cultural industries of the small Nordic nations (2015, 246). Hedling remarks on the transnational merits of the genre, that 'as a nationally or regionally grounded cultural form, Scandinavian crime has overcome an extended tradition of obstacles caused by cultural, and notably linguistic, divisions between different regions and parts that together makes up a heterogeneous continent' (2014, 3). Scandinavian film and television has steadily gained the reputation in the past few years for producing high quality and marketable crime thrillers and other forms of television drama such as political thrillers and historical dramas (ibid.). Consequently, Scandinavian television writers are now very much in demand: for example, Adam Price, the writer of *Borgen*, has been courted by UK and US television networks (Frost 2013).

3.   Øresund Noir

The opening credits sequence announces the start of each episode of *Bron/Broen*, opening in a travelling shot, from a ground-level perspective from inside a car looking towards the night-time sky. As the viewer presumably 'drives' across the Øresund

---

[96] 'Quality' is certainly a loaded notion whose criteria shift when applied to different cultural and temporal contexts (McCabe and Akass 2007, 4). A recent paper delivered at the Nordmedia conference in August 2015 maps the current discourse of contemporary 'Scandinavian quality TV' (Rustad 2015).

Bridge, streetlights pass and we begin to get a glimpse of the bridge's cables. This is our entry into the world of *Bron/Broen*, of beginning *in medias res*, as it were, and the viewer is placed directly in the fictional world through the camera's perspective, in the midst of crossing a boundary. This shot then fades into shorter aerial establishing shots of the Øresund Bridge against a pitch-black sky while the title song 'Hollow Talk' by Danish band Chorus of the Young Believers plays. In a minor key, the music opens with the singer's mumbled strain laid over a dirge-like repetition of a single note on the piano, conjuring an atmosphere of anticipation while the montage rolls through the rest of the landmarks bathed in the darkness of the night – spaces completely devoid of human figures. The Danish and Swedish landmarks featured comprise the old and new: the Turning Torso, urban streets of Copenhagen's and Malmö's city centre areas, the functionalist-style Rigshospitalet building,[97] Malmöhus Windmill, and the Little Mermaid with the water in the background, ripples moving frantically across its surface. Except for the first and last shots, the opening sequence is composed of a series of clips that have been sped up and that frame the city spaces in such a way that the dark sky takes up more than half of the image. The steady, imposing darkness is juxtaposed against frenzied movement in the city that is made visible by the head- and tail-lights of vehicles zipping down the darkened city streets, as though panic-stricken.

In a study of literary representations of Malmö in the 1990s and 2000s, Ann Steiner notes that the postindustrial social transformations in the city are typically 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. (Steiner 2010, 369)

This is, of course, a well-worn noir trope of a postindustrial city in despair riddled with drugs and crime, and in the context of a television series, the visual imagination of Malmö and Copenhagen in *Bron/Broen* matches the tone Steiner lays out in her study. The drama, mediated in a realistic style, depicts the region and its urban spaces such

---

[97] The hospital building has also served as the setting of von Trier's *Riget* (*The Kingdom*, 1994–1997), a cult supernatural horror television mini-series. Stephen King later produced an American adaptation of the Danish original in 2004.

as the bridge as conduits for the anxieties of spatial and social change.[98] Through the noir lens, life in the region is depicted as a broken and fragmented society where danger not only lurks on city streets, urban parks, and in the uninhabited countryside, but also in places typically perceived as 'safe' such as the school and the home.

The entire Øresund region is represented as one big crime scene that is marketed to audiences worldwide. Aesthetically, it follows all the visual conventions of the Nordic noir trend: the wintry urban landscape is always cloudy or shot in the darkness of night. The colour palette of the entire series is in washed-out, muted tones of grey, blue, and green. Establishing shots between scenes feature the bridge filmed from various perspectives that emphasise awe and fascination, as well as fear – the bridge is a conduit for transnational crime. What is distinct about the spatial representations in the series is that there is little indication in most scenes whether they are in Sweden or in Denmark, except via verbal cues from the characters, or through visual cues such as landmarks, street signs, and other banal objects. In fact, to the viewer unfamiliar with either city, their landmarks, and the languages spoken, the drama could well have just taken place in a single city. This, of course, is one of the intentions of the writers – to create a narrative and visual space where the sense of a geographical border is erased. According to the producers, the drama focuses on the region as a single metropolis, and 'the boundaries between Malmö and Copenhagen were to be blurred' (Söelund 2013, 14). Echoes of the Øresund rhetoric are present here, where the vision of a transnational space is fundamental to the narrative, the exception being that this vision is distorted in several ways in the series.

The crime genre is therefore used as a lens through which the series problematises the idea of a shared, common identity. The narrative presents a dystopian, albeit realist, vision of the Øresund region while highlighting pertinent social issues not just of Danish-Swedish integration, but also cultural encounters with immigrant groups, eco-terrorism, fractures in the welfare-state society, and clashes between global and national concerns. These all take place in an urban space that is characterised as totally and completely dangerous – the Øresund Bridge is the site of several criminal incidents, a family outing to the zoo ends up in all being kidnapped,

---

[98] The detective series *Wallander*, filmed in Ystad in Skåne, also mediates the landscapes of parts of the Øresund region through crime, but the difference here is that the series does not directly engage with the 'reality' of spatial change and of two nations colliding.

the home is a target, the city is a target,[99] and even the air is subject to the threat of biological weapons. Martin Rohde and Saga Norén work very well together as a team despite cultural and linguistic differences; the accentuation of this aspect of their relationship is important in addressing the possibilities of integration on a human, cultural level. Yet, it is a tenuous harmony set in the problematic spaces of the Øresund as expressed in the series.

The Øresund Bridge is, as expected, the central locus of the drama and is visualised in every episode in various forms. It appears in establishing shots between scenes, in the opening credits montage, in sequences where Martin and Saga drive across it, and as the location of major crime scenes, mostly in relation to bodies colliding. As an apparently popular target for criminals, the space of the bridge generates the initial action of the transnational narrative in both seasons and focuses the dramatic tension on the working relationship between Danish and Swedish authorities. The first season began with separate body parts of two women—one Dane, one Swede—laid over the border on the bridge. In a similar fashion, the second season begins with a ship almost colliding into the bridge with a group of Danish and Swedish corpses on board, prompting Saga and Martin to work together once again to uncover the perpetrators behind this crime.

To an extent, *Bron/Broen* registers, through its narrative and representation of bodies in the urban space of the region, the problematics inherent in the integration discourse that aims to promote the region as a single, borderless transnational metropolis traversed by 'regionauts' on a daily basis. Indeed, the utilisation of the bridge as the primary locus of crime subverts its metaphorical significance as a benevolent, connective structure that brings people together; instead, it pulls bodies apart. One reading suggests that crime, paradoxically, is the social glue that brings Danes and Swedes together: Saga and Martin are brought together to solve a transnational case together, and in each episode the two are in Saga's Porche driving back and forth across the bridge in search of the next clue or victim, much like how O'Dell's regionauts traverse the spaces of the region as explorers.

---

[99] See *The City as Target* (2012), a volume edited by Ryan Bishop, Gregory Clancey, and John W. Phillips which explores the ways the city functions as the interface between militarism, urbanism, and modernist aesthetics.

Mobility across the bridge certainly emerges as a basis for crime, but I invoke de Certeau once again in asserting that the detectives' movements across the Øresund highlight the practice of 'writing' the region — their bodies 'follow the thicks and thins of an urban "text"' (1984, 93). Through this form of writing with their bodies, the series makes visible multiple spaces and voices in this text, albeit fictional, that would otherwise be concealed. I will deal with the notion of multiple storylines and the real and imagined voices that emerge from them in a later section. The key idea I want to emphasise here is that the characters' movement across the bridge can be read as a way of foregrounding the spatiality of the region. In a related manner, their repeated crossings in each episode can also be perceived in terms of a stitching movement, in that by moving back and forth across the bridge the characters bear with them 'the power of unification' (O'Dell 2011, 15), which of course criminals then seek to tear apart.

4. Performing Transnationality Through Interior Design

In the narrative universe of the series, Copenhagen and Malmö are depicted as one borderless metropolitan region. Aside from established and more easily recognisable places such as the respective Copenhagen and Malmö police headquarters and other specific urban landmarks, most scenes are shot in somewhat 'neutral' locations that have few distinguishing national traits that mark whether the action is taking place in Denmark or Sweden. In practical terms, the cost of moving the entire fleet of trailers, technical equipment, and personnel between Copenhagen and Malmö limited the extent to which actual border-crossing took place in the production. Consequently the production team made the decision to film several exterior scenes in 'neutral' locations such as meadows or deserted industrial areas in Skåne, or, where street scenes were filmed, visible identifying elements such as road signs in Swedish would be replaced by Danish signs. Ultimately, according to the executive producer Thomas Nilsson, it did not matter where the crew were shooting because modifications could easily be made to make Denmark look like Sweden and vice versa; interior scenes such as those taking place in apartments were similarly flexible in that the spaces were fitted with the appropriate furnishings to look either Danish or Swedish depending on the scene (Bock 2015).

Thus, while the nationality of a place was overtly not a concern for the production team, even the 'neutral' locations were still dressed up to adhere to national ideas of what a Danish or Swedish space looked like. That the producers felt an apartment had to be styled to look Danish or Swedish suggests that the national quality of a place, particularly domestic interiors, is still an important part of the narrative milieu, if only to establish exactly on which side of the bridge the action was taking place. I posit that an element of spectacle is at play in these domestic interior scenes wherein the architectural and interior design features of these homes are subtly paraded to the viewer through the mise-en-scène, performing certain notions of Danish or Swedish, *and* Scandinavian identities. I argue also that the series is simultaneously engaging with the current popularity of Scandinavian design, thereby playing to foreign viewers' expectations of pan-Scandinavian identity.

To illustrate, I refer to the large, wood and glass-fronted house that stands in for Martin's family home throughout the first season, and which was thoroughly styled within to reflect contemporary Danish home design. Recognisable classics such as the Wishbone chair designed by Hans Wegner are used around the dinner table where several scenes are shot, as are the PH-lamps designed by Poul Henningsen and Arne Jacobsen's Egg armchair — all are common fixtures associated with Denmark (Fürstenberg 2012). In the drama, it is suggested that the Rohde family live in an exclusive municipality north of Copenhagen. However, the Danish home was actually designed by acclaimed Swedish architects Per Friberg and Henrik von Platenis and is located in Ljunghusen, not far from Malmö at the southern tip of Skåne (ibid.). Irregularity and geographical inaccuracies aside, what this tells us is that within the narrative universe of the series, actual representations of the geographical area on screen is for the most part unnecessary. Instead, an imagined sense of place and the geography of the Øresund region is constructed through banal, material objects and language.

In other words, it appears that Martin's family home is inflected with the token pieces of designer furniture that are recognised as indicators of the nationality of this domestic space. It should also be pointed out that this is very much an idealised and even class-specific representation of a modern Danish family home. A similar logic underlines the way other quotidian domestic interiors are featured in the series, for example in the homes of Charlotte Söringer (in Season 1) and Viktoria Nordgren (in

Season 2), which both feature as model examples of ultra-modern and minimalist Scandinavian architecture and design.

That these evocative national symbols are not the focal point of the drama is nevertheless of relevance to my aim of understanding how the television series constructs the region. I suggest that it is through eliciting the viewer's identification with the everyday objects that feature in the mise-en-scène that a sense of spatial identity may be constructed and negotiated. At this point it is useful to evoke Michael Billig's concept of banal nationalism, which he illustrates using the image of the American flag hanging in front of a government building: '[t]he metonymic image of banal nationalism is not a flag which is being consciously waved with fervent passion; it is the flag hanging unnoticed on the public building' (1995, 8). In Hjort's words:

> Banal nationalism is a matter of seemingly trivial evocations or indirect references to the nation in the news, sports and weather reports, among other things. Banal nationalism involves the ongoing circulation and utilisation of the symbols of the nation, but in a manner that is so deeply ingrained and habitual as to involve no focal awareness. (2000a, 100)

In the context of the Øresund region, and from a non-Scandinavian viewer's perspective, I contend that it is worth reworking the term as 'banal regionalism' since these objects also take on a distinctively transnational Scandinavian overtone and are not necessarily associated with particular national design aesthetics. The dining table chairs, armchair, and lamps in *Bron/Broen* are ubiquitous across the region; one can find them in homes, offices, restaurants, museums, and shops. On the one hand, these props in the television series are, like Billig's flag, instances of banal regionalism which, to viewers in the Øresund region, call for little focal attention and have no further significance than being necessary for the demands of verisimilitude, to imply a sense of the geographical location of a scene, or, to a limited extent, to engender a sense of regional belonging through the display of Scandinavian design heritage. On the other hand, when taking into consideration the transnational and international circulation of the series, the same banal markers of Denmark or Sweden play to a range of audiences beyond the borders of the Øresund region and Scandinavia, and to different effects. To international audiences, the furniture and interior decor lose their particular national identity as *Swedish* chairs or *Danish* lamps; instead they are recognised as strikingly 'Scandinavian' and perceived as exotic. In other words, for

the foreign viewer, the mobilisation of banal objects in various interior and exterior mises-en-scène generates a general sense of '*not*-belonging', of a culture and environment to which they do not belong (Higson 2011, 73). Setting aside national differences in interior design preferences and taking into consideration that the producers of the series are consciously engaging with the high-profile international cachet of the Nordic noir genre (Redvall 2013, 198), it can be argued that the spectacle of these interiors fulfil another role in performing a generic 'Nordic' identity abroad to a foreign audience.

Hence, this sense of difference demarcates the region in specific ways to foreign audiences, resulting in a particular portrayal of urban living spaces in Copenhagen and Malmö as mostly furnished with mid-century classic designer furniture. In the UK, the exoticism of these spaces as portrayed on television has fuelled a largely middle-class fascination with Scandinavian home design, culminating in a plethora of lifestyle news articles concentrating on interior design in *Borgen* and *Bron/Broen*. The topic of Scandinavian lampshades as they appeared on television has appeared in *The Guardian* (Barnett 2012), and the rhetoric in a *Radio Times* article about Nordic interiors is typical of the overseas perception: 'Like all the best interior design, everyday Nordic furnishings and fittings in TV dramas never look as if someone is making a point — they are part of the scenery in a good way. And they are a delight' (Graham 2014). To reiterate, *Bron/Broen* has become embedded in Scandinavian—and to an extent, European—popular culture in complex ways, resulting in different groups of publics that interface with each other within the larger narrative of the Øresund region.

5.   Stiff Swedes and Happy Danes

The representation of binational police cooperation aspires to a sense of solidarity within the region that can be achieved when national cultural differences are acknowledged, challenged, and negotiated together. Such cooperation even traverses real and perceived language barriers. However, the portrayal of Saga and Martin as a successful police duo is confounded by the fact that it is only a brief partnership. Each of the two seasons so far ends with the partners separated and

returning to their own national jurisdictions.[100]

In a 2005 analysis of media images of the Øresund region, Jesper Falkheimer reinforces the idea that the region is still perceived and constructed through Swedish or Danish perspectives; in particular, a key motif running through the mass media texts he examined was the national stereotype of 'Stiff Swedes and Happy Danes' (Falkheimer 2005, 295). Since the broadcast of the first season, there has been much discussion in the media about the unique production conditions behind the series. Like the region it is set in, *Bron/Broen* is about two different nations coming together to collaborate. Most of the media reports focused on the novelty of the 'dual nationality' of the series and the fact that almost every aspect of the production was split equally between Danish and Swedish talent. For example, reports typically highlighted the cultural differences experienced by the crew:

> Behind the scenes, the challenge for the Danish and Swedish crews was to work for the seven-month shooting time in the two languages, with different working habits. 'It was a bit tough,' admits [Filmlance International producer Anders] Landström, 'but something very interesting came out of it. We had to make things work, despite our differences such as the Danish hierarchical working methods, totally dissimilar from our flat organizational way. 'We had lots of fun with clichés about each other' admitted Nimbus Film's Ehrhardt. (Nordisk Film & TV Fond 2011)

This focus on 'national' working styles amongst the filming crew in the first two seasons, much like the comments made by the Swedish company director in *Gå på vatten*, is mirrored in the narrative world of the series, particularly in the first few episodes that foreground the clash of cultural and professional attitudes between Saga and Martin, who both embody the respective Swedish and Danish national stereotypes. This, however, did not last beyond the first three episodes as the focus shifted away from the puns on the transnational working partnership. Helin, who plays Saga Norén, comments:

> I don't think that would be particularly interesting, do you? We obviously have to have some of [the clash of cultures] in there, and it is a Swedish/Danish co-

---

[100] The border, encapsulated by the vertical bar character 'I' in the title screen which displays 'Bron I Broen', separates the Swedish 'Bron' and Danish 'Broen' and then transform into the number of the season. Successive seasons make this separation even more distinct: 'Bron II Broen' marks the second season, and the third is represented as 'Bron III Broen'.

production. We don't ignore it, but it's not necessarily a particularly interesting aspect. (Quoted in Forshaw 2014)

What is distinctive about the funding of *Bron/Broen* is that it resembles the financing of a feature film rather than a conventional television project that is mainly spearheaded, financed, and developed by state broadcasters, as is the case for *Forbrydelsen* (*The Killing*, 2007–2012) and *Borgen* (2010–2013), alongside most other series produced by DR or SVT. The fact that the production team behind *Bron/Broen* comprises two companies that mainly work with film—Filmlance International and Nimbus Film—also demonstrates how there is a high level of cross-over between the film and television industries in the region. As Redvall similarly notes in reference to Nimbus Film, *Bron/Broen* is 'an example of how Danish production companies that have traditionally been working with film are looking still more into also producing high-profile television drama' (2013, 198). That it is a product of the commercial production context is also significant here as the production team developed the series with minimal creative input from—yet is primarily funded by—state broadcasters DR and SVT. The implication here is that the producers of the series therefore hold very little obligation to fulfil particular public service values (Waade and Jensen 2013, 195), specifically those that insist on some measure of representing 'themes of the nation' (Hjort 2000a) or region beyond setting and film location. In other words, one would contend that what *Bron/Broen* reflects about the region is largely uncoloured and unfettered by the policy demands of any one national production culture; instead, the writers faced a different set of creative freedoms and challenges that allow them to take aesthetic risks and explore a far wider range of social and political questions in a transnational space.

Even so, it must be acknowledged that this relationship is complex and the national still has a bearing on aspects of the production process, which inevitably affects the text's portrayal of its fictional contemporary milieu. In relation to this, we must also consider implicit pressures from funding sources and the effect of administrative hurdles such as different national tax regimes and employment regulations. In my survey of press materials and interviews with the screenwriters and producers, it is revealed that the changing funding sources of the production across its first to third seasons have played an increasing role in dictating visual elements such as shooting locales. This territorial stipulation has a clear implication on

production and, as I argue, on the subtle articulation of national and regional identity in the series.

For instance, according to Anders Landström, a producer on the series, Filmlance has officially been the lead partner in the production and all of the crew and cast are employed under Swedish law and regulations (Abbott 2015). This has meant that most of the filming has been done in Malmö instead of equally on both sides of the Øresund. However, this Swedish emphasis sits in tension with another statement regarding the extent to which the series' Danish partners are involved. The Copenhagen Film Fund, having newly invested a large sum in the production, announced in 2014 that the third season of *Bron/Broen* will be 'more Danish' than before (Copenhagen Film Fund 2014). This is indeed a provocative statement and a surprising shift in the production and marketing of the series, especially as one of the unique selling points of the first and second seasons was the shared, '50-50' Danish-Swedish involvement in the crafting of the series. The CFF's financial involvement means that a larger portion of the production crew will be Danish, 'thereby securing more Danish jobs' and bringing more of the series' production to Denmark. By strategically investing in an internationally successful series like *Bron/Broen*, and, through this money, having a say in the production process, the CFF is ensuring that the Danish film industry benefits not only economically, but also from the high visibility to international audiences. In an interview, the lead writer Hans Rosenfeldt reveals:

> The original idea came from me, together with two of my colleagues (one being *Spung* director Bjorn Stein). We were asked by a company in Sweden to write a series, they had another series that they decided not to go for and then they had room for another one, so they turned to us. They said it would have to be something in Denmark because it would be funded from there and that was kind of all, they said 'do whatever you want' and we came up with *Bron/Broen*. (Quoted in Hall 2012)

That the first season had to include Denmark because of funding and the producers of the third season are reiterating the same motivation shows that a project's source of funding plays a consequential role in determining particular territorial aspects of a production – in this case, location and setting. Here, I contend that issues of funding and practical considerations of administrative matters still do register a separation along national lines, thereby complicating the shared, transnational claims of the

text.[101] The Øresund region, as mediated through the production dynamic of *Bron/Broen*, is becoming a Danish-dominated Øresund.

The larger point I want to draw attention to is the fact that commercial television productions in this specific small nation context is just as important as factors in constructing an image of the region as any state-mandated policy. Furthermore, in a small nation and region within which the same community of talent circulate, it can also be surmised that most screenwriters and producers are driven by a similar set of cultural values that underpin the tradition of socially responsible storytelling in the region (Edin 2006, 68), which I touch on in the next section. Due to the high level of labour crossover in the industry, one is hard pressed to find a Danish film worker who has not worked on a television project, and vice versa. All would have been through the same system of film training—the NFSD is a key node here—and hence the institutional values that underpin and drive creative expression in film can be said to be very much a part of the overall television industry. I therefore consider *Bron/Broen* as a bona fide artefact of the regional production milieu that registers similar discourses of the nation and region in the same way that a short film or feature-length film does. These factors make *Bron/Broen* a pertinent case study in how a partly independent, partly state-funded production works in the intersection between commercial and cultural interests to depict and negotiate the socio-political space of the Øresund region.

6.   Narrative Strategies And Medium-specificity

Turning now to the narrative strategies unique to the series and the medium-specific qualities of television drama, I argue in this section that a more complex fabrication of spatial identity is at play when we take into consideration how audiences are addressed and engaged in the consumption of the televisual text and its paratexts. How is television as a medium different from film, and what creative and structural

---

[101] Nevertheless, other aspects of the production effort still retains some semblance of the initial '50-50' arrangement, particularly in the writing and producing teams. Sweden's Filmlance International and Denmark's Nimbus Films continue as main producers of the series, now co-producing with CFF and Film i Skåne as well as the other European partners for the third season. The season will be directed by Denmark's Rumle Hammerich and Henrik Georgsson from Sweden. The writers remain unchanged, with Hans Rosenfeldt leading the writing team that comprises Nikolaj Scherfig, Astrid Øye, and Sweden's Erik Ahrnbom, and with Camilla Ahlgren as script editor.

possibilities does television give in this respect? How is the idea of the region imagined and developed over ten sixty-minute episodes?

6.1. Double Storytelling

In the volume *Writing and Producing Television Drama in Denmark* (2013), Redvall gives a scholarly account of the organisational and creative processes employed by Danish television producers, particularly the in-house production unit of DR. In 2003, a list of fifteen production dogmas were circulated within DR Fiction, the in-house production house of the broadcaster. The document was intended to guide in-house production in constructive ways, and since then, the concepts detailed in the document have been become central to the production philosophies of DR, and are important to my analysis of the series. One of these concepts is 'double storytelling':

> DR's public service status demands that our productions contain—besides 'the good story'—an overall plot with ethical/social themes. In other words, we must always have a dual narrative. The weight of each of these two narratives in relation to one another will always depend on society's historical-cultural discourse. (Redvall 2013, 69)

In the Scandinavian fiction storytelling tradition, the element of social realism and representation of often current social problems and issues concerning the welfare state—topics that domestic and regional viewers can strongly identify with—feature heavily in the narrative. One reason for this focus may lie in the social-democratic welfare ideology that views film as serving a socio-political function in communicating nationally instituted ideas about society and the welfare state, educating and elevating citizens so as to foster a progressive society. This is an ambitious objective indeed, and is well-facilitated by the medium and format of television drama, where, structurally, the time and space of the narrative universe are vastly expanded. Sue Thornham and Tony Purvis argue that television drama 'is more productively analysed as a primary generator and the most everyday source of narratives in contemporary culture [… which] construct, mediate and frame our social and individual identities' (2005, ix).

Each season of *Bron/Broen* comprises 10 episodes, each about 60 minutes long, and it takes all of one season to investigate one particular case and apprehend

214

the perpetrator.[102] The longer total duration affords the development of multiple elements (e.g. characters, storylines) to be woven into the narrative. In other words, while the main narrative focuses on the crime plot, other storylines are also incorporated in what is known as a 'three-plot structure' which was employed throughout *The Killing*:

> The three-plot structure grew out of the ambition to rethink traditional crime stories and to have politics and private lives of characters as an important part of the story. This structure naturally provides many opportunities of dealing with various ethical and social issues as called for in the dogma defining the DR Fiction concept of double storytelling. (Redvall 2013, 172-3)

In this case, not only is there a crime plot but there is also a family/personal plot and a political plot. In a similar vein, writers of *Bron/Broen* have woven political (environmental activism, immigration) and personal storylines (Martin and his relationship with his family, Saga's emotional life, and their professional relationship) into the core narrative of the investigation. The drama of the investigation is interspersed with scenes highlighting the developing personal relationship between Saga and Martin; these typically involve Martin interrogating Saga's behaviour, taking place in enclosed spaces such as the office elevator or in the car while they are driving to the next incident in the trail.

Indeed, the writers are very much concerned with exploring the metropolitan region as a patchwork of social groups in a semi-realist fashion. What this presents to viewers is a multiplicity of perspectives and subjective experiences of the region through each of these minor characters. In *Bron/Broen*, these characters typically come from diverse social groups and whose portrayals are very much a comment on specific issues: the mentally ill, homelessness, domestic abuse, adolescents, ethnic minorities, and journalism and the media. This mix of narratives woven into the main plot reflects what Peter Billingham describes a 'multi-vocal narrative structure' can 'expose and reveal a refracted, kaleidoscopic "sense of the city"' (2000, 1). He goes on to explain that this 'sense of the city', where 'the politics of location is inextricably interwoven with the politics of identity', comes through in the deconstruction of

---

[102] On this point, there is already a clear difference from conventional crime television narratives such as in the American *CSI* franchise, where every episode is devoted to a separate case which is resolved by the end of the 60 minutes.

character formations and the matrix of narratives (ibid.).

The larger point here is that the television series format presents the opportunity for multiple storylines to be explored over the course of several episodes within a season. In films, the complexity of plots and storylines are restricted by duration, which in the conventional feature film format ranges from 90 minutes to two hours — this is further restricted in a short film. However, this is not to say that narrative complexity is lacking in films. Rather, the argument I want to make here is that the long-running episodic structure of a television series makes possible the inclusion of many different and simultaneous stories and therefore holds the potential to present multiple perspectives that each have the agency to depict different segments of a transnational region.

For example, the narrative of the second season is especially provocative in its evocation of a larger transnational political space beyond the geographical context of the Øresund region. Claiming responsibility for the various crimes through the second season, a group of eco-terrorists disseminate their demands through YouTube videos and communicate by internet chat early in the season. Through their acts of terror, their challenge to society at large is to rethink one's complicity in the destruction of ecological resources. Through the kind of collective violence and action they have undertaken, the group seeks to disrupt what they perceive as the blind adherence to neoliberal ideals of individual profit over collective and ecological good. The severity and geographical impact of each successive crime grows with every episode on a scale from 'local' to 'regional' to 'global': the final action of the second season hones in on an EU summit on the environment where shots of protesters gathering outside the venue recall familiar scenes of street protests at G7 summits while a deadly virus threatens to spread globally through the interconnected conduits of air travel.

For a television series to be attractive to other markets, it would make sense to incorporate provocative and topical issues of this recent decade such as immigration, terrorism, the perceived threat of neoliberal ideology, and, on a more individual level, changing notions of sexuality, gender roles, individual versus collective identities, and the transformation of the family unit. As Nestingen asserts, popular audiovisual culture has become a site of debate for urgent political questions (2008, 52). Furthermore, each episode is written and edited as the season is in

production, hence writers are able to craft storylines that reflect contemporary socio-political concerns while at the same time incorporating input from actors, producers, and the rest of the team (Redvall 2013, 121).

Therefore, underneath the crime narrative, there lies a more complex social mapping and characterisation of the Øresund — real and current socio-political issues are not just referenced in each episode, but rather motivate the central narrative arc. Another example is the depiction of police brutality against immigrant minorities, multi-racial integration, and the negative perceptions of immigrant Muslim communities in Copenhagen, which form the crux of an episode in the first season. The Truth Terrorist kidnaps a corrupt police officer and locks him up in a shop basement belonging to a Muslim family. A teenage son of the family was unjustly killed several months before by this same police officer, who has denied doing so and is about to be cleared by the court of manslaughter. There are several tense scenes between the the shopkeeper's older son who discovers him in the basement and struggles with the opportunity for vengeance for his deceased brother on the one hand, and mercy on the other hand. For the most part, the episode follows the actions of this older son as he navigates his sense of identity as an individual caught in a moral bind, and as a citizen of the Danish state. Meanwhile, protests form on the streets of Nørrebro against police brutality against immigrants, and Saga and Martin must hunt for the terrorist through the disorder.

By placing a social issue as contentious as this at the fore, the series articulates a challenge to viewers to assess their own assumptions and understanding of particular segments of society, which echoes the ethos of *Out* as described in Chapter Four. Other episodes similarly place issues such as the environment, terrorism, surveillance in the spotlight. The public service function of television is incorporated into the detective fiction narrative in a provocative and emphatic way, always with the aim of stimulating discussion on topics of social interest. The double storytelling mode thus facilitates the objective of 'securing the existence of a plurality of expressions and cultural diversity as well as … public enlightenment and educating citizens for the common good' (Redvall 2013, 40–41).

6.2. 'Live' Broadcasts And Online Television

The second factor that makes television a unique audiovisual medium in

communicating the nation is the time of broadcast. A sense of immediacy is built into conventional broadcast television in that the structure of scheduling dictates that audiences can only view a specific programme at a specific time – implying a form of 'television scarcity' at the moment of broadcast transmission or what scholars also conceptualise as the 'ephemeral' experience of television (Grainge 2011, 6; Uricchio 2004, 127). In the case of *Bron/Broen*, every episode was aired on Wednesday nights on Swedish and Danish television channels simultaneously, in order to avoid the possibility of viewers watching the episode earlier in one country than the other (Redvall 2013, 198).

The added temporality of a television programme broadcast at a specific time each week over a span of time implicates viewers in the text and in a process of collective imagining. Viewing the same television programme at the same time resembles Benedict Anderson's analysis of 'the almost precisely simultaneous consumption ("imagining") of the newspaper-as-fiction' in the nineteenth century, an act shared across an imagined community (2006, 35). Media and television scholars have commented variously on the link between broadcast media and the construct of particular national discourses, such as referring to television as the site of the collective construction of a national community and identity, unobtrusively drawing together an audience made up of disparate viewers (Brunsdon and Morley 1978). Nestingen describes this community of viewers as 'self-aware publics' or a 'self-aware combination of strangers' that form around around a specific text or event, be it a film, web site, blog, or television broadcast (2008, 36). I contend that the screening of *Bron/Broen* is as much a transnational television event as it is a cultural event in some ways similar to the grand opening of the Øresund Bridge, which brings together a transnational group of people in the communal act of experiencing and imagining a sense of community. As a televisual 'bridge' between the two nations, the screening of the first season was accompanied by marketing which relied heavily on the sense of place (A. Hill and Askanius 2014) — that is, domestic audiences' knowledge and own engagement with the Øresund region and the bridge itself.

In this light, however, it must be also acknowledged that in the post-network era, the ontology of television has shifted from a linear, 'live' flow to 'on-demand', navigational database structures of digital and online television (J. Bennett 2008, 158; Grainge 2011, 7). This means that the imagined community of viewers not only watch

the series simultaneously at the time of (national) broadcast, but now have the option to engage with the text at different times, and even in multiple viewings. Online catch-up services such as BBC's iPlayer, DR TV, and SVT Play online allow viewers to watch episodes at their own convenience after the first broadcast, and the episodes are available only for a limited window of time of roughly 30 days. It is also significant to note that DR TV allows free access from anywhere in the world, although programmes are screened in their original form (i.e. undubbed and with Danish subtitles). However, in the case of the BBC iPlayer and SVT Play, many programmes may only be viewed from within the UK or Sweden respectively.[103] Translated subtitles can be turned on or off, and viewers can choose to download the episodes as video files for offline viewing for a limited period on any suitable device be it a notebook computer or a smart-phone.[104]

J. P. Kelly describes the more liberated modes of viewing available with this shift in technology:

> In just one sitting, online viewers can watch any given combination of texts. They can build a playlist of videos solely comprised of ephemeral 'clips', 'trailers', 'promos', or 'recaps'. Alternatively, viewers may come online in search of a more sustained television experience, watching episode after episode, or perhaps even an entire season of programming. Others still may prefer a combination of the two, mixing long- and short-form content as it suits them. On top of this, viewers themselves participate in and help proliferate various forms of textual brevity, from customised clips to temporary discussions. (Kelly 2011, 132)

The spatial element is important to note here, as online viewership has the potential to be global, although in reality this is limited by the practice of geo-blocking web technologies employed by some state broadcasters in which video content is unavailable to viewers accessing the website from another country.

---

[103] The EC is currently debating its plan for a Digital Single Market, and the attendant issues of access and geo-blocking technologies employed by the audiovisual sector (European Commission 2015a).

[104] Where films are watched and experienced in theatres and at a range of fixed and limited screenings across a release period, or, after, through recorded media (DVD, VHS, online streaming), the conventional 'live' broadcasts of television programmes—'the endlessly disappearing present'—creates a time-specific impetus for viewers to engage with the images on the screen (Heath 1990, 267). Yet the 'interminable flow (of images and sound)' on television is frequently interrupted by commercial advertisements and or trailers for upcoming programmes (ibid.).

Although such online streaming mechanisms are no less ephemeral than television itself (Evans 2011, 159), they function differently in the construction of an 'imagined community' of viewers, particularly in combination with other social media platforms. In particular, viewers have a greater degree of flexibility and agency in consuming the text and its paratexts, while also participating in and shaping a discursive community. As Elke Weissmann remarks similarly, 'audiences must be understood as actively participating in the meaning and construction of television drama' (2012, 32).[105] Viewers of *Bron/Broen* in Denmark and Sweden not only imagine the existence of other viewers consuming the same images at the same time, but also, in our present context, they directly communicate with them through text messaging and social media platforms on the internet. On the official Facebook page of the production, the series writers actively solicited ideas from fans for 'themes, current events or inspirational elements' for the third season (Bron - Broen - The Bridge 2014), which also suggests that the team places some emphasis on reflecting a contemporary cultural ethos through themes and events in the plot. The significance of this act of engaging audiences (which is indeed also an exercise in marketing) is that it underlines the idea that *Bron/Broen* is a vehicle for the creation of an imagined community that is actively constructing the social life of the region. By participating via comments and conversations on Facebook, or posts on Twitter using a shared hashtag (e.g. #TheBridge, #Bron, and #Broen), domestic and international viewers have been discussing topics as diverse as Asperger's Syndrome, language, cultural habits, fashion, and cross-border traffic. Through these public and popular platforms, viewers reflect on differences and similarities between nations and cultures that share a border. Particularly in this Danish-Swedish context, it might be argued that the series, as a cultural text existing in and distributed through various technologies, is nudging viewers toward the 'deep, horizontal comradeship' that is the imagined community of transnational viewers (B. Anderson 2006).[106]

As with many of the television series coming out of Scandinavia since the late

---

[105] Weissmann discusses the challenges from technological changes to distribution and reception in the UK and US contexts more fully in Chapter 1 of her book, *Transnational Television Drama* (2012).

[106] Even beyond the Øresund region, the larger community of Scandinavian viewers also seem to be invested in this exercise of imagining a region through *Bron/Broen*. For them, however, it is the transnational affinity of being a part of the Scandinavian region that motivates comments found under the Facebook post cited earlier such as 'Would be nice for a Norwegian to get involved too' and 'How about some Norwegian involvement?'

2000s (and which continues into the current moment), a substantial amount of media attention and hype was generated by the release of *Bron/Broen* in the domestic and European markets. Media reports and review articles not only supplement the television drama, but they also interact with the main media text to the extent that they all become part of the same media spectacle consumed by viewers. The nature of the closely integrated media environment in a small region allows for this instance of intermediality (Jensen 2008), where the broadcast of a major television series is usually accompanied by substantial press reports and promotional material across a variety of media. To this extent, I would argue that the narrative themes of *Bron/Broen* are articulated and negotiated through a complex web of texts to a remarkable degree within the shared media ecology of the region. Not only has the series been co-opted as an exemplar of the kind of innovative coproduction taking place in Danish-Swedish television, particularly in the commercial sphere, it has also been repurposed as a mascot for tourism in the region and as the focus of specialist walking tours.[107] The way that the primary televisual text has generated multiple discourses external to the television screen shows how it holds the potential to 'resist the categories and aesthetic forms that have defined national subjective and collective identities, assumptions, and expectations' (Nestingen 2008, 208).[108]

6.3.   Mapping The Virtual Øresund

One of the other ways in which the series generates and articulates a geographical sense of the region is in the mapping of the events of the narrative in a paratext on the official series website. Gérard Genette coined the term 'paratext' (1991) within literary studies to describe those elements that accompany a literary work, such as a book cover, preface, or appendix. In the context of screen media, the term has since been productively adapted (Gray 2010) to analyse the forms that have emerged subsequent to and in parallel with a primary film or television text – these include

---

[107] A Danish company called Nordic Noir Tours runs walking tours of the film locations seen in *Forbrydelsen* and *Bron/Broen*: 'You will hear the story behind the famous Faroese jumper and we will tell you about Danish and Swedish stereotypes' (2014).

[108] When we consider the British screening of the series on BBC Four and iPlayer, what ties the community together is no longer the time of broadcast nor to an extent, geography, but rather the hashtag on Twitter and a shared sense of having the same 'taste' in foreign, subtitled drama. A more pronounced sense of involvement with the text is therefore apparent in the practice of 'live-tweeting' using a shared hashtag. The point I want to emphasise is that the performance of the Øresund region in *Bron/Broen* has reached foreign audiences who, in turn, re-broadcast their opinions of the region as it appears on screen, to their own followers on Twitter.

ephemera such as promotional trailers, spin-off merchandising, posters, and official websites. On DR's official website for the series, a customised and interactive Google Maps representation of the geographical region shows a constellation of 'pins' across different parts of Copenhagen and Malmö (DR1 2013). Each pin represents a key location depicted in series and clicking on a pin brings up brief contextual information relating the location to a character or event, such as 'Saga's flat' or 'Martin stayed in a hotel here', and screenshots from the episode in which the location appears.

The spectator is positioned in the role of a criminologist-navigator, although the extent of her crime-mapping activity is limited to pointing, clicking, dragging, and zooming in and out. I posit that the spectator of *Bron/Broen* is offered a more 'active, creative mode of vision' through her navigation of the space via this interactive Google Maps interface (Verhoeff 2012, 13). Indeed, this interactive map, as a paratextual resource, is not only intended to lend credence to the fiction of geographical fidelity in the series, but also to orient the spectator in the imagined space of the metropolis. In other words, the online paratext, available to a global audience, serves an orientation strategy to help viewers make sense of the region, the distances traversed by the characters, and the geographical relationship between locations and events in the story (Mittell 2015, 262). In some ways this particular website plays an instructional role in guiding viewers (domestic or international) in the names of places and of the geography of the region. Where the televisual text compresses space—and time—through editing, online digital cartography opens up possibilities of traversing the space of the Øresund, here with the fictional narrative as a frame and the map of the actual Øresund region as a canvas.

Indeed, the larger aim is to draw the viewer closer—and connect them—to the narrative universe of the series by enhancing their emotional and spatial experience of the region. This is what the very first shot of the opening sequence already does — we are in a car, driving across the bridge. This is akin to what Kjetil Sandvik calls a process of *augmentation*: 'an emotional enhancement of our sense and experience of place by means of mediatisation' (2010, 140). The paratextual resource works similarly by inviting viewers to investigate the region cartographically. For viewers of *Bron/Broen*, the actual location of the Øresund region has become augmented. The narrative fiction of *Bron/Broen* forms another layer on top of the cartographical representation of the Øresund, which mediates and remediates the

region through multiple layers upon the televisual text, allowing the viewer to further engage with the story and make sense of the space of the region by navigating its geography via the Google Maps interface. Taking into consideration also the changing ways by which audiences access the text and its paratexts, the traditional 'flow' of television is now interrupted and fragmented further onto different screens, a result of television's increasingly close relationship with internet-enabled channels of distribution. There is thus a shift in the agency that contemporary viewers possess alongside expanded access to televisual content:

> Users can control the flow of programme elements, constructing contexts and playing with the ensuing meanings. Together, these affordances in the areas of access and agency enable viewers to look beyond their regions or nations, accessing the world from outside a viewing position long controlled by national institutions and transnational industries. (Uricchio 2011, 31–32)

The map is not only a compressed version of a very vast geographical region shrunk into a 'bite-sized' representation, but the expanded nature of a paratext allows viewers to explore and create their own journeys through the region beyond the limited gaze of the camera's perspective.

6.4.   International Attention

As mentioned earlier, the series is perceived as having contributed to a rise in film tourism in the region (Goundry 2013). At least two international remakes based on different cross-border territories have been produced (US-Mexico and UK-France), and the original series has been sold to and broadcast in several countries world-wide. Scholars acknowledge that this post-*Millennium* trilogy attention from the US and rest of Europe not only augments Denmark's and Sweden's cultural position internationally, but also 'highlights its "small nation" status when placed in the context of these bigger states' (Peacock 2014, 4).

As this thesis must necessarily exclude, for reasons of space, detailed audience surveys about what elements of the series they identified with the most and why, there is little value in surmising how the idea of the Øresund region as communicated through the series resonates with Danish and Swedish viewers. What is noteworthy, however, is how the series, alongside the by now full-blown assimilation of paratexts and social networking into the television-watching experience, has created significant communities of not only domestic but also international viewers

who identify so strongly with the series. It is worth emphasising also that the opportunity to use social networking in relation to audience engagement is a very new development — it is no more than ten years old. Just as the imagined community of the Øresund region is conjured into existence through images and stories, it is compelling to see how *Bron/Broen* has engendered *other* communities outside of the region and beyond the (conventional) television screen,[109] which extends and complicates the broader point in this chapter: that nations and regions are imagined in medium-specific ways.

The entire package of Nordic noir production values deployed throughout the series has been argued as a specific consequence of the Nordic broadcasters' ambitions to create dramas that appeal to an international audience and that can attract funding from international sources (Waade and Jensen 2013, 197). I believe it is worth exploring this idea further to include the intended spectator as a crucial factor in the production planning and design process. Clearly, the series is intended to broadly appeal to Danes and Swedes, but the series has explored themes and depicted events that speak very easily to a broader European and international audience (e.g. the environment, terrorism, immigration).

As for the popular reception of the series in the UK, the emergence of the 'chattering classes'—here specifically referring to the audiences who enthusiastically comment on the series and their viewing experience via social media outlets such as Twitter—is noteworthy because this partly denotes the success of the unique production strategies of DR (Midgley 2014). Having said this, some qualification about the popularity of the series is necessary. Despite the enthusiasm and perceived 'success' of *Bron/Broen* in domestic and foreign media, it is a specific class of audience that is the most vocal about the merits of the series. General audiences in the UK, for instance, have tended to regard programmes that are dubbed or subtitled in a foreign language as 'difficult' or of poorer production quality than Anglophone

---

[109] The significance of intermedia interaction has been noted by scholars in the field of audience and fan research who are interested in the ways audiences experience media 'immersively' – that is, people are moving around television content and consuming these texts on different channels, across platforms, and across geographical boundaries (A. Hill 2013). I posit that this phenomenon in the Scandinavian context is a clear consequence of the trend toward internationalisation in the media policies of both Denmark and Sweden, as argued in Chapter Two.

productions; subsequently ratings for such programmes are limited although the audience created here is one that is 'fairly select and elite' (Bergfelder 2005, 327–8).[110] In other words, the popularity of the genre has to be qualified slightly — while there is much enthusiasm for Nordic noir on UK television channels such as BBC 4 and Sky Arts, for example, it is arguably a narrowly defined audience group that enthusiastically engages with the 'foreign' texts.

The Øresund region has been projected as an 'internationalised' region through *Bron/Broen* — a binational geographical space that has been opened up by the audiovisual text into a multilayered imaginary inhabited by multiple communities. Even so, Denmark has emerged with the reputation as a hit factory of sorts for television drama, in part due to the earlier international successes of *The Killing* and *Borgen* (Collins 2013). Strictly speaking, DR Fiction's official mission statement has a clear mandate to produce television programmes specifically for Danish audiences, giving priority to national audiences in spite of the international success of a series such as *Borgen*, for example (Redvall 2013, 79). The public service mandate has clearly shaped the choices of content and genre in the production of television fiction; it might be argued that this strategy and focus on producing stories for a national audience will be challenged in the recent international interest in DR programmes. While major deviation from the mandate is highly unlikely, I am of the opinion that the influence of international success and audiences will increasingly play a role in shaping DR's production strategies in the future, albeit to a limited extent. There are already signs of a slight shift in the way DR might capitalise on its cultural currency in the contemporary European context.

7.   Conclusion

By way of conclusion, let me briefly draw attention to yet another police-procedural crime drama, *The Team*, which I argue is a manifestation of the legacy of *Bron/Broen*. In late February 2015, the first episode of *The Team* simultaneously premiered on

---

[110] Even within Denmark, there may be also be a sense of this foreignness, albeit on a smaller scale. The Danish spoken by Kim Bodnia is a distinctly Copenhagen accent – one that Danes in Jutland, for example, would have difficulty understanding. I have been told, anecdotally, that even Danes from other parts of the country needed Danish subtitles to understand Copenhagen accents.

Danish, Swedish, Austrian, German, Belgian, and Swiss television. With a screenplay developed by a Danish team of writers, the crime drama focuses on a tri-national team of investigators from Germany, Denmark, and Belgium who work together to solve the murders of three Lithuanian women in Berlin, Copenhagen, and Antwerp. As in *Bron/Broen*, the lead actors each speak German, Danish, and Flemish in their separate native contexts, but instead of mutual comprehension, they use English to communicate with each other when they have scenes together – English is also used whenever there are encounters with other European characters such as the Lithuanians.[111] The series is co-produced by eleven media organisations from eight member states and is screened in the six countries whose state broadcasters were involved in the production.[112] It is also part-funded by the EU's Creative Europe programme.

Directly inspired by the success and international appeal of *Bron/Broen* and *Borgen*, it seemed clear to one of the lead producers of *The Team*, the European Broadcasting Union (EBU)—responsible for the Eurovision Song Contest—that 'language is no barrier to the international success of 'Made in Europe' fiction' (Banks 2015). I do not want to overstate the novelty of this sort of multi-national European televisual collaboration since, as in the case of the Eurovision Song Contest, it is not a new development unique to the post-2000 period. Yet *The Team* is a bold experiment in multi-lingual and multi-cultural representation in a pan-European television co-production between several national producers and broadcasters.[113] In a similar way to *Bron/Broen* which filters the spatial and cultural imagination of the Øresund region through crime, *The Team* uses the genre as a way of reimagining transnational movement within the Schengen area and, to a certain extent, the notion of European cooperation and a sense of transnational affinity.

---

[111] Watching the series, known in Denmark as *Mord uden grænser* (*Murder without borders*), on DR's web player, one is aurally confronted by a multiplicity of languages that are mitigated by Danish subtitles that appear whenever Danish is not spoken on screen. In Germany, however, the series is completely dubbed over in German and there are no subtitles!

[112] The distribution of the series has also taken on various forms: in Denmark, it is freely available on the internet (albeit only with Danish subtitles), with new episodes put up online each week. In Germany, however, all the episodes have been put online at once on ZDFneo, in the original language version. The version scheduled to be screened on regular broadcast television is completely dubbed in German and screened one episode per week.

[113] In Denmark alone, the response was very positive, with 1.46 million Danish viewers tuning in to the first episode — matching the same enthusiasm viewers showed for *Borgen* and *Arvingerne* (*The Legacy*, 2014–) (Egmont 2015).

I contend that the trend of realistic, multi-lingual television dramas created via cross-border co-production, as manifested by *Bron/Broen* and in concert with the growing success of DR writing teams, has had a small, but noteworthy impact on the European production landscape. This has arisen as a result of the strategic trend toward internationalisation discernable in Danish and Swedish film policy, which I argue is driven by the challenges of small nationhood and regionhood. Furthermore, at the level of production practice, I have identified that the Danish audiovisual industry is making headway in asserting its creative influence beyond its own national and regional boundaries, capitalising on the current momentum of the 'Nordic noir' brand and the popularity of its 'quality' exports distributed to international markets.

In the final analysis, *Bron/Broen* is an apt text and media phenomenon that ties together many themes and ideas from the earlier chapters in this thesis. I have argued that the series is a manifestation of the interplay between contemporary film-cultural policy and independent interests in the small region, a dynamic that has engendered the type of creative risk-taking that has brought relevant thematic issues of the Øresund imaginary into focus. Having emerged from a specific period of spatial, cultural, political, and technological change, *Bron/Broen* is characteristic of the creative audiovisual texts that mediate the region in medium-specific ways to domestic and transnational audiences – it is 'a symptom of something real', a region under construction, reflecting on itself through film and television.

CONCLUSION

New Beginnings

> Sorry for the drama. I assume I have your attention now. This is only a
> beginning – we've got interesting times ahead of us.
> — The 'Truth Terrorist' to a victim, *Bron/Broen* Season 1, Episode 1

In 2020, the Fehmarnbelt tunnel between Denmark and Germany will be completed, uniting Skåne, Sjælland, and Hamburg in yet another 'new growth region' (Øresundsbro Konsortiet 2015, 31). As with the Øresund project, the rhetoric driving the tunnel's construction keenly emphasises the economic benefits that the new Fehmarnbelt Region will bring in conjunction with political commitment to cross-border exchange. At the same time, the authors of a report on this new regional development warn that attempting to create a new 'Fehmarn identity' by appending cultural aims to this political-economic project would be unnecessary and unpopular (Matthiessen and Worm 2011). Nevertheless, the 'Building Tourism' project under the STRING Network[114] has already been set in motion, which brings together the Swedish, Danish, and German tourism industries in a bid to 'help turn the Fehmarnbelt region from a political vision into a natural reference point for inhabitants across regional borders, as people increasingly experience a genuine sense of belonging' (STRING 2015a). In February 2015, the STRING Short Film Competition was inaugurated, a cultural initiative and talent development programme for young filmmakers to produce works under the theme, 'Tales of a region' (STRING 2015b).

These are indeed interesting times ahead of us, as new regional imaginaries like the Fehmarn/STRING region emerge, while others like the Øresund region mature. It is significant, in both cases, that audiovisual media play an important role in facilitating the construction of new spatial identities and intercultural narratives.

---

[114] According to its official website, 'STRING is a political cross-border partnership between Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein in Germany, the Capital Region of Denmark, Region Zealand, and the City of Copenhagen in Denmark, and Region Skåne in Sweden.'

Telling stories about the region serves to encourage people to imagine a new community, and this, to regional administrators and planners, is a fundamental element that feeds into the larger aim of developing opportunities for economic growth. Yet, at the same time, these stories will also be the critical space wherein multiple voices call into question and foreground the tensions between dominant narratives that invoke a tri-national region into existence and the lived experience of new socio-spatial configurations. Recalling once again Lefebvre's conceptualisation of space, I contend that film and television are the 'representational spaces' that negotiate and mediate 'the loci of passion, of action and lived situations' (1991, 42).

In light of the Fehmarnbelt development, as well as the imminent rebranding and reimagination of the Øresund region already mentioned in the Introduction, I assert that this thesis is a timely intervention in discourses surrounding the role of culture—audiovisual production in particular—in the making of new transnational regions.

1.   Summary

I began this thesis by asking: how is the Øresund region imagined on film and television? In answering this question, I sought to trace the changes in the film-political and industrial contexts in both countries in the period of the region's construction, making the observation that both national cinemas have embarked on trajectories leading to greater degrees of co-production, internationalisation, and creative risk-taking across a variety of media formats. The Danish side of the Øresund has had the advantage of Copenhagen's and the Danish Film Institute's leadership, while Film i Skåne, on the other hand, is only just establishing itself as a postindustrial film hub with its new powers gained from Sweden's regionalisation process. An argument I made here is that the notion of an integrated cross-border cultural space under the banner of the Øresund region has not found meaningful expression in film policy in the region. In other words, the political notion of an Øresund community is not a real priority for the film-industrial actors in the region.

Following this, I examined a range of audiovisual works—documentaries, short films, television series—that emerged from these political, industrial, and cultural conditions. I argued that the texts function as alternative interpretations of the

dominant Øresund rhetoric, using the specificities of each format to respond to dominant narratives and assert new imaginaries that foreground the disconnect between the planned visions of an Øresund utopia and the lived experiences of a complex intercultural space in the midst of change. The texts activate particular motifs such as architectural landmarks both new and old, the ubiquity of the marine environment, and the urban spaces of Copenhagen and Malmö to explore the multiple dimensions of local, regional, and transnational identity.

One objective of analysing this particular body of texts is to position them as important interventions in the Øresund story. From the multitude of short, feature-length, and serial works that were produced and filmed in the Øresund region, these works stand out as texts that foreground spatial concerns while negotiating and mediating the social realities of the region in this period of change. Three guiding themes emerged from each of the chapters, accompanied by specific visual motifs that dominated each group of texts.

1.1. Architecture — Spatial Transformation

Gertten's 'Remaking Øresund' trilogy, as I have dubbed this trio of architectural documentaries, and Kestner's city-symphonic ode to Copenhagen make visible the affective connections between people and the spaces they inhabit as these undergo profound changes — changes that are often driven by larger political and economic forces outside of their own control. The transformation of built urban space becomes a key trope by which the films negotiate discourses of identity and belonging. In Malmö, local heritage, memory, and community come into conflict with pressures from the restucturing of the local economy. The city's blue-collar, industrial character must make way for the shiny new veneer of a postindustrial urban city and a skyscraper that represents a vague and problematic sense of the city's ambitions to be perceived as a 'global city'. Kestner's portrait of Copenhagen, on the other hand, looks inwards, a city caught in the act of navel-gazing. The poetic documentary harnesses nostalgia and sentiment to excavate layers of memories of people and places hidden beneath the façade of concrete and glass in the city. While it expends much effort in narrating Copenhagen, the documentary's brief glances at the Øresund reveal far more about its relationship with the rest of the region: that the Øresund region is yet another dream which lies beyond and which makes little impression on quotidian experience. The documentaries are thus cultural records of the fractures and tensions in the

problematic dream of the Øresund region.

1.2. Water — Creative Risk-taking

It is a true, and telling, coincidence that the short films *Valrossarna* and *Out* both visually engage with the vast expanse of the Øresund strait despite their compact temporal frames, which I argue is a manifestation of the appetite for risk fostered by the film training and journalistic experience that the filmmakers have undergone. As (then) emerging artists just embarking on their filmmaking careers, their choice of subject matter and aesthetic lenses reflect this risk-taking — by pushing the envelope on these fronts, not only have their short works served a particuar usefulness in garnering critical attention, but also in setting up the conditions for further exploration of similar themes or styles. As I have remarked, the two filmmakers have gone on to make feature-length films with the institutional support that the shorts first attracted. This is not to discount the fact that the short films are by themselves documents of cultural significance. They interrogate socio-political themes and issues pertinent to the Øresund project, in particular giving voice to those denied the right to the region.

1.3. Bridge — Negotiation

Where *Gå på vatten* documented the birth of the bridge and region, *Bron/Broen* mediates death and the deconstruction of the region. This is of course an overdramatisation of what is really the fierce negotiation between two national cultures within the transnational space of collaboration. Appearing 10 years after the formation of the Øresund region, the popular television series is in many ways a fitting representation of how the region works. At its production, aesthetic, and narrative levels, *Bron/Broen* demonstrates the immense difficulty of imagining a transnational space. The act of negotiation is fraught with violence and tension: national interests trump promises of collaboration, and global attention on one partner places the other in the shadows. Despite this struggle, the series has opened up the multiple spaces and voices of the region to a far wider audience through the double-storytelling strategy common in Scandinavian production culture, albeit through the dismal melancholy of Nordic noir. In its serialised format, the series has held on to the attention of domestic and international audiences over two seasons so far, and in so doing, circulated various images—and sounds—of the region while at the same time interposing itself in important discussions about contemporary society and the issues that face not just the Øresund region, but also the larger (Western) community.

Problems relating to immigration, the environment, and terrorism are not treated as sensational subject matter in the narrative, but as serious topics that warrant wider, if not global, attention.

## 2.	Contributions and Constraints

The first main finding that has emerged from my analysis of audiovisual production in the Øresund region is that there is an imbalance in the relationship between Skåne and Copenhagen, where the Danish industry has emerged as a leading international force while the Swedish side remains overshadowed by the film dominance of not only Copenhagen but Stockholm as well. This assertion might seem obvious in light of the already skewed partnership between a capital city and a peripheral city, but the fact is that this imbalance between the Danish and Swedish film milieux is a real and present concern that has largely been overlooked by authorities on both sides or, at most, glossed over in attempts that pay lip service to the notion of collaboration over the Sound. In the case of the Øresund region, audiovisual production never quite escapes the 'nationalising eye' (O. Löfgren 2002, 259), which not only appears as a theme at the narrative level, but also manifests itself at the level of production. That this disparity has only been articulated in Swedish scholarship (Mathieu 2013) is also significant, as administrators in the Øresund region are keen to maintain the impression of solidarity in the English-speaking sphere. By highlighting this gap, my thesis is thus a moderate intervention in this respect.

On the one hand, buoyed by its growing international reputation, Danish cinema is far more preoccupied with maintaining, if not building on, its current level of innovation by generously funding various platforms to foster risky, creative projects within a largely national frame. Its internationalisation strategies are also simply geared toward boosting the national profile, trading on the current popularity of Scandinavian culture. On the other hand, Skåne, already a small and peripheral region in Sweden, is still playing catch-up to Denmark's cultural dominance. Being a recently empowered sub-national region, its survival depends on the same strategies that Copenhagen employs to grow its local and national creative industries, except that being at a distance from Stockholm means it does not yet have the financial power or full political commitment to realise its aim of becoming 'Scandinavia's most dynamic and innovative region for film and moving images by 2030' (Region Skåne

2015, 6). Nevertheless, the small region with big ambitions might, from 2016, be able to attract more investment and attention when it gives up a part of its identity to become part of 'Greater Copenhagen'.

The asymmetry I have noted is certainly not unique to the Øresund region; similar situations in other cross-border territories such as the German-Polish (Scott and Collins 1997) and the Finnish-Russian border regions (Eskelinen and Kotilainen 2005) are examples. However, such studies focus exclusively on the political and economic dimensions of the relationship. My contribution here is a focused examination of the ways in which the cinemas of two small nations negotiate their relationship in a cross-border region. The larger argument here is that despite an emphasis on the imaginaries of borderlessness and integration, the transnational is emphatically and materially dependent on the national.

The second finding lies in my contention that there is a material connection between institutional film policy, industrial conditions, and filmmakers' representation of the region on screen. In other words, structures of policy, support, and funding have a real impact on what is depicted on screen. This is a provocative statement that, to an extent, might be perceived as calling into question the filmmaker's creative agency. However, it is not my intention to do so; rather, the links I make in the case studies are an attempt to make visible the way institutional values and the opportunities and constraints provided by the presence or indeed lack of funding shape the way film practitioners approach their creative decisions. The task of drawing these connections was a challenge laid out by Hjort (2013b), who applied this to the space of film education and its influence on the 'practitioner's agency'. What I have done in taking up this challenge is to trace a wider circle to include policy and funding.

Survival has been an important motivator in film policy in small nations, one that has shaped the strategies adopted by the Danish and Swedish film institutes in the face of globalisation and technological shifts. The will to survive is what drives 'risky behaviour' in terms of funding yet-unproven talent to produce potentially unpopular works in unprofitable formats. As I have outlined in Chapter Two, the various funding and film training platforms such as Moving Sweden and New Danish Screen that follow this logic are in fact designed with risk management in mind, providing 'safe' spaces for filmmakers to experiment, innovate, and to break out of

conventional modes of artistic expression. This is not to say that filmmakers are given generous budgets across the board; instead, the provision of moderate grants incentivise filmmakers to work creatively within those constraints. Such investment is the Nordic states' commitment to sustaining national film culture. The link with artistic expression, then, lies once again in the notion of risk. In the case of Kestner, Gertten, Guwallius, and Dencik, the filmmakers are not exclusively beholden to commercial expectations and thus have the freedom to focus on controversial subject matter or experiment with visual techniques, for example. This works slightly differently in the case of *Bron/Broen* in that both public *and* commercial support has allowed the producers to achieve similar goals. At the same time, all of these filmmakers circulate within a small institutional environment in which production values informed by welfare state ideology are influential. This translates to the depiction of topical political issues, problems facing contemporary society, and an ethical commitment to giving voice to all segments of society — all important elements that find expression in stories about the Øresund region. The texts analysed in this thesis clearly demonstrate these connections between policy, funding, institutional values, and creative output. Furthermore, I contend that these connections are made the more visible in the context of a small region.

The same anxieties that drive the formulation of policies aimed at ensuring a small national cinema's survival also motivate film and television scholars in that milieu to adopt a dynamic attitude toward their research, widely publishing and circulating their ideas in the broader international academic community. My own research from outside of this environment has benefited greatly from the work of Bondebjerg, Hjort, and Redvall, whose analytical insights are augmented by personal access to the practitioners in the industry. Their advocacy is my gain, as their widely published English-language research into the inner, industrial workings of Scandinavian cinema on an empirical level has enabled me to discern some of the connections between the copious amounts of policy documents and their effects on the pursuits of film practitioners in the region. But herein lie some of the potential shortcomings of this thesis.

First, my analysis might indeed have benefited from direct engagement with the filmmakers in the form of interviews, for example. Doing so might have shed further light as to their creative decisions relating to their own engagement with the

idea of the region. Yet asking them to reflect on this in retrospect—most of the films are at least 10 years old—would bring up other problems of validity. Keeping issues of intentionality out of my study avoids conflict with my attention on close textual analysis. Instead, what I have relied on to glean a general sense of their thinking are the interviews and press material published around the time of the films' releases. In relation to this, I must also emphasise that it is not my intention to focus extensively on film directors and television writers as 'auteurs' of the texts. Where I have outlined filmmakers' professional histories and creative trajectories (e.g. in Chapters Three and Four), it is to draw attention to the institutional environments in which they have carved their own niches as film practitioners. Secondly, as I stated in the Introduction, I have engaged as far as possible with primary material in their original languages where English translations are not available. Yet, I acknowledge the possibility that there may be relevant secondary material in the Scandinavian languages that may not have reached my attention.

For reasons of space, I have not been able to include in this thesis a deeper consideration of audiences and reception, language and subtitling conventions (a fascinating element especially in the context of multi-lingual works like *Bron/Broen*), and distribution methods. I have briefly addressed these in my analysis, but I do acknowledge that each of those topics require more dedicated investigation and indeed would form new avenues for further research. With respect to audiences and reception, for example, this would require a blend of quantitative and qualitative approaches, from analysing viewership figures to conducting cultural surveys or focus group discussions to 'get into the cultural mind of people' and engage with what people in the Øresund region actually think and imagine about the region in relation to its audiovisual representations.[115] Another proposition would be to shift the geographical focus to other cross-border regional imaginaries, or adjust the present scope to examine a region of a larger scale such as the one soon to be engendered by the Fehmarnbelt tunnel that will link the Scandinavian Øresund to Northern Germany. These are all directions that have the potential to take the work I have done in this thesis on a fruitful path toward a greater understanding of how audiovisual texts intersect with identity construction.

---

[115] As suggested by Ib Bondebjerg, in a personal e-mail communication to myself (Bondebjerg 2014).

3.   New Imaginings

As the Øresund region begins a new life as Greater Copenhagen (and Skåne) from January 2016, one wonders if the same exercise of imagining a new identity will be repeated from scratch. The region may not need to be imagined into existence again, but it does need to market itself under a slightly different moniker to audiences both local and international. But what is gained, and what is lost in this 'new' image of the region? Will Brand Skåne be able to assert itself more effectively on a regional and international stage, or will Malmö simply be seen as a suburb of Copenhagen, while the rest of Skåne fades into the role of a scenic backdrop? Whatever new spatial imaginaries may be conjured at the administrative and planning levels, I contend that it remains the work of practitioners in the audiovisual community and the stories they conjure to address and contest those imaginaries, forge new alliances, and inscribe alternative narratives across both sides of the Øresund.

LIST OF AUDIOVISUAL WORKS

An Education. Film. Directed by Lone Scherfig. 2009. UK, USA: BBC Films, Endgame Entertainment.

Arvingerne (*The Legacy*). TV series. Created by Maya Ilsøe. 2014. Denmark: DR.

Babettes gæstebud (*Babette's Feast*). Film. Directed by Gabriel Axel. 1987. Denmark: Panorama Film A/S, Danish Film Institute.

Berlin – Die Sinfonie der Großstadt (*Berlin – Symphony of a Metropolis*). Film. Directed by Walter Ruttmann. 1927. Germany: Deutsche Vereins-Film.

Borgen. TV series. Created by Adam Price. 2010–2013. Denmark: DR Fiktion.

Broadchurch. TV series. Created by Chris Chibnall. 2013. UK: Kudos, ITV.

Bron/Broen (*The Bridge*). TV Series. Created by Hans Rosenfeldt, Nikolaj Scherfig, Camila Ahlgren, Björn Stein. 2011–2015. Sweden, Denmark: Filmlance International, Nimbus Film.

Burma VJ. Film. Directed by Anders Høgsbro Østergaard. 2008. Denmark, Norway, Sweden: Kamoli Films, Magic Hour Films ApS, Mediamente, WG Film.

Bye Bye Malmö. Film. Directed by Fredrik Gertten. 2002. Sweden: WG Film.

Chelovek s kino-apparatom (*Man with a Movie Camera*). Film. Directed by Dziga Vertov. 1929. Ukraine: VUFKU.

Dancer In The Dark. Film. Directed by Lars von Trier. 2000. Denmark, Sweden: Zentropa, Trust Film Svenska.

Danmark. Film. Directed by Poul Henningsen. 1935. Denmark: Udenrigsministeriet.

De fem benspænd (*The Five Obstructions*). Film. Directed by Lars von Trier and Jørgen Leth. 2003. Denmark: Zentropa Real ApS.

De perfekte menneske (*The Perfect Human*). Film. Directed by Jørgen Leth. 1967. Denmark: Laterna Film.

Dogville. Film. Directed by Lars von Trier. 2003. Denmark: Zentropa Entertainments.

Drive. Film. Directed by Nicolas Winding Refn. 2011. USA: FilmDistrict.

Drømme i København (*Copenhagen Dreams*). Film. Directed by Max Kestner. 2009. Denmark: Upfront Films.

En by ved navn København (*A City Called Copenhagen*). Film. Directed by Jørgen Roos. 1960. Denmark: Danish Film Office, Statens Filmcentral, Minerva Film.

En Soap (*A Soap*). Film. Directed by Pernille Fischer Christensen. 2006. Denmark: Nimbus Film, Zentropa.

Europa. Film. Directed by Lars von Trier. 1991. Denmark: Danish Film Institute

Forbrydelsen (*The Killing*). TV series. Created by Søren Sveistrup. 2007–2012. Denmark: DR.

Fucking Åmål (*Show Me Love*). Film. Directed by Lukas Moodysson. 1998. Sweden, Denmark: Memfis Film, DFI.

Gå på vatten (*Walking on Water*). Film. Directed by Fredrik Gertten. 2000. Sweden: WG Film.

Italian for Beginners. Film. Directed by Lone Scherfig. 2000. Denmark: Zentropa
Entertainments, DFI, DR.

Ma Salama Jamil (*Go With Peace, Jamil*). Film. Directed by Omar Shargawi. 2008.
Denmark: Zentropa Entertainments.

Malmö – Montevideo, My Place in This World. Film. Directed by Lars Westman and
Fredrik Gertten. 1995. Sweden: Westman & Gertten AB, SVT Malmö.

Moon Rider. Film. Directed by Daniel Dencil. 2012. Denmark: Dencik Film.

Nattevagten (*Nightwatch*)*.* Film. Directed by Ole Bornedal. 1994. Denmark: Thura
Film.

Offscreen. Film. Directed by Christoffer Boe. 2006. Denmark: AlphaVille Pictures
Copenhagen.

Only God Forgives. Film. Directed by Nicolas Winding Refn. 2014. Denmark,
Sweden: Space Rocket Nation, Film i Väst.

Øresund. Film. Directed by Martin Werner. 2012. Denmark: Bacon CPH.

Out. Film. Directed by Daniel Dencik. 2006. Denmark: New Danish Screen.

Pelle Erobreren (*Pelle the Conqueror*). Film. Directed by Bille August. 1987.
Denmark, Sweden: Per Holst Filmproduktion, Svensk Filmindustrie.

Pusher. Film. Directed by Nicolas Winding Refn. 1996. Denmark: Balboa
Entertainment.

Rätten till staden (*The Right to the City*). Film. Directed by Kolbjörn Guwallius. 2008.
Sweden: Kooliproduktion.

Riget (*The Kingdom*). TV series. Created by Lars von Trier. 1994–1997. Denmark,
France: DR, DFI, Arte.

Sossen, arkitekten och det skruvade huset (*The Socialist, The Architect and the
Twisted Tower*). Film. Directed by Fredrik Gertten. 2005. Sweden: WG Film.

The Death of a Working Man's Newspaper. Film. Directed by Fredrik Gertten. 2000.
Sweden: Westman & Gertten AB, SVT Malmö.

The Element of Crime. Film. Directed by Lars von Trier. 1984. Denmark: Danish
Film Institute, Per Holst Filmproduktion

The Expedition to the End of the World. Film. Directed by Daniel Dencik. 2013.
Denmark: Haslund Film ApS.

The Fall. TV series. Created by Allan Cubitt. 2013. UK: Artists Studio, BBC Northern
Ireland.

The Poetry General. Film. Directed by Fredrik Gertten and Lars Westman. 2001.
Sweden: Westman & Gertten AB.

The Riot Club. Film. Directed by Lone Scherfig. 2014. UK: Film4, HanWay Films,
BFI.

The Team. TV series. Created by Mai Brostrøm and Peter Thorsboe. 2015.
Germany, Belgium, Denmark, Austria: Network Movie Film-und
Fernsehproduktion, Lunanime, Nordisk Film, Superfilm.

The Way Back: True Blue 2. Film. Directed by Fredrik Gertten, Magnus Gertten, and
Stefan Berg. 2002. Sweden: Westman & Gertten AB, Auto Images AB,
Swedish Television, Film in Skåne.

True Blue. Film. Directed by Fredrik Gertten, Magnus Gertten, and Stefan Berg. 1998. Sweden: Westman & Gertten AB, SVT Malmö.

True Detective. TV series. Created by Nic Pizzolatto. 2014. USA: Anonymous Content, Passenger.

Valrossarna. Film. Directed by Kolbjörn Guwallius. 2006. Sweden: Kooliproduktion.

Verden i Danmark (*The World in Denmark*). Film. Directed by Max Kestner. 2007. Denmark: Bastard Film.

Wallander. TV series. Created by Henning Mankell. 2005–2013. Sweden: Yellow Bird, Svensk Filmindustri.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbott, Dennis. 2015. 'Creative Europe Backs Scandinavian Crime Saga - The Bridge'. *Creative Europe*. March 19. http://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/news/2015/bridge_en.htm.

Agerman, Johanna. 2011. 'SAS Royal Hotel'. *Icon: International Design, Architecture and Culture*. July 28. http://www.iconeye.com/opinion/icon-of-the-month/item/9180-sas-royal-hotel.

Amnell, Mats. 2015. 'Skåne säljs som Köpenhamn i andra länder'. *Helsingborgs Dagblad*. June 23. http://www.hd.se/nyheter/ekonomi/2015/06/22/skane-saljs-som-kopenhamn-i-andra-lander/.

Anderberg, Stefan, and Eric Clark. 2013. 'Green Sustainable Øresund Region: Eco-Branding Copenhagen and Malmö'. In *Urban Sustainability: A Global Perspective*, edited by Igor Vojnovic, 591–610. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.

Anderson, Benedict. 2006. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

Andersson, Lars Gustaf, John Sundholm, and Astrid Söderbergh Widding. 2010. *A History of Swedish Experimental Film Culture: From Early Animation to Video Art*. Mediehistoriskt Arkiv 17. Stockholm: National Library of Sweden.

Arthur, Paul. 2005. 'Extreme Makeover: The Changing Face of Documentary'. *Cinéaste* 30 (3): 18–23. doi:10.2307/41689868.

Arvas, Paula, and Andrew Nestingen. 2011. 'Introduction: Contemporary Scandinavian Crime Fiction'. In *Scandinavian Crime Fiction*, edited by Andrew Nestingen and Paula Arvas, 1–20. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Augé, Marc. 1995. *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*. London ; New York: Verso.

Bachmann, Anne. 2013. *Locating Inter-Scandinavian Silent Film Culture: Connections, Contentions, Configurations*. Stockholm: Stockholms Universitet.

Baeten, Guy. 2012. 'Normalising Neoliberal Planning: The Case of Malmö, Sweden'. In *Contradictions of Neoliberal Planning: Cities, Policies, and Politics*, edited by Tuna Tasan-Kok and Guy Baeten, 21–42. The GeoJournal Library 102. Dordrecht: Springer.

Bainbridge, Caroline. 2007. *The Cinema of Lars von Trier : Authenticity and Artifice*. Directors' Cuts. London ; New York: Wallflower Press.

Balsved, Johnny E. 2001. 'A Deadly Morning off Copenhagen in August, 1915'. *Danish Naval History – Flådens Historie*. September 24. http://www.navalhistory.dk/English/History/1914_1918/E13_%20incident.htm.

Banks, Martin. 2015. 'EU Crime TV Show Launched to "Bring Together" a Divided Continent'. *The Telegraph*, February 2. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/eu/11384701/EU-crime-TV-show-launched-to-bring-together-a-divided-continent.html.

Barker, Jennifer M. 2009. *The Tactile Eye: Touch and the Cinematic Experience*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Barnett, Laura. 2012. 'The Killing Gave Us Jumpers: With Borgen, It's Lampshades'. *The Guardian*. January 11. http://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/shortcuts/2012/jan/11/killing-jumpers-borgen-lampshades.

Behrens, Thomas, Mai Lundemark, and Gert Jørgensen. 2012. *Øresund Trends 2012*. Translated by Marianne Worm. Tendens Øresund. http://www.orestat.se/sites/all/files/tendensoresund_english.pdf.

Benjamin, Walter. 1968. *Illuminations*. Translated by Harry Zohn. New York: Schocken Books.

Bennett, James. 2008. 'Television Studies Goes Digital'. *Cinema Journal* 47 (3): 158–65. doi:10.1353/cj.0.0019.

Bennett, Tony. 1992. 'Useful Culture'. *Cultural Studies* 6 (3): 395–408. doi:10.1080/09502389200490251.

Bergfelder, Tim. 2000. 'The Nation Vanishes: European Co-Productions and Popular Genre Formulae in the 1950s and 1960s'. In *Cinema and Nation*, edited by Mette Hjort and Scott MacKenzie, 131–42. London; New York: Routledge.

———. 2005. 'National, Transnational or Supranational Cinema? Rethinking European Film Studies'. *Media, Culture & Society* 27 (3): 315–31. doi:10.1177/0163443705051746.

Bergman, Kerstin. 2011. 'The Well-Adjusted Cops of the New Millennium: Neo-Romantic Tendencies in the Swedish Police Procedural'. In *Scandinavian Crime Fiction*, edited by Andrew Nestingen and Paula Arvas, 34–45. European Crime Fictions. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Berg, Peter. 1987. 'Kortfilmens genopblomstring'. In *Kortfilmen og Staten*, edited by Carl Nørrestad and Christian Alsted, translated by Lise Jørgensen, 462–541. København: Eventus.

Billig, Michael. 1995. *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage Publications.

Billingham, Peter. 2000. *Sensing the City Through Television: Urban Identities in Fictional Drama*. Bristol: Intellect.

Bishop, Ryan, Gregory K. Clancey, and John Phillips, eds. 2012. *The City as Target*. Postcolonial Politics ; 4. Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge.

Blomgren, Roger. 2007. 'Den Onda, Den Goda Och Den Nyttiga: Kulturindustrin, Filmen Och Regionerna'. 2. Forskningsrapport. Trollhättan: Högskolan Väst.

———. 2008. 'Cultural Industry from Threat to Salvation: Film Production from Art Policy to Regional Development'. *Preprint* 2008 (1).

Bock, Terezia. 2015. 'Nu Avslöjas Hemlisen I Tv-Serien "Bron"'. *Kvällsposten*, February 20. http://www.expressen.se/kvp/noje/nu-avslojas-hemlisen-i-tv-serien-bron/.

Bondebjerg, Ib. 2005. 'The Danish Way: Danish Film Culture in a European and Global Perspective'. In *Transnational Cinema in a Global North: Nordic Cinema in Transition*, edited by Andrew Nestigen and Trevor G. Elkington, 111–40. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

———. 2011. 'Staten Og Filmkulturen'. *DFI: Filminstitutionernes Historie*. November 11. http://www.dfi.dk/FaktaOmFilm/Filminstitutionernes-historie/Staten-og-filmkulturen.aspx.

———. 2014. 'E-Mail to Author', May 5.

———. 2016. 'Regional and Global Dimensions of Danish Film Culture and Film Policy'. In *Companion to Nordic Cinema*, edited by Mette Hjort and Ursula Lindqvist. London: Blackwell.

Bondebjerg, Ib, Mette Hjort, and Eva Novrup Redvall. 2014. 'Introduction'. In *The Danish Directors 3: Dialogues on the New Danish Documentary Cinema*, edited by Mette Hjort, Ib Bondebjerg, and Eva Novrup Redvall, 1–27. Bristol: Intellect.

Bondebjerg, Ib, and Eva Novrup Redvall. 2010. 'A Small Region in a Global World: Patterns in Scandinavian Film and TV Culture'. Scandinavian Think Tank on Films, Markets, Audiences and Film Policy. Copenhagen.

———. 2013. 'Transnational Scandinavia? Scandinavian Film Culture in a European and Global Context'. In *Transnational Cinema in Europe*, edited by Manuel Palacio and Jörg Türschmann, 127–45. Zürich: LIT Verlag.

Box Office Mojo. 2015a. 'The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo'. *Box Office Mojo*. January 11. http://boxofficemojo.com/movies/?page=main&id=girlwiththedragontattoo.htm.

———. 2015b. 'The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo (2011)'. *Box Office Mojo*. January 11. http://boxofficemojo.com/movies/?page=main&id=girldragontattoo11.htm.

Breen, Myles P. 1978. 'The Rhetoric of the Short Film'. *Journal of the University Film Association* 30 (3): 3–13.

Bridge, Gary, and Sophie Watson. 2000. 'City Imaginaries'. In *A Companion to the City*, edited by Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, 7–17. Oxford: Blackwell.

Bron - Broen - The Bridge. 2014. 'Facebook Post'. https://www.facebook.com/BronBroen/posts/754317224632488.

Brunsdon, Charlotte, and David Morley. 1978. *Everyday Television: Nationwide*. BFI Television Monograph 10. London: British Film Institute.

Bucken-Knapp, Gregg. 2003. 'Shaping Possible Integration in the Emerging Cross-Border Øresund Region'. In *European Studies: Culture and Cooperation in Europe's Borderlands*, edited by James Anderson, Liam O'Dowd, and Thomas M. Wilson, 19:55–80. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

By og Havn. 2011. *Copenhagen Growing: The Story of Ørestad*. Copenhagen: By & Havn. http://www.orestad.dk/~/media/images/copenhagen-growing_web.pdf.

Caruso, Valerio. 2015. 'Industry Report: Film Commissions – Mikael Svensson • Head of the Oresund Film Commission, Southern Sweden'. *Cineuropa*. April 15. http://cineuropa.org/dd.aspx?t=dossierinterview&l=en&tid=2782&did=289750.

Casey, Edward S. 1997. *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History*. A Centennial Book. Berkeley, California: University of California Press.

Castells, Manuel. 1997. *The Power of Identity*. The Information Age: Economy, Society, and Culture. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Cave, Dylan. 2014. 'Short Films'. http://www.screenonline.org.uk/film/id/1350979/.

Cho, Kyung Bok. 2007. 'Korean Shipbuilders Hold Off China on Pricier Orders'. *Bloomberg*. May 8. http://www.bloomberg.com/apps/news?pid=21070001&sid=aDm.5.mEHJnU.

Chow, Pei-Sze. 2012. 'The Landmark on Film: Representations of Place and Identity'. *Opticon1826*, no. 13 (December): 14. doi:10.5334/opt.ab.

———. 2016. 'Traversing the Øresund: The Transnational Metropolis in Bron/Broen'. In *Global Cinematic Cities: New Landscapes of Film and Media*, edited by Johan Andersson and Lawrence Webb. London: Wallflower Press.

Chow, Pei-Sze, and Essi Viitanen. 2014. 'Under the Scaffolding: Cinematic Representations of High-Rise Buildings in Tapiola and Malmö'. In *Illuminating the North: Proceedings from the Nordic Research Network Conference 2013*, edited by Agnes Broomè, Pei-Sze Chow, Nichola Smalley, Louisa Taylor, and Essi Viitanen, 29–44. Norvik Press Series C: Student Writing 2. London: Norvik Press.

Cineuropa. 2011. 'The National Film School of Denmark'. *European Film School Network: School Profiles*. March 20. http://www.cineuropa.org/sc.aspx?t=schoolprofile&l=en&did=199726.

Cochrane, Allan. 2012. 'Spatial Divisions and Regional Assemblages'. In *Spatial Politics: Essays for Doreen Massey*, edited by David Featherstone and Joe Painter, 85–98. Oxford: John Wiley & Sons. http://doi.wiley.com/10.1002/9781118278857.ch6.

Collinge, Chris, and John Gibney. 2010. 'Place-Making and the Limitations of Spatial Leadership: Reflections on the Øresund'. *Policy Studies* 31 (4): 475–89. doi:10.1080/01442871003723432.

Collins, Lauren. 2013. 'Danish Postmodern'. *The New Yorker*. January 7. http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2013/01/07/danish-postmodern.

Conley, Tom. 2007. *Cartographic Cinema*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Copenhagen Film Fund. 2014. 'The Bridge III Will Be More Danish than the First Two Seasons'. October 8. http://cphfilmfund.com/en/the-bridge-iii-will-be-more-danish-than-the-first-two-seasons/.

Council of Europe. 1994. *European Convention on Cinematographic Co-Production, CETS No.: 147*.

CPH:FORUM. 2013. 'Wulff: Director Daniel Dencik'. *CPH:FORUM 12–15 Nov 2013*.

Creeber, Glen. 2015. 'Killing Us Softly: Investigating the Aesthetics, Philosophy and Influence of Nordic Noir Television'. *The Journal of Popular Television* 3 (1): 21–35. doi:10.1386/jptv.3.1.21_1.

Crofts, Stephen. 1998. 'Concepts of National Cinema'. In *Oxford Guide to Film Studies*, edited by John Hill and Pamela Church Gibson, 385–94. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Crouch, David. 2015. 'Denmark Wants to Rebrand Part of Sweden as "Greater Copenhagen"'. *The Guardian*, March 5. http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/05/denmark-wants-to-rebrand-part-of-sweden-as-greater-copenhagen.

Cullan, Jonathan. 2003. 'Anderson and the Novel'. In *Grounds of Comparison: Around the Work of Benedict Anderson*, 29–52. New York: Routledge.

Dahlquist, Marina. 2005. 'Global versus Local: The Case of Pathé.' *Film History* 17 (1): 29–38.

Dam, Freja. 2013. 'Copenhagen Sets up Film Fund'. *Danish Film Institute*. February 20. http://www.dfi.dk/Service/English/News-and-publications/News/February-2013/Copenhagen-sets-up-film-fund.aspx.

Danish Architecture Centre. 2014. 'Malmö: Bo01 - an Ecological City of Tomorrow'. January 21. http://www.dac.dk/en/dac-cities/sustainable-cities/all-cases/master-plan/malmo-bo01---an-ecological-city-of-tomorrow/.

Danish Documentary. 2015. 'Max Kestner'. *Danish Documentary*. http://danishdocumentary.com/other-directors/max-kestner/.

Danish Film Institute. 2012a. 'Internal Guidelines for Film Commissioners: Valid from 10 December 2012'. Danish Film Institute.

———. 2012b. 'Terms for Support to Feature Films Valid from 1 October 2012'. Danish Film Institute. http://www.dfi.dk/~/media/Sektioner/English/Vilk%C3%A5r%202012/dfi-vilkaar-spillefilm-2012-english.ashx.

———. 2012c. 'Terms For Support to New Danish Screen'.

———. 2014a. 'Facts & Figures 2014: Production and Exhibition Figures'. Copenhagen: Danish Film Institute.

———. 2014b. 'Spillefilm - Markedsordning'. http://www.dfi.dk/Branche_og_stoette/Stoette/Produktion-og-udvikling/Spillefilm--markedsordningen.aspx.

———. 2014c. 'Vilkår for støtte til kort fiktion, konsulentordningen: Gældende pr 1. Oktober 2012'. Danish Film Institute.

———. 2014d. 'Retningslinjer for DFI's udnyttelse af ikke-kommercielle distributionsrettigheder vedr. kort fiktion og dokumentarfilm herunder fastsættelse af holdback'.

———. 2015a. 'Drømme i København'. *Fakta Om Film*. Accessed September 3. http://www.dfi.dk/faktaomfilm/film/da/63999.aspx?id=63999.

———. 2014b. 'Guidelines Fiction and Documentary'. *New Danish Screen*. Accessed March 18. http://www.dfi.dk/Service/English/Funding/New-Danish-Screen/Guidelines-Fiction-and-Documentary.aspx.

———. 2014c. 'New Danish Screen'. *New Danish Screen*. Accessed March 18. http://www.dfi.dk/Service/English/Funding/New-Danish-Screen.aspx.

———. 2014d. 'Organisation and Staff'. *New Danish Screen*. Accessed March 18. http://www.dfi.dk/Service/English/Funding/New-Danish-Screen/Organisation-and-staff.aspx.

Danish Ministry of Culture. 2010. *The Radio and Television Broadcasting Act*.

Dansk Kulturfilm. 1949. 'Dansk Kulturfilm og Ministeriernes Filmudvalg. Beretning for finansårene 1947-48 og 1948-49'. Copenhagen.

Debord, Guy. 1981. 'Theory of the Dérive (1958)'. In *Situationist International Anthology*, edited and translated by Ken Knabb, 62–66. Berkeley: Bureau of Public Secrets.

de Certeau, Michel. 1984. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Translated by Steven Rendall. Berkeley: University of California Press.

———. 1986. *Heterologies: Discourse on the Other*. Translated by Brian Massumi. Theory and History of Literature. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Delanty, Gerard. 2005. 'What Does It Mean to Be a "European"?' *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research* 18 (1): 11–22. doi:10.1080/1351161042000334763.

De Vany, Arthur. 2004. *Hollywood Economics: How Extreme Uncertainty Shapes the Film Industry*. Contemporary Political Economy Series. London ; New York: Routledge.

Dinesen, Niels Jørgen, and Edvin Kau. 1983. *Filmen i Danmark*. København: Akademisk Forlag.

Donaldson, Lucy Fife. 2014. *Texture in Film*. Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

DR1. 2013. 'Punkter'. *Broen*. October 6. http://www.dr.dk/DR1/Broen/kort.htm.

Duelund, Peter, Lærke Bohlbro, and Bjarki Valtysson. 2013. 'Denmark: 2. General Objectives and Principles of Cultural Policy'. *Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe, 15th Edition*. Council of Europe/ERICarts. http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/denmark.php?aid=23.

Dunkerley, David. 2002. *Changing Europe: Identities, Nations and Citizens*. London: Routledge.

Dunne, Celia. 2011. 'From Maps of "Progress" to Crime Maps (and Back Again?): The Plasticity of the Aerial Shot in Mexican Urban Film'. In *Urban Cinematics: Understanding Urban Phenomena through the Moving Image*, edited by François Penz and Andong Lu, 157–66. Bristol: Intellect.

Ďurovičová, Nataša. 2009. 'Preface'. In *World Cinemas, Transnational Perspectives*, edited by Nataša Ďurovičová and Kathleen Newman, x – xv. New York: Routledge.

Edin, Anna. 2006. 'Times Have Changed: On the Relationship Between Swedish Public Service Television and the Viewing Public'. *Nordicom Review* 27 (November): 61–72.

Egmont. 2015. 'The Team Watched by Nearly 1.5 Million Danish Viewers'. February 25. http://www.egmont.com/int/Press/news-and-press-releases/The-Team-watched-by-nearly-15-million-Danish-viewers/#.VSa2XBfyqRs.

Epstein, Jean. 1988. 'Magnification'. In *French Film Theory and Criticism:: A History - Anthology; 1907 - 1939. Vol. 1: 1907 - 1929*, edited by Richard Abel, 235–41. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Eskelinen, Heikki, and Juna Kotilainen. 2005. 'A Vision of a Twin City: Exploring the Only Case of Adjacent Urban Settlements at the Finnish-Russian Border'. *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 20 (2): 31–46. doi:10.1080/08865655.2005.9695642.

European Commission. 2015a. 'A Digital Single Market for Europe: Commission Sets out 16 Initiatives to Make It Happen'. *European Commission Press Release Database*. May 6. http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-15-4919_en.htm.

———. 2015b. 'Development Single Projects + Slate Funding - EACEA'. September 7. https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/creative-europe/actions/media/development-single-projects--plus-slate-funding_en.

Evans, Elizabeth Jane. 2011. '"Carnaby Street, 10 A.m.": KateModern and the Ephemeral Dynamics of Online Drama'. In *Ephemeral Media: Transitory Screen Culture from Television to YouTube*, edited by Paul Grainge, 156–74. London: Palgrave Macmillan; BFI.

Ezra, Elizabeth, and Terry Rowden. 2006. 'What Is Transnational Cinema?' In *Transnational Cinema: The Film Reader*, 1–12. London: Routledge.

Falkheimer, Jesper. 2005. 'Formation of a Region: Source Strategies and Media Images of the Sweden–Danish Öresund Region'. *Public Relations Review* 31 (2): 293–95. doi:10.1016/j.pubrev.2005.02.023.

Festival de Cannes. 2015. 'Short Films in Competition'. *Preselection Conditions and Entry Form 2015*. Accessed April 16. http://www.festival-cannes.fr/en/article/61204.html.

Film i Skåne. 2013. 'Verksamhetsberättelse 2013'. Business Region Skåne. http://filmiskane.se/images/VB13_.pdf.

Forshaw, Barry. 2012. *Death in a Cold Climate: A Guide to Scandinavian Crime Fiction*. Crime Files Series. Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

———. 2014. 'The Bridge Star Sofia Helin on Saga Norén: "Audiences Still Seem to Be Fascinated by Her"'. *RadioTimes*. January 25. http://www.radiotimes.com/news/2014-01-25/the-bridge-star-sofia-helin-on-saga-norn-audiences-still-seem-to-be-fascinated-by-her.

Foucault, Michel. 1977. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Translated by Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage Books.

———. 1986. 'Of Other Spaces'. Translated by Jay Miskowiec. *Diacritics* 16 (1): 22–27.

From, Lena. 2007. 'Turning Torso – och sedan?' *Arkitektur: The Swedish Review of Architecture* 107 (4): 12–23.

Frost, Vicky. 2013. 'Adam Price: The Chef Who Cooked up Borgen'. *The Guardian*. January 30. http://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2013/jan/30/adam-price-chef-cooked-up-borgen.

Fürstenberg, Claes. 2012. 'Här bor tv-polisen'. *Sydsvenskan*. March 5. http://www.sydsvenskan.se/hemma/har-bor-tv-polisen/.

Genette, Gérard. 1991. 'Introduction to the Paratext'. Translated by Marie Maclean. *New Literary History* 22 (2): 261–72.

Gilderbloom, John I, and Richard P Appelbaum. 1988. *Rethinking Rental Housing*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Givskov, Cecilie. 2014. 'Institutionalization through Europeanization: The Danish Film Policy Reforms of the 1980s and 1990s'. *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 20 (3): 281–95.

Gorfinkel, Elena, and John David Rhodes. 2011. 'Introduction: The Matter of Places'. In *Taking Place: Location and the Moving Image*, edited by John David Rhodes and Elena Gorfinkel, vii – xxi. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Goundry, Nick. 2013. 'Oresund Film Tourism Boosted by Success of Wallander and The Killing'. *The Location Guide*. July 12. http://www.thelocationguide.com/blog/2013/07/ng-filming-on-location-oresund-film-tourism-boosted-by-success-of-wallander-and-the-killing/.

Graf, Alexander. 2007. 'Berlin - Moscow: On the Montage Aesthetic in the City Symphony Films of the 1920s'. *Avant Garde Critical Studies*, no. 23: 77–93.

Graham, Alison. 2014. 'The Nordic World of Interiors'. *Radio Times*. January 17. http://www.radiotimes.com/news/2014-01-17/the-nordic-world-of-interiors.

Grainge, Paul. 2011. 'Introduction: Ephemeral Media'. In *Ephemeral Media: Transitory Screen Culture from Television to YouTube*, edited by Paul Grainge, 1–19. London: Palgrave Macmillan; BFI.

Grasten, Regner. 2014. 'Derfor gik det galt for dansk film'. *Filmmagasinet Ekko: Fra hoften*. August 8. http://www.ekkofilm.dk/blogs/fra-hoften/derfor-gik-det-galt-dansk-film/.

Gray, Jonathan. 2010. *Show Sold Separately: Promos, Spoilers, and Other Media Paratexts*. New York: New York University Press.

Gren, Jörgen. 2002. 'New Regionalism and West Sweden: Change in the Regionalism Paradigm'. *Regional & Federal Studies* 12 (3): 79–101. doi:10.1080/714004766.

Grierson, John. 1966. *Grierson on Documentary*. London: Faber & Faber.

Guwallius, Kolbjörn. 2012. *Valrossarna*. YouTube video. Kooliproduktion. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y-16ZjDVgKU.

———. 2015. 'CV'. *Kolbjörn Guwallius*. http://kolbjörn.se/blogg/cv/.

Hall, Eva. 2012. 'Masters Series Interview: "The Bridge" Creator Hans Rosenfeldt on Writing Great Crime Drama'. *Irish Film & Television Network*. September 27. http://www.iftn.ie/news/?act1=record&only=1&aid=73&rid=4285399&tpl=arch news&force=1.

Hansen, Povl A., and Serin Göran. 2010. 'Rescaling or Institutional Flexibility? The Experience of the Cross-Border Øresund Region'. *Regional & Federal Studies* 20 (2): 201–27.

Harvey, David. 1989. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Oxford: Blackwell.

———. 1993. 'From Space to Place and Back Again: Reflections on the Condition of Postmodernity'. In *Mapping the Futures: Local Cultures, Global Change*, edited by Jon Bird, Barry Curtis, Tim Putnam, and Lisa Tickner, 2–29. Futures, New Perspectives for Cultural Analysis. London ; New York: Routledge.

Hausmann, Ricardo, Laura D. Tyson, and Saadia Zahidi. 2011. 'The Global Gender Gap Report 2011'. Geneva: World Economic Forum. http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GenderGap_Report_2011.pdf.

Heath, Stephen. 1990. 'Representing Television'. In *Logics of Television: Essays in Cultural Criticism*, edited by Patricia Mellencamp, 11:267–302. Theories of Contemporary Culture. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Hedling, Olof. 2008. '"Detta Dåliga Samvete": Om Kortfilmen, Regionerna Och Filmfestivalerna'. In *Välfärdsbilder: Svensk Film Utanför Biografen*, edited by Erik Hedling and Mats Jönsson, 261–81. Mediehistoriskt Arkiv 5. Stockholm: Statens Ljud- och Bildarchiv.

———. 2010a. 'A Film Friendly Town? Assessing a Decade at a Small Swedish Production Centre'. *Film International* 8 (6): 70–78.

———. 2010b. 'The Regional Turn: Developments in Scandinavian Film Production'. In *Swedish Film: An Introduction and Reader*, edited by Mariah Larsson and Anders Marklund, 334–45. Lund: Nordic Academic Press.

———. 2014. 'Notes on Nordic Noir as European Popular Culture'. *Frames Cinema Journal*, no. 6 (December): 1–8.

Heidegger, Martin. 1954. *Vorträge Und Aufsätze*. Pfullingen: Neske.

Henningsen, Poul. 1968. *Hvad med Kulturen?* Copenhagen: Thaning & Appel.

Henriksen, Ingrid. 2006. 'An Economic History of Denmark'. *Economic History*. https://eh.net/encyclopedia/an-economic-history-of-denmark/.

Heywood, Paul, Erik Jones, and Martin Rhodes, eds. 2002. *Development in West European Politics*.

Higbee, Will, and Song Hwee Lim. 2010. 'Concepts of Transnational Cinema: Towards a Critical Transnationalism in Film Studies'. *Transnational Cinemas* 1 (1): 7–21. doi:10.1386/trac.1.1.7/1.

Higson, Andrew. 1989. 'The Concept of National Cinema'. *Screen* 30 (4): 36–47. doi:10.1093/screen/30.4.36.

———. 2000. 'The Limiting Imagination of National Cinema'. In *Cinema and Nation*, edited by Mette Hjort and Scott MacKenzie, 57–68. London; New York: Routledge.

———. 2011. *Film England: Culturally English Filmmaking since the 1990s*. London: I.B. Tauris.

Hill, Annette. 2013. 'Researching Roaming Audiences'. *Media Experiences*. September 6. http://mediaexperiences.blogg.lu.se/.

Hill, Annette, and Tina Askanius. 2014. 'Sense of Place: Producers, Audiences, and International Drama Format The Bridge'. In *Promoting Television in The Digital Age*. University of Aarhus: Department of Aesthetics and Communication: Media Studies.

Hjort, Mette. 2000a. 'Themes of Nation'. In *Cinema and Nation*, edited by Mette Hjort and Scott MacKenzie, 95–110. London: Routledge.

———. 2000b. 'What's so Funny?: Reflections on Jokes and Short Films'. *P.o.v. A Danish Journal of Film Studies*, no. 9 (March): 81–94.

———. 2005. *Small Nation, Global Cinema: The New Danish Cinema*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

———. 2006. 'Gifts, Games, and Cheek: Counter-Globalisation in a Privileged Small-Nation Context. The Case of The Five Obstructions'. In *Northern Constellations: New Readings in Nordic Cinema*, edited by C. Claire Thomson, 111–29. Norvik Press Series A, no. 26. Norwich: Norvik Press.

———. 2007. 'Denmark'. In *The Cinema of Small Nations*, edited by Mette Hjort and Duncan Petrie, 23–42. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

———. 2009. 'On the Plurality of Cinematic Transnationalism'. In *World Cinemas, Transnational Perspectives*, edited by Nataša Ďurovičová and Kathleen Newman, 12–33. New York; London: Routledge.

———. 2010a. 'Affinitive and Milieu-Building Transnationalism: The Advance Party Initiative'. In *Cinema at the Periphery*, edited by Dina Iordanova, David Martin-Jones, and Belén Vidal, 46–66. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

———. 2010b. *Lone Scherfig's Italian for Beginners*. Nordic Film Classics. Seattle : Copenhagen: University of Washington Press ; Museum Tusculanum Press.

———. 2010c. 'Small Cinemas: How They Thrive and Why They Matter'. *Mediascape*. http://www.tft.ucla.edu/mediascape/Winter2011_SmallCinemas.html.

———. 2012. 'Introduction: The Film Phenomenon and How Risk Pervades It'. In *Film and Risk*, edited by Mette Hjort, 1–32. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

———. 2013a. 'Art and Networks: The National Film School of Denmark's "Middle East Project"'. In *The Education of the Filmmaker in Africa, the Middle East, and the Americas*, edited by Mette Hjort, 125–50. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

———. 2013b. 'More Than Film School—Why the Full Spectrum of Practice-Based Film Education Warrants Attention'. In *The Education of the Filmmaker in Europe, Australia, and Asia*, edited by Mette Hjort, 1–22. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hjort, Mette, Ib Bondebjerg, and Eva Novrup Redvall, eds. 2014. *The Danish Directors 3: Dialogues on the New Danish Documentary Cinema*. Translated by Mette Hjort. Bristol: Intellect.

Hjort, Mette, Eva Jørholt, and Eva Novrup Redvall, eds. 2010. *The Danish Directors 2: Dialogues on the New Danish Fiction Cinema*. Bristol: Intellect.

Hjort, Mette, and Scott MacKenzie, eds. 2003. *Purity and Provocation: Dogma 95*. London: BFI Pub.

Hjort, Mette, and Duncan Petrie. 2007. 'Introduction'. In *The Cinema of Small Nations*, edited by Mette Hjort and Duncan Petrie, 1–19. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Høgel, Jakob Kirstein. 2014. 'Hvad dælen dansk film?' In *Rammer*, 2–7. 10 år med New Danish Screen. Copenhagen: Det Dansk Filminstitut.

Hørsman, Annemarie. 2005. 'Dreyer Prisen til Max Kestner'. *Filmmagasinet Ekko*. February 7. http://www.ekkofilm.dk/artikler/dreyer-prisen-til-max-kestner/.

Hospers, Gert-Jan. 2006. 'Borders, Bridges and Branding: The Transformation of the Øresund Region into an Imagined Space'. *European Planning Studies* 14 (8): 1015–33. doi:10.1080/09654310600852340.

Howe, Jeremy. 2004. 'Shorts and the Real World — the Relationship between the Short and the Feature Film'. *Journal of Media Practice* 4 (3): 177–80. doi:10.1386/jmpr.4.3.177/0.

Hroch, Miroslav. 1985. *The Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Huyssen, Andreas. 2003. *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*. Cultural Memory in the Present. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

Ingebritsen, Christine. 1998. *The Nordic States and European Unity*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Interreg IVA. 2014. 'Programme Priorities'. *Interreg IVA: Öresund - Kattegat - Skaggerak*. http://www.interreg-oks.eu/en/Menu/About+the+programme/Programme+priorities.

Iordanova, Dina, David Martin-Jones, and Belén Vidal, eds. 2010. 'Introduction: A Peripheral View of World Cinema'. In *Cinema at the Periphery*, 1–45. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

Jameson, A. D. 2013. 'Are Animated Gifs a Type of Cinema?' *Indiewire*. April 17. http://blogs.indiewire.com/pressplay/are-animated-gifs-a-type-of-cinema.

Jay, Martin. 1988. 'Scopic Regimes of Modernity'. In *Vision and Visuality*, edited by Hal Foster, 3–23. Seattle: Bay Press.

Jensen, Klaus Bruhn. 2008. 'Intermediality'. Edited by Wolfgang Donsbach. *The International Encyclopedia of Communication*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub.

Jerneck, Magnus. 2000. 'East Meets West. Cross-Border Co-Operation in the Öresund – a Successful Case of Transnational Region-Building?' In *Local*

and Regional Governance in Europe: Evidence from Nordic Regions, edited by Janerik Gidlund and Magnus Jerneck, 197–1230. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Johannesson, Gösta. 1977. *Skånes Historia*. Malmö: Signum.

Johannisson, Jenny. 2010. 'Making Geography Matter in Cultural Policy Research: The Case of Regional Cultural Policy in Sweden'. In *International Cultural Policies and Power*, edited by J. P. Singh, 127–39. International Political Economy Series. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Johansson, Jörgen. 2000. 'Regionalisation in Sweden'. In *Local and Regional Governance in Europe: Evidence from Nordic Regions*, edited by Janerik Gidlund and Magnus Jerneck, 125–59. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Johansson, Sara. 2006. 'Hyresgästerna stannar i Turning Torso'. *Kvällsposten*, October 9. http://www.expressen.se/kvp/hyresgasterna-stannar-i-turning-torso/.

Jørholt, Eva. 2001. '1930–39: Sol over Danmark'. In *100 års Dansk Film*, 90–91. København: Rosinante Forlag.

Juchno, Piotr, and Alexandros Bitoulas. 2015. 'Asylum Decisions in the EU: EU Member States Granted Protection to More than 185 000 Asylum Seekers in 2014'. 82/2015. Eurostat Press Office.

Kääpä, Pietari. 2014. *Ecology and Contemporary Nordic Cinemas: From Nation-Building to Ecocosmopolitanism*. London: Bloomsbury.

———. 2015. 'A Culture of Reciprocity: The Politics of Cultural Exchange in Contemporary Nordic Genre Film'. In *Nordic Genre Film: Small Nation Film Cultures in the Global Marketplace*, edited by Tommy Gustafsson and Pietari Kääpä, 244–61. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Kelly, J. P. 2011. 'Beyond the Broadcast Text: New Economies and Temporalities of Online TV'. In *Ephemeral Media: Transitory Screen Culture from Television to YouTube*, edited by Paul Grainge, 122–37. London: Palgrave Macmillan; BFI.

Kestner, Max. 2005. 'Jeg er en af dem, der tror, at sandheden er min'. *Filmmagasinet Ekko*, August 23. http://www.ekkofilm.dk/artikler/jeg-er-en-af-dem-der-tror-at-sandheden-er-min/.

———. 2011. *Copenhagen Dreams / Drømme i København [DVD]*. 35mm/HDCamSR/Digital Betacam. Denmark: Upfront Films.

Kestner, Max, and Ib Bondebjerg. 2014. 'Max Kestner'. In *The Danish Directors 3: Dialogues on the New Danish Documentary Cinema*, edited by Mette Hjort, Ib Bondebjerg, and Eva Novrup Redvall, translated by Mette Hjort, 163–80. Bristol: Intellect.

Kirkeby, Ole Fogh. 2000. 'Towards a Hermeneutics of Regions'. In *Invoking a Transnational Metropolis: The Making of the Øresund Region*, edited by Per Olof Berg, Anders Linde-Laursen, and Orvar Löfgren, 109–36. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Knegt, Peter. 2012. 'Emerging Danish Doc Filmmaker Daniel Dencik Wows at CPH:DOX With Two Startling Efforts'. *Indiewire*. November 15. http://www.indiewire.com/article/futures-emerging-danish-docmaker-daniel-dencik.

Knudsen, Britta Timm. 2006. 'Local Cinema: Indexical Realism and Thirdspace in Kestner's Blue Collar White Christmas'. In *Northern Constellations: New Readings in Nordic Cinema*, edited by C. Claire Thomson, 81–96. London: Norvik Press.

Koeck, Richard. 2013. *Cine-Scapes: Cinematic Spaces in Architecture and Cities*. New York: Routledge.

Kooliproduktion. 2006. 'Walrus'. http://www.valrossarna.filmen.nu.

Kosta, Barbara. 2010. 'Transcultural Space and Music: Fatih Akin's Crossing The Bridge: The Sound of Istanbul (2005)'. In *Spatial Turns: Space, Place, and Mobility in German Literary and Visual Culture*, edited by Jaimey Fisher and Barbara Caroline Mennel, 343–62. Amsterdamer Beiträge Zur Neueren Germanistik 75. Amsterdam ; New York: Rodopi.

Krems, Oliver. 1988. *Schwedische Filmpolitik Der Sechziger Bis Frühen Achtziger Jahre: Voraussetzungen, Inhalte Und Folgen Der Reformbestrebungen Seit 1963*. Bochum: Studienverlag Dr. N. Brockmeyer.

Krona, Michael. 2006. 'Filmfinansiering och regionalism – Wallanderprojektet på Österlen'. In *Solskenslandet: Svensk film på 2000-talet*, edited by Erik Hedling and Ann-Kristin Wallengren, 81–99. Stockholm: Atlantis.

KulturMetropolØresund. 2014. 'Vision Og Målsætning'. Accessed September 9. http://www.kulturmetropol.dk/side/vision-og-målsætning.

Kulturministeriet. 1989. *Forslag til Filmlov*.

———. 2010. 'Filmaftale 2011–2014'.

———. 2014. *Mediepolitisk Aftale for 2015–2018*.

Kultur Skåne. 2013. 'Regional Kulturplan För Skåne 2013 – 2015'. Region Skåne.

Laasby, Gitte. 2015. 'Frank Jensen vil indlemme Skåne i Storkøbenhavn'. *Ekstra Bladet*. March 6. http://ekstrabladet.dk/nyheder/samfund/frank-jensen-vil-indlemme-skaane-i-storkoebenhavn/5470155.

Lange, André, and Tim Westcott. 2004. 'Public Funding for Film and Audiovisual Works in Europe – A Comparative Approach'. Strasbourg: European Audiovisual Observatory.

Larsen, Lisbeth Richter. 2011. 'Kortfilmrådet (1965-1972)'. *DFI: Filminstitutionernes Historie*. November 11. http://www.dfi.dk/FaktaOmFilm/Filminstitutionernes-historie/Institutionerne/Kortfilmraadet.aspx.

Larsson, Mariah. 2010a. 'Art Cinema, Auteurs and the Art Cinema "Institution"'. In *Swedish Film: An Introduction and Reader*, edited by Mariah Larsson and Anders Marklund, 216–18. Lund: Nordic Academic Press.

———. 2010b. 'Changing Conditions for Auteurs after 1970'. In *Swedish Film: An Introduction and Reader*, edited by Mariah Larsson and Anders Marklund, 270–73. Lund: Nordic Academic Press.

Larsson, Tor. 2003. 'Cultural Policy in Sweden'. In *The Nordic Cultural Model*, edited by Peter Duelund, 181–251. Copenhagen: Nordic Cultural Institute.

Larsson, Tor, and Per Svenson. 2001. 'Cultural Policy in Sweden'. *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society* 31 (1): 79–96.

Lefebvre, Henri. 1991. *The Production of Space*. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

———. 2003. *The Urban Revolution*. Translated by Robert Bononno. Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press.

———. 2009. *Le droit à la ville*. Paris: Economica-Anthropos.

Leth, Asger, and Mette Hjort. 2014. 'Asger Leth'. In *The Danish Directors 3: Dialogues on the New Danish Documentary Cinema*, edited by Mette Hjort, Ib Bondebjerg, and Eva Novrup Redvall, translated by Mette Hjort, 225–42. Bristol: Intellect.

Lev, Peter. 1986. 'Regional Cinema and the Films of Texas'. *Journal of Film and Video* 38 (1): 60–65. doi:10.2307/20687708.

Linde-Laursen, Anders. 2010. *Bordering: Identity Processes Between the National and Personal*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Lisi, Jon. 2013. '10 Short Films You Should Watch Right Now'. *The Artifice*, July 20. http://the-artifice.com/10-short-films-you-should-watch-right-now/.

Livingston, Paisley. 2012. 'Spectatorship and Risk'. In *Film and Risk*, edited by Mette Hjort, 73–95. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

Löfgren, Emma. 2015. 'Swedes Riled as South Becomes "Danish" Again'. *The Local*. June 23. http://www.thelocal.se/20150623/will-southern-sweden-become-danish-again.

Löfgren, Orvar. 2000. 'Moving Metaphors'. In *Invoking a Transnational Metropolis: The Making of the Øresund Region*, edited by Per Olof Berg, Anders Linde-Laursen, and Orvar Löfgren, 27–53. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

———. 2002. 'The Nationalization of Anxiety: A History of Border Crossings'. In *The Postnational Self: Belonging and Identity*, edited by Ulf Hedetoft and Mette Hjort, 250–74. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

———. 2008. 'Regionauts: The Transformation of Cross-Border Regions in Scandinavia'. *European Urban and Regional Studies* 15 (3): 195–209.

Lovering, John. 1995. 'Creating Discourses rather than Jobs: The Crisis in the Cities and the Transition Fantasies of Intellectuals and Policy Makers'. In *Managing Cities: The New Urban Context*, edited by Patsy Healey, Stuart Cameron, Simin Davoudi, Stephen Graham, and Ali Madani-Pour, 109–26. Chichester: Wiley.

Lov om Biografteatervæsenets Ordning. 1933. http://www.dfi.dk/~/media/Sektioner/Filminstitutionernes%20historie/love/1933-biograflov.ashx.

Majoor, Stan. 2008. *Disconnected Innovations: New Urbanity in Large-Scale Development Projects: Zuidas Amsterdam, Ørestad Copenhagen and Forum Barcelona*. Delft: Eburon.

Malmö Turism. 2015. 'Welcome to Malmö 2015: To Do, to Eat, to Sleep'. Malmö Turism. http://www.malmotown.com/b2b/article/agent-manual/.

Marks, Laura U. 2000. *The Skin of the Film: Intercultural Cinema, Embodiment, and the Senses*. Durham: Duke University Press.

———. 2002. *Touch: Sensuous Theory and Multisensory Media*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Marlow-Mann, Alex. 2011. *The New Neapolitan Cinema*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Massey, Doreen B. 2005. *For Space*. London: SAGE.

Mathieu, Chris. 2013. 'En Förstudie Om Behovet Av En Strategi För Det Regionala Filmområdet I Skåne'. Lund: Sociologiska institutionen, Lunds universitet. http://www.skane.se/Public/Kultur/Utredningar%20och%20rapporter/Forstudie_filmstrategi_2013.pdf.

Mathieu, Chris, and Marianne Bertelsen. 2012. 'The Complications of Exclusive Elite Education on Career Entry and Development – A Cohort Study of the National Film School of Denmark'. In *Nordic Working Life Conference*. Elsinore, Denmark. http://www.sfi.dk/Admin/Public/Download.aspx?file=Files%2FFiler%2FNordic+working+life+conference+2012%2FAgony+and+Ecstasy%2FMathieu_Bertelsen_shart_paper.pdf.

Matthiessen, Christian Wichmann, and Marianne Worm, eds. 2011. *The Fehmarnbelt Fixed Link: Regional Development Perspectives*. Copenhagen: Syddansk Universitetsforlag.

McCabe, Janet, and Kim Akass, eds. 2007. *Quality TV: Contemporary American Television and beyond*. London: IB Tauris.

McIntyre, Steve. 1985. 'National Film Cultures: Politics and Peripheries'. *Screen* 26 (1): 66–76.

———. 1996. 'Art and Industry: Regional Film and Video Policy in the UK'. In *Film Policy: International, National and Regional Perspectives*, edited by Albert Moran, 215–33. London: Routledge.

Melin, Anders. 2013. *Living with Other Beings: A Virtue-Oriented Approach to the Ethics of Species Protection.* Studies in Religion and the Environment / Studien Zur Religion Und Umwelt 9. Zürich; Berlin: Lit Verlag.

Michalski, Jennifer. 2014. 'The Most Expensive Music Videos Of All Time'. *Business Insider.* January 20. http://www.businessinsider.com/most-expensive-music-videos-2014-1.

Midgley, Neil. 2014. 'How British Television Fell under the Spell of Nordic Noir'. *The Telegraph*, March 28. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/tvandradio/tv-and-radio-reviews/10724864/How-British-television-fell-under-the-spell-of-Nordic-noirThe-Tu.html.

Ministry of Culture, Sweden. 2013. 'The 2013 Film Agreement'. Stockholm: Regeringskansliet.

Mitchell, Wendy. 2014. 'Is There Enough "Art" in Danish Film?' *Screen International*, April. http://www.screendaily.com/territories/europe/is-there-enough-art-in-danish-film/5070651.article.

Mittell, Jason. 2015. *Complex TV: The Poetics of Contemporary Television Storytelling.* New York: New York University Press.

Moran, Albert. 1996. 'Terms for a Reader: Film, Hollywood, National Cinema, Cultural Identity and Film Policy'. In *Film Policy: International, National and Regional Perspectives*, edited by Albert Moran, 1–19. London: Routledge.

Morley, David, and Kevin Robins. 1995. *Spaces of Identity: Global Media, Electronic Landscapes and Cultural Boundaries.* The International Library of Sociology. London ; New York: Routledge.

Myndigheten för kulturanalys. 2012. 'Samhällets Utgifter För Kultur 2010–2011'. 1. Kulturfakta. Stockholm. http://www.kulturanalys.se/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/Samhallets_utgifter_for_kultur_2010-2011.pdf.

Myrup, Astrid. 2014. 'Ekstra bevilling til Copenhagen Film Fund'. *KulturMetropolØresund.* January 23. http://www.kulturmetropol.dk/artikel/ekstra-bevilling-til-copenhagen-film-fund#.VAzYeEsQd4V.

Naficy, Hamid. 2001. *An Accented Cinema: Exilic and Diasporic Filmmaking.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Nauwelaers, Claire, Karen Maguire, and Giulia Ajmone Marsan. 2013. 'The Case of Oresund (Denmark-Sweden) – Regions and Innovation: Collaborating Across Borders'. OECD Regional Development Working Papers 2013/21. Paris: OECD Publishing. http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/urban-rural-and-regional-development/the-case-of-oresund-denmark-sweden-regions-and-innovation-collaborating-across-borders_5k3xv0lk8knn-en.

Nestingen, Andrew. 2008. *Crime and Fantasy in Scandinavia: Fiction, Film, and Social Change.* Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Nestingen, Andrew, and Trevor G. Elkington. 2005. *Transnational Cinema in a Global North: Nordic Cinema in Transition.* Contemporary Approaches to Film and Television Series. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

News Øresund. 2014. 'Ny Pott Ska Locka Storfilmer till Skåne Och Köpenhamn'. *News Øresund.* April 22. http://www.newsoresund.se/ny-filmpott-ska-locka-storproduktioner-till-skane-och-kopenhamn/.

Nichols, Bill. 2001. *Introduction to Documentary.* Bloomington, Ind: Indiana University Press.

Nielsen, Henrik Bo. 2010. 'Set Film Free'. *Danish Film Institute.* February 15. http://www.dfi.dk/service/english/news-and-publications/news/set-film-free.aspx.

Nilsson, Fredrik. 2000. 'Insiders and Outsiders'. In *Invoking a Transnational Metropolis: The Making of the Øresund Region*, edited by Per Olof Berg, Anders Linde-Laursen, and Orvar Löfgren, 191–210. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Nimbus Film. 2013. *The Bridge Season II - behind the Scenes*. YouTube video. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BA_Q4I9Swlo.

Nordic Noir Tours. 2014. 'The Dark Side of Copenhagen'. *The Killing/The Bridge*. http://nordicnoirtours.com/tours/killing-bridge/.

Nordicom. 2014. 'Gender Balance in the Film Industry'. Gothenburg: Nordic Gender & Media Forum.

Nordisk Film & TV Fond. 2011. 'Danes And Swedes Share Crime Thrill With New Bridge On Air'. September 23. http://www.nordiskfilmogtvfond.com/index.php/news/stories/danes-and-swedes-share-crime-thrill-with-new-bridge-on-air/.

Nørrestad, Carl, and Christian Alsted. 1987. 'English Summary'. In *Kortfilmen og Staten*, edited by Carl Nørrestad and Christian Alsted, translated by Lise Jørgensen, 656–83. København: Eventus.

O'Dell, Tom. 2000. 'Traversing the Transnational'. In *Invoking a Transnational Metropolis: The Making of the Øresund Region*, edited by Per Olof Berg, Anders Linde-Laursen, and Orvar Löfgren, 231–54. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

———. 2003. 'Øresund and the Regionauts'. In *Culture and Cooperation in Europe's Borderlands*, edited by James Anderson, Liam O'Dowd, and Thomas M. Wilson, 19:31–54. European Studies: An Interdisciplinary Series in European Culture, History and Politics. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

———. 2011. 'Mobility and the Stitching Together of Everyday Life Experiences in the Oresund Region'. In *Spatial and Temporal Modalities of Everyday Integration*, edited by Mark Vacher, Tom O'Dell, and Laura Schollert Hvalsum, 13–22. Lund; Copenhagen: Institutionen för kulturvetenskaper, Lunds Universitet & SAXO-Instituttet, Københavns Universitet.

OECD. 2011. *Öresund, Denmark/Sweden*. Territorial Reviews. Paris: OECD Publications.

Olsen, Jesper. 2014. 'Daniel Dencik vinder Nordisk Film Prisen'. *Filmmagasinet Ekko*. April 2. http://www.ekkofilm.dk/artikler/daniel-dencik-vinder-nordisk-film-prisen/.

Olsson, Jan, and Joachim Åström. 2003. 'Why Regionalism in Sweden?' *Regional & Federal Studies* 13 (3): 66–89. doi:10.1080/13597560308559435.

Örestat. 2015. 'Population'. *Öresundsdatabasen*. Accessed September 3. http://www.orestat.se/en/oresundsdatabasen-engelsk.

Øresundsbro Konsortiet. 2010. '10 Years: The Øresund Bridge and Its Region'. Copenhagen, Malmö: Øresundsbro Konsortiet.

———. 2015. 'The Øresund Bridge and Its Region: 15 Years'. Copenhagen, Malmö: Øresundsbro Konsortiet.

Öresundskomiteen. 2015. 'Öresundskomiteens Integrationindeks, Juni 2015'. 4. Öresundsperspektiv. København: Öresundskomiteen.

Østergaard, Anders Høgsbro, and Ib Bondebjerg. 2014. 'Anders Høgsbro Østergaard'. In *The Danish Directors 3: Dialogues on the New Danish Documentary Cinema*, edited by Mette Hjort, Ib Bondebjerg, and Eva Novrup Redvall, translated by Mette Hjort. Bristol: Intellect.

Østergaard-Nielsen, Eva. 2003. 'Counting the Costs: Denmark's Changing Migration Policies'. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 27 (2): 448–54. doi:10.1111/1468-2427.00457.

Paasi, Anssi. 2003. 'Region and Place: Regional Identity in Question'. *Progress in Human Geography* 27 (4): 475–85. doi:10.1191/0309132503ph439pr.

Papathanassopoulos, Stylianos, and Ralph M. Negrine. 2011. *European Media: Structures, Politics and Identity*. Global Media and Communication. Cambridge: Polity.

Paulsson, Gunnar S. 1995. 'The "Bridge over the Øresund": The Historiography on the Expulsion of the Jews from Nazi-Occupied Denmark'. *Journal of Contemporary History* 30: 431–64.

Pedersen, Søren Buhl. 2004. 'Place Branding: Giving the Region of Øresund a Competitive Edge'. *Journal of Urban Technology* 11 (1): 77–95. doi:10.1080/1063073042000341998.

Perkins, Claire, and Constantine Verevis. 2012. 'Introduction: Three Times'. In *Film Trilogies: New Critical Approaches*, edited by Claire Perkins and Constantine Verevis, 1–31. Palgrave Macmillan.

Petrić, Vlada. 1987. *Constructivism in Film*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Petrie, Duncan J, and Rod Stoneman. 2014. *Educating Film-Makers: Past, Present and Future*. Bristol: Intellect.

Ponzini, Davide, and Michele Natasi. 2011. *Starchitecture: Scenes, Actors and Spectacles in Contemporary Cities*. Turin: Allemandi.

Poulsen, Henrik. 2004. *Den korte film*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal i samarbejde med Det Danske Filminstitut.

Povlsen, Karen Klitgaard. 2011. 'Gender and Geography in Contemporary Scandinavian Television Crime Fiction'. In *Scandinavian Crime Fiction*, edited by Andrew Nestingen and Paula Arvas, 89–99. European Crime Fictions. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Qvist, Bella. 2015. 'Sorry, Denmark, We Swedes Won't Give You Back Skåne That Easily'. *The Guardian*, March 6, sec. Comment is free. http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/mar/06/denmark-swedes-skane-greater-copenhagen.

Raggett, Ned. 2012. 'Jóhann Jóhannsson: Copenhagen Dreams'. *Pitchfork*. August 6. http://pitchfork.com/reviews/albums/16960-copenhagen-dreams/.

Rancière, Jacques. 2007. *The Future of the Image*. London: Verso.

Raskin, Richard. 2002. *The Art of the Short Fiction Film: A Shot by Shot Study of Nine Modern Classics*. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc.

———. 2010. 'Editor's Introduction'. *Short Film Studies* 1 (1): 3–4. doi:10.1386/sfs.1.1.3_2.

———. 2014. 'On Short Film Storytelling'. *Journal of Scandinavian Cinema* 4 (1): 29–34. doi:10.1386/jsca.4.1.29_1.

Rasmussen, Nanna Frank. 2010. 'Drømme i København'. *Jyllands Posten*. January 6. http://jyllands-posten.dk/kultur/film/ECE4285764/Drømme+i+København/.

Rea, Peter W., and David K. Irving. 2010. *Producing and Directing the Short Film and Video*. 4th ed. Burlington, Massachusetts: Focal Press.

Redvall, Eva Novrup. 2012. 'Encouraging Artistic Risk Taking through Film Policy: The Case of New Danish Screen'. In *Film and Risk*, edited by Mette Hjort, 209–26. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

———. 2013. *Writing and Producing Television Drama in Denmark: From The Kingdom to The Killing*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Region Skåne. 2013. 'Kulturnämnden Verksamhetsplan och Budget 2014'.

———. 2015. 'Strategi för film och rörlig bild 2015–2020'. Region Skåne.

Reimer, Maria Hellström. 2009. 'Awaiting the Voice-over: The Öresund Film Commission Location Database and the Mediatization of the Architectural Landscape'. In *Curating Architecture and the City*, edited by Sarah Chaplin

and Alexandra Stara, 62–77. AHRA Critiques. London ; New York: Routledge.

Rifkin, Jeremy. 2000. *The Age of Access: The New Culture of Hypercapitalism Where All of Life Is a Paid-For Experience*. New York: J.P. Tarcher/Putnam.

Riis, Johannes. 1998. 'Toward a Poetics of the Short Film'. *P.o.v. A Danish Journal of Film Studies*, no. 5 (March). http://pov.imv.au.dk/Issue_05/section_4/artc1A.html.

Roman, Shari. 2001. *Digital Babylon: Hollywood, Indiewood & Dogme 95*. Los Angeles : [Lanham, MD]: IFILM ; Distributed to the trade by National Book Network.

Rooth, Paula. 2013. 'Malmös Bästa Badläge är Bara För Män'. *Skånes Fria*. September 12. http://www.skanesfria.se/artikel/96219.

Roscoe, Jane, and Craig Hight. 2001. *Faking It: Mock-Documentary and the Subversion of Factuality*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Rose, Gillian. 1995. 'Place and Identity: A Sense of Place'. In *A Place in the World? Places, Cultures and Globalization*, edited by Doreen Massey and Pat Jess, 87–132. The Shape of the World 4. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rosenberg, Frida. 2006. 'The Turning Torso: Dices of European Imposition'. *Retrospecta* 05/06.

Rosenfeldt, Hans. 2014. 'The Bridge: Writing My Favourite Scenes'. *BBC - TV Blog*. January 24. http://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/tv/posts/The-Bridge.

Rose, Steve. 2005. 'Swede Dreams'. *The Guardian*, August 29, sec. Art and design. http://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2005/aug/29/architecture.

Rustad, Gry Cecilie. 2015. 'Mapping Scandinavian Quality TV'. In *Nordmedia 2015: Media Presence – Mobile Modernities*. Copenhagen. http://www.academia.edu/14199152/Mapping_Scandinavian_quality_TV.

Säfström, Orvar. 2009. 'Interview with Director Fredrik Gertten'. *BANANAS!**. May 5. http://www.bananasthemovie.com/interview-with-director-fredrik-gertten.

Sandvik, Kjetil. 2010. 'Crime Scenes as Augmented Reality: Models for Enhancing Places Emotionally by Means of Narratives, Fictions and Virtual Reality'. In *Re-Investing Authenticity: Tourism, Place and Emotions*, edited by Britta Timm Knudsen and Anne Marit Waade, 138–53. Tourism and Cultural Change. Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Sassen, Saskia. 2003. 'Reading the City in a Global Digital Age: Between Topographic Representation and Spatialized Power Projects'. In *Global Cities: Cinema, Architecture, and Urbanism in a Digital Age*, edited by Linda Krause and Patrice Petro, 15–30. New Directions in International Studies. New Brunswick, N.J: Rutgers University Press.

Schepelern, Peter. 2005. 'Dreyer Prisen til Max Kestner'. *Filmmagasinet Ekko*, February 7. http://www.ekkofilm.dk/artikler/dreyer-prisen-til-max-kestner/.

———. 2009. 'Danmarksfilm'. *Den Store Danske*. http://www.denstoredanske.dk/Kunst_og_kultur/Film/Filmgenrer_og_-perioder/Danmarksfilm.

———. 2010. 'Danish Film History 1896–2009'. Translated by Daniel Sanders. *Danish Film Institute*. April. http://www.dfi.dk/Service/English/Films-and-industry/Danish-Film-History/Danish-Film-History-1896-2009.aspx.

Scherfig, Nikolaj. 2012. 'Broen til suksess'. *Rushprint*. December 6. http://rushprint.no/2012/12/broen-til-suksess/.

Scott, James Wesley, and Kimberly Collins. 1997. 'Inducing Transboundary Regionalism in Asymmetric Situations: The Case of the German-Polish Border'. *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 12 (1-2): 97–121. doi:10.1080/08865655.1997.9695500.

Sedgwick, John, and Michael Pokorny. 1998. 'The Risk Environment of Filmmaking: Warner in the Inter-War Period'. *Explorations in Economic History* 35 (2): 196–220.

———. 2010. 'Consumers as Risk Takers: Evidence from the Film Industry During the 1930s'. *Business History* 52 (1): 74–99.

———. 2012. 'Film Consumer Decision-Making: The Philadelphia Story, 1935-36'. *Journal of Consumer Culture* 12 (3): 323–46.

Simmel, Georg. 1903. 'Die geistige bedeutung der grossstädte'. In *Die Grossstadt. Vorträge und Aufsätze zur Städteausstellung*, edited by Theodore Petermann, 185–206. Dresden: Von Zahn & Jänsch.

———. 1994. 'Bridge and Door'. *Theory, Culture & Society* 11 (1): 5–10. doi:10.1177/026327694011001002.

Simons, Jan. 2007. *Playing the Waves: Lars von Trier's Game Cinema*. Film Culture in Transition. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Skanska AB. 2009. 'Øresund Bridge, Sweden and Denmark'. Skanska AB. http://skanska-sustainability-case-studies.com/pdfs/49/49_Oresund_v001.pdf.

Skotte, Kim. 2006. 'New Danish Screen'. *FILM*, May.

———. 2009. 'Cool Copenhagen'. *FILM*, December 10. http://www.dfi.dk/Service/English/News-and-publications/FILM-Magazine/Artikler-fra-tidsskriftet-FILM/67/Cool-Copenhagen.aspx.

Söelund, Emilia. 2013. 'Sofia Helin: Back at the Scene of the Crime'. *Øresund Magazine*.

Soila, Tytti. 1998. 'Sweden'. In *Nordic National Cinemas*, edited by Tytti Soila, Astrid Söderbergh Widding, and Gunnar Iversen, 142–232. London: Routledge.

Soja, Edward W. 1996. *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers.

Sörenson, Elisabeth. 1996. 'Film Culture in Sweden: Who Does What to Promote It'. In *Swedish Film Today*, edited by Francesco Bono and Maaret Koskinen, 85–102. Stockholm: Svenska Institutet.

Statens Offentliga Utredningar. 1995. 'Regional Framtid'. SOU 1995. Stockholm.

Steiner, Ann. 2010. 'Town Called Malmö: Nostalgia and Urban Anxiety in Literature from the 1990s and 2000s'. In *Regional Aesthetics: Locating Swedish Media*, edited by Erik Hedling, Olof Hedling, and Mats Jönsson, 359–76. Mediehistoriskt Arkiv 15. Stockholm: Kungliga Biblioteket.

Stenport, Anna Westerståhl. 2013. '"We Train Auteurs": Education, Decentralization, Regional Funding, and Niche Marketing in the New Swedish Cinema'. In *The Education of the Filmmaker in Europe, Australia, and Asia*, edited by Mette Hjort, 85–104. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Stevenson, Jack. 2003. *Dogme Uncut: Lars von Trier, Thomas Vinterburg, and the Gang That Took on Hollywood*. Santa Monica, CA: Santa Monica Press.

Stræde, Therkel. 2010. *October 1943: The Rescue of the Danish Jews from Annihilation*. Copenhagen: The Royal Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and The Museum of Danish Resistance. http://www.natmus.dk/fileadmin/user_upload/natmus/frihedsmuseet/October_1943_The_Rescue_of_the_Danish_Jews_from_Annihilation.pdf.

Strandvad, Sara Malou. 2009. 'New Danish Screen – an Organizational Facilitation of Creative Initiatives: Gatekeeping and beyond'. *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 15 (1): 107–21. doi:10.1080/10286630802682243.

STRING. 2015a. 'STRING Network'. Accessed September 2. http://www.stringnetwork.org/.

———. 2015b. 'STRING Region Short Film Competition'. Accessed September 2. http://string-shortfilm.eu/.

Sundholm, John, Isak Thorsen, Lars Gustaf Andersson, Olof Hedling, Gunnar
	Iversen, and Birgir Thor Møller. 2012. *Historical Dictionary of Scandinavian
	Cinema*. Lanham, Maryland; Plymouth: Scarecrow Press.

Svenska Filminstitutet. 2014a. '2014 Filmåret i siffror / Facts and Figures'.
	Stockholm: Swedish Film Institute.

———. 2014b. 'Moving Sweden'. *Produktionsstöd*. September 5.
	/sv/varastod/Produktionsstod/Moving-Sweden/.

———. 2014c. 'Stöd till spridning av svensk kortfilm'. *Distributionsstöd*. October 2.
	http://sfi.se/sv/varastod/Distributionsstod/Spridning/.

Svensson, Gunilla. 2005. 'Högt och tomt'. *Arkitektur: The Swedish Review of
	Architecture* 105 (8): 39.

Sveriges Television. 2012. 'The Broadcasting Charter'. October 3.
	http://www.svt.se/aboutsvt/the-broadcasting-charter.

Tangkjær, Christian. 1999. 'Performing a Transnational Region: The Importance of
	"Open House Strategy"'. In *Managing the Big City*. Göteborg University.
	http://openarchive.cbs.dk/bitstream/handle/10398/6352/wp899.pdf.

Taylor, Charles. 2004. *Modern Social Imaginaries*. Public Planet Books. Durham:
	Duke University Press.

Thacker, Andrew. 2003. *Moving through Modernity: Space and Geography in
	Modernism*. Manchester ; New York : New York: Manchester University
	Press ; Distributed exclusively in the U.S.A. by Palgrave.

Thomson, C. Claire. Forthcoming. *Short Films from a Small Nation*.

———. 2014. *Thomas Vinterberg's Festen (The Celebration)*. Copenhagen:
	Museum Tusculanum Press.

———. 2015. 'History Unmade: Dreyer's Unrealised Mary, Queen of Scots'.
	Kosmorama: Tidsskrift for Filmkunst Og Filmkultur, no. 260 (July).

———. 2016. '"Education, Enlightenment, and General Propaganda": Dansk
	Kulturfilm and Carl Th. Dreyer's Short Films'. In *Companion to Nordic
	Cinema*, edited by Mette Hjort and Ursula Lindqvist. London: Blackwell.

Thornham, Sue, and Tony Purvis. 2005. 'Approaches to Television Drama'. In
	Television Drama: Theories and Identities, edited by Sue Thornham and
	Tony Purvis. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Tincknell, Estella. 2006. 'The Soundtrack Movie, Nostalgia and Consumption'. In
	Film's Musical Moments, edited by Ian Conrich and Estella Tincknell, 132–
	45. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Tøjner, Poul Erik, and Kjeld Vindum. 1999. *Arne Jacobsen: Architect & Designer*.
	Translated by Ida Mackintosh. Copenhagen: Danish Design Centre.

Traynor, Ian. 2010. 'Sweden Joins Europe-Wide Backlash against Immigration'. *The
	Guardian*, September 24.
	http://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/sep/24/sweden-immigration-far-
	right-asylum.

Tuan, Yi-Fu. 1977. *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis,
	Minn.: Univ. of Minnesota Press.

Turvey, Malcolm. 2011. *The Filming of Modern Life: European Avant-Garde Film of
	the 1920s*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Uricchio, William. 2004. 'Storage, Simultaneity, and the Media Technologies of
	Modernity'. In *Allegories of Communication: Intermedial Concerns from
	Cinema to the Digital*, edited by Jan Olsson and John Fullerton, 123–38.
	Eastleigh: John Libbey.

———. 2011. 'The Recurrent, the Recombinatory and the Ephemeral'. In
	Ephemeral Media: Transitory Screen Culture from Television to YouTube,
	edited by Paul Grainge, 23–36. London: Palgrave Macmillan; BFI.

Verhoeff, Nanna. 2012. *Mobile Screens: The Visual Regime of Navigation*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Vesterlund, Per. 2013. 'Vägen till filmavtalet – Harry Scheins filmpolitiska aktivitet innan 1963'. *Nordisk kulturpolitisk tidskrift* 16 (1): 45–67.

Vidler, Anthony. 2011. 'Photourbanism: Planning the City from above and from below'. In *The New Blackwell Companion to the City*, edited by Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, 656–66. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/9781444395105.ch57.

Virilio, Paul. 1994. *The Vision Machine*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Waade, Anne Marit, and Pia Majbritt Jensen. 2013. 'Nordic Noir Production Values: The Killing and The Bridge'. *Akademisk Kvarter: Tidsskrift for Humanistisk Forskning* 7: 189–201.

Walsh, Mike. 1998. 'Review: Film Policy: International, National and Regional Perspectives by Albert Moran'. *Film Quarterly* 52 (2): 50–51. doi:10.2307/1213275.

Wasson, Haidee, and Charles R. Acland. 2011. 'Introduction: Utility and Cinema'. In *Useful Cinema*, edited by Haidee Wasson and Charles R. Acland, 1–14. Durham & London: Duke University Press.

Webb, Lawrence. 2014. 'Remapping The Conversation: Urban Design and Industrial Reflexivity in Seventies San Francisco'. *Post45*, June. http://post45.research.yale.edu/2014/06/remapping-the-conversation-urban-design-and-industrial-reflexivity-in-seventies-san-francisco/.

Weissmann, Elke. 2012. *Transnational Television Drama: Special Relations and Mutual Influence between the US and UK*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wenande, Christian. 2013. 'Øresund Integration Continues to Fall'. *The Copenhagen Post*, June 18. http://cphpost.dk/news/oeresund-integration-continues-to-fall.5637.html.

Westin, Charles. 2006. 'Sweden: Restrictive Immigration Policy and Multiculturalism'. *Migration Policy Institute*. June 1. http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/sweden-restrictive-immigration-policy-and-multiculturalism/.

WG Film. 2009. 'BANANAS!* - Why the Asterisk?' *BANANAS!*. May 4. http://www.bananasthemovie.com/bananas-engine.

———. 2015. 'This Is WG Film'. Accessed July 29. http://www.wgfilm.com/english/WGfilm_english/.

Wiedemann, Vinca. 2009. 'The Art of Individual Decision Making: A Competency Development Report for Nordic Film Commissioners'. Nordisk Film & TV Fond.

Willemen, Paul. 1994. *Looks and Frictions: Essays in Cultural Studies and Film Theory*. Bloomington; London: Indiana university press ; British film institute.

Zhang, Yingjin. 2010. *Cinema, Space, and Polylocality in a Globalizing China*. Critical Interventions. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.