# Scenes from an Audience

## The auteur and the film text in audience experiences: Ingmar Bergman – a case study

For my family,
may we continue to inspire each other.

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# Acknowledgments

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Abstract

# English

Over the last decades, the new cinema history (NCH) strand has developed within film studies. This new strand moves away from the traditional focus on film texts and instead focuses on cinemagoing as social and cultural phenomenon, and the cinema as a social institution. Although identifying with this strand, the central claim of this doctoral dissertation is that the radical move away from film texts and authors has obscured their relevance in audience experiences within NCH studies. Using the case of Swedish film director Ingmar Bergman, this dissertation first aims to re-integrate the text and auteur into historical reception studies. Second, making use of audience interviews, the aim is to re-write Bergman's canonical position through these audience accounts.

Following Staiger (1992; 2000), the auteur is considered to be context-dependent, where societal discourses give rise to specific reception conditions and interpretations. Staiger further claims that the text is important in that it provides "sense-data", but remains rather vague on this point. In this dissertation, the text will be taken into account through the concept of cueing: how certain formal characteristics likely give rise to particular interpretations.

The audience interviews were conducted in Sweden and Belgium. Kuhn's work on cinema memory (e.g. 2002) is crucial here. These interviews are triangulated with archival research and textual analysis. The consequences of the comparative setup, Sweden vs. Belgium, is critically considered in the empirical chapter.

Key findings are that Bergman's unusual love life and his own persona-building are crucial in the reception of his films. The different national contexts play a role in how participants identify with both the auteur Bergman and the characters in his films. Sweden as a socio-cultural construct returns throughout participants' accounts, illustrating that "place" is relevant to cinema memory in other ways as well. Via the case study on Bergman's *Scenes from a Marriage* (1973), the dissertation illustrates how audience conceptions of heterosexual love (and marriage) play a fundamental role in the emotional experience of the series/film, and in the memories of that experience too.

Considering historical film reception as a complex phenomenon, this dissertation provides a more comprehensive approach to that reception by considering the text and the auteur alongside NCH's traditional focus on context.

# Dutch

*New cinema history* (NCH) is de laatste jaren als nieuw domein binnen de filmstudies opgekomen. Waar eerder de nadruk vooral lag op film als tekst, gaat de aandacht nu meer naar het bioscoopbezoek als ervaring, met focus op de sociale en culturele dimensies ervan, en ruimer, naar cinema als instituut. Als meest belangrijke auteurs - voor mijn eigen onderzoek maar ook het domein in het algemeen - volg ik vooral Janet Staiger en Annette Kuhn.

Het centrale argument van dit doctoraal proefschrift is dat deze radicale breuk met filmstudies niet alleen is onderbelicht, maar soms zelfs weerzin opwekt tegenover film als tekst binnen NCH. Daardoor is de tekst slechts marginaal of impliciet aanwezig binnen dit gebied. Desondanks kan duidelijk worden gesteld dat ook de tekst, en bij uitbreiding de maker ervan, invloed heeft op de cinema-ervaring van het publiek.

Dit beperkt zich niet tot de keuze van het publiek om een specifieke film te gaan bekijken. Ik toon aan dat de tekst ook cruciaal is in de emotionele ervaring van het publiek. In navolging van Staiger (1992; 2000), definieer ik zowel de interpretatie van de film als de auteur als context-georiënteerd. Dat wil zeggen dat discoursen die in de omringende maatschappij circuleren aanleiding geven tot bepaalde interpretaties. Staiger stelt ook dat de tekst van belang is in die zin dat er 'sense-data' wordt aangeboden aan het publiek. Zij onderzoekt dit verder niet. De tekst zelf zal in deze dissertatie worden onderzocht aan de hand van het concept *cueing*, of hoe het narratief en de *structure of sympathy* leidt tot bepaalde, waarschijnlijke, interpretaties.

Ik illustreer en beargumenteer dit in deze dissertatie aan de hand van de Zweedse filmregisseur en auteur Ingmar Bergman en zijn oeuvre. Het tweede doel van deze thesis is daaraan gerelateerd, met name de gecanoniseerde positie van Ingmar Bergman binnen de filmgeschiedenis te herschrijven aan de hand van historisch publieksonderzoek in België en Zweden.

Elk van de gebruikte methoden (archiefonderzoek, publieksonderzoek, en tekstanalyse) wordt uitvoerig besproken, evenals de vergelijkende dimensie van het onderzoek en de gevolgen daarvan. In het methodologische hoofdstuk worden België en Zweden vergeleken in termen van filmvertoning en van welke films van Bergman wanneer gescreend zijn.

In het eerste empirische hoofdstuk wordt aan de hand van uitgebreid archiefonderzoek de publieke persona van Bergman gereconstrueerd. Hierbij worden zowel Bergmans eigen geschriften als artikelen in de pers in overweging genomen. Vervolgens wordt dit getoetst aan het publiek en hun beeld van Bergman en zijn films. Zijn ongewone liefdesleven is essentieel in de paradoxale persona die het publiek van Bergman toepast in interpretaties. Het tweede empirische hoofdstuk onderzoekt hoe het publiek terugkijkt op de films en welke films er van belang waren. Er wordt gekeken naar de manier waarop de kijker zich heeft geïdentificeerd met deze films. Daarnaast wordt canonisering in rekening gebracht en

stel ik een nuance voor op Kuhns belangrijke typologie van *cinema memory*. Zweden als sociaal-cultureel construct is belangrijk in interpretaties door Belgen én Zweden, waarbij men heel vaak teruggrijpt naar stereotypen zoals het beeld van de Zweedse zomer. De identificatie met de films maar ook met de auteur verloopt voor beide landen geheel verschillend, afhankelijk van de informatie die aanwezig is in de context van de kijkers. Het laatste empirische hoofdstuk is een studie van *Scènes uit een Huwelijk*. Daarin belicht ik hoe deze serie/film past binnen de tijdsperiode van toen en hoe het publiek daarop terugkijkt vandaag. Meer specifiek bekijk ik hoe dominante en alternatieve ideeën rond liefde en seksualiteit een mogelijkse invloed hebben op de interpretatie en de herinnering aan de serie. De seksuele en vrouwenbevrijding keert terug doorheen deze hele analyse. De weinige participanten die een afwijkende visie hebben op liefde, herinneren zich andere elementen van de serie. Dit illustreert hoe de sociaal-culturele ontwikkeling van liefde als emotie in de maatschappij een fundamentele rol speelt in de emotionele beleving van de serie/film.

De beleving van het publiek is een complex gegeven dat vanuit een meervoudig perspectief dient bekeken te worden. Door aan te tonen dat de auteur Ingmar Bergman cruciaal is voor de receptie van zijn films, en dat ook de films zelf van belang zijn in de historische receptiesituatie, zet deze dissertatie de eerste aanzetten tot een zulke omvattende benadering tot historische publieken.

# Swedish

Under de senaste par årtiondena har *new cinema history* (NCH) utvecklats till ett nytt fält inom filmstudier. Där tidigare betoningen framförallt låg på filmen som text fokuseras och konceptualiseras inom NCH fenomenet "att gå på bio" som en social och kulturell händelse, samt biografen som en samhällelig institution. Till de mest framstående forskarna – både för avhandlingen och NCH-fältet – hör Janet Staiger och Annette Kuhn, vilka båda i avhandlingen behandlas i detalj.

Mitt huvudsakliga argument är att NCH's radikala avvikelse har inneburit en underexponering av både filmtextens och auteurens roll inom dess studier – samtidigt som dessa implicit alltid finns och förutsätts vara där. Jag argumenterar således för att text och filmskapare spelar roll för bio-upplevelsen. Texten är inte bara viktigt för att man väljer en specifik film, den är också viktig i hur den talar till publiken och påverkar deras känslomässiga upplevelse.

I denna avhandling konceptualiseras således både tolkning och filmskapare som kontext- och textberoende. Det vill säga att diskurser som cirkulerar i samhället ger upphov till vissa tolkningar. Staiger framför också att texten är viktig i den mån den ger 'sense-data' till publiken, dock utan att utforska detta vidare empiriskt. Filmtexten undersöks här med begreppet *cueing*, eller hur narrativen och *structure of sympathy* leder till troliga tolkningar. I detta sammanhang används Ingmar Bergman och några av hans filmer som fallstudium.

Det andra, relaterade syftet med avhandlingen är att skriva om Bergmans kanoniserade position inom filmstudier och filmhistoria med användning av historisk publikforskning. I detta sammanhang görs ett jämförande publikstudium genom intervjuer gjorda i Sverige och Belgien.

Projektet är således multi-metodologiskt och triangulerar arkivforskning, publikforskning och textanalys. Varje metod diskuteras grundligt, inklusive den jämförande dimensionen och konsekvenserna därav. I detta sammanhang jämförs även de svenska och belgiska premiär- och visningskulturerna.

I det första av avhandlingens tre empiriska kapitel konstrueras Ingmar Bergmans persona baserat på utförlig arkivforskning. Här används både hans egna skrifter och ett stort antal pressartiklar, som därefter jämförs med svaren från mina intervju-medverkande. Bergmans ovanliga kärleksliv, såsom det framställs i offentligheten, är essentiell i den paradoxala persona som publiken applicerar i tolkningarna av filmerna.
I det andra empiriska kapitlet undersöks hur de medverkande ser tillbaka på filmerna och vilka specifika filmer är viktiga för dem. Här undersöks också hur de identifierar sig med

filmerna eller/och använder dem för att skapa en egen identitet. Sverige som socio-kulturell konstruktion används av båda svenskar och belgare, en ofta förekommande stereotyp är den svenska sommaren. Identifikationen med filmerna och auteuren är olika för de olika länderna, beroende på informationen som är tillgänglig för åskadarna i den specifika kontexten. Till sist föreslår jag hur man kan nyansera Kuhns typologier inom *cinema memory*, baserat på mina egna resultat.

Det sista empiriska kapitlet undersöker *Scener ur ett äktenskap* (Ingmar Bergman, 1973) och hur denna teve-serie passar den samtid och det samhälle i vilket den tillkom samt även hur den relaterar det till de intervjuades/publikens minnen. Mer specifikt undersöker jag hur både dominanta och alternativa idéer kring kärlek, äktenskap och sexualitet har en möjlig påverkan på tolkningen och minnet av serien. Både kvinnors och den sexuella frigörelsen återkommer genom hela analysen. De få deltagare som hade en avvikande bild av kärlek minns andra saker från serien. Det visar hur den socio-kulturella utvecklingen av begreppet kärlek som känsla, och dess institutionalisering i äktenskapet, är avgörande för den känslomässiga upplevelsen av serien/filmen.

Publikens upplevelse är komplex och bör undersökas utifrån åtskilliga perspektiv. Genom att demonstrera att auteuren Ingmar Bergman är väsentlig för tolkningen och mottagandet av hans filmer, och att filmerna själv är viktiga inom den historiska mottagningen, tar avhandlingen ett första steg mot en mer omfattande konceptualisering av historiska publiker.

# Introduction

*There is a special feeling around* Sommaren med Monika*... The characters' freedom... to be one with nature and to dive naked into the sea... When I later had a life in the archipelago, I had these feelings. It was so natural, it felt as that what I had always longed for. Now that I think about it, it was* Sommaren med Monika *that it all started with.* – Bitti, female, b. 1942, Sweden

The above quote ties the strong Swedish cultural image of summer, freedom, and sexuality together with personal experiences and desires through the remembrance of Ingmar Bergman's *Sommaren med Monika* (1953)[1]. That cultural image here serves as a framework to evaluate emotions and personal life. In her personal life, the film and its images clearly have an emotional resonance. An image of personal liberation is intertwined with the film at the time of recollecting the memory, in turn affirming and re-affirming an ongoing influence. In that sense, the influence of Bergman and *Sommaren med Monika* is not only personal, but also canonical[2]. After all, *Sommaren med Monika* is one of the first feature films to show nudity to the degree that it did at the time, resulting in lots of commotion, and it is - perhaps therefore - one of the better known films by Bergman. Films undoubtedly leave imprints on people's mind and life, and so do filmmakers.

For too long, film history was "taken to mean the history of films" (Allen, 1990:347), while we know today that cinema is also a social and cultural institution, a place where people

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[1] Dutch and English titles can be found in *appendix 1: Filmography*, pp. 219-220

[2] Originating as a concept to describe a body of recognized religious texts, the canon is of societal and cultural importance: it supports "the creation of collective identities, the legitimization of political power, and the upholding or undermining of value systems" (Erll, 2011:75). Canons are not fixed; when a community changes, so also will its canon change. Canon here means that Bergman is regarded as an authority in film-making and that his films are a measurement for the quality of films.

went and learn(ed) about the world and escaped their own worlds, a place of social experiences, community and personal development. Contemporary historical audience research, and new cinema history studies (NCH) in particular, aims to rethink and re-define the history of cinema through the experiences of audiences. NCH has "decentered" the focus on texts for the sake of re-conceptualizing how we think about cinema's history and audiences in the past (Kuhn ea., 2017:5). The focus is on the industry rather than the products of that industry; on the complex relationship between cinema and society, including cinemagoing as a social, familial, and cultural phenomenon; and on investigating actual audiences in all their diversity (Biltereyst ea., 2019:2; Kuhn ea., 2017:7). I fully ascribe to this and would like to begin by saying I strongly identify with the revisionist goals of new cinema history studies.

However, it seems that the explicit move away from texts and canonical authors has blinded NCH scholars, considering the importance of these texts and authors as part of the inherently social and cultural phenomenon that cinema is. Moreover, although polemics such as disregarding the text are sometimes necessary for change, I strongly believe that audience studies should not disconnect the social, cultural, and historical context[3] from the text and the (emotional) experience of that text.

## 1. Goals

The objective of this dissertation is twofold. The first, central objective is to re-incorporate the *auteurs*[4] *and film texts* in new cinema history studies as valuable to the audience experience (and by extension, establish it as valuable to the industry, as in programming

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[3] The word "context" is largely used in line with Staiger (1992), as the discursive features of a film's historical moment, which for me encompasses social factors (how do we operationalize social structures?), historical factors (which changes did society undergo in the period under investigation?), and cultural factors (which implications do historical and social changes have on the general society surrounding our participants?). The context plays out on two levels: it is the context surrounding my participants at the time of their initial film experience but it is also the context today, in which they are asked to reflect on the past.

[4] Film authors are not always film auteurs but I will use both interchangeably as my case focuses on Ingmar Bergman, who has been considered as both auteur and author. Usually, my statements are valid for both categories of filmmakers.

and exhibition). Using the example of Ingmar Bergman, I will illustrate that his status as auteur is crucial in the reception of his films. In Sweden, this is complicated by his status as a celebrity. In line with Janet Staiger's work (1992; 2000; 2008), I approach both the auteur and the celebrity as performative and context-dependent. In the case of Bergman, I will analyze how this persona is constructed, mostly based on narratives around heterosexual love[5], marriage as love's institutionalized form, and women[6]. Additionally, the film text is relevant in two ways: so far, findings in new cinema history seem to suggest that the text plays no central role in cinema memories (Maltby ea., 2019:17; Meers ea., 2012:133; Kuhn, 2004). This proves not to be the case with the oeuvre of Bergman, as film titles are remembered vividly alongside what the films mean for the audience. Moreover, the text is important in its relation to the audience experience, and emotions in particular. For me, it is counterintuitive to not take emotions into account when analyzing audiences (see also Plantinga, 2009b:4) and there is substantial theoretical ground to justify including it. I will "pick and mix" from cognitive film studies and sociological approaches to love and marriage to illustrate how reflections of emotions are present in memories, and how participants reflect upon that.

My primary motivation to implement text and auteur back into new cinema history studies is that, so far, the motion picture experience has mostly been studied in facets, hardly comprehensively, and also outside of new cinema history studies. Already in 1938, Paul G. Cressey elaborated on this. Remarkably, his quote stands with equal strength today:

"*the cinema's "effect" upon an individual, a community or a society never can be gauged*

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[5] Love provides the ideal point of departure as it is generally accepted to have both a social and an individual component (Illouz, 2012:3). I focus on heterosexual love in particular because of its "normative, privileged and compulsory" status in Western societies (Johnson, 2005:5; Rossi, 2001:213). Heterosexual ideals form the invisible conditions for social organization. How we conceive love has repercussions for ideas on, on the one hand, the individual's experience of sex and sexuality, and on the other hand, social institutions such as the family, marriage, and religion (Beall ea., 1995:426). An example of such conception is the autonomy/recognition conflict, central to my analysis in chapter six. For an impressive overview of "love" within a range of academic fields, see chapter 2 of the doctoral thesis by Benjamín De la pava Vélez (2017).
[6] From my empirical study, 'women' emerge in three ways: 'the sexual', 'Bergman as womanizer', 'Bergman as expert concerning women', see chapter four.

*accurately if the motion picture experience is studied only segmentally and never in its essential unity. "Going to the movies" is a unified experience involving always a specific film, a specific personality, a specific social situation and a specific time and mood*" (Cressey, 1938:518)[7]. Much too often, film theory tends to make distinctions between the individual or the social but, intuitively, no one would make this kind of choice or division to describe one's personal experience of a film or one's memories of that experience. Below, Staiger's approach will allow us to conceptualize the reception situation as both, because fundamentally, "[r]eception occurs to an individual as both a psychological and a sociological experience; only the arbitrary separation of concepts such as self and group inhibits a recognition that experiences cannot be isolated as either psychological or sociological" (Staiger, 2000:3).

A second motivation for including film and auteur, is that I believe in reconciling theories rather than replacing what we have in order to come to a better understanding of audiences in the past. The turn towards socially, culturally, and historically specific reception has until now – regrettably – meant a move away from what existed in film studies, rather than to build with potentially valuable building blocks on what other film scholars had already provided. I will explore these building blocks to develop the tools and concepts needed to account for the audience experience more comprehensively.

The second objective of my dissertation is to re-write the history auteurs from below: I use an audience reception study to gauge the importance of the auteur and his/her (canonized) films for 'ordinary' people. Auteurs have had a central place in film studies since its institutionalization in the 1960s (Corrigan ea., 2011). My case focuses on Ingmar Bergman in particular, who has been considered by some to be the most important auteur of the 20th century (Macnab, 2009; De Visscher, 1976). As one of the favorite auteurs of the *Cahiers du Cinéma* (hereafter *Cahiers*), Bergman's career has coincided with the development of film studies and therefore it is "hardly by chance that Bergman's international reputation

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[7] Thanks to Daniel Biltereyst for referring me to this precursor of new cinema history studies.

and fall from grace occurred in tandem with the post-structural demise of the very idea of authorship or, conversely, that his work suddenly seems of interest once again, in the resurging interest in recent years among film scholars in revisionist studies of authorship as a theoretical concept" (Koskinen, 2010:12). Historically, and internationally, Ingmar Bergman has primarily been addressed as auteur du cinema, and his films have been considered as art. This has contributed to a strong canonization of his work and an ongoing influence within film history in general and Swedish national cinema in particular. Existing literature on Bergman tends to reinforce the canonical perspective, as it is often written strictly from a high art perspective. As Maaret Koskinen (2002, 2008, 2009, 2010) has pointed out, reality is much more nuanced. This is especially so within Sweden, where discourses[8] around Bergman were always a mix between high art and the popular.

Bergman's canonical status has hardly, if at all, been nuanced by means of what he or his films meant in the everyday life of ordinary people. Approaching Bergman via interviews allows me to trace what Bergman meant for my participants when they were much younger, how it was to see "a Bergman-film" in the cinema back then, and how they look back on that today. A study like this is all the more relevant since art cinema audiences and art cinema - like Bergman's - remain underexposed from an (inter)national audience perspective (Stigsdotter ea., 2009:225). Moreover, underlying this second objective is a political motivation to give a voice to the audience and to consider their voices as equally valid in film historiography. This idea comes from the oral history tradition that often informs new cinema history studies in their search of the audience and their "history from below" (Kuhn ea., 2017:10). Such an approach to Ingmar Bergman fits well into NCH, which has the explicit goal of revising history and canonization through its research (Biltereyst ea., 2019:2).

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[8] In this dissertation, discourses are seen as complex cultural processes - to be situated on individual and social levels - that help shape particular interpretations, dominant or alternative. Discourses stand in relation to ideology as they circulate in society as ideas that promote a given ideology, dominant or not. Ideology is understood here in its broadest term, as any set of beliefs and values, a certain worldview (Berliner, 2017:134; Plantinga, 2009b:200).

Further in line with new cinema history studies, I do not bring in the auteurism or text-centeredness that has so long characterized film studies. Instead, I consider audience experiences to be context-activated alongside textual cues, in line with Staiger's notion of interpretation (1992; 2000). To illustrate this, I will explore the emotional reception of love, marriage, and relationships in *Scener ur ett äktenskap* (1973, henceforth shortened as *Scener*) from a sociological and cultural-historical perspective on heterosexual love, marriage, and sexuality (see also footnote 5). The focus on love is inspired by the following statistic on divorce rates from scb.se:
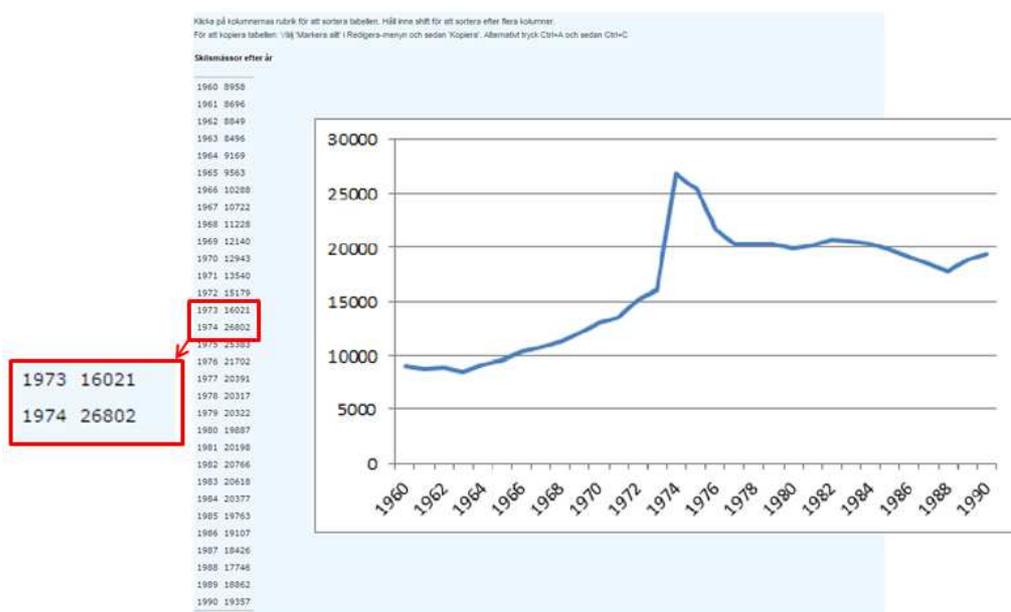


Table 1: social statistics on divorce in Sweden (scb.se)

In 1973, *Scener* was broadcasted on Swedish television. The divorce rate that year was 16.021. The year after, it was 26.802, almost double. Allegedly, the series contributed to an increase in waiting times for marriage consultants, which went from a few days to a few weeks (Duncan ea., 2008). More than encouraging divorce, the series most likely touched upon crucial changes in society and conceptions of love and marriage. I will investigate what these changes are and how *Scener* touches upon them, and of course, how the

audience looks back on that. Gender, generational, sexual, class, and national identities are part of this.

## 2. Why Bergman? Spatial and temporal motivations.

Because modernist auteurs such as Bergman are generally deeply embedded in the national cinema culture, reception studies on national cinema have often been limited to national settings. Yet, film is an international medium and reception of cinema – and media in general – occurs more often than not outside of the nation where the content was produced. What 'national cinema' offers to non-domestic viewers has rarely been the object of research (Athique, 2016; Stigsdotter ea., 2009:216). Others have pointed out the potential of comparative work for expanding trends or conditions in remembered experiences of cinemagoing (Biltereyst and Meers, 2016; Kuhn ea., 2017:11). For this reason, I consider Ingmar Bergman via the audiences in two countries: Sweden as Bergman's home country, and Belgium as a case of international reception.

The comparison between Sweden and Belgium is valuable for two reasons. First of all, on a general level, it is essential to examine how Ingmar Bergman was known in his home country Sweden in contrast to abroad. As literature suggests, there is a difference in reception depending on the context of the participant. Secondly, Belgium is an interesting context from an international perspective, given the high involvement of Father Jos Burvenich in promoting Bergman-films within the catholic pillar and in Belgium in general. I will claim in chapter five that Bergman-films were *annexed* for promoting the catholic message, despite their heavily protestant motives. As Bergman was also popular in other Catholic countries, e.g. Spain (Garnemark, 2015) and many countries in South America (Steene, 2005), Belgium offers an interesting case for such international reception. With this comparative methodological setup, my research ascribes to recent studies in the new cinema history tradition[9].

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[9] E.g. the current project *European Cinema Audiences* aims to deepen the understanding of cinema audiences in the 1950s transnationally by comparing seven mid-sized European cities (2018-2021, run by Daniela Treveri Gennari, Lies Van de Vijver, and others, see https://europeancinemaaudiences.org). More

The weight of my study lies on the 1960s and 1970s (but includes experiences from the 1950s), which is especially relevant for different, entangled reasons. During these decades, Bergman's public image undergoes quite a few changes. His international breakthrough in Belgium, for example, can be situated at the end of the 1950s with *Det sjunde inseglet* and *Smultronstället* (both 1957). During these years, Bergman was increasingly seen as an auteur du cinema in critical and academic writing worldwide such as that of *Cahiers*. Existing studies on the marketing of Bergman as a brand are limited to specific places but it is likely that Bergman was more actively marketed internationally from the end of the 1950s onwards (see Balio, 2010; Stigsdotter ea., 2009).

From a societal perspective, these decades encompass both gradual and radical societal changes in terms of morality and sexuality in Western Europe, to which some of Bergman's films have contributed, for example *Sommaren med Monika* (1953) in the depiction of nudity, and *Tystnaden* (1963) in 'breaking' Swedish censorship. This might influence the reception of Bergman by a wider (national and international) audience. As some of Bergman's films were marketed as exploitation films internationally (Lunde, 2016), we might expect that viewing motivations for the general international audience might have been quite different - such as curiosity about nudity and sex (cf. Stigsdotter, 2008:175) - from the motivations of the critics who discussed the films primarily as art. As for the audience and cinemagoing, these decades encompass a different kind of cinema experience than we know today: although cinemagoing was already in decline, this is a time before "the multiplex, home cinema and other changes in modes of film exhibition and consumption when going to the cinema was an essential leisure-time activity for millions everywhere" (Kuhn ea., 2017:7).

## 3. Chapter breakdown

In the theoretical chapter (chapter two), I will discuss the development of new cinema

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comparative studies are discussed below, p. 40.

history studies within film studies. Janet Staiger and Annette Kuhn will be discussed extensively because of their influence on my own research. This first part will conclude with a tracing of texts and authors within existing NCH studies.

The second theoretical part deals with the auteur and how I will conceptualize it in this dissertation, as well as a brief overview of Bergman-studies – internationally and in Belgium – and existing reception studies of Bergman.

The third theoretical part deals with the position of the text and its relevance to the emotional experience as well as within the broader framework of NCH. Here, I propose to use the concept of cueing as a way of operationalizing such relevance in historical audience research.

In chapter three, the methodology is discussed. I have largely followed existing methodological setups within new cinema history studies and Kuhn's seminal work on ethnohistory and cinema memory (1999; 2002, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2011). I have conducted in-depth interviews in Belgium and Sweden on memories around Bergman, his films, and love, marriage, and sexuality. The prerequisite was that the participants were born before 1960 and that they had seen at least one Bergman-film at the time of its release. The interviews are complemented with archival research and textual analyses. This allows me to implement a context-activated analysis of interpretation in line with Staiger's work (1992; 2000) and to include the text, in order to account for audience experiences more comprehensively.

In chapter four, which introduces the empirical part of this dissertation, I start off with an in-depth exploration of Ingmar Bergman's status as auteur and celebrity, how he has contributed to this himself, and how this has been established in Swedish society and abroad (chapter four). The following two empirical chapters, five and six, deal with the importance of text in two ways. First, I investigate what films are/were important to my participants and how canonization might have played a role therein. In this chapter I also qualify Kuhn's previous work on cinema memory, her typology in particular (Kuhn, 2011).

Second, I zoom in on one film text in particular, *Scener ur ett äktenskap* (1973). I explore what the meaning of the series/film is for participants and how we can relate it to the society in which it was released. For this, I rely on a cultural history of love as emotion and its sociological conception.

In the appendices I include a filmography with Swedish, English, and Dutch titles of all Ingmar Bergman-films, my questionnaire and drop/offs, and a short biography of Ingmar Bergman.

In giving audiences their voice, Ingmar Bergman's canonical yet complex position within film history can be gauged, and ultimately, nuanced. By addressing the auteur and text in historical reception, this dissertation aims to initiate a productive discussion on a more comprehensive approach towards the audience experience in NCH and film studies in general.

# Theory

In the first section, I will discuss how new cinema history studies developed historically within film studies and which authors are seminal in the turn towards actual audiences and cinema as a social institution. I discuss the work of both Janet Staiger and Annette Kuhn extensively to illustrate how they have been influential in the decentering of the text and the exploration of ordinary cinemagoers' memories, respectively. Both authors are central to my own empirical approach to Ingmar Bergman and his audience.

In the second section of this theoretical part, I discuss how the auteur and texts are implicitly, and sometimes more explicitly, present in new cinema history studies, which illustrates that we cannot get around them in our approaches to the audience (and the cinema more generally).

The third and fourth parts of this theoretical account consider how we should conceptualize the author (including how Bergman has been conceptualized so far in Bergman-studies) and the text for investigating an historical audience.

## 1. New cinema history studies

### 1.1. The audience in focus

Audiences have historically never been central to film studies as film studies emerged within traditions of fine arts, linguistics, and literary studies (Sandvoss 2011:231; Kuhn, 2002:3). Instead, the focus has strongly been on the medium, the sign, and consequently, on a rather limited – if at all – focus on the audience. Film theories nearly always imply an *individual* viewer that stands in relation to the screen (e.g. phenomenologist Vivian Sobchack, [1992] 2011; 2004; Münsterberg, [1915] 2011; psychoanalysts Metz, [1982] 2011; Baudry [1970] 2011; and Mulvey, 1975; cognitivists Bordwell, 1985; Plantinga, 2009b; 2018; Tan, 1994; Nannicelli ea., 2014; Anderson ea., 1996; Carroll, 2008; and so on). Film studies have

thereby largely continued to conceive of its spectator in line with the "individualized reader that underpinned European Enlightenment" (Athique, 2016:7; Biltereyst ea., 2018:22). Film-historical research in particular has either focused on the history of film as an art form or researched film as reflecting society (Chapman ea., 2009:2-3). In the margins, film-historical studies oriented towards "actual" audiences were mainly narrow case studies on historical situations where the focus was often on exhibition (Allen ea., [1985] 1993). Examples are the works of Ian Jarvie, Robert Sklar, Garth Jowett, Robert Allen and Douglas Gomery in the 1970s (Van de Vijver, 2012)[10].

In 1985, Robert C. Allen and Douglas Gomery published the seminal work *Film History: Theory and Practice* ([1985] 1993), arguing for a more empirical approach to film history with proper attention for the technological, social, aesthetic, and economic contexts in which films are produced, distributed, exhibited, and consumed. They inspired a 'revisionist' approach to film history. Film studies started to open up for questions about audience and cinemagoing (e.g. Gunning, [1986] 2011; Staiger, 1992; Hansen, 1991; Stacey, 1994; Allen and Gomery, [1985] 1993). The field of cultural studies was influential in re-conceptualizing audiences as "socially, culturally, and historically located individuals" (Meers ea., 2012:127). Gradually, new *film* history emerged as "to demonstrate, through case studies, how the principles of historical investigation can be applied in practice in order to illuminate the structures and processes that have determined the nature of the medium of film and its social institutions" (Chapman ea., 2009:1). New c*inema* history further positions itself against new *film* history as focusing on the social dimension completely (Maltby, 2011: 3). Making use of oral accounts and other reception data (e.g. on circulation and exhibition), new cinema history engages bottom-up with "actual audiences in their social, historical and cultural context of everyday life" (Van de Vijver, 2012: 3). Moreover, it argues that audience experience should not be limited to reception alone, often linking cinema experience to places, and relating them to everyday life in general.

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[10] I warmly recommend Allen (2006a) for a detailed overview of the dialectic process of a changing audience-concept in film studies.

## 1.2. Janet Staiger

One of the authors that helped shape new cinema history studies in its turn away from classical film studies is Janet Staiger and her seminal work *Interpreting Films* (1992). Her context-based approach (as opposed to text- and reader-based) aims to expose interpretations from an audience at a certain point in time. For Staiger, reception is shaped into specific strategies by what is available historically, socially, and culturally. Staiger's method allows for the operationalization of context and discourses therein, something that often remains implicit in reception research, even today (Mathieu ea., 2015:44). Staiger conceptualizes textual meanings as most significantly shaped by contexts that encompass "intertextual knowledges (including norms of how to interpret sense data from moving images and sounds), personal psychologies, and sociological dynamics" (Staiger, 2000:1). In this way, Staiger forgoes "interpretation altogether, arguing that what counts is not so much a generation of new interpretations, but rather a demonstration of conditions that made certain kinds of readings possible within particular historical junctures" (Erb, 2009:14).

In essence, Staiger makes three theoretical claims: (1) meanings are not inherent in the text but are instead constituted historically and can thus be in conflict; (2) variations in interpretations correspond to available discourses in a given context, and consequently, being part of a specific social formation likely results in a specific reading strategy; (3) building on the previous claim, it is not the social formation in itself that determines meaning but rather the individual's self-constructed identity, or "imaginary self" in the post-structuralist sense[11] (Staiger, 1992:211; Staiger, 2000:1-2). Hence, the goal of the historical reception study should be to trace dominant and alternative interpretative strategies and to reconstruct the range of possible interpretations these comprise (Staiger,

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[11] These identities consist of "at least occupation, class, sex, gender, sexual preference, nationality, ethnicity, race, life-style, and political allegiances (radical, feminist, and so forth)" (Staiger, 1992:96). Sometimes, these categories give rise to "interpretative communities" or "cultural groups such as fans", who produce their own interpretations (Staiger, 2000:23).

1992:93). Ultimately, this leads to a "historical *explanation* of the event of interpreting a text" (Staiger, 1992:81) rather than an interpretation of the texts themselves, as previously was the case with other viewer assumptions and even other historical approaches.

The new cinema history approach is closely related to Staiger's work in three ways. First, like Staiger, this approach emphasizes the mode of address and exhibition as important aspects of the interpretative experience (Staiger, 2000:23). Second, new cinema history research has empirically confirmed how class practices could be related to concepts of high and low tastes, empirically confirming Staiger's second theoretical claim on the role of being part of specific social formations in interpretations (Staiger, 2000:55; Biltereyst ea., 2011). Third, and most importantly, the use-value of reception studies is to understand how meaning is historically and socially produced. Subsequently, Staiger gives us tools to uncover how certain evaluations and canonizations are formed discursively rather than universally valid, as they are just as time- and place-specific as anything else (Staiger, 2000:96).

Staiger's contribution to reception studies cannot be overestimated, but her work has one pitfall: the data on which she bases her theories are predominantly press reviews and never audience accounts. As a result, we might have become more aware of the debates that surrounded specific viewers at one point in time, but it offers us no information on the historical social audience (Kuhn, 2002:5; Crafton, 1996:460). In a way, Staiger's method can be seen as only exploring *potential* interpretations related to dominant and alternative discourses because she only studies the context. Hence, I propose to take Staiger's context-based method as step one and audience accounts as step two. Then we are left with *actual* context-informed interpretations in a historical reception situation. The case study on *Scener ur ett äktenskap* in chapter six will consider dominant discourses around love and marriage and how *actual* interpretations might deviate. The implications of my comprehensive approach will be that I do not situate interpretation in either the context, text, or audience. Instead, my last chapter will relate interpretations to all three dimensions

of the viewing situation.

Important in Staiger's approach is how films have been evaluated in time, as the viewing experience does not end when the viewer leaves the cinema, although reception studies are often demarcated upon the exit of the cinema in both time and space (Staiger, 2000:44-52; see also Cressey, 1938:521).

The evaluation of films by ourselves and others is crucial in the shaping of our own expectations, even in the post-cinema experience (Carroll, 2008:192-226). Evaluating film is an elemental form of social exchange and consolidation. Through these encounters, we "express and develop ourselves as cultural beings" (Carroll, 2000:266). Therefore, reception should not be limited to the film as a social and interpretative event. Instead, we should explore "the continual making and remaking of interpretations and emotional significances through the lives of individuals" (Staiger, 2000:55). Studies confirm an ever-increasing "long tail" of influence and impact, another aspect often neglected in audience studies to this day (Christie, 2012:226-233).

This confinement of "reception" to the cinema is partially overcome via ethno-history interviews, as, unavoidably, post-movie talk and social evaluations are incorporated into the viewers' memories. Annette Kuhn's work on cinema memory is key here (2002; 2007; 2010; 2011).

### 1.3. Annette Kuhn

Ten years after Janet Staiger, and building on her work, Annette Kuhn sets out to explore British cinemagoers of the 1930s. She regretfully notes how cinemagoers remain unrecorded because film studies have been rather condescending towards the 'ordinary' cinemagoer (Kuhn, 2002:3). Kuhn also notes the dichotomy between text and context in film studies. She solves this theoretically by conceptualizing both as discourses and practically by an inclusive approach that brings together "issues around film texts and

spectatorial engagements with questions relating to the social audience and contexts of reception" (Kuhn, 2002:7). Her work might be one of the few comprehensive approaches to film audience experiences conducted over the last 20 years. Later research expands exponentially on her seminal work on cinema memory, but very few accomplish the potency of her seminal study of 2002.

She starts with testimonies of cinemagoing and movie-experiences in order to "enter imaginatively into the world of 1930s cinema culture by attending to the stories of those most closely involved, the cinemagoers themselves" (2002:7). These are triangulated with other historical and film-textual material, which, together with the memories, is approached inductively and discursively. From this, Kuhn reconstructs different aspects of cinemagoing in the 1930s but also investigates the discursive and formal characteristics of cinema memories.

### 1.3.1. Cinema memory

Kuhn (2010) calls the purposeful staging of memory 'memory work', and the outcome are memory texts (Kuhn, 2010:1). Memories serve as material for interpretation (Kuhn, 2016:186). These are analyzed on two levels: (1) how they generate insights on cinemagoing and –experiences, and (2) discursively, how memories as texts provide us with insights into the nature of cinema memories (Kuhn, 2002:9).

Cinema memories share formal attributes: (1) impersonal discourse (third person, narrator distances him- or herself completely or takes expert-role) versus first person narration that is anecdotal; (2) repetitive discourse, both informant and behavior are represented as habitual ("I always went with my mother") and collective ("we hung around outside"); (3) past/present, comparisons of then and now (Kuhn, 2002:10), which reflects memories' inherent relation to the present. Furthermore, meta-statements might provide hints of what the individual believes is a socially expected answer (Anderson and Jack, 2006), which relates power relations specifically to the interview situation, which is one of the limitations

I outline in the methodology (cf. chapter three).

Since the first goal of this dissertation is to trace the importance of the author and the text in cinema memories, my empirical focus will be more on the content of the interviews than on its formal and discursive dimensions[12].

Building on Stacey (1994:134-6),[13] Kuhn (2011: 87) developed a typology for cinema memories that consists of three modes: "firstly, remembered scenes or images from films (Type A memories); secondly, situated memories of films (Type B memories); and, finally, memories of cinemagoing (Type C memories). Empirical evidence suggests that these three forms of cinema memory are not separate or distinct from one another, but are more aptly seen as occupying positions along a continuum, with Type A memories at one end and Type C memories at the other. In many actual instances, these memory types merge or share characteristics".

The different types of memories have distinct characteristics. Type A memories often revolve around feelings of terror or fear. Emotions are most prominent in this type of memory, although it is crucial for the remembrance of the other types as well. Type B memories are also images or scenes from the film but are in this case related to one's own life. According to Kuhn, some Type B memories can be *implants*, memories that might originate from – for instance – family stories or other cultural or social activities. These implanted memories tend to be less detailed or rich than other memories. Type C

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[12] The same goes for memory studies as a field: I discuss memory solely to the extent that it has methodological implications for my research.

[13] Stacey distinguishes between two forms of cinematic memories. *Iconic* memory is a pure image, an image frozen in time that is idealized or worshiped by her female spectators. *Narrative* memory is related to cinemagoing and presents opportunities for the spectator to construct a narrative around the self in relation to cultural ideals. Memories can also be a mix of both. Stacey describes how processes of memory formation tend to follow the features of Hollywood cinema in their construction around "key icons, significant and transformative moments, narrative structures, heroic subject positions and Utopian fantasies" (Stacey, 1994:136). For a more broad discussion on different types of memories, psychological, social, material, and historical, see Chapter 3 of Astrid Erll's *Memory in Culture* (2011).

memories are not about the films anymore but only about the social and cultural aspects of cinemagoing. This has the strongest link with cultural memory as participants rely on "formulaic modes of telling" and the personal is blended with the collective experience (Kuhn, 2011:94). In Type C-memories, place is a particularly strong characteristic. This is a returning finding on cinema memories. Cinema memories turn out to be highly topographical: recollections of cinemas near and far; an association between proximity and familiarity; 'going to the pictures' as extension of everyday life at home; early steps in the public domain; and "contrasts between topographies past and present" (Kuhn, 2002:17). Memories of which cinemas one attended are often topographically laid out (Van de Vijver, 2016:412). A local or regional identity is constructed within memories of cinemagoing (Jernudd, 2010:169).

In terms of place, a distinction can be made between *cinema in the world*, where cinema represents growing up and exploring the world outside of the family and the home, and *the world in the cinema*, a place outside of but still embedded in everyday life, much in line with Foucault's heterotopia (Kuhn, 2011:107-9; 2002:141). Other scholars confirm the prevalence of places in cinema memory (Van de Vijver, 2012), both imaginary and real, functioning as "memory anchors" (Haake, 2016:80). In chapter five, I will evaluate Kuhn's typology and her definition of place through my own data.

### 1.3.2. Memory and identity

Not just actual place, but also one's subjective position within the world plays a role in the construction of memories; memories are performative (Portelli, 2005, Rigney, 2012:17-8). Alistair Thomson (1994:9, in Huggett, 2002:151) suggests that memories are composed in such a way as to construct a version of the past that is "acceptable" in line with one's current identity, a version that we believe will gain approval and affirmation in the context of recollecting. Memory and identity have a dialectic relationship, which the narrative of the memory potentially reveals. It is the self (the individual or his or her membership of a family/generation/community) that turns mere knowledge into memory (J. Assmann,

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2010:123). The construction of that self and memory is intertwined (Kuhn, 2016:186-9).

Not only identity is important to the memory, memories are also grounded in the environment where one finds oneself upon retrieval, including larger social and cultural interactions that are part of that environment (Timcke, 2017:13; Kuhn, 2002:8-9). As Stacey has noted, remembering (and viewing) thus involves "a set of complex cultural processes: these operate at a psychic and social level […] [t]hese histories of spectatorship are retrospective reconstructions of the past in the light of the present and will have been shaped by [discourses] which have become a cultural currency during the intervening years" (Stacey, 1994: 63, see also Halbwachs, 1992; Gruner, 2016:xiii).

It is the performative dimension that encompasses the self and the group simultaneously, and which establishes the relationship between past and present (Kuhn, 2007:284-5). This provides opportunities to include post-movie talk and *a posteriori* evaluations as problems in reception studies, as raised by Staiger above (cf. p. 28).

Both Staiger (1992:157) and Kuhn (2002; 2007; 2010; 2011), and by extension, most studies building on them, make use of the post-structural notion of identity where it is the imaginary self that is significant in an interpretation. This imaginary self is not a conscious choice of the individual but dependent upon both historical configurations and a given context of viewing. As such, Staiger (1992) mixes the previously dominant psychoanalytical idea of a text positioning a viewer and the more free idea of cultural studies with the many social determinations like class, gender, and ethnicity that shape the viewer's reading in that viewing instance (see also Stacey, 1994:143-4 for a similar conceptualization). Two methodological problems arise here. First, categorizing individuals according to identity/-ies is problematic when the individual him- or herself does not recognize an identity as pertinent while nonetheless being explained by it in research. Second, it is problematic when other identities that are relevant to the interpretation are ignored because the researcher did not consider them (Staiger, 2005:141). Consequently, there is a reinforcement situation in reception studies: pertinent identities like sex, gender, sexuality,

race/ethnicity, class, and nation have been researched because of their cultural, social, economic and political significance. Less pertinent identities could be for example generation, urban/rural, education, or disability. At the same time, through research, these identities have been constructed because they were picked out as noteworthy (Staiger, 2005:139). The immediate problem here is that intra-group differences are conflated or ignored (Crenshaw, 1991: 1242). For example, "women" encompasses differences in skin color, sexuality, etc. Yet, there are social and historical patterns discernibly crystallizing around identities (Staiger, 2005:150).

To avoid reinforcing some and ignoring other identities for the audience (Staiger, 2005:139, 141), I will maintain a bottom-up approach to identity, which is the "only way in which the dynamic nature of ethnicities and identities (as they are articulated *in relation to* the media texts) can be captured" (Madianou, 2011:444, italics added). In other words, I will consider identities to be relevant to the interpretation when they are mentioned or implied by the participants.

### *1.3.3. Identity and the cinema*

Cinema memories tend to be discursively structured around class or gender (Kuhn, 2002), which echoes Thomson's dialectical relationship between memory and identity. For example, for the generation in Kuhn's sample (2002:110), cinema offered "extended imaginings of what a woman could be" and "modes of feminine identity" that were unavailable to earlier generations. Men, in contrast, emphasize more memories from childhood than adolescence, often imaginatively becoming one's screen-hero and with an emphasis on improvisation. This relationship between gender and memory is further illustrated by Hipkins ea. (2018), where not only class and gender play a role, also rural versus urban. For example, spatial identities surface in the memories of rural Italian audiences in the 1950s.

The social and historical specificity of cinema memories results in communities of

remembering that intersect with social distinctions in the Bourdieuan sense. This counts for both cinema experiences and for films. Class distinctions in cinema experience were (implicitly) made based on which venues one attended, where one sat, which films one saw and at which time one attended the cinema (Meers ea., 2010:276; Biltereyst ea., 2011: 108; Hughes, 2011; Sjöholm, 2003:250; Kuhn, 2002:2). Nevertheless, cinema was also more class- and gender-exceeding than many other social activities. People of different classes saw the same films, read the same magazines, and had the same frames of reference. For women, the cinema offered a social space outside of the home (Sjöholm, 2003:48-9, 250).

### 1.3.4. Memories and emotions

I would like to highlight emotions in Kuhn's concept of cinema memory as central to the experience of the *film*. It seems that moving away from the film in NCH has brought about a move away from emotional experiences as well. Most emotion research in film studies is textual, e.g. cognitive film studies, one of the main theories in the current film-theoretical landscape to have emotions as its object of study (Brinkema, 2014:xii-iii).

In Kuhn's seminal work it becomes clear that when talking about emotions, e.g. fear (2002:66-99), particular films are central to the cinema memory. This illustrates the entanglement of film texts and their emotional experiences (see also below, 5.1. *Texts and emotions*, pp. 60-63). Those memories even have different discursive characteristics than cinema memories in general. There is less of a repetitive discourse (implying repeated actions, which is prevalent in memories of place and cinemagoing) and there is more first-person and anecdotal memory discourse, where the participant sets him- or herself up as protagonist of the narrative. These discursive characteristics give us a clue about the entanglement between emotional experiences, identification, and identity too, a highly controversial subject in film theory that I will not venture into within the scope of this dissertation[14].

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[14] Roughly, there are two perspectives on identification. The first assumes that identification with characters plays a crucial role in our social positioning or identity, with varying degrees of agency for the viewer. The

Kuhn concludes that "[m]emory-talk about frightening films, then, embodies a highly distinctive mix of contents and discursive registers, typically taking the form of strong anecdotal accounts of isolated scenes or images in films and of narrators' responses to these" (Kuhn, 2002:80).

There are two aspects here. The first is the implicit centrality of the film to the memory of the cinema experience, on which I will elaborate in the next section where I discuss how the text is implied in most studies within the NCH strand.

A second consideration is what kind of emotions that we are able to access and evaluate through memories. Researching affect and emotions without monitoring brain waves and skin reactions can only take place on a number of dimensions. Either one investigates attitude and beliefs concerning personal emotions through questionnaires, or one studies

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second assumes identification has nothing to do with identity. Still, both try to explain the process and function of an audience feeling with and for characters. In the classical psychoanalytical sense, identification is the process whereby identities are produced, in line with a given ideology, through unconscious processes such as mirroring and voyeurism (Baudry [1970] 2011). Stacey (1994:238) sees identification more as an active process of negotiation between the text and the spectator, based on similarities and differences with the characters but also with the stars on-screen. Identification for her is twofold: one the one hand, it is a process that takes place during the viewing of the film. On the other hand, it is a cultural process that has meanings that extend beyond the cinema. A spectator's *identity* might be transformed as the result of their identification with what they see on-screen, and thus, for Stacey's specific case (1994), identification is an important process in the construction of feminine identities. This is in line with the cultural studies tradition where identification is active and entails agency; the viewer is in control of the process of identification and consequently, of his or her own meanings. Contradictorily, this does not happen in the mind of the viewer but as a result of the viewer's socially determined identity. Moreover, as identity is constructed in cultural discourses that cannot be straightforwardly observed, "reading" discourses is in its core always driven by theory (on both identity and discourse), in spite of the empirical methods employed. Also, from a poststructuralist perspective like Stacey (1994), Sara Ahmed (2004; 2010) in her analysis of the politics of emotion, claims that identification is crucial for alignment with others, and in aligning we also align *against* others (Ahmed, 2004:27-32; 2010:6). For cognitivism, identification has nothing to do with identity. On the contrary, different explanations of identification are all situated on the cognitive level such as to feel what the character feels or to connect to emotional states in relation to the protagonists (Carroll, 2008:162-185). Usually, identity as a whole is left out of cognitivism because - in contrast to Staiger and cultural studies generally - cognitivists do not believe the spectator is primarily constructed socially. For them, spectators are primarily biological and only in the second instance cultural beings. In exploring the film experience, audience motivations are driven by understanding and perceptive processes and not identity politics, like in cultural studies traditions (Plantinga, 2009a:256). An unfortunate consequence here is that (social) spectator differences are largely left out of the theories (Plantinga, 2009b:223), hence the controversy.

emotions' assumed cognitive or discursive dimensions through the exploration of texts. The film-cognitive approach usually limits emotional experiences to what the text potentially elicits (relying solely on textual analysis). This leaves out the individual or social differences and constructs a universalist view of film emotions. The more socially-inspired studies deal with affect in a similar way, either referring to the discursive nature of affect to be "read" in the text as referential to a wider society (e.g. Ahmed, 2004; 2010), or remaining on a theoretical level and hardly moving beyond accepting that affect should be included (Gibbs, 2002; 2011; Massumi, 1995). In my study, I will explicitly take up emotions as the object of my case study in chapter six.

Memories and the conscious reflection on those memories will be my primary entry point into the emotional experience of historical audience members. Emotions are crucial to what and how lively we remember (Timcke, 2017:13; M. Smith, 2009:41). In line with theories of memory (see for example Portelli, 2005; 2006), it is the present that shapes the emotional memory, as it is only the "now" and the "conscious" we have access to through interviews. Rather than the correct representation of the actual emotion in the past, it is the *interpretation* of it that matters.

I thereby assume that people have conscious access to what they feel, and that the conscious reflection on feeling is one of the most important aspects of the cinema experience and how we value it (see also M. Smith, 2009:47). While the degree of consciousness is hardly relevant for most traditions of researching emotions in film[15], it is crucial to my approach here[16]. The time perspective allows for a somewhat longitudinal approach to changing

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[15] With the notable exception of Hugo Münsterberg ([1915] 2011)

[16] My notion of consciousness differs from the often-made criticism regarding cognitive film studies to have a conscious inference-making model as its *starting point*. It is not contrary to reason and not the opposite of the psychoanalytical tendency to see emotional responses as unconscious. Similarly, later theories on subjectivity assume that processes of spectatorship are not directly accessible (Stacey, 1994:50; Staiger, 2000:1, 23, 30-31; Ahmed, 2004:22-3), while I assume they are – at least partially. My conception of emotions overlaps with the phenomenological conceptualization of consciousness (and intentionality) as inherent to interpretation. In phenomenology, the film experience is mapped as "*the perception* (act of consciousness) *of* (mediation)

emotions over time. Since the accounts are paraphrased, or even narrativized, different cognitive and emotional states are included in the accounts and intertwined with an evaluation (often in light of the present) of the 'felt' or subjective experience as a whole (Herman, 2007:247-8).

Wider cultural influences can be found in the interpretations, as the memories are valued in terms of more or less appropriate, pointing towards emotion work[17] as well as (learned) hierarchies of affect in society (Staiger, 2005:89), what Ahmed refers to as social norms (2004:24-5). This approach emphasizes the interaction between the feeling and the context, while also leaving space for individual and social differences across participants. This not only provides us with "the next best thing" in terms of researching emotions in audience accounts, it also means the "now" will always play a role in how emotion is reconstructed and evaluated, providing us with interesting clues of moral and affective changes throughout time. Consequently, the contextual setting in the form of the interview and the performative dimension of memories are seen as an enrichment to the interpretation, as it gives insight into how feelings are evaluated, both then and now, and what meaning these emotions have today for the interviewee. It also gives insight into a wider cultural tendency to conceive of specific emotions as more valuable than others, pointing towards cultural and contextual influences on emotions. Chapter six on *Scener* will illustrate this empirically. In short, I call this "reflecting emotions": the participants reflect on their emotions, but emotions also form a glistering reflection on the surface of memories, like

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*expression* (object of consciousness) *and/as the expression* (act of consciousness) *of* (mediation) *perception* (object of consciousness)" (Sobchack, [1992] 2011:66, italics in original). I too take the idea of an oriented consciousness because it is the conscious orientation that defines the lived and embodied experience. But my focus is not on the body *per se*, which is a crucial contrast to contemporary phenomenological approaches. For me, consciousness is merely the *entry* point, assuming that conscious and unconscious processes are in first instance not related, in line with neurological research (Franks, 2006).

[17] Emotion work is when people regulate their emotions in interactions with family and friends. Feelings and emotions are evaluated in relation to norms and dominant ideologies within a society and emotional behavior is adapted accordingly. Different situations, especially when people's emotions deviate or in which they have multiple roles at the same time, will demand managing emotions to fit the cultural norm (Hochschild, 1979:561, quoted in Peterson, 2006:124; for an extended discussion, see Callahan & McCollun, 2002).

sunlight on the water.

## 2. Traces of texts and authors in new cinema history studies

Building on Staiger's and Kuhn's landmarks, new cinema history studies has meanwhile consolidated into a field[18]. What makes new cinema history studies so interesting today is their wide-ranging contribution to a variety of fields such as memory and oral history research, social and economic historiography, geography (Klenotic, 2011; Ercole ea., 2017), social anthropology, ethnography, cultural and memory studies, and area/urban studies (Biltereyst ea., 2019; Treveri Gennari ea., 2018; Kuhn ea., 2017:9). Specific studies focus on the relation between cinema and modernity (Jernudd, 2018; Biltereyst, 2013; Biltereyst ea., 2012; Manchin, 2010; Moore, 2011; Fuller-Seeley, 2011), rural versus urban experiences (Treveri Gennari ea., 2018; Zweig, 2009), specific cinema's (e.g. McIver, 2009; Biltereyst, 2018), or cinemagoing and identity and/or community, often tied to a particular location (e.g. Evans, 2011; Vandevelde ea., 2015; Smets ea., 2016; Jernudd, 2013; 2010; Maingard, 2017; Meers ea., 2010; Maltby ea., 2011; Allen, 2006a; Skopal, 2011; Toffell, 2011).

Partially following the structure of *The Routledge Companion to New Cinema History* (Biltereyst ea., 2019)*,* I propose we subdivide cinema history studies as follows: (1) theoretical discussions on film and cinema history; (2) methodological discussions on audience- and cinema-historical research; (3) exhibition, space, and place; (4) programming, admission, and economic analysis; (5) distribution and circulation; (6) critical reception and audiences, cinemagoing and memories; and (7) the film industry and trade. These categories are closely related and often there is an overlap.
I will discuss in greater detail the role of the author and/or the film text in existing studies

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[18] For an overview of new cinema history studies' historical development in relation to memory, see Kuhn ea., 2017. Other historical overviews can be found in Maltby ea., 2011 and Biltereyst ea., 2019. For a wider conceptualization of new cinema history studies within film studies, see Meers ea., 2012 and Biltereyst ea., 2018.

in each section, except for the theoretical[19] and methodological[20] discussions and the industry[21].

Before we start, I should mention that Kessler and Lenk (2019) have recently made an attempt similar to my ambitions here. Their chapter starts off promising with the claim that they "would like to address the question whether new cinema history can benefit from looking at individual films, but also how a more film-centered approach can be enriched by integrating a perspective that takes into account its particular contexts of distribution, exhibition, and reception" (Kessler ea., 2019:319). This echoes the need I previously identified for a more comprehensive approach to audience experiences of cinemagoing. Unfortunately, as their chapter progresses, their conclusion implies that para-textual material is superior to the text. In fact, they hardly look at any particular film at all, which only confirms, once more, NCH studies' reluctance to include film texts.

## 2.1. Exhibition, space, and place

By far, the largest chunk of empirical research focuses on historical exhibition situations, specific cinema's or specific places, as well as social audiences within those places. I would say this is partially due to the "spatial turn" in media studies (Biltereyst ea., 2019:200), and partially because cinema memories are so topographical in nature (Kuhn, 2002).

Regularly, the setup of the research is to focus on a particular place and their patterns of cinemagoing, often within a specific time-frame. For example, Italy in the 1940s and 1950s (Treveri Gennari ea., 2011); Great-Britain in the 1930s (Kuhn, 2002) ; South-Wales in the 1930s-1960s (Richards, 2003); Postwar Thailand (Ainslie, 2018); the region of Bergslagen in Sweden (Jernudd, 2010; 2013); Ghent in Belgium (Van de Vijver, 2012; Biltereyst ea.,

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[19] E.g. Klenotic, 1994; Allen, 2006b; Maltby and Meers, 2019; Biltereyst, 2019; Caughie, 2019; Ravazzoli, 2018

[20] E.g. Anderson, 2006; Davis ea., 2011; Frankenberg ea., 2013; Biltereyst and Meers, 2016; Treveri-Gennari ea., 2019

[21] E.g. Česálková, 2017; Resha, 2012; Vélez-Sema, 2016

2011); Monterrey in Mexico (Lozano ea., 2016; Frankenberg ea., 2013); Narok, Kenya (Waliaula, 2018); or Sydney, Australia in the mid-1930s (Sedgwick, 2011).

A variation here is the focus on one or more venues, such as Liverpool's *Rialto* (McIver, 2009), *Cinema Leopold* in Ghent (Biltereyst, 2018), cinema spaces in Colonial Surabaya (Ruppin, 2014), The *Mascioli* film circuit of Northeastern Ontario (Whitehead, 2018), or the *Rialto Cinema* in New York (Snelson ea., 2011). Some of the research is comparative (Van Oort, 2016; Meers, Biltereyst and Lozano, 2018; Engelen ea., 2015; Thissen, 2013; current work on European Cinema Audiences).

In this type of research, the film text is usually implicit and rarely discussed. Yet, different cinemas are known for different kinds of films, illustrating the importance of the actual films in the choice of the audience for that cinema. One of the more radical examples is cinema *Leopold* in Ghent, an emerging sex cinema in postwar Belgium, where "[a] crucial level in examining Cinema Leopold's shift towards becoming a sex cinema, obviously, relates to what was shown in the venue" (Biltereyst, 2018:20). More subtle differences between cinemas based on the films they play can be found in many articles. For example, in an economic analysis of the cinema *Capitole* in Ghent, the authors note how the management was responsible for three other cinemas in Ghent: "the film palace Eldorado on the main shopping avenue, the Savoy, *known for its French cinema*, and the Select, a smaller cinema next to Capitole" (Van de Vijver ea., 2015:77, italics added). We also find this explicit link between films and the imago of the cinema in Harper's analysis of the *Regent Cinema* in Portsmouth, UK (2004; 2006), which I discuss in more detail below. This leads to the conclusion that in most studies, exhibition is intrinsically linked to the screening of a certain kind of film or particular films (see also Walsh ea., 2019; Chopra-Gant, 2010; Jurca ea., 2014; Kaya, 2019; Lozano, 2019; Van de Vijver, 2012:156-170; Pafort-Overduin, 2018:283; Biltereyst ea., 2011; Snelson ea., 2011).

The importance of film texts is illustrated in another way, equally implicit, as the authors sometimes resign themselves to analyses of the films' content to explain the attraction of the

venue. For example, recounting a couple's first date at the Rialto, McIver analyses the feature they saw to explain why the film and its score could have had such an effect on the memory of it:

*On the surface this seems a very curious choice of film to remember in such an emblematic way. [...] it's a very moral tale. However the film's celebration of its setting (the dramatic Italianate landscape) and its lush musical score (with a lavish use of Rachmaninov) seems to give it a very different feel, the melancholy ending is somehow defied by the lingering memory of a dramatic, but ultimately tragically unrealisable ideal. It's bleak, but perhaps not in a bad way! The over-riding feeling of the film is one of romantic melancholy, yet the film ends, somehow on a vaguely upbeat note. Both of the main characters move on to a future involvement in the bigger world with their romantic moment embalmed, in the past and tied to the specifics of its romantic locale.* (McIver, 2009:212)

### 2.2. Programming, admissions, and economic analysis

The most far-reaching example of implicit text-based assumptions is found in Sue Harper's studies of admission at the *Regent Cinema* (2004; 2006). First, the film texts are relevant in that she structures the admission numbers according to the number of attendees as a measurement for the film's success. The implication that one film is a major success and another a flop emphasizes the centrality of the film text in analyzing patterns of cinemagoing. Second, in line with other venue research, the imago of films is crucial in constructing the imago of the cinema. Third, alongside an elaborate exploration of paper reviews, push factors like the weather and what played in the other cinemas, Harper analyses the content of the films to determine why they were chosen by the patrons and why these films were potentially a success for the audience: "*Almost a Honeymoon* and *Bed and Breakfast*, and the *Bad Girl*, which appear in the 1931 list, are a variation on the theme of young love" (Harper, 2004:575). She takes the textual analysis one step further when she attributes social audiences to the cinema based on the content of the films, for example in the following quote: "It is clear that Regent taste in the war years was much more low-brow, and that the male service audience was in evidence with the thriller and cowboy

favorites. Neither of these genres appeared in the 'runaway hits' list of the 1930s" (Harper, 2006:367). A few pages later we find another example of a similar conclusion based on the choice for melodramas and musicals: "there was a complete revolution in taste patterns at the Regent, and that its audiences assuaged their appalling real-life traumas by selecting musicals that gave plenitude, comedies that gave inconsequentiality, and melodramas that afforded a glimpse into a world of sensual, guilt-free pleasure. It is clear that, in wartime, the Regent's habit audience was female, which had not been the case in the 1930s" (Harper, 2006:372). Probably Harper has other data to substantiate these claims, but those are not mentioned in the article. I am a bit wary of drawing such conclusions about audiences from the mere genre or content of the film, as research indicates these genres might not have been so tightly woven with genders after all. For example, the research of Treveri Gennari, ea. (2011:546) finds that melodrama, a traditionally female genre, was in Italy also popular among men in the 1940s and 1950s.

Admissions analysis can be considered as part of a broader strand within new cinema history studies that conducts (cultural) economic analysis to broaden our view of the cinema as an institution and historical industry. For example, Sedgwick and Pokorny (1998) make an analysis of the financial strategies for film production by Warner Bros during the period 1921 to 1940. Implicitly, choices for producing one film over another are strongly tied to the content of that film and an estimation of its success with an audience. The contemporary overload of sequels is also an example of that (Basuroy ea., 2008).

But films are relevant in other economic analyses as well. For example, an economic analysis of the restrained development of the Dutch cinema market concludes: "In the mid-1930s , the extraordinary success of Dutch films in the Dutch market and their widespread diffusion suggests that the Dutch people could be persuaded to go to the cinema when the "right" film came along" (Sedgwick ea., 2012:667). Another thesis, further emphasizing the influence of the actual films screened on low attendance rates in The Netherlands, is

posited by Karel Dibbets (2006). The Dutch pillarized society was heavily fragmented, combined with the complete absence of the representation of this fragmentation, resulting in only "neutral" films being shown. The rare successes of *Le retour de Don Camillo* (1953) and *Fanfare* (1958) in The Netherlands, whose narratives both deal with conflicts and fragmentation, further illustrate the central importance of the actual films in all of these arguments.

Some authors within economic-oriented research do emphasize the pertinence of texts, although few scholars in NCH as a wider strand have so far picked up on their arguments. Catherine Jurca and John Sedgwick (2014) in particular demonstrate the importance of specific films using daily box-office reports from the Stanley- Warner theater chain exhibition records. They conclude that "[d]eclaring films unimportant is not much of an alternative to considering them all-important, especially given how little we really know about the choices that brought historical audiences into a given theater [...] Maximizing revenue, in other words, meant a system geared toward audience interest in specific film products, one flexible enough to calibrate supply based on demand" (Jurca ea., 2014:60). In a recent study on cinemagoing in Milan, Italy in the 1950s, Sedgwick and Nicoli (2019:281) illustrate that "not only first-run and second-run audiences made choices and had preferences" and suggest conducting textual analysis for assessing what made these films stand out. The programming is closely related to, and indeed often combined with, distribution and circulation patterns.

### 2.3. Distribution and circulation

Research on distribution is lacking compared to the scholarly work on exhibition and audience research (Wallin, 2019:173). Nevertheless, distribution and circulation are two of the keys to assessing how "most people have interacted with international cinema industries" (Walsh, 2011:159). Considerable power can be found in this part of the industry as "distributors simultaneously controlled both exhibitors' – and therefore audiences' – access to films and producers' access to exhibition venues and audiences"

(Biltereyst ea., 2019:135). Examples of such studies consider the dynamics and power struggles within the film industry (Overpeck, 2011; Pafort-Overduin ea., 2019) or the way films were distributed and screened historically (Maltby, 2019; Sedgwick, 2011; Wallin, 2019; Brandum ea., 2019; Jurca, 2019). More often than not, these studies have specific films as the central object of their study. The underlying principle is that whatever happens on an industry level always has an outcome concerning the programming and films available. When including the audience-perspective, as new cinema history claims it always does, the centrality of films alongside audiences cannot be denied. The last dimension that illustrates this is the strand of reception studies within NCH.

## 2.4. Audience Reception studies

### 2.4.1. Texts

Reception studies can be divided into critical reception via archival materials and the study of actual audiences, their cinemagoing habits, and their memories. Critical reception seems to be more intertwined with authors and films as texts, since those are what the archive favors. Examples here are Jancovich' studies of Orson Welles (2009) and the horror-genre in the 1940s (2010), or Abel's (2019) investigation of newspapers to "rewrite" American silent cinema history (Abel, 2019).

Actual audience studies usually focus on a specific venue, place, region, or country. Some studies focus more on social categories of audiences, such as black people in Southern U.S. (Allen, 2006a; 2006b; 2011; Knight, 2011).

Findings here often – if not always – relate that "Cinemagoing [...] appears to have been less about particular films, or even films in general, than about experiences surrounding and part of the activity of 'going to the pictures,' about the place of this activity in the context of their daily lives, interactions with family and friends, and comings and goings within and beyond the neighbourhoods in which they lived" (Kuhn, 1999:539). This leads Robert C. Allen (2006a:59) to question the relevance of the cinematic text in the historical and empirical study of cinematic spectatorship. That particular films are not remembered or

even of importance in cinema memories is an oft-repeated statement (e.g. Kuhn, 2011:85; Kuhn, 2004; Maltby ea., 2019:17; Meers ea., 2012:133; Saryusz-Wolska, 2015:777; Allen, 2006a:60; Boyle, 2009:265; Richards, 2003:352; Van de Vijver and Biltereyst, 2013; Jernudd, 2013; Biltereyst ea., 2019:17).

Going over the literature, it seems like there is more at stake. That film titles in themselves are not remembered is not a straightforward conclusion for me based on the material presented, for example in Kuhn (2002). Besides, assuming for now that the titles are not remembered, the films, their narratives, characters, genres, and actors are still remembered in great detail (e.g. Kuhn, 2002; Lozano ea., 2018:163-4; Van de Vijver, 2016:413; Drotner, 1998:161; Jernudd, 2013). To then conclude that films are not relevant because the titles are not central to the memories indicates that only certain parts of cinema memories have persistently been highlighted in NCH. In her conclusion, Saryusz-Wolska (2015:777) touches upon this duality that is often present in historical audience research: many cinemagoers were queuing for hours to see their favorite film while others "seem to have chosen the films more or less at random". Evidently, people went to the cinema for a variety of reasons, often social, but equally often to see the films themselves. As mentioned in the introduction, due to their positioning against film studies in the past, NCH literature has diminished the importance of authors and films and over-emphasized the importance of social and cultural dimensions. In most of the historical audience studies, the film text and its authors do play a role but it is mentioned marginally, or worse, left implicit. The idea that the films did not matter has been countered for later periods of cinemagoing, e.g. Treveri Gennari (2015) finds that only 10 per cent of her sample is non-discriminatory when attending the cinema in the 1940s-1950s, meaning all others have chosen to attend specific films for a variety of reasons. Cinemagoing is also rather conditional for the audience under investigation in Ghent, "from the 1930s and onward" (Van de Vijver ea., 2013:7).

Some film titles do linger in studies of cinema memories. Often the same titles return:

*Snow white and the Seven Dwarves* (1937) is highlighted by many (Kuhn, 1999; Harper, 2004; Van de Vijver, 2016; Jernudd, 2013). *Gone with the Wind* (1939) surfaces in next to all studies on cinemagoing in the 1940s and 1950s, illustrating the persistent presence of canonical films in ordinary cinema-goers minds (Drotner 1998; Kuhn, 1999; 2002; Van de Vijver ea., 2013; Treveri Gennari ea., 2011; Treveri Gennari, 2015; Paz, 2003; Richards, 2003; Maingard, 2017; Jernudd, 2013). Apart from canonized works, next to all audience studies include what films their audiences saw and remembered (see additionally Lozano, 2017; Sedgwick ea., 2019; Jurca, 2019). Most of these studies pay attention to the films to find out what films were really of importance outside of the canon (see also Chopra-Gant, 2010) and whether canonical films were successful (see also Treveri Gennari ea., 2015).

Programming and films clearly play a role for audiences alongside "the social apparatus of the cinemas" (Van de Vijver, 2016). Or, as Sedgwick and Nicoli (2019) conclude, "cinema [is] understood as a social activity *based around* the attraction of film, both generically and individually" (282, italics added). It is this fact that is until today largely overlooked in NCH.

Another fact that has been largely ignored is *how* the text speaks to the audience. Gil Toffell's study (2011) illustrates how certain films addressed Jewish audiences in particular. This is the only study in NCH after Kuhn (2002) that I found explicitly linked the content of the film to the audience experience. Although her topic list for the interviews focuses more on place and activity[22], Kuhn (2002) did actually take into account the texts themselves in her large-scale study of British cinema audiences in the 1930s. That next to no studies included a textual analysis alongside the audience interviews, in order to understand better that experience illustrates how the center of gravity in most research designs and interview questions lies in the act of cinemagoing rather than the films as part of that experience. In that light, the consistent finding that texts do not play a role is hardly

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[22] As noticeable in Kuhn's 2002 question list on p. 244, see also Thissen (2019).

strange.

My own empirical work will illustrate that Kuhn's findings on audiences from the 1930s are not immediately translatable to later decades, due to a variety of societal changes. To mention only a few influences, the rise of consumer- and youth-culture after WWII and the rise of television play a substantial role in the experience of cinemagoing in the 1940s and 1950s (cf. Jernudd, 2018; Sjöholm, 2003; Van de Vijver ea., 2015; Illouz, 2012). Yet, most NCH research on audience memories uncritically repeat Kuhn's findings on the non-importance of films. In fact, almost no studies on past audiences are sensitive to changes in time when comparing their own research to Kuhn's, which sometimes differs by decades. The NCH has so far distinguished too little in cinemagoing for different generations in comparison to one another[23], an aspect that is also overlooked in discussions of comparability within NCH (Biltereyst and Meers, 2016; Biltereyst, Van Oort and Meers, 2019; Thissen, 2013).

Kuhn's landmark study is by now almost 20 years old. Her interviews were conducted in the 1990s. While some things continue to be confirmed in historical audience research, many more particularities have surfaced in interviews with subsequent generations but remain unattended. I argue that the increasing importance of texts and authors for generations of cinemagoers in the 1940s and after is one of these.

A second, related consequence of keeping the text as the elephant in the room and disregarding differences between decades, is that the medium is also overlooked. Today, as Robert C. Allen describes better than I can, cinema is "a textually disintegrated phenomenon experienced through multiple and unpredictably proliferating sites and

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[23] Van de Vijver ea. (2015) are an exception here, they do an in-depth analysis of a changing cinemagoing pattern over the 1950s to 1970s in Ghent, Belgium due to: (1) democratization of leisure, (2) expansion of recreational opportunities that made cinema no longer the economically most interesting option, (3) depillarization, (4) introduction and distribution of television.

modalities" (2011:44, see also Allen, 2006b:26-27). The first traces of "seeing film" as not equal to "going to the movies" can be seen in my sample below. Some of my participants remember their first Bergman-film – as seen on television. Does that mean their film-experience cannot be considered within the strand of NCH, since the term "cinemagoing" seems to exclude films on television? Are television experiences not social or not an experience? Does cinema become less of an event because of it (cf. Allen, 2011:51)? And, more importantly, what is the relationship between the medium and the strength of cinema memories?

### 2.4.2. The auteur coming up

Another outcome of changes in cinemagoing over the decades is the increasing importance of the auteur by the end of the 1950s, in line with critics and academics' emphasis on auteurs during that time. In earlier periods, stars are usually mentioned as important in audience studies (e.g. Stacey, 1994; Drotner, 1998; Kuhn, 1999; Saryusz-Wolska, 2015:777; Paz, 2003:366; Treveri Gennari ea., 2011; Richards, 2003:351; Maingard, 2017:17), illustrating the importance of celebrities connected to the film. Paz (2003) studies "the forgotten Spanish audience" from roughly the 1940s to halfway the 1970s. She finds that Alfred Hitchcock was the most-mentioned director, providing us with a first trace of the auteur in NCH. The definite proof of the importance of the auteur for the cinemagoing experience is found in a recent study on cinemagoing in Britain in the 1960s, where Melvyn Stokes and Matthew Jones (2017) find that participants surprisingly often mention art film directors (such as Ingmar Bergman, Frederico Fellini, and Francois Truffaut), sometimes even claiming an ongoing influence by certain filmmakers and their films to this day. Bergman is mentioned as being one of the most prominent (Stokes ea., 2017:82).

The central goal of this dissertation is to empirically prove exactly these points: we cannot disregard texts and authors as they are fundamental to the viewing experience. Rather than conceiving text and authors as monoliths, I will consider them as equally part of the context

as any other interpretation, largely in line with Staiger (1992, cf. chapter one, 1.2. *Janet Staiger*, pp. 26-28). In the next section I shortly discuss the histories of authors' and the text's positions in film studies, and how I will conceive of them in my dissertation.

## 3. Revisiting auteur theory

The emergence of auteur theory in film is generally located in the 1950s with authors such as Andre Bazin, Francois Truffaut, and Jean-Luc Godard. Most of them wrote for *Cahiers*. The notion of auteurism came to mean the study of a singular creative source or vision, most often linked to film directors (Corrigan ea., 2011:342). Interestingly, the *Cahiers*-auteurism can be seen as a reaction against the high art/low art division in cinema that was dominant at the time (Sarris, [1977] 2011:360). For the *Cahiers*-authors, American 'popular' directors such as Hitchcock were equally seen as "auteurs", just like European directors such as Bergman or Fellini (Sarris [1977] 2011:359-60). This is largely due to the strong roots of the *Cahiers*-authors in the French cinephile scene arising at the same time when *Cinematheque* in Paris started to archive and collect works. Additionally, the French ban on American films during the Vichy government and German occupation further contributed to the development of French auteurism. After the war, a whole range of films were simultaneously available, facilitating auteurist viewings (Wollen, [1969] 2011:363). But auteurism quickly grew into a new form of elitism, especially after Sarris translated and adapted the *Cahiers*-writings into his well-known essay "Notes on the Auteur Theory in 1962" (Sarris, 1962), implementing the French auteurism into the canon of American film theory, and provoking a huge response. Sarris takes the director as the sole creator of value and meaning (Corrigan ea., 2011:362). He distinguishes three aspects of authorship: technical competence, the personality of the director, and "interior meanings". Later, Peter Wollen ([1969] 2011), in the wave of upcoming structuralism in the 1960s (but even in line with later post-structuralist ideas), considers the auteur a critical construct rather than an individual creator. Nevertheless, Wollen maintains a hierarchy that is based on whether meaning exists *a priori* (a mere transposition of screenplay into cinematic codes for a *metteur en scene*) or *a posteriori* (the construction of a semantic meaning for an *auteur*).

Wollen's distinction between *metteurs en scène* and *auteurs* further contributes to the elitist character that auteurism later acquires (Wollen, [1969] 2011:362-4). Soon thereafter, the author was famously declared dead (Barthes, 1977). Barthes (1977) questions the Romantic idea of a creative genius and instead proposes to look at how the author is "an enunciation", a set of meanings present in the text's discourse.

In an equally seminal text, Michel Foucault investigates the author as a function of discourse by placing the author within a wider institutional context (Foucault et al., 1984). Rather than asking questions about the link between author and text, Foucault proposes to consider how discourse exists, circulates and is controlled, laying bare under what conditions and through what forms an entity like the author exists as function of that discourse.

Increasingly, and particularly informed by insights from the then upcoming field of cultural studies, authorship in film opened up towards what it stands for today: authorship as a "contested terrain rather than a stable designation" (Chris ea., 2013:11). The dominant questions in the field remain focused on the image of a given person, whether director, scriptwriter, or star, in relation to a given film text.

In line with Richard Dyer's work, this dissertation re-conceptualizes the *auteur du cinema* based on his or her image. Dyer's *star*-concept ([1979] 2004) helps us to understand the complexity of the reception of a popular film, but equally how "a body of work reveals the social meaning of a particular persona" (Corrigan ea., 2011:401). The star is an *image*, which covers both on- and off-screen life, and is comprised of a collection of texts that can be read in various ways (Dyer, [1979] 2004). These texts are of a different nature, as Dyer ([1979] 2004:60-3) distinguishes *promotion*, *publicity*, *films*, and *criticism and commentaries*. Promotion is the deliberate creation of a specific image through e.g. studio-controlled fan publications or press handouts. Publicity serves the same purpose but is unintentional and is "what the press finds out". Publicity usually has an aura of

authenticity. Films are the roles and narratives the stars play in. Films are often a vehicle for a certain star image, especially for actors. Lastly, criticisms and commentaries are what has been written about the star in terms of appreciation or interpretation. This is the only component that Dyer considers to be on the side of the audience rather than the industry. Hence, he speaks of a *gap* between the promotional and filmic construction of the star image on the one hand and the role of criticism and commentaries on the other.

The 'gap' is a useful distinction that I wish to maintain here for the following reasons. First, we have the author as public figure; a persona who embodies the "construction, constitution, and production of the self through identity play and performance by the individual in social settings" (Marshall and Barbour, 2015:2). Building on Goffman's *Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959) stating that we have a series of setting-specific roles that come with a front and a back stage, Marshall and Barbour (2015) stipulate that the persona is the public and recognizable role of an individual. This role is manifested through the interaction of the performance by the individual and a series of concrete recognizable elements, such as Bergman's characteristic leather jacket. Much in line with Foucault's self-fashioning (cf. next paragraph), Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble* (1999), or the investigation of memories, performativity is key: the persona is not fixed or natural but rather socially defined as it comes into being through the recognition of others. In this sense, the author is legitimized through the "repetitive assertion of the 'self-as-expresser' through culturally and socially laden discourses of authoring" (Staiger 2003: 50). Second, we have the audience that employs the author's image as one of its interpretative strategies when viewing a film.

To explore Bergman's persona, Foucault's concept of self-fashioning fits perfectly: how the individual monitors and censures his or her behaviors in relation to discourses in order to achieve a certain positioning within that society in the pursuit of certain goals (Foucault ea., 1988), which in Bergman's case is, for example, fame. Self-fashioning positions the individual in relation to the surrounding society through morality and thus encompasses

internalized dispositions but also *conscious* behavior by the actor as an ethical subject. Individuals become moral beings as they behave with respect or disregard towards a standard of conduct. Yet, moral action has a double relationship: to the reality in which it is performed and to the self that carries out the action. The individual forms himself as and becomes the ethical subject (Foucault, 1990). Applying this to authorship, Foucault's author-function further contributes to it as it works to establish and maintain power, and it explicitly functions to re-enforce itself through the author's discourse, e.g. Bergman actively fabricated his autobiographies and molded his public image (cf. Steene, 2005; Koskinen, 2002; Staiger, 2008; Sjöberg, 2013). The author *asserts* him- or herself as originator and in doing so, the author-function is reproduced (Staiger, 2003). The participants within the discursive structure that surrounds the author, e.g. the press, acknowledge this author-function and thus the status of the author is secured (Staiger, 2003: 50). This recognition is what I described as the performative aspect of the persona and author above. Recognition, inherently social as it is ascribed by others (Illouz, 2012), is a crucial component of authorship for Foucault (1988). As such, Bergman's image or persona is dichotomous, in line with Dyer's 'gap' ([1979] 2004): it is the result of an interaction between his own practices and the press' and audiences' interpretations of it.

To summarize, the central idea is here that auteurism is an interpretation located on the side of the critic or audience, an idea implicitly present in Sarris' seminal work: "[a]uteurism has less to do with the way movies are made than with the way they are elucidated and evaluated. It is more a critical instrument than a creative inspiration" (Sarris, [1977] 2011:361). This is supplementary to the image that the author or his surrounding creates, i.e. as located in the industry or institutional side. In line with Dyer ([1979] 2004), the institutional side can be further divided into what the author/institute controls (i.e. Dyer's *promotion* and *publicity*) and what the press and others construct as "public opinion" (i.e. Dyer's *criticisms and commentaries*). Remarkably, a similar macro-division of perspectives can be found within celebrity studies, where scholars such as Olivier Driessens (2013) identify the celebrity, the celebrity industry, media, and the public. The difference

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between *auteur* and *celebrity* lies primarily in the nature of the recognition: the celebrity as persona has a (media) attention-generating capacity that is not tied to a specific field of expertise (Driessens, 2013), while the auteur is recognized for a concrete achievement, e.g. a film. Tino Balio's (2010) chapter on the marketing of Ingmar Bergman as a brand in the U.S. illustrates this difference (see chapter four). I locate the difference between *celebrity* and *persona* in the fame-aspect: a celebrity always has a persona, but a persona – as a collection of on- and offstage roles – is not always a celebrity. More generally, the rise of celebrity culture (and, perhaps, the attention paid to it in academia) has intensified the importance of the individual as a brand (Boateng, 2013), including in film authorship.

Contemporary authorship studies focus more on the political and economic dimensions of authorship (besides legal and moral), a preoccupation they share with celebrity studies (Corrigan, 1990; Chris ea., 2013). Concerning Bergman in particular, chapter four will illustrate how his persona has been built through his own writings and those of the press, and how that in turn created a persona that was available to the audience as relevant in the interpretations of his films. This is in contrast to the more classical approaches of Bergman as auteur, as prevails in the field of Bergman-studies.

## 4. Bergman-studies

The absolute authority on Ingmar Bergman is Birgitta Steene. She not only wrote a reference guide (2005) but is also the only author who conducted an audience study on Ingmar Bergman halfway through the 1990s, something to which I will return below (1998; 1996). I will not reproduce her 1151-page long reference guide on Bergman here but instead elaborate shortly on what kinds of publications appeared on Bergman and mention a few examples, mostly published after Steene's reference guide from 2005. I will also discuss Bergman-studies in Belgium since the Belgian priest Jos Burvenich was one of the pioneers in Bergman-studies and in promoting Bergman-films outside of Sweden (Steene, 2005:834). After that, I discuss the few reception studies on Bergman there are so far.

### 4.1.1. Overview

Unsurprisingly, there are many books that analyze Bergman's oeuvre by focusing on one or a few films. From Steene's extensive bibliography of works on Ingmar Bergman (2005:879-1030), I have derived the following themes of those analyses: the portrayal of women, the relationship between man and woman, love and desire, sexual themes, religion and the metaphysical, art cinema, his "angst" and the psychic, (absence of) the political, realism/dreams, ageing, and separation. These themes are often related to wider questions in academia or society (e.g. Koskinen, 2010; Lunde, 2016; Hubner, 2007).

Quite a few books discuss his life and work more generally (e.g. Höök, 1962; Kalin, 2003; Koskinen ea., 2007; Thomasson, 2017; Macnab, 2009; Timm, 2008; Duncan ea., 2008; Vermilye, 2007; Shargel, 2007). Biographically, the focus is on Bergman's youth and family background, his relationship to actresses and crew, his relationship to women more generally, the so-called tax-case and the subsequent self-chosen exile, his image of a "film magician", and his career more generally. These themes return in the empirical analysis of Bergman's image in the press in chapter four.

As expected, given Bergman's status as auteur, there are many publications on Bergman's style and/or aesthetics (e.g. Törnqvist, 2015; Borden, 1977; Scott, 1965). Some books elaborate on his opinions, personality and/or life by analyzing his works, for example psychiatrist Barbara Young's *The persona of Ingmar Bergman: conquering demons through film* (2015). His authorship is discussed extensively, in relation to one or different media (e.g. as literary author or playwright), or in relation to other (literary) works or modern auteurs (e.g. Orr, 2014; Koskinen, 2001; 2002; Rossholm, 2017; Holmberg, 2018).

There are many publications discussing Bergman's films or oeuvre in relation to ideology and society or societal matters, anywhere from approximately 1950 to today (e.g. Bergom-Larsson, 1978; Hedling, 2006; 2008a; 2008b; 2010; Larsson, 2015). Many books relate Bergman's oeuvre to philosophical questions, both in and outside of his works (e.g. Lauder,

1989; Krook, 2017; Singer, 2009; Livingston, 2009). A last category of publications use his oeuvre to cast a new look on the films from, for example, a queer perspective (e.g. Humphrey, 2013), or the perspective of feminism, gender representations, and heteronormativity (e.g. Blackwell, 1997; Tay, 2006; Dahl, 2005).

Publications on Bergman are ongoing but I would say the '100 year Bergman' celebrations in 2018 motivated an upsurge in popular publications on Ingmar Bergman in Sweden. These include both reprints of older books and new releases. Examples are Leif Zern's reprinted *Se Bergman* ([1993] 2018) and the controversial book written by Bergman's housekeeper *Jag var Ingmar Bergmans hushållerska* (Haglöf ea., 2018). Many people that were close to him have published popular books on Bergman, such as some of his actors, Vilgot Sjöman's *L136* (2010) or Jörn Donner's *Bergman: PM* (2009).

Three publications look at Bergman as auteur from a slightly different perspective, all of which have been influential to my study of him below. First, Tino Balio studies from a political economic perspective how Bergman has been marketed in the U.S. (2010). Second, the book *Ingmar Bergman Revisited* (Koskinen, 2008) looks at the auteur from a broader perspective, and especially relevant for my dissertation is Janet Staiger's chapter on the performativity of authorship, which has inspired my conception of authorship above (cf. pp. 50-53). Third, the article by Maaret Koskinen (2009) on Bergman as a star has provided the basis for my analysis of his status as celebrity. I discuss Koskinen's and Balio's works in chapter four.

### 4.1.2. Bergman-studies in Belgium

Although Bergman-studies in Belgium are rather limited, I would like to mention two influential authors: Jos Burvenich and Jacques de Visscher.

Jos Burvenich, nicknamed "the film pastor" in Belgium, is an interesting figure. After the Second World War, he and film critic Maria Rosseels worked actively within the Catholic

pillar to promote film. Burvenich travelled all over Flanders, the northern, Dutch-speaking region in Belgium, to give lectures and film introductions to ten thousands of youngsters. Burvenich is said to have had close contact to Bergman, one newspaper article[24] even credits him as having contributed to the screenplays of Bergman's *Såsom i en spegel* (1961) and *Nattvardsgästerna* (1963), illustrating the mythological proportions Burvenich acquired in Belgium.

Burvenich wrote one of the first Catholic presentations of the religious dimension of Bergman's films (1960), and according to Birgitta Steene, Burvenich can be seen as one of the early contributors to Bergman-studies and "an early introducer of Bergman outside of Sweden" (Steene, 2005:834, 838). His best known publications are an analysis of Ingmar Bergman and his oeuvre up until the year of publication called *Ingmar Bergman zoekt de sleutel* (1962), and the book *Film als levensexpressie* (1976). In the latter he discusses Antonioni, Bergman, Bresson, Benuel, Chabrol, and Dryer, but also some "young Swedish filmmakers" such as Vilgot Sjöman, Jörn Donner, Jan Troell, Bo Widerberg, and Kjell Grede.

In everything Burvenich writes his admiration of Bergman is clear. All the analyses are auteurist and put the text central. Using a very archaic and poetic tone, Burvenich presents Bergman as the original genius of his works and digs into the films as illustrative for Bergman's ideas on life, love, and unsurprisingly, religion. More often than not, religious themes are read into the films.

In *Films als levensexpressie*, Burvenich starts off with the presentation of two types of audiences: "those who attend the cinema" and "those who watch a film". Rather than being a new cinema historian *avant la lettre*, this distinction illustrates Burvenich's elitist conception of culture and its audience. Those "who attend the cinema" are those who wish

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[24] "'Filmpater' Jos Burvenich overleden" [Film pastor Jos Burvenich died] (2002, April 22). *De Standaard.* http://www.standaard.be/cnt/nflk22042002_004

a mere escapism: "After a tough week, man wishes to dream. He is tired of problems before they are in focus. He believes he will escape the ordinary with some good dreaming: he attends the movie theater". He never really elaborates on the other category but implies heavily that they search for an intelligent and intellectual film. After this short analysis of the audience, Burvenich wanders off to discuss films and their qualities, putting the film central again, in line with the *zeitgeist*.

Jacques de Visscher also takes a very auteurist perspective in his work. He published some articles on Bergman and his films (e.g. 1982, 1992, 1996) and published the book *"Zielekanker". Symboliek in de filmkunst van Ingmar Bergman* in 1976. This book is as auteurist and text-central as it can be. The very first sentence of the introduction is "The Swedish filmmaker Ingmar Bergman (1918) is for us the most important artist in film history" (De Visscher, 1976:11). Furthermore, De Visscher claims that Bergman, although "more widely popular", is only liked by "the more culturally educated audience" (11). He thereby poses a similar view of an elitist audience as Burvenich did before him. The target audience of De Visscher's book is this audience, the ones who "believe that art can say something about man and the meaning of life" (24), but the book is also academic in its theoretical considerations, where De Visscher lays out his theory of interpretation, building on authors as Peter Wollen, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Paul Ricoeur, Susan Sontag, and Vsevolod Pudovkin.

De Visscher associates his own writings to those of, amongst others, Birgitta Steene (1968 and 1972, quoted in De Visscher, 1976:259), as he not only pays attention to the cinematography, but also to the interpretation and scope of the content. De Visscher offers an analysis of eight films: *Persona* (1966), *Vargtimmen* (1968), *Skammen* (1968), *Riten* (1969), *L182*, better known as *En passion* (1969), *Beröringen* (1971), *Viskningar och rop* (1972), and *Scener ur ett äktenskap* (1973). In the second part of the book, De Visscher elaborates theoretically on what the value is in interpreting films. He criticizes the widely occurring practice of linking Bergman's oeuvre to his biography, psychological health or

sociological background. Instead, he confronts the oeuvre as an "engaged spectator" and he lets the works speak for themselves. The only thing of importance for De Visscher is his own interpretation. In those interpretations, "the least of his worries" is "which youth, which marriage experiences Bergman has encountered, and in which social-economic or historic-materialist circumstances his works came into existence" (209). It is interesting that he formulates this sort of auteurist criticism in that one should not try to find out what his intentions were, yet he maintains an auteurist vision of Bergman's central importance at the same time.

All in all, very few books on Bergman fundamentally question his status as auteur. On the contrary, most reconfirm the canonization of Bergman through the use of his oeuvre as illustrative for his thoughts and opinions, personality, or philosophical and societal questions.

### 4.1.3. Reception studies on Ingmar Bergman

There are a few reception-oriented studies that investigate Bergman through archival materials: a master's thesis from 1986 explores Bergman's critical reception in the Stockholm daily press over an impressive time-period, i.e. the 1940s until the 1980s (Björnehult ea., 1986). Their conclusion is that Bergman's critical reception can be divided in four parts: (1) 1946-1953 "noticed"; (2) 1953-1963 "established"; (3) 1964-1971 debated; (4) 1973-1982 "honored".

Ingrid Stigsdotter and Mark Bergfelder (2009) present an in-depth study of the critical reception and international marketing of *Persona*, in line with the new film history tradition. Their study of Bergman in the U.S. and Britain finds what later will be confirmed by Stokes ea. (2017): Bergman-films have connotations of both art film and sexually explicit representations. Because of that, Persona's critical reception is quite paradoxical, and humor – in contrast to Steene's findings in Sweden – is not part of their experience. I elaborate on this study in chapter four.

Another interesting study is Rosario Garnemark's recent study, "Female sexuality as cultural blockage in Ingmar Bergman's 1960s Spanish reception" (2015), where she investigates how the Spanish authorities reworked the dialogues in dubbing and censored the images of the films to make the films fit within cinema regulations in Spain. Like in Belgium, the films were not released chronologically in Spain. Also like in Belgium, Bergman was a welcome auteur in Spain because of his religious preoccupations.

Most important for my dissertation are Birgitta Steene's reception studies (1996, 1998). These studies focused on relatively recent Bergman-audiences in the 1990s. In one of these studies, she compared the international reception in France, India, the U.S., Brazil, and Sweden (Steene, 1998). She constructs a typical viewer for each country and I will discuss this study in chapter five. Her audience study *Måndagar med Bergman* (1996) served as an inspiration for the topic list and an example for the design of my drop-off, for comparability purposes. In this study, Steene takes the cinemagoers of Fågel Blå on Mondays as her sample, a cinema in Stockholm that, at the time, screened Bergman-films on Monday. More information on this study can be found in chapter three *Methodology*. The largest difference between Steene's study and mine is that she investigated what Bergman meant to audiences in the 1990s, at the time of her studies, while I focus on the reception of Bergman and his films *at the time of release*. Despite the very rich body of Bergman studies there has – so far and to my knowledge – never been an exploration of Bergman or the meaning of his films for historical audiences.

## 5. Enter: the film text?

Text has always been central to film theory. Arguing for the re-inclusion of texts, after that audiences finally came to the forefront, seems backwards. Yet, I strongly believe that implementing some of the earlier theories and perspectives with texts at their core can explain *how* historical viewing would work in relation to text and context. This facilitates a more comprehensive approach to the historical film experience, particularly including

emotions. There is much valuable theory available from both sociological approaches (e.g. Illouz, 2012; Ahmed, 2004; 2010; Hochschild ea., 2003) and cognitive film scholars (e.g. M. Smith, 1995; Plantinga, 2009c)[25], all explicitly linking texts to viewers and to context. After a short discussion of the role of emotions and film texts in different film theories, I will elaborate on the usefulness of 'criterial prefocusing' and cueing as a means of including the film text into the audience experience more explicitly.

### 5.1. Texts and emotions

That emotions have remained separated from other interpretative processes of viewing for such a long time in (film) theory, corresponds to the dominant Western idea of reason and emotion as separate entities (M. Smith, 1995:3). Emotions assume the position once held by the spectator within film studies: it remains primarily hypothetical, theoretical, and ungraspable. Yet, in film studies in particular, emotions have been part of film theory since its inception, for example Merleau-Ponty, Münsterberg, and Eisenstein have all included emotions, passions, or shock in their theories. Both psychoanalysis and cultural studies have

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[25] I would argue that cognitive theory has mistakenly been criticized for bypassing contextual factors in their theories, due to two reasons. First, "cognitive" science is a vague concept that can refer to at least two different traditions. The first is the "investigation of cognition, encompassing attention, learning, memory, reasoning, problem-solving, and perception, that draws upon research in a variety of disciplines, including anthropology, artificial intelligence, linguistics, neuroscience, philosophy, and psychology". The second tradition is narrower and focuses on the investigation of the human mind as if it were a computer. Cognitive film studies fall under the former (Nannicelli ea., 2014:5), but media studies are divided among both, depending on the inclusion of affect or consciousness (Baran ea., 2015). Another reason why few people associate a cognitive approach with the inclusion of context is because cognitive research is characterized by different methodologies, with different underlying epistemological assumptions. On the one hand, there is the research that reduces everything to cognition and thus proceeds quantitatively with models on processing and corresponding beliefs. Underlying is a post-positivist epistemology and examples are Zillman's Mood Management Theory (Zillmann, 2011) or Konijn ea. (2011) on emotions and mass media. On the other hand, the direction can be reversed: instead of reducing everything to cognitive functions, the second, often qualitative, experiential approach expands the cognitive functions as shaped by their wider cultural and social environment. Cognition and context are in constant interaction and cannot be considered as separate. Undoubtedly, both approaches are connected and sometimes overlap. The second approach often struggles with the connotations of the former and is criticized for its reductionism. However, there is a different reductionism at work here: the former "tries to explain individual cognitive activity independently from social cognitive activity, and then tries to give a micro reduction of social cognitive activity […] in terms of a prior theory of individual cognitive activity", while the latter suggests "that we first look for a theory of social activity, and then try to give a macro reduction of individual cognitive activity – the activity of applying concepts, making judgments, and so forth – in terms of our prior social theory" (Friedman, quoted in Dennett, 1981:57).

worked extensively around pleasure. For psychoanalysis, pleasure when viewing is internal and/or perverted, such as in Laura Mulvey's *Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema* (1975). For cultural studies, pleasure is about negotiating everyday life with more exciting alternatives, such as Ien Ang's *Watching Dallas* (1985) or Janice Radway's *Reading the Romance* (1991). In both psychoanalysis and cultural studies, emotions are subordinate to other focuses: in psychoanalysis emotions work only to confirm ideological influence, while cultural studies have tended to conflate pleasure and activity, where activity is necessarily resistant to the dominant ideology (Stacey, 1994:96-7; see Mayne, [1993] 2011:93-4 for an in-depth discussion). Furthermore, I would argue that the psychoanalytic perspective is not very useful for exploring audience experiences bottom-up since their main premise is that affect is largely unconscious and not necessarily accessible (Ahmed, 2001:13). As I have argued, I believe that our only viable option for exploring filmic emotions is via memories.

Another influential strand on emotions-research is cognitive film studies. Unfortunately, cognitivists focus on the microlevel of individual brains. Up until today, the challenge remains for cognitive film studies to move beyond basic questions on narrative, emotions, and perception (G. Smith, 2014:289). Very few scholars have undertaken (film) reception studies to link theories of narration to actual audience responses (Gregersen ea., 2017).

I find it useful to conceptualize how the text is explicitly linked to emotions via the concept of "cueing". My conception of cueing does not go against the idea of audience activity. The text cues but the audience has its own interpretations, which are context-dependent as well as textually-dependent, as I will illustrate with my case on *Scener*. This is rather in line with the way Staiger (1992:48) conceptualizes texts as to provide "sense-data" to individuals.

Kuhn (2002) is about the only scholar in NCH who has so far ventured into textual analysis as an addition to the audience experience. On frightening films, she concludes that "[t]he ways in which these frightening moments are described and remembered by filmgoers who were children in the 1930s certainly suggest that the impression they made

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has as much to do with their cinematic presentation as with their content" (2002:96). Other research has demonstrated that some films are designed so as to address a certain type of audience (Toffell, 2011).

The concept of cueing helps us to identify a 'most-likely' interpretation (Plantinga, 2009a:254-55). In fiction, we are not confronted with unsorted stimuli as we are in everyday life; on the contrary, scenes and characters are "criterially prefocused" (Carroll, 2008:158-9). This means that they have been constructed from an intended emotional point of view in that filmmakers have selected those elements of the scene or sequence that they consider emotively significant. Appropriate techniques direct our attention, e.g. camera position and composition, editing, lighting, color, music, acting, dialog, and the structure or narrative progression of the script (Carroll, 2008:158-9; Plantinga, 2009b:79-80; Bordwell, 1985; Seeley ea., 2014:237-8). For example, variable framing "prompts questions about the causes and potential effects of depicted actions and events that the movie goes on to answer" (Seeley ea., 2014:240). These questions can be micro-questions, which form connections between different camera positions such as a shot/reverse shot, or macro-questions, which relate to the plot, subplot, and narrative in general (Seeley ea., 2014:241-5). Depending on the film's emotional intentions, this prefocusing can be straightforward, nuanced, ambivalent, or even contradictory (Carroll, 2008:160).

Also important for cueing is how narration and the narrative structure are related to character engagement by the audience. Murray Smith (1995:5) calls for "distinct levels of engagement with fictional characters, which together comprise […] the structure of sympathy". With "the structure of sympathy", Murray Smith offers an answer to the ongoing discussion of identification that I find useful in the analysis of how an audience relates to the characters and their portrayal. He claims that alignment, allegiance, and recognition are conflated in the concept of identification, and as such should be separated. *Recognition* is the process whereby spectators construct characters. The film provides visual and aural information on these characters, which results in an alignment. *Alignment* is the

extent to which we have access to the actions, thoughts, and feelings of characters. Our evaluation of these thoughts, feelings, and actions may result in a sympathetic or antipathetic allegiance for or against various characters. *Allegiance* depends on the access to the character's state of mind, an understanding of the context of the character's actions, and having morally evaluated the character on the basis of this knowledge[26] (M. Smith, 1995:75-86; see also Vaage, 2014). Not only does a given moral evaluation possibly results in allegiance, there is also the feeling of similarity between the spectator and the character, the sharing of an affiliation such as gender or race, or viewing the character is attractive or small (such as children) (Plantinga, 2009b:108).

Vice versa, that fiction plays a role in the socialization of emotions is an assumption implicit in most social approaches to emotions (Ahmed, 2010). Fictional emotions (experienced in films, for example) constitute "the building blocks for the cultural activity of imagination. One imagines and anticipates emotions that have been elicited through exposure to media content" (Illouz, 2012:210). Sociological approaches to emotions traditionally underline the role of culture in defining and labeling our emotions, emotional socialization, and emotion work (Peterson, 2006:114, see footnote 17). An interesting thesis is that experiencing, choosing, and displaying emotions function as a way of establishing a self within (in this case Western) society.

## 5.2. How does the audience come in, then?

Interestingly, in spite of different underlying theories on spectatorship and the role of the spectator in relation to text, most research exploring emotions depends on textual analysis (e.g. Ahmed, 2004; 2010; Berliner, 2017; Grodal, 2009; Brinkema, 2014; Kaplan, 2010), and only rarely the use of interviews or archives (Liljeström ea., 2010:2-5). Also many sociologists who explore love in particular, like I do in my case on *Scener ur ett äktenskap*,

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[26] Although our sympathy is mostly elicited for those characters with whom we align, it is also possible to have alignment without allegiance (M. Smith, 1995:144; see also Vaage, 2014). Cognitive inspired studies on reading literature support alignment with certain morals after reading, even to the extent of changing the self through learning (Mar, Djikic & Oatley, 2008; Mar & Oatley, 2008; Zunshine, 2006:4).

rely on textual analysis of e.g. films, literary texts or self-help manuals (Illouz, 2012; Giddens, 1992; Wilding, 2003).

The problem with a reliance on film texts alone is twofold. First, it assumes that the intended emotional effects in first instance work, so that the text can be analyzed into how this emotional elicitation works. Second, by relying solely on one's own reception, the analysis of texts results in the researchers' "turn to interiority" (Koivunen, 2010:55, see also Liljeström ea., 2010 as an example) rather than to the objects of research, be it the text and/or the hypothetical or actual audience. Again, with Kuhn (2002) as a notable exception, very few theories have triangulated with audiences in their study of affect or emotions to increase their understanding of the emotional (viewing) experience. In my approach, textual cueing is but one dimension of exploring the audience experience; the audience's voice remains central to the analysis. In chapter six, I include cueing, structures of sympathy, and emotional socialization in the analysis of the audiences' engagement with the text as part of their cinema experience.

## 6. Conclusion

Repeated findings within new cinema history studies are illustrative of the strand's robustness of research methods and reliability of findings (Kuhn ea., 2017:7). These repeated findings include the centrality of place and space to the cinema memory. Critical questions here are whether this could be in large part determined by, first, a specific focus in design and questions, and second, the spatial turn in media studies.

A central, returning claim is that the texts are of less relevance in the historical cinema experience. My central argument is that the fact that NCH has reacted against a text-centeredness in film studies, that this has made them reluctant, even blind, to the crucial position of films alongside the social dimensions of cinemagoing in the audience experience. Indeed, I have illustrated how the text has been pertinent but implicit in most studies within the new cinema history strand. To put it metaphorically, like a fallen tree in

a forest, the film is necessary to assert cinema's ontological status. Not only is the text one of the aspects that motivated audiences to attend the cinema, the film text is also decisive for the emotional experience. In order to assess this, I propose using the concept of cueing, which allows us to identify patterns of identification by looking at the structure of the text, narrative, and sympathy.

I also argue that it is high time to incorporate a sensitivity for the results emerging from new cinema history studies every decade. While Kuhn's study of the 1930s (2002) indicates that the films are less relevant (although countered by some other studies like Jurca ea., 2014), studies focusing on the 1940s and 1950s find an increasing importance of the films screened in the choice and experience of the audience (e.g. Treveri Gennari, 2015; Van de Vijver ea., 2013). Such a sensitivity becomes increasingly important with each passing decade; a generation and their experiences die off, and another generation with new particularities under new circumstances comes into focus.

In studies on cinemagoing in the 1960s, we can see an increasing importance of the auteur (Stokes ea., 2017), in line with an increasing focus on auteurs in academia and film critiques.

My study aims to further explore the place of the auteur and the text in the audience experience, focusing on Bergman and cinemagoing in the 1950s-1970s. For this, I have conceptualized the auteur as both author and celebrity. I argue that the construction of this auteur is context-dependent and textually-related, and that the auteur him- or herself has a crucial role in this via self-fashioning. I will trace how Ingmar Bergman has been constructed throughout his most active years as a filmmaker, and how this corresponds (or not) with the audience reception of that persona.

In the empirical chapters on audience reception, I will illustrate how vivid the memories of Bergman-films are and how films play a role in the cinema experience and memories thereof. Using his oeuvre, I will propose a nuance on Kuhn's typology of cinema memory

(2011). In the final chapter, I will include the film as text with regard to *Scener* in order to illustrate how films and authors are vital to the historical (emotional) experience. First, however, I will outline my mixed methodology and elaborate on triangulation; the methods of textual analysis, archival research, and ethno-historical interviews; and the comparability of research within the new cinema history tradition.

# Methodology

## 1. Triangulation and choice of methods

My methodology investigates three dimensions in particular: context-activated discourses on Bergman and his films that inform interpretations by the participants, textual cues, and memories. Somewhat simplified, my data come from texts, archives, and memories. Methodologically, textual analysis, archival research, and ethno-history interviews have much in common. Both interviews and archival research relate past to present and use information in a purposeful manner in order to influence and shape contemporary views (Timcke, 2017:10). The status of the interviews and memories is also textual as I analyze them as transcribed texts. Since I have done most of the interviews myself, interview circumstances are included in the analysis.

For the contextual dimension, I take two methodological "steps". The first concentrates on archival research in order to find as much contextual information as possible (in line with Staiger, 1992; 2000). The second step concerns a historical reception study through in-depth interviews, in line with Kuhn's work on cinematic memory (2002; 2007; 2011). I take the individual memories as significant for the wider cultural memory and relate them to discourses that I have outlined in my archival research. The step-by-step outline may sound like a sequential process, but in reality it is (preferably) not. For example, while researching different interpretations during interviews, I found alternatives that would not have come up if I had used a linear approach.

First I elaborate on my samples and the different methods used. Next, I discuss particular methodological choices for each empirical chapter. Afterwards, I consider methodological questions that arise from the comparative setup of my design. Within this comparative setup, I discuss the exhibition, release dates and screenings for Sweden and Belgium. Lastly,

I provide an overview of the parts of the dissertation that have been published.

## 2. Samples, methods, and limitations

### 2.1. Textual analysis

Textual analysis is only used in the last empirical chapter. I will analyze *Scener ur ett äktenskap* (1973), a TV-series written and directed by Ingmar Bergman. In six episodes, 'chapters' of approximately 50 minutes each, we witness the disintegration of a ten-year marriage between Johan and Marianne. According to Kalin (2003:152), the two central themes are (1) the demystification of love to something ordinary and (2) the wish to accept the partner and oneself. I describe this as autonomy/recognition conflict in chapter six. Both characters advance individually and their marriage evolves. Johan's identity changes from very self-confident to doubt and insecurity about everything. Marianne, on the contrary, increasingly realizes that she is only what others expect her to be as a wife and a mother (Bergom-Larsson, 1977; Thomson, 2006; Kalin, 2003). Her growing self-consciousness is a typical theme for the 1970s (Kalin, 2003) and connects to the second wave of feminism during that period (Illouz, 2012). Others have been more critical about feminist potential of *Scener*. For example, the consequences of divorce for the children are missing from the series. Also, the series never questions gender roles. The presupposed feminism is considered a "male abandonment from responsibilities that patriarchal privileges entail and woman's emancipation as byproduct" (Thomson, 2006: 224). Maria Bergom-Larsson argues that the process of a growing self-consciousness is undone by – spoiler alert – ending the series with Marianne having metaphysical or existential fear (Dagens Nyheter, 5 Oct 1974, "Johan och Marianne bakom samhällets masker").

I assume that scenes and characters in films are "criterially prefocused" (Carroll, 2008:158-9) in order to guide the spectator's attention to what is emotionally significant. I explore the text's intended meanings, which likely elicits a congruent response among many viewers. This is done through film techniques that relate to style and narrative, such as

camera position and composition, editing, lighting, color, music, acting, dialog, technical focuses on the characters, and the structure or narrative progression of the script (Carroll, 2008:158; Bordwell, 1985). My textual analysis mainly focuses on these aspects. Next, I explore which emotions, but also which deeper social meanings, these aspects relate to. In my specific case, I examine love, and to a lesser extent, marriage as love's institutionalized form. I textually explore potential meanings and feelings to then triangulate with the interviews, both strengthening the textual analysis and contextualizing my findings.

## 2.2. Archival research

My archival research is essential for including the context in my approach to viewing. The goal is to find which discourses were dominant during a given period and how these might have informed interpretations of the audience. I chose the daily mainstream press, as these have a wide reach in society and produce many articles, a combination that guarantees enough repetition as to reconstruct dominant patterns and discourses. Daily press has historically played a defining role in film culture (Abel, 2019:68; Loiperdinger, 2019:138). Additionally, daily press was, and still is, one of the main sources for the audience on film programming and reviews in any given location (see also Moore, 2019:367). As for the newspapers, I simply chose those that have the largest reach in Sweden and Belgium, mixing up-market and tabloid newspapers. The numbers on reach included below are for 2017[27]. In the subsequent chapters I will connect findings from the press archives to the participants' interpretations retrieved from the interviews. Recurring interpretations with links to discourses discovered allow me to explore what (dominant) discourses persisted through time in the form of cultural memory.

### 2.2.1. Archival samples

For my archival sample, I consulted three press archives: the digital newspaper archive at Kungliga Biblioteket in Stockholm, Sweden; the digitalized paper cutouts collected by the

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[27] Consulted "bereik" on https://www.cim.be/nl/pers/bereik-resultaten and "räckvidd" on http://www.mediekompass.se/lektionstips/fakta-statistik-kring-dagstidningar/, accessed on May 11, 2019.

Katholieke Filmliga in Leuven, Belgium, called DOCIP (accessible via http://abs.lias.be/Query/suchinfo.aspx); and the digitalized newspaper archive at Cinematek in Brussels, Belgium (to be accessed locally). The samples in both countries are constructed differently. In Sweden, I started from *all* newspaper articles on Bergman to select my sample from scratch. In Belgium, I had to rely on cutouts discussing specific films, and only by exception, Ingmar Bergman in general. Both consulted archives in Belgium were far from complete. However, since newspaper articles serve primarily as a contextualization of research, I have chosen not to consult additional archives in Belgium. This resulted in 385 articles for Sweden and 171 for Belgium (101 DOCIP + 70 CINEMATEK).

The period under investigation is 1 October 1944 - 17 December 1983, which ranges from the premiere of Bergman's first collaboration on a feature film (*Hets*, for which he wrote the screenplay) to one year after *Fanny and Alexander*, which he announced as his "last" feature film. This period encompasses the most active years of Bergman as a filmmaker.

In Sweden[28], I explored the four biggest newspapers. *Expressen* (Ex) is a tabloid with a liberal background and a reach of 2.300.000 readers. *Aftonbladet* (AB) is also a tabloid but is more social democratic in ideology, with a reach of 3.479.000 readers. *Dagens Nyheter* (DN) is an up-market paper with a liberal background with a reach of 1.131.000 readers. *Svenska Dagbladet* (SvD) is also an up-market newspaper with a moderate-conservative ideology and a reach of 837.000 readers.

For Belgium[29], the newspaper landscape has changed throughout the years and continuity was not always guaranteed. Since cinemagoing practices tend to be structured according to pillarization (cf. infra, pp. 92-93), I decided to approach the newspapers in the same way.

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[28] Approximately 10 million inhabitants today.
[29] I have only taken Dutch language papers since my participants are all located in Flanders, the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium with approximately 6,5 million inhabitants today.

Primarily, I have looked at these newspapers: *De Volksgazet* and *Vooruit*, both socialist newspapers that merged into *De Morgen* in 1978 (which had a reach of 791.300 readers); *De Rode Vaan*, a communist paper (stopped publication in 1993); *De Standaard*, a Catholic newspaper (reach of 1.175.700 readers); and *Het Laatste Nieuws* as liberal-Flemish newspaper (with a reach of 2.330.200 readers). Additional articles were taken from *'t Pallieterken* (Flemish-nationalist, rightwing newspaper); *Gazet van Antwerpen* (Catholic tabloid); *De Nieuwe Gids* (Catholic paper); *Knack* (neutral weekly magazine); *Film en TV* (Catholic film and television magazine); and *De Tijd* (neutral financial newspaper).

In the DOCIP-archive, no files could be found for *Hets* (1944), *Kris* (1946), *Skepp till Indialand* (1947), *Musik i mörker* (1948), *Hamnstad* (1948), *Sånt händer inte här* (1950), *Medan staden sover* (1950), *Frånskild* (1951), and *För att inte tala om alla dessa kvinnor* (1964). There were some files for these films in the CINEMATEK-archive but these usually lacked dates or even newspaper information. The first film that I found extensive information on in Belgium was *Gycklarnas afton* (1953).

### 2.2.2. Limitations

Archival research has its limitations. The archive in itself is an interesting phenomenon. People select and save things for an unknown future. In a sense, it is an effort to carry the present into future, to leave a legacy, to become immortal. Someone chooses what he or she thinks should constitute the past for future generations. Publicly, Bergman claimed that he always threw everything away, but surprisingly one day he phoned Professor Maaret Koskinen, whom he knew was studying his work, asking her to come and dig in his archive. Contrary to what he previously claimed, he had kept *everything* (Koskinen, 2002), but archives are not just a collection of items. They are constructed and discursive as a means of control (Hanssen, 2014:156). Consequently, archives can be seen as sites of epistemological struggle. Even the mere inventorying of items and the choice of words by which to categorize material implies choices, and thus, power (Anderson, 2013:229). Archives become "an affirmation or privileging of a particular way of being" (Timcke, 2017:11). In dealing with archives, we create a particular discursive image of what we research. Just like

in oral history interviews, politics of memory are at play (Timcke, 2017:12). Since all historical research encounters the limitation of what has or has not been preserved, I cannot escape from that in this study. I do not know what is left behind, and I cannot take into account what is not there. I can raise questions about how "typical" an item is in an archive. In that sense, archival research is iterative and provisional; it is circular: "what you find determines what you can analyze, and what you analyze structures what you look for in archival collections" (Hill, 1993:6).

More generally, the construction of an archive plays a significant role in the reconstruction and writing of history (Anderson, 2013:233). As Trond Lundemo in a workshop on the politics of the archive stated in November 2016: "the past is not in the archive, the archive is only where the past is produced". In researching this "produced past", there is a "phenomenological paradox": we must try and consciously understand past contexts, while the historical participants took most patterns and conventions for granted (Hill, 1993:68). The risk is that I am projecting modern meanings onto historical contexts in order to understand them. Similar problems are encountered when dealing with memories as they are always dealt with in the function of the present (Perks ea., 2006 and infra). While in memories we can find clues about interpretations in light of the present, regarding archives we project our own present onto someone else's past. As such, conclusions based on archives unavoidably contain the researcher's presumptions. At best, I can make these assumptions explicit and contrast findings to those obtained via other methods. As the exploration of the archive is not my primary goal of research, I will not conclude anything on its nature in the empirical parts.

## 2.3. Interviews

### 2.3.1. Interview sample

#### 2.3.1.1. Gathering of participants

In both countries, people were recruited mainly on the basis of availability. In the second instance, additional participants were gathered via the snowball method (Goodman, 1961).

In Sweden, participants were gathered through calls in film-related workshops for the elderly at Senioruniversitetet ("Senior University"), and via Aina Bellis, former "utlandschef" at the Swedish Film Institute, who has an extensive network and who strongly believed in my project. In Belgium, participants were recruited in Flanders (the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium) through an undergraduate student assignment. The search for participants in Belgium was remarkably harder but once we found one Bergman-viewer, we usually found many more. This indicates that the Bergman-audience in Belgium is a niche. Many people were found thanks to Wim Vandekerckhove and Miek De Brauwer, a couple with a strong interest in (art) film and a considerable network. Nine students were trained in interview techniques and all used the same list of questions. In Belgium, I randomly attended some of these interviews and conducted some of these myself. In Sweden, I conducted all interviews myself in Swedish.

There was an initial recruitment problem (Anderson, 2009:188-90), since at the outset there was no clear definition of who we were searching for. Although some of the calls for participation mentioned explicitly that the interviews were on Bergman, "whether one liked or disliked him", most people who were willing to be interviewed identified in some way as either Bergman-fans, -experts, or at the other end of the spectrum, -haters. Many people refused because they were afraid they would not know enough or because they felt no affiliation with the topic. Even those who were interviewed expressed concern regarding their own knowledge and made meta-remarks asking whether their answers were satisfactory. Because of this, the middle range of (not outspoken) opinions on Bergman is probably unaccounted for. A possible explanation for this phenomenon is the dominant and visible persona Bergman has created: all Swedes know Bergman by name, but only a cultural elite is today still willing to talk about their Bergman-viewing. In Belgium, only certain cultural circles seem to know the name of Ingmar Bergman.

### 2.3.1.2. Interview progression and questions

In Sweden, 20 people were interviewed, and in Belgium, 28. These interviews were

conducted face-to-face during the course of 2015 and 2016, in people's own homes or at a location of their choice. The interview was a semi-structured in-depth interview with some probes (for the full questionnaire, see appendix 2). The questions were structured according to topics, but the interviews rarely followed this structure. The undergraduate interviewers and myself often had more natural conversations and made sure all the questions were covered at the end of the interview.

All participants signed an informed consent form at the start of the interview. The standard procedure when dealing with respondents is to make all respondents anonymous or to allocate pseudonyms. However, research indicates that some people might feel they lose ownership and agency when their words can no longer be identified as theirs. Furthermore, allocating random pseudonyms might result in names that do not "match" the original names in connotation (cf. Grinyer, 2009). For this reason, I have given each participant the choice to participate in their own name, choose a pseudonym, or remain anonymous. Some appreciated this choice and clearly expressed the desire to have their real name used, while others chose anonymity. The research design for my interviews was approved by the Ethical Commission of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences at Ghent University in February 2016. A GDPR-record was made for this project on dmponline.be in May 2019.

A drop-off was taken at the start of each interview (age, sex, social background, education, place of upbringing, cultural habits, as well as which Bergman-films they had seen and which were their favorites; see appendix 3). This drop-off was largely in line with Steene (1996) for comparability purposes. Remarkably, the participants in Steene's reception study dating from the early 1990s were predominantly aged 21-30 (86/158 male and 58/103 female), and in second instance between 31-50 years old (48/158 male and 22/103 female). For the other age groups the number of participants were under 10 in total. This means that I am probably studying the same cohorts[30] in my study about 25 years later.

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[30] With cohort I mean all those that are born in a specific decade. This differs from the concept of generation

Most participants who took part in Steene's interviews were 'middle class' and grew up in a bourgeois environment, usually born and/or raised in and around Stockholm. Politically, the majority were oriented towards the left or center. All parameters were quite similar to my sample, which means that my participants, despite self-selection, are likely to constitute a quite typical Bergman-audience. In Belgium, no previous studies had been done, so nothing conclusive can be said.

The interviews usually started with a general question about what love means for the interviewee. This intentionally confrontational question was posed at the beginning to have an uncolored answer. Starting with such a personal question often broke the ice quite quickly. Next, the questions dealt with the participants' first Bergman-films, such as, what they remember and who they went to the cinema with, followed by questions on what the most important Bergman-film is for them personally, whether they have learned anything from a specific film, and whether there are films that have been influential in their own life. We asked whether they "loved" Bergman-films and whether they recognize their own life in his films. We also asked what others potentially thought about the answers given to this question to assess the social dimension. The next topic was Ingmar Bergman as a director and whether their image of him has changed over time. Then we dealt with the Swedishness or universality of the films. From then on the interview usually shifted towards questions on love: first on love stories in general, then love in Bergman-films and *Scener* in particular and the representation of men and women. Next, we asked about what they know about Bergman's private (love) life and what their opinion was. Lastly, we talked about the participants' general ideas about love: infatuation, monogamy, sexuality and lust, gender, love in society, and in all of those topics, potential changes over time. At the end of the interview, as a recapitulation, we asked what place Bergman and his films hold in the participant's life.

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that indicates a member in the natural sequence of grandparents, parents, children, and grandchildren, a progression that traditionally assumes a distance between generations of about thirty years (the "pulse-rate hypothesis") (Reulecke, 2008:119).

In the interviews, no explicit distinction was made between films and television content because I wanted to allow my participants to include whatever they deemed relevant into the concept of "films" throughout the conversation, especially because many works of Bergman have been re-released on different media, including film, television, theater, and even opera. Usually the participants mentioned if and where they have re-seen films, at other times we asked for it but not systematically. The fact that Swedes had more access to the films due to replays in cinemas and on television was taken into account in the analysis. Those works originally produced for theater and opera were left out of the interview explicitly as these are more tied to a national context and would complicate the comparative setup.

The interviews varied in length ranging from just under one hour to over three hours. All interviews were transcribed in verbatim, resulting in over 750 pages of transcribed material for analysis.

### 2.3.1.3. Participants' profiles

| Sweden | man | woman | TOTAL |
|--------|-----|-------|-------|
| 1930-1940 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 1941-1950 | 3 | 10 | 13 |
| 1951-1960 | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| TOTAL | 7 | 13 | 20 |

Table 2: no. of participants in Sweden according to gender and date of birth

| Belgium | man | woman | TOTAL |
|---------|-----|-------|-------|
| 1930-1940 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| 1941-1950 | 4 | 1 | 5 |
| 1951-1960 | 11 | 8 | 19 |
| TOTAL | 17 | 10 | 27 |

Table 3: no. of participants in Belgium according to gender and date of birth

Participants were categorized according to age, sex, political orientation, and class background. The latter was constructed through where they grew up, their own and their parents' level of education, profession, and self-identification. Despite the fact that statistical representativeness was not the objective of this study, I still aimed for as much variation as possible within these four parameters to account for a variety of experiences. Both in Sweden and in Belgium, most participants had a middle- or upper-class background. This bias is probably due to self-selection, as these class backgrounds seem to 'use' Bergman more for displaying their own cultural development, and if anything, they are self-confident enough to be interviewed about it.

Generally, I can define my audience as an "art-house audience", on which relatively little is known (Klinger, 2006:20; Athique, 2016:105-6). We do know that this type of audience often consists of a large proportion of film professionals, students and academics (as are my participants), and that they can be related to a certain "taste culture" of "quality" cinema (Athique, 2016:105-6; Stigsdotter, 2008:42). Art-house audiences have been shown to form "indirect communities" with a sense of like-mindedness between audience members, built around, for example, taste, class, age, ideology and etiquette. This sense of like-mindedness appears to be true, as art-house audiences tend to share demographic, taste and ideological characteristics (Evans, 2011:327, 339).

For Belgium, I can assess these demographics based on a report from the Flemish Audiovisual Fund[31] on the audience of special film screenings in cultural centers. Usually, these films can be categorized as "art films". The audience who attended these was predominantly female (more than 60 per cent), one third was between 45 and 60 years old and there is next to no ethnic diversity (Martens ea., 2015). In Sweden, I acquired a similar report thanks to Ingrid Stigsdotter (2016), who studied the audience of four art cinema's in four Swedish cities: Bio Rio (Stockholm), Bio Roy (Göteborg), Spegeln (Malmö) and Röda

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[31] Thanks to Eduard Cuelenaere.

Kvarn (Helsingborg). There also the audience consisted of remarkably more females (73%) and older people (71% was 50 years old or older) compared to the Swedish average of cinema visitors. In general, more women than men participated in "fine arts" in Sweden (such as opera, classical music, theater, ballet). Most people in this sample worked in the cultural sector. My sample is very similar to that of the reports on art-house audiences, which confirms that my participants can be seen as part of an art-house audience in both countries.

In Sweden, most participants were women (13/20) born in the 1940s. In Belgium, most participants were men (18/28) born in the 1950s. A possible explanation for this difference is first and foremost that the persona of Ingmar Bergman in Sweden was highly sexualized/celebritized, generally appealing more to women, while his international status was that of high art auteur, where a mainly male cultural elite uses knowledge on Bergman to portray their own elite status. Nevertheless, the latter tendency was also present in Sweden. Another explanation is that in Belgium a larger sample was collected as part of a student's assignment, where most participants can be expected to have been recruited within an immediate circles of family and friends, e.g. parents or grandparents, and these were situated in a younger cohort than those collected in Sweden. Contacting similar Belgian institutions that also organize courses for the elderly unfortunately proved fruitless. Within Sweden, Bergman was known from very early on (Björnehult ea., 1986), while in Belgium the peak of his career is situated in the 1960s and 1970s, when these participants became active cinema-goers and were in their most influential years in terms of cinema memory as adolescents (Kuhn ea., 2017:12).

Memories of cinemagoing in late childhood and adolescence are remarkably strong, a fact that is also supported by neurological research; it is referred to as the "reminiscence bump" (Kuhn ea., 2017:12; Jernudd, 2013:113; Janssen ea., 2007). It was found that the peak of a *generation* identity formation lies between 10-19 years old, while the peak of intimate relation formations lies between 20-29 years old (Holmes ea., 1999:21). Moreover, research shows that watching a film multiple times further increases this reminiscence bump

(Janssen ea., 2007:755). This means that canonization likely contributes to valuing certain cultural products from one's adolescence, as is the case for Bergman-films and my participants here.

Age is relevant as it indexes both life course (teenager, parent, elderly) and generation (as in those that have grown up in a particularly formative historical era (Reulecke, 2008:119), such as 'postwar' generation, 'sixties' generation). An interaction exists between the two, as being young in a given period determines which generation one is part of. Assuming that age groups can be seen as communities of memory (Erll, 2011:56-7), both age and generation play a role in which cultural frameworks people employ in their interpretations (Reiner ea., 2001:173). For example, some Swedish participants often referred to the concept of "fyrtiotalister" to describe one age group and generation, meaning those born in the 1940s and who have actively been engaged in the societal changes during the 1960s and 1970s. By means of comparison, a Swedish newspaper article describes "femtiotalister" as "sympathetic, pale, and nice" as they were too young to be part of '68 (Ovander, n.d.).

Similar to Steene's sample (1996), the political orientation is primarily "center" and "left", with only two respondents in Sweden and three in Belgium answered "right". Three people in Sweden and eight in Belgium either answered they were not-political or blanco.

All participants were born and raised in Sweden and Belgium, respectively, except for György (Hungarian, born 1936, has lived in Sweden since age 20) and Jørgen (Danish, born 1950, lived in Sweden since age 25) and Mhammed (Tunisian, born 1949, unknown duration of stay in Belgium). These participants were interesting as they, despite spending most of their lives in Sweden or Belgium, could at the same time continue to view matters with an outsider-perspective. This was noticeable in their assessments of Swedes and Belgians in general, in which they did not include themselves.

### 2.3.1.4. Analysis method

After the interviews were transcribed, I analyzed the interviews bottom-up, using a grounded theory approach (Glaser and Strauss, 2006). For the first section of the interview on Bergman and his films, the following topics emerged for both countries: memories of cinemagoing (including cinema versus television comparisons); experiences of their first Bergman-film; the auteur (the artist, his personality, identification with the assumed person Ingmar Bergman); Bergman's women; identification with the films; the films as art and art cinema (including the presumed quality and the association of his films with a cultural elite); religion; eroticism and sexuality; love and relationships in Bergman-films; the representation of women, men, and the female identity; the meaning of the films and Bergman in the life of the participants; Sweden as construction (including nature, and female and sexual emancipation); and lastly, specificities (scenes, images, actresses, feelings). Also present were meta-reflections on the interview. Themes that surfaced for Swedish participants in particular were class differences; the use of language; and pride of Bergman. Regarding *Scener*, the following topics came up: identification; realism; evaluation of one's own or parents' relationship; innovation in the portrayal of love; feelings and reflections around the memory of the series.

For the interview part on love, the following topics emerged: changing society and emancipation for women; gender, class, and generational differences; ideas on marriage; definitions and meaning of love (including monogamy); the difference between infatuation and love; and the difference between love and lust.

In order to validate the data (cf. Treveri Gennari ea., 2011), all analyses were sent to all the participants by the end of 2017 so that they could give feedback and reflect or discuss my findings and interpretations. This allowed me to deepen the results and many participants confirmed the findings in terms of recognizability.

Chapter five in particular builds exclusively on my participants' memories of cinemagoing.

I started with their interviews and structured the information in a bottom-up way. Only in the second instance did I apply and re-evaluate Kuhn's typology (2011). Identity was approached in a bottom-up way, only when relevant to the identification and/or interpretation and subsequent strength of the memory.

### 2.3.2. Mining memories and oral histories

Methodologically, new cinema history research relies partially on the oral history tradition, as I also will be doing here. What is borrowed from oral history is the central aim to give a voice to those memories that would otherwise be lost or dismissed as 'ordinary'. The use of oral history methods on cinemagoing has the explicit aim of constructing alternative histories from below, via the subjective memories of participants (Meers ea., 2012; Kuhn, 2002). Kuhn's term "ethnohistory" (2002) refers in this respect beautifully to the cultural anthropologists and historians who explored cultures without written documents in the 1940s. She thereby explicitly takes informant-generated accounts as the central resource of her historical inquiry, including giving them a voice equal to her own (Kuhn, 2002; Kuhn ea., 2017:6).

In the oral history tradition, subjective memories are seen as meaningful for analyzing historical experiences (rather than events), the relationship between the past and present, and the interplay between memory and personal and collective identities. At the same time, one should maintain a critical position as memories might be influenced by dominant histories (Perks ea., 2006:3-4). In contrast to oral history, interviews on cinema memory and historical audiences tend to be semi-structured through the use of topic lists or a list of questions (Kuhn, 2002:244; 1999; Van de Vijver, 2012; Jernudd, 2013). Sometimes, these questionnaires are constructed bottom-up, such as with Jackie Stacey (1994) who is seminal in the exploration of audiences and stars.

A methodological similarity between oral history and new cinema history studies is the triangulation of data. New cinema history often combines oral history interviews with other

data – such as that based on reception, circulation, programming, or exhibition – to explore the social and cultural dimensions of historical cinemagoing (Van de Vijver, 2012; Meers ea., 2012; Van de Vijver ea., 2013; Kuhn ea., 2017; Maltby ea., 2011; Bitereyst, Lotze, and Meers, 2012). A very relevant contemporary methodological debate in new cinema history studies is on the comparability of research designs (Bitereyst and Meers, 2016; Bitereyst, Van Oort and Meers, 2019). I discuss this for my own case shortly. First, I elaborate on methodological issues in ethno- and oral history research.

There are a wide variety of problems related to placing films in a wider sociocultural and historical context[32]. Adding the missing audience, as new cinema history studies do, partially solves this but raises new methodological problems. These include (1) defining who to study and how to access them, especially past spectators; (2) how to collect the material; (3) which methods of interpretation to use; (4) selection, construction, and (de-)formation of memories; (5) processes that are less accessible via speech; (6) political and ethical issues between the interviewer and the interviewee; (7) limited historical remains that result in a bias; (8) reliability of the results and repeated "measurements" (Staiger, 1992:79-81; Stacey, 1994:36-7, 43, 103-4, 127, 142-3; Kuhn ea., 2017:11). In the description of my samples above (2.2.1. *Archival samples* and 2.3.1.1. *Gathering of participants*), I elaborate on how I have handled the first two points (who to study, access, and collection of materials). The other points I have reworked into three limitations that I discuss at present: (1) historical objects; (2) the past-present relationship; and (3) self-reflexivity.

### 2.3.2.1.  Historical objects

From the 1970s onward, new approaches to memory were established on the notion of memory as "an active process of creation of meanings" rather than a "passive repository of facts" (Perks and Thomson, 2006:211). Therefore, we should be aware of both the "mythologizing influence of public memory and the specificity of private memories"

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[32] For a productive discussion, see Maltby, 2011.

(Anderson, 2009:184). Interpretations change over time. They change in how they are distributed in social groups, and the reality that has formed them has changed (Lummis, 2006:256). One can never know how faithful the memory is to the original event. Yet factually 'wrong' statements are still psychologically 'true' and this is valuable in itself. The factual validity lies in that interviews reveal unexplored areas of everyday lives and unknown (aspects of) events therein (Portelli, 2006). Staiger's conception of interpretation (1992) allows us to look at the cultural constraints in the formation of memories, and to assess what discourses give rise to dominant and alternative interpretations, through time.

### 2.3.2.2.    The past-present relationship

The salience of discourses in interpretations can only be accessed through memories. Cultural memory forms the bridge between these discourses and their interpretations. Interpretations are shared to the extent that they are context- and historically specific: "shared memories of the past are not accidentally produced by social groups but a consequence of cultural mediation, primarily of textualisation and visualization" (Tamm, 2013:461). In short, returning discourses can be found as people draw on similar repositories of collective or cultural memory (Halbwachs, 1992; Assmann ea., 1995; J. Assmann, 2010:121), which function through figures of memory as a result of institutionalized mediations of memory: "fateful events of the past, whose memory is maintained through cultural formation (texts, rites, monuments) and institutional communication (recitation, observance)" (Assmann ea., 1995:129).

Memory is here material in that films are considered as a medium through which cultural memory manifests itself (Assmann, ea., 1995:129; Erll, 2011:68). Kuhn also refers to material memory in its second sense: in its contribution to processes of canonization and (film) historiography. It should be noted that studies which question the canon rarely explicitly mention remembering and memory as integral part of building that canon (Erll, 2011:68, 75).

Material memory is connected to how I consider memory explicitly as history's

counterpart, in line with oral history traditions (cf. Perks ea., 2006). Since Bergman has traditionally been approached as a high art auteur with his works canonized, the memories of my participants serve as an alternative to official historiography. Memory is also historical in that memories serve as data for my historical inquiry. Memory *is* history in the sense that memories entail accounts of the past, despite being influenced by social and cultural contexts (Erll, 2011:47).[33]

Explorations of memories in the present should be approached as active processes of the creation of meaning, also relating to and in function of that present (Portelli, 2006; Popular Memory Group, 2006:46). The merge between past and present subsequently allows for an exploration of official or dominant historical discourses and into different accounts of social experiences (Jernudd, 2013:111-2), through the persistence of discourses.

The subjectivity of memory (and what is forgotten) is its strength: it tells us how the present relates to the past, how a participant defines his or her identity based on memories, how collective memory finds a way into personal narratives, and, insofar as history is seen as the struggle for hegemony, how dominant histories and discourses are produced (Perks and Thomson, 2006:3-4; Popular Memory Group, 1982). The time-dimension implies that forgetting is inherent and crucial for individual and cultural memory. As memories are limited by neural, psychological and cultural constraints, "forgetting is part of social normality […] much must be continuously forgotten to make place for new information, new challenges, and new ideas to face the present and future" (A. Assmann, 2008:97).

We find many similarities between how memories stand in relation to society and Staiger's (1992, 2000) theory on the importance of context in reception. Where Staiger linked discourses to interpretation and interpretative strategies, discourses are often linked to the formation and form of memories.

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[33] For an extensive discussion on the relation between memory and history as concepts, see Erll, 2011:39-45.

### 2.3.2.3.   Self-reflexivity

Studying memory, because of its inherent performativity, is necessarily relational (The Popular Memory Group, 1982), or as Portelli (2005:2) calls it, dialogical. This includes a dialog between interviewees and interviewers, between the time of this dialog and the historical time discussed (memory), between the story and history, and between the orality of the source and the writing of the historian.

Perks and Thomson (2006:5) argue for reconsidering the relationship between interviewer and interviewee because it cannot be seen as 'objective' in the traditional sense. Qualitative audience research often lacks reflexivity on the part of the researcher, while, for example, the gender and ethnic identity of the researcher is relevant and potentially constructs power relationships in interviews, and in the research project as a whole (Lotz, 2000). What should be made explicit are the power relations between researcher and participant, and questions of silence: who has a voice to speak (Lotz, 2000)? The participant "speaks *to* the historian, *with* the historian, and inasmuch as the material is published, *through* the historian" (Portelli, 2006:40). The question is how much of the participant's speaking is left after this. Mayne ([1993] 2011) argues none. She considers the projections one makes as an investigator as equally problematic as the ideal reader constructed by abstract theories. Consequently, as much as possible, subjective constructions by the interviewer and interviewee should be made explicit (Lotz, 2000; Mayne, [1993] 2011). The relationship towards the interviewee should always be respectful, open, and reserved (Kuhn, 2007:284).

A first, methodological question here is how much prior knowledge the researcher should have. For my interviews, I researched existing literature on Ingmar Bergman and his films, as well as watched most of his films in advance. The outcome of this was both negative and positive. It was negative because my prior knowledge as researcher was affirmed throughout the interview, creating an expert (and thus more powerful) position for me rather than the preferably expert participant on his or her own memories (see also Stacey, 1994:141). At the same time, this facilitated an understanding of many of the quotes and stories, because

participants tended to refer to cultural knowledge for fashioning their own expertise. Along similar lines, some participants gave socially desirable answers, especially at the beginning of the interview, usually not relating to their own memories but what they believed has been valuable for society or could be valuable for the researcher. This echoes the entwinement of memories and identity-construction as participants potentially wanted to come across as knowledgeable. Knowledge on popular discourses helped identify these answers. Probing usually solved this as the interview progressed.

In my interviews, age was probably most determining for the interview situation. While all participants are more or less born before 1960, I am born in 1986 and the undergraduate interviewers who assisted in Belgium after 1990. That means a difference of 30 to 60 years. It can be expected that people talk about their past in a way that it would make sense today and holds contemporary values. Throughout the interviews, I noticed a bonding with female participants, sometimes over motherhood. With male participants, I sometimes noticed the opposite, a curiosity on their side regarding who this much younger woman was who was asking them questions about Bergman. Sometimes I could feel they were trying to impress me with stories about themselves, again illustrating the connection between the desired identity of the present that is constructed via the (selected) memories of the past. This latter fact also returned in the interviews conducted with male participants by female undergraduates. One respondent crossed that line significantly with, among other things, constant allusions to relationships between elder men and younger women, sexually intimidating the female undergraduate. Power struggles clearly play a role in such a case.

Another reflection I want to make is the angle of Ingmar Bergman and love in the case study of *Scener*. Historically, and for some of my participants, Bergman was viewed in terms of his religious struggles rather than complex images of love. Some argue that contemporary preoccupations with love have replaced those with religion (Benze'ev and Goussinsky, 2008:4; Johnson, 2005:22-45; Illouz, 2012:159-61), which my choice of

research topic seems to confirm.

The influence of me and the present is woven throughout this dissertation. Previously, anthropology and feminist studies have addressed this issue and the importance of subjectivity and creating meaning together (Harraway, 1988; Lotz, 2000; Perks and Thomson, 2006:54-72). What I present here is not an absolute truth, nor a claim to reality. It is an attempt to account for experiences in the past and today, and to lift these experiences to the surface for the sake of providing an alternative to the histories we already know, not only of Bergman and his films but also on heterosexual love, marriage and relationships, and sexuality in the 1960s and 1970s.

## 3. Methodological remarks per empirical chapter

Due to different focuses in the empirical chapters, I have not applied all methods to all chapters. In chapter five, I only make use of the interviews, so I will not elaborate further on that.

### 3.1. Methodological choices for chapter four

To explore Ingmar Bergman's persona, I have in first instance used press archival research as described above. In Sweden, 21.959 newspaper articles contained the words "Ingmar Bergman". I have manually selected 385 articles that thematically dealt with Bergman's private life, he and women, and his public image. The discarded articles dealt with the promotion of films or theater plays, or were reviews of his work. This means that, in Dyer's terms ([1979] 2004), only parts of "criticisms" were included in the sample and no "promotion" or "publicity" materials. There are three reasons for this selection. First, Bergman as auteur has been analyzed thoroughly before (see chapter one, 4. *Bergman studies*, pp. 53-58). Second, Maaret Koskinen's analysis (2009) illustrates that we cannot disconnect the auteur from the celebrity. Often, this complicated relationship between authorship and celebrity and the role of agency therein has been negatively conceived, or not at all (York, 2013). In my case, this interaction works strongly to the advantage of

Bergman's auteur-status and the subsequent interpretations by the audience. I have taken Koskinen's sample as a starting point, meaning I have kept a similar selection criterion. Third, to mitigate the potential loss of information due to my selection concerning Bergman as an author and his critical reception in Sweden, I have included the results of Bergman's press reception as an author, as produced by Björnehult ea. (1986) and Asp (2010).

In Belgium, my work was more limited. I researched the press records of the Catholic Film League (KFL) and the collection of CINEMATEK Film Archive in Brussels. I selected articles that dealt with the author explicitly, even when it was part of the films reviews. In the DOCIP-files there were press files for each film, released by the Swedish Film Institute. An evolution in these materials has been taken into account in the analysis.

My choice was to not consider peer and academic views on Bergman, nor his (film or theatre) works, but instead to opt for a longitudinal approach to observe the prevalence of a certain persona and how that changed as Bergman's career progressed.

Common themes of explanation for Bergman's persona and behavior were similar in both countries, especially after Bergman's breakthrough in Belgium at the end of the 1950s. The different themes were largely 'the sexual', 'Bergman as womanizer', 'Bergman as expert concerning women', 'the influence of Bergman his youth/father/mother/God', and 'Bergman as demon director' or other negative aspects of his personality. The first three themes are grouped under "women and love", which leaves us with a total of three themes that are key in the construction of Bergman's persona: "youth", "women and love", and "personality". Similar topics are present in existing literature on Bergman (Steene, 2005; Asp, 2010; Koskinen, 2010). This points to a strong external validity of my findings.

Additionally, I explored Bergman's own writings as a means of self-fashioning a certain persona. According to Foucault (1984), an ideal way to analyze self-fashioning is analyzing written letters, as it simultaneously focuses on the addressee as well as the 'self' that one

wants to be known as (persona). In chapter four, I investigate Ingmar Bergman's own writings about himself in a similar way. It is both a gateway into his psyche and a way of purposefully portraying himself to a certain audience. The selection criteria for my research material were that they had to have an explicit link between the text and his person (and by extension, his private life), and the text had to be published. This includes his autobiographies with original titles *Laterna Magica* (henceforth shortened as "LM", 1987) and *Bilder* (henceforth shortened as "B", 1990), and the interview book *Bergman om Bergman* (henceforth shortened as "BoB", 1970). I have included Bergman om Bergman as it is claimed to have been re-edited by Bergman himself (Sjöberg, 2013:317), assuming his active participation in the image it provides us.

## 3.2. Methodological choices for chapter six

This chapter is methodologically the most extensive. I have conducted a textual analysis of *Scener*[34]. I have studied its critical reception in the newspapers mentioned above and some Swedish (women's) magazines, inspired by Koskinen's article (2009). These magazines were *Veckojournalen*, *Femina*, *Husmodern*, and *Svensk Damntidning*. I researched these magazines only for 1973 and 1974, around the airing of the series on Swedish television. The primary reason for exploring these magazines was because I wanted to get a loose grasp on the reception of the series in popular media, most of them oriented towards women, and only for contextualization. As there was no comparable public debate and the series was released as feature film first in 1975[35], I have not conducted a similar analysis for Belgium.

The wider political and social context of both countries has been researched via books (e.g. Bergom-Larsson, 1978; Östberg, 2008; Witte ea., 2005). Additionally, I have re-

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[34] Together with Eduard Cuelenaere, see Van Belle ea., 2017.
[35] The reviews of the film in Belgium are dated february 1975: De Standaard, 28/2/1975, "Bergmans Scenes uit een huwelijksleven. Zoals het klokje thuis tikt..." [Bergman's Scenes from a Marriage. Like the clock ticks at home… NB. Proverb meaning there is no place like home]; Het Laatste Nieuws, 18/2/1975, "Beelden uit een huwelijksleven" [Images from a Marriage]; Rode Vaan, 27/2/1975, "Scenes uit een huwelijksleven" [Scenes from a Marriage].

constructed a cultural history of the concept of love in Western societies, from a sociological perspective (e.g. Shumway, 2003; Giddens, 1992; Kaufmann, 2011). All of this has been triangulated with data following from the interviews, primarily on the topics of love in general and on their experiences of *Scener*.

## 4. Comparability of the design

### 4.1. The status of comparisons in film studies

While in many disciplines comparing is a crucial part of research designs, hypothesis testing, and formulating or refining theoretical frameworks, the comparative dimension is underdeveloped within film studies in general (Biltereyst and Meers, 2016:14; Biltereyst, Van Oort and Meers, 2019:96). Nevertheless, discussions of art cinema or film aesthetics often implicitly have a comparable mode, e.g. on transnational flows (Athique, 2016), or by juxtaposing Hollywood vs. European cinema (e.g. Bordwell, 1979; Elsaesser, 2005). Comparable work is often rather monocentric or a parallel work instead of a true comparison (Biltereyst and Meers, 2016). Within new cinema history studies, the focus was previously on particular places or experiences, which was not particularly productive for implementing comparability into the methodological design.

However, comparative studies are being increasingly employed within new cinema history studies (cf. chapter one, 2.1. *Exhibition, space, and place* pp. 39-41). These comparisons pose considerable conceptual and methodological challenges. In the first instance, there should be a careful demarcation of the basic units of comparison. In the second instance, particular conditions relating to time and space, "e.g. same language, similar size, neighbouring regions or countries" should, ideally, be stabilized (Biltereyst and Meers, 2016:18). In their design, comparisons can happen on different levels, ranging from a micro-level (cities or villages within one region), to a meso-level (regions in one country), to a macro-level (between countries and even continents) (Kuhn ea., 2017:11). However, even when following a rigid methodological design for both cases to be compared, the question

remains to what extent experiences in different contexts, in all their complexity, can be compared. As implied by Biltereyst and Meers' comparison of Monterrey, Mexico and Flanders, Belgium (2016), the differences that arise from such a comparison are usually the most interesting.

In my own research, I focus on the national level, comparing Belgium and Sweden. Crofts' well-known argument (1993:62) is that we should avoid 'hypostatiz[ing] the "national" of national cinema'. Considering Bergman's films in isolation ignores other films that circulated at the time. This potentially re-creates the canon we wish to go against in the first place. Two other risks are that internal national cultural diversity is ignored or that national identities are uniformly promoted over those of ethnicity, class, gender, or other identities, all for the sake of defining a 'national' participant perspective (see also Madianou, 2011). The nation seems particularly problematic when it limits the perspective of the researcher (Higson, 2006; Crofts, 1993). However, the national should not be 'displaced' or 'negated' in a transnational analysis (Higbee and Lim, 2010: 10). As such, the comparison here emphasizes the national *context* more than the audiences' or the films' nationality. The limitations that national boundaries pose is what strengthens the comparative analysis presented in this dissertation, where the national contexts serve as 'taxonomic labeling devices' (Higson, 2006:16), important in their difference to one another rather than in their geographical location. National cinema remains important in thinking on cinema and identity, while transnational cinema reminds us of the permeability of national borders and identities therein (Rawle, 2018:49).

## 4.2. Methodological questions on operationalization of the comparative setup

It is not evident how to operationalize a qualitative comparative research setup, especially when dealing with micro-histories, hence the prevalence of monocentric studies with parallel descriptions rather than true comparisons in many cases (Biltereyst ea., 2016). One way to infer oral history data to a wider population would be via demographic data, as Lummis (2006:255) proposes. Tabulation makes wider distortions visible and allows us to

assess the representativity of "a group of interviews, by revealing the level of internal consistency and by demonstrating the degree of conformity to the broader historical picture known from other sources. Some data are readily tabulated: age, marital status, number of siblings, religion, and political preference can be coded without any great qualitative loss" (Lummis, 2006:257). Another way is new cinema history studies' habit of multi-methodological designs. In my own case, an investigation of programming could have added to the comparability of both countries. Triangulation with programming has not been a priority given my focus on audience experiences in relation to texts and authors. Investigating this already required its own multi-methodological setup. Additionally, including circulation and programming would have shifted the focus of the dissertation to the places rather than the audiences, which draws the comparison on a level different from the one I have been working on now.

In the next two sections I will discuss how Sweden and Belgium differ (or not) in terms of exhibition in general and the release of Bergman-films in particular.

## 4.3. Exhibition circumstances in Sweden and Belgium

Belgium was characterized by a pillarized society. Different ideological groups - socialists, Catholics, liberals, and Flemish nationalists – have historically had their own networks that tried to influence one's political and social life, leisure activities, media consumption, and health care needs (Van de Vijver ea., 2007:4; Biltereyst, 2007:103). In Flanders (the northern part of Belgium where my participants come from), the Catholic pillar was most dominant while in Wallonia (the southern part of Belgium) the Socialist pillar was the strongest. In more recent times, under the influence of the strong competitive and individualistic pragmatism of the 1980s, the pillarization has collapsed (Witte ea., 2005). In media development, pillarization was very influential throughout the twentieth century. Newspapers and magazines belonged exclusively to one pillar and public broadcasting was until 1960 characterized by problematic political influence on its organization and the information it presented (Witte ea., 2005:512-8).

Film mostly circulated and was screened within existing pillars. Catholic venues were dominant, making up one third to one fourth of the exhibition scene between the 1930s and 1950s, besides the socialist, liberal, and Flemish-nationalist venues (Biltereyst, 2007:201, Van de Vijver ea., 2007:5). Besides film screening, the Catholic pillar was also quite well-developed in censorship and film criticism, guiding their audiences' choices. The Catholic Film League (*Katholieke Filmliga / Ligue Catholique du Film /* hereafter shortened as *KFL*) had local departments that organized screenings and even boycotts. The KFL had a film classification board (*the Catholic Film Action / CFA*) that had its own venues and film magazines with quite a wide membership. Moreover, it controlled its own distribution network (Biltereyst, 2007:104, 194-8). We can see remnants of this in the interviews. Many of the Belgian participants saw Bergman-films in special film screenings that were organized by the (Catholic) schools they attended.

In Sweden, there is a similar structure of cinema ownership. Swedish society was not pillarized as in Belgium, but many cinemas were at the time owned by different voluntary and non-governmental movements. As a result, Sweden had the highest European ratio for number of cinemas per capita in the 1950s (Furberg, 2010:30; Jernudd, 2010:177).

The golden years of cinema in both Sweden and Belgium was in the 1950s. By the mid-fifties, attendance rates in Sweden were the highest ever and there were more cinema's than at any other time (Furberg, 2010:30; Sjöholm, 2003:12, 51). Cinema was also very popular in Belgium after the war, although different taxes and strict safety rules inhibited a true blooming (Van de Vijver, 2012:98).

After the introduction of television, attendance rates declined heavily throughout the second half of the twentieth century, both in Belgium and Sweden. The number of venues fell back by one third over the course of the 1960s and attendance rates declined by half in Sweden (Björnehult ea., 1986:67). The crisis of Swedish cinemas in the 1960s hit the rural

areas especially hard and that continued into the 1990s (Jernudd, 2010:170). In the 1970s, the structure of the international cinema industry changed and profits relied increasingly on a few blockbusters per year rather than on the regular attendance (Van de Vijver, 2012:102). Slowly, cinemas developed into multiscreen rather than single screen, and from the 1980s onwards, mainstream films were exclusively released in multiplex cinemas with eight to fifteen screens (Van de Vijver, 2012:104). The first multiplex in Sweden was opened in 1980 in Stockholm, *Filmstaden* (Furberg, 2010:32-3). The first multiplex in Belgium was *Decaskoop* in Ghent, which opened in 1981 (Van de Vijver, 2012:104).

In terms of general film experience and organization of the film sector, Belgium and Sweden are surprisingly similar, despite the characterizing pillarization of Belgian society at the time. When we explore the release dates and screenings for Bergman's films in particular, important differences between the national contexts surface, which influences the interpretation of Bergman and his films.

### 4.4. Release dates and screenings in Sweden and Belgium

The release dates of the Bergman-films differ substantially in Sweden and Belgium. Many of Bergman's early works were only released in Belgium at the end of the 1950s, after the success of *Det sjunde inseglet* (1957).
*Kvinna utan ansikte* (1947), *Fängelse* (1949), *Törst* (1949), *Till glädje* (1950), *Sommarlek* (1951), *Kvinnors väntan* (1952), and *Kvinnodröm* (1955) were all released in Belgium between 1958 and 1960.

In Belgium, Ingmar Bergman's films are often exclusively situated within the Catholic pillar because of the screenings and discussions held by the KFL, often in schools. The film-introductions were often given by Father Jos Burvenich. He is mentioned by multiple participants for his leading role in the promotion of Bergman within the Catholic pillar. Both Burvenich and Maria Rosseels, a film critic for De Standaard (a Flemish Catholic newspaper), were influential in approving or disapproving a film. Further ratings were

given in the film magazine of KFL, 'Film en Televisie'.

In Sweden, the release dates and subsequent broadcasts for each film can be consulted on http://www.svenskfilmdatabas.se. Many films have been broadcasted many times over the years. For example, *Det Sjunde Inseglet* (1957) was aired on Swedish television in 1977, 1982, 1989, 1995, 1998, 2003, 2005, 2011, 2012, 2016, 2017, and 2018 (cf. http://www.svenskfilmdatabas.se/sv/item/?type=film&itemid=4522#release-dates).

In Belgium, I have contacted the public broadcaster VRT, who informed me that no such data is readily available. Instead, one would have to consult press archives for the television programming in newspapers. Due to time constraints I have not been able to do this but I can safely say that for example *Det Sjunde Inseglet* (1957) was not aired *as often* in comparison to Sweden. This is further supported by my interviews. Many Swedish participants speak of multiple Bergman-film experiences on television and at the cinema. In Belgium, this was rare. If a participant had seen a film again, it had been a purposeful choice and exact details were provided on where and how the film was seen again, usually on a VHS or DVD copy. The increased access to the films in Sweden, and medium-specificities, are discussed in the analysis.

## 5. Publications of this dissertation

Parts of this dissertation are in publication or have been published as follows:

1. An article based on parts of the theory presented here has been accepted with revisions for *Projections*. The article is called "A Cognitive Approach in History: a meta-theoretical discussion on the inclusion of individual and affective experiences in historical audience research".
2. Chapter four: Van Belle, J. (2017). Re-conceptualizing Ingmar Bergman's status as auteur du cinema. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 136754941771821. https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549417718211
   ⇨ Additional archival research in Belgium has been added to the results presented here, as well as a triangulation with audience accounts.
3. Chapter five: Van Belle, J. (2018). The Everyday Life of Auteurs du Cinema: the reception of Ingmar Bergman and his films. *Participations*, 15(2), 135–153.

⇨ Additional audience data was added here compared to the original article.

4. Other parts of chapter 4 and 5 are currently accepted with revisions at *Studies in European Cinema*. The article is called "The Seventh Art? Art Cinema and Ingmar Bergman from an audience perspective."

5. Chapter six: Van Belle, J., and Cuelenaere, E. (2017). Changing love in "Scener ur ett Äktenskap" (Ingmar Bergman, 1973). *Tijdschrift Voor Skandinavistiek*, 35(1), 71–84.

   ⇨ The textual analysis and contextual description in this article served as a base for the chapter as it stands now. Interview and archival results have been added and the article has been extensively reworked into its current form.

# Re-constructing the *auteur* Ingmar Bergman and his reception by the audience

## 1. Introduction

Academic and critical interest in auteurism has traditionally led to the canonization of a few 'chosen' authors. Bergman is a prime example, but as I will illustrate, Bergman's status is paradoxical. Internationally, a one-dimensional view of Bergman as a high art auteur prevails. Within Sweden, he was more of a celebrity alongside being an artist (Koskinen, 2009). Press coverage on his private life strengthens the popularity of Bergman, but also the auteur-image, explicitly linking his private life to his works. Moreover, Bergman himself has had a key role in creating and reinforcing this public image (Steene, 2005; Koskinen, 2002; Staiger, 2008). The result is an ambiguous popular reception and critical acclaim of his films (Steene, 1998; 2005). *The Silence* (1963) had a huge audience (and revenue) in Sweden and its neighboring countries (Koskinen, 2010; Balio, 2010; see also Aftonbladet, 8 January 1965, "Tystnaden bröt tyska sexvallen, nu görs bara naket" [The Silence broke the sex barrier, now only nudes are produced] ; Expressen, 15 November 1964, "Tystnaden gav 33 miljoner I Tyskland men SF fick bara… [The Silence earned 33 million in Germany but SF only got…]). Another example is the above mentioned television-series *Scenes from a Marriage* (1973), a television series viewed by up to 40% of the Swedish population (Steene, 2005:409). The Bergman-persona in Sweden centers mostly around his relation to women, the years of his youth, and his personality. Moreover, love-related narratives are fundamental in building up Bergman's persona in Sweden, which, due to their unconventional and ambiguous nature, underwrite Bergman's paradoxical status as both auteur and celebrity. While some audience members probably exclusively approach his oeuvre as the work of an (high art) artist, most people in Sweden take into account Bergman as a celebrity.

Internationally, Balio's study on Bergman as a brand in the U.S. gives us clues on the marketing of Bergman outside of the national context. Balio finds the following strategies: (1) his Swedish nationality and Swedish film traditions; (2) the notion that Bergman is not susceptible to market powers; (3) Bergman as a solitary genius (linked to his auteur status); (4) the religious and women-oriented themes of his films; (5) the image of the tormented artist; (6) his fragile psychological health (Balio, 2010). Although more and other texts would have to be analyzed in addition to those under consideration in this chapter, we may assume that marketing to promote Ingmar Bergman as author was happening outside of the U.S. Ingrid Stigsdotter and Mark Bergfelder (2009) illustrate this for *Persona* in particular and mention the periodical *Film in Sweden* which promoted *Persona* (1966) internationally even before its release (the publication was in German, English and French). It stated that "Ingmar Bergman certainly is Swedish, more Swedish than most when you consider his choice of themes, his characters, his stubbornness in rejecting lavish foreign offers in order to be able to continue to work in Sweden on his own terms and with his own instruments" (quoted in Stigsdotter ea., 2009:217). This clearly promotes Bergman as the original genius that is characteristic for auteurism. Some Belgian newspaper articles aligned with that frame. Belgian interviewees repeat a more uniform image of Bergman as an auteur du cinema.

Bergman's one-dimensional status as an auteur is closely entangled with the marketing of his films abroad, often suppressing domestic dynamics for the sake of the art- or exploitation-film label. Often, these dynamics – in turn – confirm Bergman's status as auteur. Maaret Koskinen points out in this respect that "[i]ronically, but tellingly, when the series [*Scener ur ett äktenskap* (1973)] was edited into a feature film less than half of its original length, it was received by international critics as yet another auteurist masterpiece, effectively suppressing all other relevant contexts: television, soap, or feminist approaches" (Koskinen, 2010:38).

An illustration of the change in the international status of his films can be found in how titles were translated. *Sommaren med Monika/Summer with Monika* (1953) has become "Story of a Bad Girl" and *Sommarlek/Summer Interlude* (1951) "Illicit Interlude" (Lunde, 2016) as both films are marketed as exploitation films. In Belgium, *Eva* was changed into *Verdorvenheid / Perversité* for the Flemish and Walloon market respectively (meaning "perversion"). One article criticizes this practice and states that the original title was *Eva* but that the film exploitants probably thought perversity was more suggestive and commercially interesting, "especially since publicity tends to emphasize some rather secondary passionate scenes"[36].The relatively harmless film *Hamnstad* (1948) was shown in the (s)exploitation cinema *Leopold* in Ghent (Biltereyst, 2018:23). This contributes to the prevailing idea that Swedish films are sexually explicit. Stokes ea. (2017:80) have similar findings in that "to many sections of the British population in the 1960s, the word 'continental' was synonymous with 'pornographic'".

The goal of this chapter is to first uncover dominant and alternative discourses around Bergman as auteur, including his own role in the construction of that image, and this for both Sweden and Belgium. Second, I trace these discourses in actual audiences' responses.

## 2. The construction of the auteur-persona

Corresponding to the aforementioned dichotomy within the institutional conception of authorship (cf. chapter one, p. 51), I explore Bergman's persona from two angles: (1) how he constructs his persona through his own writings, e.g. autobiographies; and (2) what has been written about him in the Swedish press during his most active years as a film director, i.e. 1944-1983. Ultimately, the question is how Bergman's persona facilitated his taking up a dominant and powerful position as an auteur in the minds of the viewers (who use the auteurist stance in their interpretation).

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[36] Gazet Van Antwerpen, 3/7/1953, "Verdorvenheid" [Perversion]

I explore the "women and love[37]"-frame in depth. To understand Bergman's persona, this frame is the ideal example of interaction between the individual and society, and between Bergman and the press. Thereafter, the "personality"-frame is discussed, which is less explicitly influenced by Bergman's self-fashioning. Since the "youth"-frame has been widely and eloquently discussed by others (cf. Björkman ea., 1970; Höök, 1962; Bergom-Larsson, 1978; Steene, 2005), I do not focus on it here.

## 2.1. Women and love: Bergman's side

*It's about the burning roses and the child she feels against her cheek. It's about everything that is – water, clear green running water, like a mirror. It's a dream I've had myself, a pure visual experience of something beautiful and delightful that has happened; something unattainable and which has been carelessly wasted. It must have something to do with love, I suppose.* (BoB 235)

Different authors have pointed out the close relation between loving and identity- (or persona-) building, as "loving" encompasses a mode of being, valued in a certain way within society (and this differs historically, cf. Illouz, 2012; Johnson, 2005; chapter six). The loving subject aligns through his/her behavior with a certain ideology that sustains or challenges certain (social) positions (cf. Johnson, 2005). This is what Bergman does when he aligns with the cultural ideal of a sustained marriage, founded on monogamy, cohabitation, and the combining of economic resources to increase wealth (Illouz, 2012:13). Context is important here as a restricted view on heterosexual relationships prevails around the 1950s (Reiss, 1960). Opposed to this ideology is the manner in which love is practiced, giving rise to tensions between the social and the personal. An example is that in heterosexual relationships, love is based on the attraction between a man and a woman. Subjectively, there is a desire to unite with the other while the heterosexual relationship is based on gendered difference and thus becomes a site for performing gender

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[37] Love is also extensively discussed in chapter six.

identity (Illouz, 2012:9; Johnson, 2005:77). Furthermore, the unity of the couple contradicts the value of individualism, as love should provide the ideal circumstances for individual development but unity requires (partial) abandonment of the self (Ben-ze'ev and Goussinsky, 2008:65).

In Bergman's case, quite a few contradictions arise between love as ideal and love as everyday life experience, as he tries to balance his private life and the sense-making of it into a public persona.

Generally, Bergman refers to two types of 'love'. The first is the aforementioned ideal love. When he states he "loves no one" (LM 145-146), he probably means in accordance with the cultural ideal of marriage. Nevertheless, Bergman has a variety of relationships that can be summarized as his "passions". For Bergman, these passions do not seem to qualify as real love. When looking deeper, this seems to be only due to their limited duration. What Bergman experiences as his own incapability (to sustain love through time) is inherent in contemporary love, following the irreconcilability of the cultural frame of a perfect marriage with that of romantic love as an intense, maintainable and all-consuming passion. It requires considerable work from the participants to manage these two within a relationship (Illouz, 2012:13).

Instead of trying to balance the marriage ideal and the all-consuming passion, Bergman's love life is characterized by a continuous search for the one with whom he will experience idealized love. Here is a strong tension between the social and the individual. In order for the ideal to function, defined roles shall be taken up to achieve happiness (Ahmed, 2010; Kipnis, 2009). The (usually gender-related) roles are defined within society as a whole, yet participants who cannot live up to these roles experience this as a personal failure. This is exactly what we see in *Laterna Magica* as all stories related to marriage, both from Bergman himself and from his parents, are characterized by role-conflicts. Neither of Bergman's parents manage to live up to their role. Unfaithfulness is suggested concerning both parents (LM 17, 82, 134-135; Sjöberg, 2013:52-53) and in Bergman's own case. Underlying the

conflict is the idea that the traditional roles are perceived as fixed and *natural* by everyone in the Bergman-family, pointing to a strong heteronormativity. For example, in relation to his marriage to Ellen Bergman (born Ellen Anna Hollender), he states that "Ellen had so much to do, she could only occasionally devote time to her profession" (LM 181). "*So much to do*" refers to work she *has* to do as a wife and mother. Her profession is of secondary importance to Bergman.

The failure to maintain the ideal leads Bergman to believe that he is incapable to love. Unrealistic expectations lie at the heart of disappointments. That which shapes those expectations is never questioned (Illouz, 2012:210-219; Ben-ze'ev and Goussinsky, 2008:21; Johnson, 2005:45; Ahmed, 2010:7).

Why is Bergman's love-behavior relevant to the analysis of his persona? The fact that he portrays himself as a womanizer justifies a certain behavior: "Obsessed with a sexuality that forced me into constant infidelity, I was tormented by desire, fear, anguish and a guilty conscience" (LM 146). Underlying this is that Bergman perceives himself as being incapable to love, which causes a moral conflict that *needs* to be justified towards the outer world. In this way, the women-frame is a way of publicly making sense of inner conflicts arising from a hegemonic yet unrealizable vision of love and so it perfectly illustrates the alignment of Bergman as an ethical subject with a certain morality through self-fashioning (Foucault, 1988; 1990).

## 2.2. Women and love: the press' side

I first discuss the Swedish press in detail and then compare my findings to the Belgian press. Generally, in Sweden, there is a strong "Bergman-angle", especially in tabloids, where his name is used to frame a certain story, even though he has nothing to do with it. It often emphasizes already present perceptions on Bergman's persona. An example is an article on

Erica Jong's new 'erotic' book, "inspired by Bergman"[38]. When I read the article, Bergman is only mentioned on the side in that Jong was inspired by the film *Scener ur ett äktenskap* for her book. Another interesting trend is that only a small amount of the sample consists of actual interviews with Bergman. Most articles discussed his private life in a sensationalized and speculative way.

The Swedish press further simplifies the "women"-frame. Despite Bergman using the "women"-frame to the same extent as the "youth"-frame, the press focuses almost exclusively on women. Nearly half of the sample deals with Ingmar Bergman and women (AB 54%, Ex 42%, DN 42% and SvD 45%) in three ways: (1) wives and girlfriends as narratives; (2) Ingmar Bergman and *all his women*; and (3) Bergman as an expert on women. All three 'narratives' explicitly link his private life to his work, further legitimizing him as auteur: that the film narratives are explicitly transferred from his private life makes Bergman the original genius he is/was perceived to be.

Without elaborating too much on this, the wives and girlfriends of Ingmar Bergman each had their own persona and narrative in the daily press. The Swedish participants repeated these narratives. On Else Fisher (m. 1943; div. 1945), I did not find anything. Ellen Lundström (m. 1945; div. 1950) was a theater maker herself. Her achievements were often credited to Ingmar Bergman rather than to herself, even as late as 1975[39]. Gun Grut (m. 1951; div. 1959) was previously a dancer but acquired a PhD in Slavic languages. She is pictured as a strong single mother to one of Bergman's and two other children[40]. Harriet Andersson, the actress of *Sommaren med Monika*, had a short affair with Bergman. She is conceived as playful, a loose flirt of Bergman, only gossip is published on them[41]. Käbi

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[38] "Erika Jongs nya erotiska bok." [Erika Jong's new erotic book] (1977, April 1). *Expressen*.

[39] "Ingmar Bergmans son och f d fru gör Peer Grynt tillsammans" [Ingmar Bergman's son and previous wife do Peer Grynt together] (1975, August 8). *Aftonbladet*

[40] "började som dansös, nu blir hon fil dr" [started as a dancer, now she becomes a doctor of philosophy] (1964, December 8). *Aftonbladet*; "dansösen blir doktor" [the dancer becomes a doctor] (1964, December 8). *Expressen*; "Balettflickan som disputerar" [the ballet girl that defends her PhD] (1964, December 9) *Dagens Nyheter*.

[41] For example: "lördagsskvaller: Ny allians" [Saturday gossip: new alliance] (1952, October 4), *Aftonbladet*.

Laretei (m. 1959; div. 1969) is a world-renowned pianist. The couple is portrayed as high society, part of the cultural and intellectual elite. Long before the official announcement there is gossip of their relationship[42]. There is wide press coverage of their relationship, probably because they are both public figures. The relationship is portrayed as a fairy tale, illustrated by photo shoots of the happy family in magazines. The couple divorces over Liv Ullmann and this is also extensively reported in the press. Liv Ullmann and Bergman are a very popular couple. Illustrative of this is that up until years after they have broken up, they ask her in interviews if they will get back together. More than half of the articles on Bergman's love relationships in my sample were on Liv Ullmann and Bergman. Liv is praised for her acting skills and is represented as sweet and joyful. Last, we have Ingrid von Rosen (m. 1971; died 1995). She and Bergman have known each other since they were young, which is often used as a legitimation for the truthfulness of their love[43]. All calms down with her, there is remarkably less gossip and she is portrayed as his rock, his support.

Apart from the fact that each wife or girlfriend has her own narrative of her relationship to Bergman, there is a more general women-frame. Usually, the women-articles are framed as "Bergman and his women". In the tabloids, there is a stronger presence of Bergman as expert on women. The fact that Bergman is sometimes used as a point of reference to illustrate how well someone else is a women-expert underwrites this [44].

The womanizer-perspective, as the second most present narrative, functions in different ways. First, by means of suggestive titles, such as 'Ingmar Bergman's women and lapdog'[45], 'Bergman prefers ice-cold girls'[46], or 'Everyone melts in Ingmar's warmth'[47]. A variation is

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[42] "Londonskvaller om bergman och Käbi Laretei" (1959, April 28), *Aftonbladet*.
[43] E.g. "Bergmans nya hustru – en gammal ungdomskärlek" [Bergman's new wife – an old youth love] (1971, September 24) *Aftonbladet*.
[44] "Spinnsidan." [on the flipside] (1948, August 9). *Expressen*; "Efter Brigitte Bardot..." [After Brigitte Bardot] (1971, September 28). *Aftonbladet*; "Calle Lidbom..." (1982, January 22). *Expressen*.
[45] "Ingmar Bergmans kvinnor och knähund." (1964, June 17). *Aftonbladet*.
[46] "Bergman föredrar iskalla tjejer." (1974, June 13). *Svenska Dagbladet*.
[47] "alla smälter i Ingmars värme." (1974, June 30). *Expressen*.

found in articles with pictures of Bergman being close to a woman[48]. Occasionally there are subtle references to women (plural) in articles concerning Bergman, e.g. "one of Bergman's housewives translated *Brud utan hemgift* [a play]"[49] or "*For the moment*, Bergman is married to Ingrid Von Rosen"[50].

Most striking about the womanizer-perspective is the fact that it is sometimes approved of socially by suggesting that good artists need many women to be creative. In doing this, Bergman is framed as passive; he cannot help it. This is most evident in the article titled "He needs women in order to create"[51] but it is also implicitly present in many others by relating his films to the woman he was with at the time[52]. This practice comes up in the 1970s, simultaneous with an emerging perception of Bergman as expert on women.

The women-frame evolves: in the 1950s, he is praised for his remarkable insight into women and their psyche. For example, discussing the film *Nära livet* (1958): "it is remarkable, according to a woman, how Ingmar Bergman [...] has succeeded so much in entering the female soul"[53]. Towards the end of the 1960s, however, there is growing criticism of Bergman's sexism and his outdated image of women. For example, he states

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[48] e.g. "Även Bibi lämnar Bergman för USA." [Even Bibi leaves Bergman for the USA] (1965, September 17). *Svenska Dagbladet*; "Två kanonskott i månaden." [Two canon shots this month] (1964, August 12). *Svenska Dagbladet*.
[49] "brud utan hemgift." [Bride without dowry] (1956, January 29). *Dagens Nyheter*.
[50] Italics added, "Bergman och kvinnorna." [Bergman and the women] (1981, July 12). *Expressen*.
[51] "Han behöver kvinnorna för att skapa." [He needs women to create] (1970, April 18). *Aftonbladet*.
[52] "Bergman och alla dessa kvinnor." [Bergman and all these women] (1976a, April 26). *Aftonbladet*.
"Bergman och alla dessa kvinnor." [Bergman and all these women] (1976b, April 26). *Aftonbladet*;
"Bergmans nya Liv." [Bergman's new Life; N.B. "Liv" refers to both Life and Liv Ullmann] (1966, April 23). *Expressen*; "Han var som en gud för mig." [He was like a God to me] (1976, April 19). *Aftonbladet*; "Ingmar Bergman har gift sig med sin grevinna." [Ingmar Bergman marries his countess] (1971, November 18). *Aftonbladet*; "Ingmar Bergman – vad har hänt med honom?." [Ingmar Bergman - what has happened to him?] (1971, September 19). *Aftonbladet*; "Ingmar och alla hans kvinnor." [Ingmar and all his women] (1971, September 19). *Aftonbladet*; "Liv Ullmann berättar om sitt liv med Ingmar Bergman" [Liv Ullmann talks about her life with Ingmar Bergman] (1976, April 19). *Aftonbladet*; "Välvillig fransk presskritik." [Benevolent French criticisms] (1959, April 25). *Svenska Dagbladet*.
[53] "Ingmar Bergman och kvinnorna." [Ingmar Bergman and the women] (1958, April 7). *Expressen*.

that he is not interested in portraying "the new woman"[54], whom he describes as "wanting an adventure while the potatoes boil"[55]. Remarkably, at the same time there is more explicit coverage of Bergman's opinion on women, indicating a different kind of media attention, i.e. more from an expert position[56]. Koskinen (2009) finds a similar transformation: Bergman evolved from sex symbol to clan chief, becoming a sort of public adviser on relationships and women, coinciding with the rise of his career. The growing criticism is strikingly correlated with the growing media-attention of Bergman's opinion on women.

The question can be raised whether media attention would have been different if Bergman would have had an unambiguous love and marriage life. Media attention for his persona and women differs from the media attention related to his work, as it is not based on achievement or artistic merit. A more fitting conclusion would be that Bergman is increasingly treated as a celebrity, as confirmed in Koskinen's analysis (2009: 82-83, 87). Specifically, the discourse being constructed around Bergman as a womanizer confirms his celebrity status. To nuance this, trends of increasing sexualization (Illouz, 2012) and celebritization (Lewis, 2010; Boateng, 2013) on a societal level must have influenced an increase in press attention for this type of information.

In Belgium, Bergman's turbulent love life is rarely the topic of articles. Initially, Bergman-films in Belgium were mainly discussed for their content and not for their maker. Style and narrative were usually linked to the Scandinavian way of doing things in general[57]. By the

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[54] "Nya kvinnan ointeressant för Bergman." [The new woman uninteresting for Bergman] (1974, February 8). *Dagens Nyheter,* "För mig är det ointressant att skildra den nya kvinnan, säger Ingmar Bergman" [For me it is uninteresting to portray the new woman, says Ingmar Bergman]
[55] "Citatet." [the quote] (1982, January 23). *Aftonbladet*, quote: "Den frigjorda svenska kvinnan vill ha ett äventyr medan potatissen kokar."
[56] "Citatet." [the quote] (1982, January 23). *Aftonbladet*; "Ingmar Bergman: ge kvinnorna en chans att förändra Sverige." [Ingmar Bergman: give women a chance to change Sweden] (1974, February 17). *Expressen*; "Ingmar Bergman sade "din kvinna finns ju för tusan! [Ingmar Bergman said "your woman exists damnit"] (1983, March 22). *Expressen*; "så har kvinnorna svikit sig själva." [This is how women disappointed themselves] (1980, December 14). *Svenska Dagbladet.*
[57] e.g. Het Laatste Nieuws, 20/5/1949, "Haven der verloren meisjes" [Harbor of lost girls]; or an article on Sommarlek, date and paper unknown

end of the 1950s, the auteurist style of reviewing can be seen in Belgium as well. An article from 1958[58], states that Bergman "belongs to the limited group of directors who are fully responsible for their oeuvre, i.e. screenplay, dialogues and directing is done by him". He is then compared to Jean Renoir, Frederico Fellini and Max Ophuis. Film is clearly considered as art more than entertainment throughout this article. Bergman's films are discussed in relation to his oeuvre rather than as separate films. The only "women and love"-related remarks in the press are on content. For example: "almost all of his films treat deeply female topics and are seen from a particularly female point of view"[59].

From the 1960s onwards, articles increasingly deal with Ingmar Bergman as a person, likely under the influence of the increasing globalization of news flows and expanded marketing of the films and Bergman-persona. The latter is noticeable in the rise of image and text materials provided by the Swedish Film Institute in the press files of the DOCIP-archive. Consequently, the same themes I have identified for explaining Bergman's persona in Sweden return here, albeit softened.

More and more, Belgian articles discuss Swedish newspaper articles or things that happened in Sweden, and, correspondingly, more news on Bergman's persona emerges. Formally, the newspaper articles and film reviews were substantially longer from 1960 onward, sometimes up to a full page. Already in 1960, a critic stated that Bergman is the son of a priest and that he is characterized by metaphysical anxiety[60]. Later, Swedish criticism on Bergman characterizing the 1960s (cf. infra, 3.1. *Paradoxical recognition*, pp. 113-115) is discussed in Belgium. For example, one article[61] discusses Bo Widerberg and Maj Zetterling's criticisms on Bergman in detail. Some articles take the more Swedish critical perspective:

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[58] "Ingmar Bergman. Een Zweedse filmweek" [Ingmar Bergman. A Swedish Film Week], 12/9/1958, newspaper unknown

[59] Newspaper unknown, 12/9/1958, "Ingmar Bergman. Een Zweedse filmweek" [Ingmar Bergman. A Swedish Film Week]

[60] Paper unknown, 27/5/1960, "Ingmar Bergman: Het Gelaat" [Ingmar Bergman: The Face]

[61] De Standaard, 10/6/1966, "Andermans mening: De spiraal van Ingmar Bergman" [Someone else's opinion: the spiral of Ingmar Bergman]

"the reason Bergman did not write the film himself this time is because in his early screenplays many literary mistakes can be noted, such as weak dialogues and poetic effects that were not poetic at all"[62].

By the end of the 1960s, we find articles dealing with Bergman instead of his films. Examples are when he struck the theater critic Bengt Jahnsson[63], and the tax evasion scandal[64].

At the same time, newspapers start getting more news from press agencies, especially from the mid-1970s onwards. The same narratives are repeated in different articles, such as that concerning *Scener ur ett äktenskap*, that it took a few months to write but a lifetime to learn[65].

### 2.3. Bergman's demon personality

In Sweden, the interaction between the press and Bergman becomes even more clear in the "personality" frame. There is an avid press coverage on Bergman's personality. Bergman is portrayed as shy and afraid[66], neurotic[67] and, mostly, aggressive[68].

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[62] De Standaard, 4/3/1960, "Jungfrukällan, gruwelijk en aangrijpend" [Jungfrukällan: horrifying and poignant]

[63] De Standaard, 28/3/1964, "Mep van Bergman voor de rechter" [Bergman's blow taken to court]

[64] De Standaard, 7/2/1976, "Kunstenaars steunen zieke Bergman" [artists support ill Bergman]; De Standaard, 5/2/1976, "Regisseur Bergman (door fiskus achtervolgd) ingestort" [Director Bergman (haunted by the taxman] collapsed]; De Standaard, 3/3/1976, "Ingmar Bergman een tijdje zonder camera" [Bergman without camera for a while]; De Standaard, date unknown, "Bergman filmt weer op een september" [Bergman films again on a September]; De Standaard, 25/5/1977, "Bergman blijft in Duitsland" [Bergman stays in Germany]; De Standaard, 21/11/1980, "Bergman in '83 Zweed" [Bergman in 83 Swede]; Gazet van Antwerpen, 20/11/1980, "Ingmar Bergman terug naar Zweden" [Bergman back to Sweden]; De Standaard, 28/3/1984, "Ingmar Bergman regisseert weer in Stockholms teater" [Bergman directs again in Stockholm theatre]; Knack, 5/5/1976, no title

[65] "Detta opus tog tre månader att skriva, men ett rätt långt avsnitt av mitt liv att erfara" was written by Bergman in the foreword to the book publication of Scenes from a Marriage (Bergman, 1973:8).
De Volksgazet, 30/9/1975, "Bergman's Scenes uit een Huwelijk" [Bergman's Scenes from a Marriage]; Het Laatste Nieuws, 18/2/1975, "Beelden uit een huwelijksleven" [Images of a marriage]; Rode Vaan, 27/2/1975, "Scenes uit een huwelijksleven" [Scenes from a marriage]

[66] "Bergman hämtade själv priset." [Bergman fetched prize himself] (1964, September 26). *Aftonbladet*; "Ingmar Bergman – en karriär i ångest." [Ingmar Bergman - a carreer in anxiety] (1976, April 25). *Aftonbladet*.

[67] "därför gick jag till en psykiater." [that's why I went to a psychiatrist] (1971, May 15). *Expressen*; "Ingmar

Bergman's reaction is twofold. First, he publishes articles under a pseudonym, often articulating self-criticism or the rewording of other's criticism[69]. The press reflects on this as being "his method for disarming criticism from the young left"[70], or being an illustration of Bergman's genius as he has studied his critics so well that he can parody them[71]. The second way in which Bergman actively tries to influence his persona is through trying to direct how something will be represented. An example is that he does not want to be in a certain public debate if it is broadcasted[72] or that he influences how interviews are printed, giving explicit instructions that it should be written in a "less emotional way"[73].

Bergman actively attempts to change the coverage of and the reporting on his persona, but

Bergman – vad har hänt med honom?." [Ingmar Bergman - what has happened to him?] (1971, September 19). *Aftonbladet*; "Ingmar och alla hans kvinnor." [Ingmar and all his women] (1971a, September 19). *Aftonbladet*; "Ingmar och alla hans kvinnor." [Ingmar and all his women] (1971b, September 19). *Aftonbladet*.

[68] "är du ett geni, Ingmar Bergman?." [Are you a genius, Ingmar Bergman?] (1969, April 26). *Aftonbladet*; "det fick ni inte se i tv i går kväll." [You didn't get to see this on TV yesterday evening] (1971, June 13). *Aftonbladet*; "Ingmar Bergman slog till kritiker mitt på scenen." [Bergman beat a critic on scene] (1969, February 28). *Aftonbladet*; "Ingmar Bergman stört - förbannat på Expressen." [Ingmar Bergman disturbed - angry with Expressen] (1967, May 21). *Expressen*; "Ingmar Bergman tände när hans sovrum i blivande Fårö-villan…" [Ingmar Bergman exploded when his bedroom in his soon to be villa on Fårö…] (1966, November 19). *Aftonbladet*; "jag är trött på er smyggtittare." [I'm tired of you secret viewers] (1967, August 12). *Aftonbladet*; "Stopp säger Ingmar Bergman." [Stop says Ingmar Bergman] (1967, August 12). *Aftonbladet*.

[69] e.g. "Dansk Bergman-kritik påhitt av Bergman själv." [Danish Bergman-critic invention of Bergman himself] (1973, April 9). *Svenska Dagbladet*; "Ingmar Bergman intervjuar Ingmar Bergman." [Ingmar Bergman interviews Ingmar Bergman] (1968, September 25). *Aftonbladet*; "Ingmar Bergman som självmördare." [Ingmar Bergman as selfmurderer] (1961, January 31). *Dagens Nyheter*; "utför för Ingmar Bergman skriver - Ingmar Bergman." [Down with Ingmar Bergman writes - Ingmar Bergman] (1968, September 25). *Expressen*; "Vem var journalisten Ingmar Bergman hotade slå ihjäl?." [Who was the journalist Ingmar Bergman threatened to hit?] (1973, April 6). *Expressen*.

[70] "Vem var journalisten Ingmar Bergman hotade slå ihjäl?." [Who was the journalist Ingmar Bergman threatened to hit?] (1973, April 6). *Expressen*.

[71] "Ingmar Bergman som självmördare." [Ingmar Bergman as selfmurderer] (1961, January 31). *Dagens Nyheter*.

[72] "Ingmar Bergman debatterar - då får TV inte vara med." [Ingmar Bergman debates - TV cannot be present then] (1979, August 24). *Aftonbladet*; "TV rutan." [TV screen] (1962, May 24). *Svenska Dagbladet*; "TV ville visa debatten - då stoppade Ingmar Bergman sändningen." [TV wanted to show the debate - then Bergman stopped the broadcast] (1979, August 24). *Expressen*.

[73] "Första intervjun med Ingmar Bergman" [First interview with Ingmar Bergman] (1976, August 29). *Expressen*; "Första intervjun med Ingmar Bergman." [First interview with Ingmar Bergman] (1976, August 29). *Expressen*; "varför fick Ingmar Bergman klippa i tv-filmen?" [Why did Ingmar Bergman get to cut the tv-film?] (1975, January 17). *Expressen*.

the press also reports on these attempts, influencing the persona in new ways. We can assume this happened much more often compared to the limited reporting that I found in my sample. This shows a clear interaction rather than a one-way creation of a persona, with an ambiguous and sometimes even paradoxical persona as the result. It further illustrates that the persona is subject to change.

In Belgium, the persona is more static. A few references to Bergman's demon personality can be noted, but these are suggestive and likely the result of an increased access to international literature on Ingmar Bergman. The idea of Bergman as a creative genius is often underlying. In a discussion on *Smultronstället* (1957), the review is primarily auteurist: "Bergman is a fantastic worker, during Wintertime he produces and directs theater plays in Stockholm, in Spring he retreats and works feverishly on a screenplay that he brings into film with equal feverish tension. He is an utmost individual artist who is fully responsible for his creations. Every one of his films carries the stamp of his contradictory, tormented and unusually interesting personality"[74].

## 3. Audience reception: auteurism as central to the interpretation

*Of course I think immediately of the man who made it. It is auteur cinema. I find that a very important aspect of the films, the authorship. Most people perhaps don't think it is important, enfin, I speak about my friends now. It's usually the theme or story. [...] Most films I attend, I purposely do so because it is a work of Scorsese or some other author.* – male, b. 1953, Belgium

In both countries, participants explicitly value the name of the director in their choice of which movies they watch. The difference in perception of Ingmar Bergman as auteur lies in the information from which he is constructed. In Belgium, a striking amount of (mostly

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[74] De Standaard, 4/12/1959, "Bergman en de levende doden: Smultronstället" [Bergman and the living dead: Smultronstället]

male) participants construct an auteur with intentions based on the films. This shows similarities to Dyer's star-image as constructed from the film ([1979] 2004). The more participants tend to relate to the films personally (or, as in two of these three examples, the more films by Bergman they have seen), the stronger the search for the authorial voice. The strongest expression of this is K.P. (male, b. 1951, Belgium) who states the following: "look, I see a person that you get to know... There is a living human being behind these films who interests me almost more than the films themselves". Another example is D.V. (male, b. 1956, Belgium) who claims we see more thanks to Bergman, "an intelligent, sensitive human who looks at the world and sees more than us and who manages to convey this through images so that we see it too". Or Pierre (male, b. 1950, Belgium) who "understands" what is going on inside of Bergman: "I think he thought a lot about different things in life and then decided to part with these things, a phenomenon that was also crucial in my own life". Equally, a female participant (b. 1961, Belgium) states that Bergman "questions many things… it is in my personality to do so too". In the latter two examples, there is clearly a projection of a – perhaps ideal – self onto the assumed maker of the film. Underlying this is the idea that Bergman translates his own life into his films. Only one respondent in Belgium did not think he necessarily did so.

This idea is also predominant in Sweden (with only two respondents who did not share this opinion), and it seems to be related to the idea of artistry. Kicki (female, b. 1941, Sweden) and I.S. (female, b. 1945, Sweden) state that most "big directors" or "big artists" do so. In Sweden, the belief that he translates his life into films is supported by references to details about his private life rather than to the films. Other sources are influential here, such as press articles and television interviews, or gossip. In the following quote, L.E. constructs an idea of how Ingmar Bergman works as an author based on the gossip she has heard.

*L.E.: Didn't he have eighteen children or so?*
*Interviewer: nine.*
*L.E.: Oh was it only nine? I thought he had eighteen. Then it must have been his*

*grandchildren. Love was that which, beyond the art... I mean, when he was in love he was most productive and positive, and I mean... love produces energy.* – L.E. (female, b. 1933, Sweden)

When the participants do infer from the films the underlying author, they do so by relating particular scenes to details they know about Ingmar Bergman, more often than not "his women". A good example can be found in the following conversation with a female participant (b. 1947, Sweden):

*I struggle with his church worshipers and churches and bishops and all that and in that sense some films are a bit annoying for me in that sense, straight out boring, if I can be honest. A bit too much of his fixation on his mother and father, how it came from that he was the son of a priest that was probably very strict and his mother is somehow in the background. [...]I do not know who he was with at the time, I have no insight in his life in that way, but it has to do with how his situation was... was it Liv Ullmann or... I don't think he realizes how he uses those around him as an inspiration for his next film. Perhaps all artists and filmmakers do, but it is so clear with Bergman. When it comes to women it is hard to differentiate between his life and his films. He does something and it ends up in a film, I find it very hard.* – female, b. 1947, Sweden

*I don't know but I have the feeling that he belongs to the kind of people that goes into relationships and does all this stuff to later uses it. I think it is a bit like that and I find that irresponsible.* – K.D., male, b. 1952, Sweden

Here, the dominant narratives around the women return, as they were in the press, especially what concerns Bergman's last wife. Many have an opinion on what she has meant to him. The women-frame is notably stronger for the female (heterosexual) participants than the male participants in my Swedish sample. As I have noted in my exploration of the persona of Ingmar Bergman in the press, he has been considered a sex symbol, or at least, very attractive. Furthermore, Bergman has stimulated this auteurist approach to his films

personally. The sheer abundance of attempts to link Bergman's life to his films shows that the auteur is also a strong interpretative factor in Sweden. It is hard to imagine that the participants would do the same for other directors, say Steven Spielberg, for example.

Despite being judgmental towards how Ingmar Bergman treated his women and children, quite a few participants in both countries naturalize or even implicitly approve of Bergman as a womanizer. They see it as necessary for creativity and typical for famous artists.

*I believe he lived off of his relationships, and therefore there were very many. It was his... I believe, partially it was a way to get going, when he was tired and felt that life... this film is not good, what shall I do now, I believe his passions got him going again. I believe it was his way of living. Without it, there wouldn't have been anything.* - female, Sweden, b. 1947

Lena H (female, b. 1949, Sweden) states that it is ambiguous: "one should not behave in that way but if one thinks of all the films he made I think he is excused [for that behavior]". Only three women in Sweden were explicitly annoyed and state they did not comprehend how he could behave like that, especially in neglecting his children, and that this influenced their image of Bergman. For Bitte (female, b. 1945, Sweden), "this was not something attractive, I think it diminishes him... it is a gap between me and Bergman. I do not understand him there". Reflecting on the interview situation, this quote could have been said "from mother to mother", meaning it could be considered an exaggerated opinion due to the interview context.

In conclusion, a clearer distinction is made in Sweden between Ingmar Bergman's oeuvre and his identity as a person and status as an artist, although some participants mix these together when discussing his films. Not seldom did participants claim to like certain films but not the person. A complication here is that Bergman was heavily criticized during the 1960s in Sweden for not being politically engaged and only preoccupied with himself. Peter (male, b. 1946, Sweden), who worked in the film business at the time, is very clear that he

dislikes the power and establishment that Bergman represented. In the beginning of the interview, he was very negative towards both Bergman and his films. Through the course of the interview, he slowly came to terms with the fact that he actually does like many Bergman-films and that he sees Bergman as a capable director, in addition to what he disliked previously. Later in the interview, he makes an ironic allusion to what he said earlier.

*Interviewer: but do you feel he has produced films that you could identify with?*
*Peter: yes, yes, yes. Yes, he was capable. It were Bergman-films I didn't like, right?*
*[LAUGHS].*
– Peter, male, b. 1946, Sweden

A similar evolution can be noted in Bitte (female, b. 1946, Sweden), but she seems to have come to terms with "liking Bergman" much earlier, as she appreciated *Scener ur ett äktenskap*, although it was hardly acceptable in her social sphere to do so. A similar complicated, and sometimes paradoxical, recognition can be found in the Swedish press.

### 3.1. Paradoxical recognition

The ambiguous nature of Bergman's persona is in line with the paradoxical image of a celebrity (Driessens, 2013:546). There is the common notion that Bergman hated press attention (e.g. Ullmann, 1978), while at the same time he was actively present in media (Holmberg, 2012; Asp, 2010:18). Not only Bergman's own behavior as a celebrity is paradoxical, but also the recognition he receives. There is the recognition for his work and for his persona. Additionally, a distinction should be made between his national and international recognition. Where Bergman is internationally perceived as a highbrow artist[75], he is nationally considered a dominant and egocentric artist with too much

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[75] "Problemet Ingmar Bergman." [The problem Ingmar Bergman] (1958, July 12). *Expressen.*

power[76]. From the 1960s on, all perspectives mix persona and work (cf. Asp, 2010:59), indicating a spillover between his status as a celebrity and that as an auteur.

In Sweden, the general view on Bergman's films emphasizes the dark and inaccessible side, almost patronizing the director (cf. Asp, 2010:59). This might relate to Jantelagen, a Swedish[77] notion that discourages people to stand out or feel special. The most negative criticism came during the 1960s, where a typical example is Bo Widerberg's *Visionen i svensk film* (1962) that is radically anti-Bergman. The same discourse can be found in the press during that time[78]. Bergman-criticism changed again for the positive when from the 1980s onwards he was seen as a master and icon (Steene, 2005:20). Yet, within Sweden a negative undertone concerning most of his work seems to persist till this day. On an international level, Bergman's work is praised by academics and critics alike, highlighting his artistry (Koskinen, 2009:82; Asp, 2010:59). Interestingly, it does not really matter whether attention was positive or negative as it further contributed to the author-function (Foucault 1984). Everyone always has an opinion on Bergman, thereby continuously legitimizing him as auteur (in line with Fathallah, 2016).

The international perception of Bergman related to his persona is that of an 'elite' culture perspective, while in Sweden his private life is covered by the press as if he was a popular soap opera actor[79]. This influences the way people perceive Bergman.

Due to the detailed knowledge of Ingmar Bergman's private life and persona, his image in the eyes of the participants in Sweden is much more dynamic than in Belgium. It changed throughout the participants' life in congruence with public discourses. The clearest example can be found in the turn towards heavy criticism in the 1960s and then later towards the

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[76] "En sån makt Bergman får." [So much power Bergman gets] (1963, January 15). *Expressen*.

[77] Originally this is a Norwegian notion, formulated by Norwegian/Danish writer Aksel Sandemose in "En flygtning krydser sit spor" (1933).. With thanks to Jørgen Straarup for pointing this out.

[78] "Närbilden." [The close-up] (1971, September 11). *Aftonbladet*; "Rutan." [Screen] (1963, October 27). *Dagens Nyheter*.

[79] e.g. "de nya ser likadana ut." [They look alike] (1973, June 11). *Expressen*. See also Koskinen, 2009: 82

image of Bergman as a master and icon in the 1970s and 1980s. A female participant (b. 1950, Sweden) recalls how he was not popular for a while, but nowadays he is seen as an icon. Another female participant (b. 1947, Sweden) mentions that one was supposed to be critical towards Bergman as a public figure and be more progressive than what he stood for, but "actually... he has become a much larger artist and filmmaker than I could understand back then. The last years before his death he was... like an icon, in an odd way". Peter (male, b. 1946, Sweden) also states that one was principally against Bergman during the 1960 because he did not take a stand on war and because he symbolized a certain power through his leadership in *Dramaten* and what he could acquire in terms of financial film support: "this view has perhaps diminished what he did at the time... my critical view of him and that I did not like him has in reality nothing to do with the films but with the hidden power. So I would say I do not like Bergman-films but I do think Bergman has made really good films [LAUGHS]". A female participant (b. 1939, Sweden) considers Bergman to be self-evident in today's cultural life and situates these changes around the release of the more accessible *Scener ur ett äktenskap* and *Fanny och Alexander*. Peter (male, b. 1946, Sweden) confirms this. Only a minority of the Swedish participants say they have always disliked or always liked Bergman's films.

Most common is the appreciation of Bergman as one of the greatest filmmakers of all time, in both Belgium and Sweden. For some people, his films as an art experience have left a deep impression, while for others he is personally irrelevant, although they recognize his value as an artist. For Swedish participants, the appreciation of Bergman is obviously connected to a sense of pride in what Bergman has meant for Swedish national cinema. All participants value and recognize him to some extent in this way, whether they like him or not. He has been in their lives, often from early on, because of his fame in Sweden. Following his career has been part of the life of the participants and therefore he is more present for the Swedish participants than he can ever be for the Belgian ones. As Bitte (female, b. 1946, Sweden) indicates: "he has not meant anything more than any other film experience. But of course, if this would have been an interview on Godard, I would not

have had an opinion".

## 4. Conclusion

In conclusion, love-related narratives are fundamental in building up Bergman's persona, which, due to their unconventional and ambiguous nature, underwrite Bergman's paradoxical status as both auteur and celebrity. This is especially the case in Sweden. Bergman portrays love as an ideal of love and family life that he cannot live up to. The heterosexual domesticized norm for love – marriage (Ahmed, 2010 45-87; Kipnis, 2009) – shapes both Bergman's striving and disappointments. In this sense, he uses love as a form of self-fashioning to become his moral self (Foucault, 1990), as condensed in his persona. Oftentimes, statements about love confirm his auteur-status while also increasing his status as a celebrity. An example is Scener, which reinforces his image to the extent that Bergman is considered to be an expert on women, in addition to being considered as an auteur (which is in turn influenced by his own explicit linking of private life and work).

My analysis further reveals how an auteur is (re-)producing discourse. For example, "Bergman is a womanizer" is a discourse that helps to shape an interpretation that explicitly connects Bergman's private life to the portrayal of women in his films. Celebritization and the legitimation of authorship seem to go hand in hand. In Bergman's case, even when the front stage appears to show his private life, it contributes to the construction of a persona as a whole, making him more of a celebrity *and* an auteur. The author/auteur/celebrity nexus plays a role through self-fashioning. The media as an institution plays a significant role in recognizing that, i.e. Foucault's author-function (Foucault et al., 1984). Ultimately, I believe that the successful construction of the Bergman-persona through love and women could be seen as one of the main contributions to Bergman becoming an auteur within Sweden.

More importantly, the paradoxical nature of Bergman's persona undoubtedly gives rise to different interpretations by the audience. While some may exclusively approach his oeuvre

as the work of an (high art) artist, most – especially in Sweden – undoubtedly take the notion of Ingmar Bergman as a celebrity into account. Auteurism is not only an academic and critical tendency; it is also clearly a way for the audience to interpret the films meaningfully, despite differentiation in the countries I have explored. This differentiation largely depends on the contextual information and discourses available to the participant. The construction is emotional to the extent that the participants relate film scenes to their own life and thereby draw parallels with what the assumed author must have gone through.

# Remembering Bergman's canon?

## 1. Introduction

In this chapter, I explore the meaning of Ingmar Bergman's films in Sweden and Belgium through memories presented in oral history interviews. Only one comparative audience study has previously been conducted on the reception of Ingmar Bergman. Birgitta Steene (1998) compares audiences in Sweden, France, Brazil, India, and the United States in the 1990s. She concludes that it is in fact possible to construct a generic Bergman-viewer in the respective countries: "What dominates in France is a formalist approach to Bergman's filmmaking, while in the United States it is Bergman the existentialist who reigns supreme. In Brazil we find the subversive and politicized Bergman, while in India his films become emblems of artistic filmmaking, challenging the native film industry. In Sweden, finally, the generic viewer sees Bergman in a much more controversial light: on one hand, provocative and self-absorbed, on the other hand artistically undervalued" (105-6). Steene focuses on viewers in the 1990s and constructs ideal-types from questionnaires combined with additional interviews. The focus in this chapter lies much earlier, on the upcoming and height of Bergman's career between the 1950s and 1980s.

Because cinema is a unique personal experience that is at the same time socially situated, the comparative dimension on a national level is valuable if one maintains a dialectic perspective (Biltereyst and Meers, 2016:25). This dialectic perspective returns in differing degrees in Steene's (1998) transnational study. She distinguishes three sequential stages: *transmittance*, *annexation* and *assimilation*. The first stage primarily relies on marketing and distribution forces, where "a stereotyping of the film product frequently takes place" (120). Second, we have an annexation phase, where a foreign culture accepts a product from another culture because of its combined "otherness" and familiarity. As an example here she considers the French reception of *Sommarnattens leende* (1955), which was highly

praised at the Cannes Film Festival. Steene believes that the film was successful in France because it resembled cinematic criteria that were already established there (cf. familiarity), i.e. 'a *jeu d'esprit* reminiscent of René Clair's comedies' (121; see also Grodal, 2014 for a similar analysis). At the same time, the film was exotic in its Swedishness (cf. otherness or novelty). A characteristic of annexation is that the receiving culture is not changed by the product it accepts. A step beyond this is assimilation, where the foreign mind absorbs a cultural product to the extent its foreignness disappears. At this stage, the film has a deep emotional impact.

In this chapter, the memories of Bergman's films are structured using Kuhn's typology (2011). This will allow me to nuance the application of the typology to a specific auteur and his oeuvre. The chapter further illustrates how the persona of Bergman is crucial to the reception of his films.

## 2. All kinds of memories

My interviews resulted in a variety of memories that correspond to Kuhn's classification. First, I explore Type C-memories on cinemagoing. As touched upon in chapter one, the definition of cinemagoing changes for the participants depending on the decade. Most participants born after 1950, especially in Belgium, have seen their first Ingmar Bergman-film on television. Some of these younger participants mention how films seen on television leave less of an imprint in their memories than films they have watched on cinema screens. For them, the cinema-screen becomes more of an exclusivity rather than a part of everyday life:

*Anonymous: I believe I saw those of Ingmar Bergman because of my husband, actually, together, we had a little TV, with a video player I believe it was. Maybe that's why I didn't remember it so well, because it was a smaller screen. And then* Trollflöjten *I saw on a big screen, in the cinema. That does a lot. That... that image, that impact, the experience, ... maybe because of that... but I always liked the films. I remember that I said: wow. Yes, it*

*grabs you by the throat. That is… but if I think about the large TV I once had, that image still isn't so large. Now we have a beamer and we watch our films on a big screen. Now we almost don't have to attend the cinema anymore, you understand?*

*Interviewer: You have a cinema at home.*

*Anonymous: Yes, a cinema at home and you feel the image is important, that it is large. It wraps around you, but you wrap around the television if it's one of those small ones. I think I saw those films on a small screen. Yes.* – female, b. 1961, Belgium

Discursively, the above participant speaks of the aesthetic, technical and social experience intermittently. It is all part of the same experience. Because of the access to television, cinema as a medium becomes much more present to the experience. In contrast, those born before 1950 not only saw their first Ingmar Bergman film in the cinema, they were usually not actively aware that it was a Bergman-film. However, that does not mean they did not know Bergman or that cinemagoing was without a deliberate choice, as illustrated by the following quote:

*Peter: I believe the first Bergman-film I saw was* Jungfrukällan*, and that one I saw with some friends at Röda Kvarn. That cinema is no longer there. It could also have been* Sommarnattens leende*, that one I saw with some friends on Lidingö. You can easily look up which one came out first. […] In those days that was what one did, that was before television, so I went to the movies quite often.*

*Interviewer: I can imagine the film was part of…*

*Peter: Yes, yes it was, it was the one that screened. Yet, there were three cinemas on Lidingö where I lived so we could choose from those three each week. Yes.* – Peter, male, b. 1946, Sweden

In line with general NCH findings, Peter has a better memory of where and with whom he saw the film than which came first. Here, cinemagoing is clearly more a part of everyday life, where most older participants (born <1950) indicate that they just tended to see

whatever screened at the time, without further contemplation. The taken-for-grantedness of cinema as a part of daily life has been earlier discussed in Kuhn's work on cinemagoing in the 1930s (Kuhn, 2004:107). Taken for granted does not equal ordinary. Cinemagoing was for all participants a particular and often cherished event.

*When I was 16 or 17 years old I was allowed to go the screenings of the KFL, which was kind of special, since it was on Thursday evening at eight. Those were my first times going out and that was a step... you could say going to the cinema without your parents, today that sounds ridiculous but I am talking about 1976 or so, in a small provincial city like Brugge, that was... yes it was a step towards becoming an adult. So we could go in the evening but we had to be back at 11. We had a little time to drink a beer or so in a youth club but that was it. It was the middle of the week because on Fridays I had to attend school! Others were perhaps allowed more but I wasn't. Anyway, I didn't do it for the beer and that stuff. I did it for the film, and also the fact... with the friend I went with... it was... I remember we discussed afterwards, what would that scene mean, how, what do you do with it? We discussed a lot afterwards.* – male, b. 1960, Belgium

The quote beautifully illustrates the importance of cinemagoing for adolescents as a way of growing up, an exploration of the world outside the family. This emphasizes the role of cinema as a place and is what Kuhn calls *cinema in the world* (2011:107-9). The participant here attends screenings organized in the Catholic pillar. The fact that Bergman-screenings were part of an ideological pillar had as an advantage an already set framework for discussion and evaluation. Some respondents have fond memories of these screenings and especially the discussions afterwards, as also illustrated in the following quotes:

*In those days... we talked about things afterwards. You would not otherwise talk about these things... feelings... it was not really taboo but not something you easily talked about. But after a film... then you talk about it anyway, and you learn about your own... you learn to expose your feelings, a bit, or a lot... and also I wanted to be able to talk about the films.*

*I wanted to have seen them, to be able to keep up. Not only with Bergman but also other films that were not in the popular circuit.* – Nero, male, b. 1954, Belgium

*When I was a teenager I had two friends and we started, we were in a Christian association and there, there were many philosophical and political discussions, and now that I think about it, perhaps also religious, and then Bergman's films were something we talked about every now and them. [...] We met on Fridays and then we said, did you see this movie by Ingmar Bergman? And then we started talking about it and drew parallels to other things we discussed, religious and also other topics, feelings, love, yes.* – female, b. 1950, Sweden

Interestingly, both participants – one from Belgium and one from Sweden – discussed the films within religious associations. This is an illustration of some similarities in exhibition circumstances, although these ideological screenings were, of course, much more institutionalized in Belgium's pillarized society. These frameworks of discussion can also be considered normative, especially in Belgium. The purpose of the screenings by KFL was partially to educate people. Introductions were often paternalistic, and Jos Burvenich is often mentioned here as giving these introductions. Only films that supported the ideology were screened. Other Bergman-films were advised to be avoided, as recalled by K.P. (male, b. 1951, Belgium):

*Strangely enough, my parents went to the cinema in Brussels and then we got a babysitter, I remember it. But one day I discovered, because I knew by then that they attended Bergman-films, but I discovered these were labeled as to be avoided. So that was a question of conscience [LAUGHS]. Of course it also attracts and when I was older, when I went to university, then I started seeing Bergman-films myself.*

Egool (male, b. 1945, Belgium) recalls how he never really considered these labels until he grew up, and what a liberation it meant to be able to see any film he wanted. This form of indirect censorship was not mentioned in Sweden.

From the interviews it can be deducted that the film introductions in the Catholic pillar promoted a strong auteurist reading. Particularly those participants who saw these films as teenagers mention often they did not understand the films as they had intended to be understood.

*They were difficult films. There was always a short introduction but in reality that was of little help. When I look back on that today I would say I was fascinated... but the films were riddles. We had too little background to dissect the film, to understand what was happening.* – P.G., male, b. 1960, Belgium

D.V. (male, b. 1956, Belgium) remembers how he saw *Wild Strawberries* at school. He only remembers certain images "and that I did not understand anything". Understanding is measured against the benchmark of critics or introductions that preceded the screenings, where different layers of symbolism are expected to be found by the viewer. The more a film is considered as "art cinema", the more respondents talk about their lack of understanding.

The setting and place of viewing are important in the experience as an interpretative act, in line with most new cinema history findings. As far as the Bergman-films are concerned, "place" functions in another way too. Sweden is for both Belgian and Swedish participants an imaginary place against which they can construct their own identities.

### 2.1. Another type of place memory: the Swedishness of the films

Kuhn's typology does not discuss place in this sense, although it is particularly relevant for Bergman's films to consider how they are perceived in order to be representative (or not) of Sweden and Swedish culture. Surprisingly, both Swedes and Belgians make use of stereotypes and of Sweden as a sociocultural framework. Sweden functions as an affective component in the construction of a myth and cultural identity for its inhabitants (Ezra ea., 2010:4). Here, common narratives or images return in Swedish cinema (see also Larsson

ea., 2010), which helps shape how audiences process the films. These are as follows: the social welfare system, sex and pornography, Swedish summer, and existentialism. Note that these narratives are not unified and that they are historically specific (Rawle, 2018:21).

*I like Bergman-films but they are torture of course. You know it will be heavy, and that is why you watch. My wife, she doesn't like these kinds of films. She goes to the movies to relax. And Bergman is never a relaxation. Even relaxed scenes have an edge, a barb. The Swedish and Scandinavian culture forces introspection upon you. [...] Kierkegaard, Strindberg, Ibsen, etc., they are all dark and gloomy. But ehm, now that my youngest daughter lives in Finland I can nuance this better. The clichés about Scandinavia are true, but much more nuanced than we have gotten them at a distance.* – Pat, male, b. 1954, Belgium

The above quote is illustrative of the many participants that made references to darkness and depressive aspects in the films. These were often equated with Swedish culture in general. Other participants thought the darkness was particular to Ingmar Bergman. One female participant in Sweden (b. 1939) stated beautifully that "the big is mirrored in the small and in that sense it mirrors Swedish society, but it is continuously Bergman's universe, that which he holds within [that is represented]".

The idealization of the Swedish summer is perhaps the strongest cultural image I came across. Its iconography is primarily nature-related[80]: archipelagos, water with lilies, warm sunlight that lasts all evening, wild strawberries, and midsummer celebrations (Björklund ea., 2016:1; Stigsdotter, 2008:187). Underlying this is the notion of absolute freedom. The quote the introduction starts with ties together this strong Swedish cultural image with personal experiences and desires through the remembrance of Bergman's *Sommaren med Monika* (1953). The influence of Bergman and *Sommaren med Monika* (1953) is not only

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[80] This landscape has been crucial in defining Swedish-ness but has arguably been deconstructed by Bergman's post-1960 films with the barren Fårö-settings (Hedling, 2006:58).

personal, but also canonical. Nevertheless, the fact that multiple Swedish respondents indicate that the nudity and narrative of *Sommaren med Monika* came as a shock or surprise to them indicates that the stereotype of a more free representation of sexuality (not necessarily the freedom *an sich*) was also new for them and that the image that lived on after these films was not as accurate as, for example, some Belgian participants seem to think. The following conversation demonstrates this:

*Anonymous: When they run in the archipelago...*
*Interviewer: that feels kind of Swedish to me...*
*Anonymous: Yes, yes, you are right... the archipelago and other places are used because it makes the images so beautiful and ehmmm in this case where she is totally naked, right, they never did that before 1953, it was just so newwwww! [LAUGHS]* – female, b. 1947, Sweden

The aura of a free sexuality in Sweden in general is often linked to the Bergman-films. This is in line with the idea that continental films, and Swedish films in particular, regularly have the image of being exploitation films (Stokes ea., 2017:83; Stigsdotter, 2008:175). The participants often used Sweden as a place to demarcate their own identity in terms of nationality but also, implicitly, sexuality, given the notion of sexual freedom underlying the Swedish stereotype. The following quote illustrates this image for both Sweden, *Sommaren med Monika* (1953), and the participant's relationship to his peers:

*P.G.: I believe ehhh* Sommaren med Monika. *That was immediately right the image we have of Sweden [...] that liberated, especially the sexual, because we were bewitched of that here in Belgium*
*Interviewer: do you remember how you felt with that film?*
*P.G.: I was heavily impressed by ehhh that later infamous Swedish free sexuality, free... that is the only thing I remember. The later [religious]problems were not present there yet [...]*
*Interviewer: How was one looked upon if one said one liked Bergman-films?*

*P.G.: A lot of people didn't know him... because there wasn't so much information available on the films, who had made it. It wasn't such a topic back then. But I do remember a remark by my friends in the bar I usually went to. When I came back from Sweden after a year [studying there], they asked me "for how many are you paying?". It's dialect for "how many kids do you have there". Because that's how Sweden was perceived. Promiscuous [LAUGHS]. Free love. Yes. - P.G., male, b. 1939, Belgium*

The quote further illustrates how film authorship was not a big thing yet in the 1950s. P.G. is one of the older participants in the sample. This highlights the difference between generations and the gradual awareness of Ingmar Bergman as director in the accounts, as well as a bigger role for Bergman in the experience of the participants born after 1950. In part, this is due to the canonization of auteurs in the 1950s. Furthermore, the remembrance of the actual films is in part subject to canonization.

## 2.2. Scenes, images and situatedness

Canonization plays a complex role in Type A and B memories, i.e. how the participants remember scenes or images and how this relates to their own life. These kinds of memories seem most suitable in determining which films are "important films" through till today. The two countries differ enormously in terms of the actual number of films seen by the participants. The average number of Bergman-films seen in Sweden is 24.9 versus 8.4 in Belgium. The regular broadcasting of Bergman's films in Sweden undoubtedly contributed to this difference. Yet, in terms of their most favorite films, the participants filled in the same films in both countries. This is a first indication of canonization influence. For Sweden, the favorites are *Fanny och Alexander* (1982), *Scener ur ett äktenskap* (1973), *Trollflöjten* (1975), *Det sjunde inseglet* (1957), and *Persona* (1966). In Belgium, *Trollflöjten* is replaced by *Smultronstället* (1957). What is remarkable is that *Persona* (1966) comes out as a favorite in both countries. When considering Sweden and Belgium together, only one participant discusses its personal importance in the interview. While other reception research suggests *Persona* was an instant classic (Stigsdotter ea., 2009:219;

Björnehult ea., 1986:59), my findings suggest the film was a success among critics but not necessarily for other audiences. An explanation for its high regard in relation to the absence of any discussion in the interviews, is that the drop-off (where *Persona* came out as one of the favorites) was presented to the participant at the beginning of the interview. Most participants likely felt the need to present themselves as knowledgeable at the outset. This contrasts sharply with *Det sjunde inseglet* (1957), where the majority of participants in both countries described detailed images that have remained with them, or explained why they found the film important. This may have to do with general canonization processes in both countries. In Belgium, the film's religious theme and its repeated screening in the Catholic pillar is one reason for its high remembrance rate. Recurring comments were that the film has personal resonance due to the (religious) questions it raises or that the film was important because of its "art" experience (cf. the normative reading). Further contributing to the canonization of certain works are the later release dates in Belgium. This resulted in the films being evaluated by the press in relation to successful works – like *Det sjunde inseglet* (1957) – or from the perspective that 'the future master'[81] was present in these works.

In both countries, the second most-mentioned film in terms of importance (in the interview, not the drop-off) was *Jungfrukällan* (1960). The rape scene in particular recurs in many accounts. In Stokes ea. (2017:83) *Jungfrukällan* is also mentioned in detail, and remembered as a Bergman-film. This confirms the increasing importance of the auteur after Bergman's international breakthrough at the end of the 1950s. In my study, Monika (female, b. 1937, Belgium) describes this scene in remarkable detail: "the conflict between the pure and the humiliation... the girl on her horse, she took a different route and spreads her cloth and invites the man to eat with her. Then there's a frog that jumps out". She had not seen the film afterwards, which goes against the general assumption in NCH that viewers rarely offer detailed accounts (Kuhn, 2002:253).

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[81] Het Volk 22/5/1959, 'Fängelse'

*I was so young when I saw it and I believe it influenced me a lot, the whole story about a young girl that is raped and murdered, and also... I think it influenced me simply because I was a young woman, and I was so touched by what happened to her, not that I was afraid to go out or so because I wasn't, but perhaps because it was done so well, and it was, it wasn't really common to show such things in films. Now you see that every day, in detective stories and such, all the time, but he was... the things he did were new and then there came discussions because you just couldn't show things like that.* – female, b. 1947, Sweden

*Ehhm, I remember that I there, at that moment, so I think I must have been very young when I saw it, that there was a rape scene. That was quite controversial, as in, he went too far. I believe it was* Jungfrukällan*. I remember it was very confrontational for me. So I must have been a young girl.* – female, b. 1948, Belgium

Not just female participants were touched by the rape scene. There were also male participants who talked about this:

*I remember that the child is murdered and raped, or that they murder her and a spring comes up. It touched me a lot. It was very fundamental. I was also quite young then. The question is, did I know what I saw? Yet, the film remained with me, that scene.* – male, b. 1955, Belgium

We can conclude that gender identity, although undoubtedly of importance, is here less of a determinant for the strength of the memory than the emotional experience in general. While in Belgium no other films stood out, the Swedish participants mentioned *Sommarnattens leende* (1955) extensively. Based on the quotes of this film, the same conclusion concerning gender identity versus the emotional impact could be drawn, illustrated by the following quote by G.F., a Swedish male participant. We feel his

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admiration for the strong female lead in the way he quotes her.

*Sommarnattens leende, that film I have had at home for some years... yes, I believe it is a VHS, an old VHS, and I call it my anti-depressant. When I am down, I just put on this film, and I become happy again! It is such a wonderful film. The humor and the best is... "you fall deep, but you fall softly," she says to him, no, a fantastic, wonderful film.* – G.F., male, b. 1936, Sweden

However, the strong female lead was mostly noticed by women. The following quotes highlight gender as a strong factor for identification with the film, at least in Sweden. This is further supported by the fact that many other Swedish women mention their admiration for the female leads in Bergman's comedies (*En lektion i kärlek* (1954), *Kvinnodröm* (1955), and in particular *Sommarnattens leende* (1955)).

*I must have seen* Sommarnattens leende *at least ten times, that film is so funny, her way of, Eva Dahlbeck's replies, they are priceless! Nothing can compare to that. There he has really created film history. He could do comedies, he was capable, at the same time as he did the dark stuff, but that movie touched me.* – L.E., female, b. 1933, Sweden

One other participant mentions Eva Dahlbeck's acting and states "it is perhaps how I myself would want to be in some situations" (female, b. 1933, Sweden). A similar kind of identification with strong female characters by women can also be seen in Belgium, but not in relation to a specific film:

*There are others that are influential, but films have always influenced me a bit. When I was a child and I had seen a film, then I lived a bit inside of that and I also wanted to live like that. A bit, yes, a bit. [...] He was ahead of his time, the women were more independent... I found that important... when you are 12-13-14 years old, and I find it important still, yes, the generation of my parents and my grandparents, the woman was always submissive, and*

*I found it important that it wasn't like that and in the films I saw it didn't have to be like that. I found that important.* - D.P., female, b. 1959, Belgium

Even when participants had not seen the film again, some had remarkably strong memories of the films. They often describe the content of the images and characters they liked. The following quote from Kristina was a common way people talked about these memories:

*Kristina: I was very moved by the film… very moved. Otherwise I would not remember it so well as I do now, in the images of the film, ehh, how she held the sound and ehm, behind the walls and how she crosses the meadow to get some milk… a lot of images have remained with me when I think about them.*
*Interviewer: Did you see the film again later?*
*Kristina: No, I don't think I did.* – Kristina, female, b. 1946, Sweden

Most of these memories can be categorized as Type A memories, specific images or scenes, often remembered as moments of fear (Kuhn, 2011:87-88). The vividly remembered rape scene from *Jungfrukällan* (1960) confirms the influence of fearful emotions on the memories' strength. The interviews suggest that not only fear or terror is responsible for the fact that these images are remembered, but heightened emotions in general, independent of gender identification.

Earlier research on cinema memory suggested that participants remember more social aspects than actual titles and films (Kuhn ea., 2017:7, 10). My interviews suggest that these are well-remembered alongside details such as film titles or visual details. Canonization and cultural memory may play a role in the repetition and continuation of exactly these types of details. This echoes Kuhn's idea of "implants" (Kuhn, 2011) and can primarily be found in Type B-memories.

### 2.3. Type B memories

Type B-memories are those memories where participants relate what they see to their own

life (Kuhn, 2011:87). Like heightened emotions, this also increases the vividness of the memory.

*In* Fanny och Alexander *the father dies early, the theatre director, and eh, that's what I also... my father also died when I was seven years old. So Alexander has this special, at the death bed of his father... perhaps you know the scene, he is asked to go to his father's death bed and he is afraid, he doesn't do it. That is something that I... I haven't been there, when my father died, but I have wondered if it would have been similar. That has for me... it's a dramatic scene. A lot of pain that...* - E.G., male, b. 1955, Belgium

*My mother's health declined in the 1960s, depression and so on. So I felt at home in the seclusion, that is important, a recognition and support in the films of Bergman [...] I really recognized myself there, all the more because of this personal situation at home. So it was more like a sounding board, how shall I say? I wasn't smiling a lot then, I mean, fun on the outside but turned inwards too. So I recognize the discord between holding back or letting go. [...] All of that is over now, I've processed it. The building is built, and Bergman is part of it, absolutely. He is part of my cultural baggage. Because he portrays the imperfect people. All of them hold a piece of the truth. He knows how to convey that in an artistic and sublime way, very characteristic of him. It's much less a little story than it is the psyche. That is for me the ultimate value of Bergman.* – male, b. 1953, Belgium

This participant mixes the personal and canonical importance of Ingmar Bergman as an author *and* that of his films all in one memory. Many participants recognize their own teenage melancholic and/or existential struggles in the films of Bergman, both in Belgium and in Sweden. This echoes the reminiscence bump where memories formed as adolescents have a particular depth.

*I liked these films because they were so problematic. I don't think I would like them today anymore, it's too much... I was searching myself back then, did not know what I wanted or*

*how life was supposed to be. Typical for a 17-year old I would say. I don't have that anymore, now I just think it is being ridiculously difficult. I became more pragmatic.* – Doremi, female, b. 1953, Belgium

*There was a making-of documentary of Tystnaden. I remember it very well, it was like an intellectual experience for me as a 16-year old. When I saw the film later, I did not feel anything... God's silence... It must have been the age and that I had so many existential questions back then.* – Bitte, female, b. 1945, Sweden

In Belgium, a remarkable number of participants mention recognizing religious struggles and suffocating religious environments. This indicates an *annexation* - as defined by Steene (1998:122) - of the films into the life of the participants, given the different religious background of Swedish and Belgian participants. Often, the participants who recognize their own struggles in Bergman tend to see this "search" as part of their personality, and sometimes, as part of their gender identity, i.e. as typically female.
In Sweden, this seems to be related to the family situation. Those participants who recognized their own life questions in Bergman's films mention that one or both of their parents were religious and/or active in church life.

My study shows that it is not only how participants relate to the films but also how they reflect on that later in life, emphasizing the performative aspect of recalling the memory today. Identification plays a role here in four different ways: identification according to gender, class, or generational identity; identification when the participant was younger versus now; identification in Belgium versus Sweden (cultural proximity); and identification with the characters versus the assumed filmmaker.

## 3. Bergman's persona as part of the films

As illustrated in the previous chapter (cf. pp. 110-114), participants in Belgium tended to identify more meaningfully with an assumed filmmaker than with particular characters. In

doing so, participants in Belgium base their image of Bergman solely on the films, while in Sweden he is a well-known public figure and participants relate to what they know about Bergman's private life.

In Belgium, "religion" seemed to be the most overtly discussed topic in relation to Bergman's films. Bergman himself is indispensable therein. Often there is no distinction made between the person Ingmar Bergman and his films, leading to an identification with the assumed filmmaker:

*I found his philosophical struggles quite annoying but yes, I could recognize them and after a while I understood them. He can do it. So there's been an evolution. Let us say: first there was a big attraction, and then the insight, as in: oh I recognize that, I understand what he means. What he means with his searching. And then yes, I guess I just accepted it for what it was. – P.G., male, b. 1939, Belgium*

*He has guided me in life, to a certain extent. The whole guilt and punishment of the Catholic religion and his fight with it, his honest fight with it and his wording and his imaging of all those things, yes... he's been present in the background. [...] A good filmmaker but it went deeper than that. There was an analogy with my own character. I also have that, that I go deep and that I am searching. – K.P., male, b. 1951*

In Sweden, religion is more ambiguous. Some participants recognize it, others not at all. Identification does not happen in the same way it does in Belgium, and rarely includes Bergman as a person. This is due to the extensive knowledge of Bergman's persona and that there is therefore no need to construct an underlying author from the films. When they do identify with the author, as I illustrate below, they tend to use the persona of Bergman for positioning their own identity. However, more common in Sweden is that the participants evaluate the films and their characters to the extent they could identify with them rather than the filmmaker. *Persona* (1966) offers an interesting opportunity to examine this, as many indicate they could not relate to the main characters:

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*I cannot stand* Persona*. For many it is a favorite and I understand why Bergman has made it, with the different perspectives and the same woman, but no, I don't have any joy in seeing it. I cannot identify with any of the sides.* – female, b. 1939, Sweden

Since the participant cannot identify with it, the film is dismissed. She even adds "I think people want to showcase their education when they choose *Persona* as a favorite, I don't think anyone can seriously like the film because it is just so boring". In contrast, my Belgian participants approach the film from two angles: because of its art-value and/or because of its sexual explicitness, never as potentially identifying with the characters. C.B. (male, b. 1945, Sweden) uses a different strategy. Since he probably has difficulty identifying with it, he uses his class identity as a clear interpretative strategy for *Persona*: "as an old revolutionary I saw everything in class differences, the doctor and the patient are obviously friends and belong to an upper class while the nurse is represented as childish and confesses an infidelity on the beach or something". This is an example of an alternative interpretation in contrast to the dominant readings of *Persona* as an art experience. It should be noted that the casual "or something" reveals the influence of the interview setting. With this particular participant I felt strongly he was trying to impress me. The 'intellectual' and alternative interpretation of Bergman's most classical film might be a result of that attempt.

Class is often mentioned as an important measurement for the degree of identification of the participant, not only identification with the film, but also identification with Ingmar Bergman as author. Bergman is known (and criticized) for portraying the higher classes and not ordinary people.

*Junker: My father-in-law, he detested Bergman-films. He was quite simple, from Södermalm [area in Stockholm that used to house many workers]. In part he didn't like how Bergman showed sexuality so openly, it was.... it wasn't his cup of tea but then I don't*

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*dare to say what it really was that he... but he was very negative towards Bergman. I took*

*somewhat of a position against that, which fit well with my self-image as a young academic*

*back then.*

*Interviewer: do you believe it was a difference between generations?*

*Junker: Yes, I believe that could have been it. But also a question of class. I don't know if*

*my parents ever saw a Bergman-film, perhaps* Trollflöjten *but I can't remember talking to*

*them about it.*

*Interviewer: so class difference means that Bergman was bourgeois?*

*Junker: Yes, a bit towards the intellectual. Neither my parents nor my father-in-law were*

*like that. Although my parents were the kind that pushed a bit, us kids had to be educated*

*and so on, and play the piano. [LAUGHS]* - Junker (male, b. 1950, Sweden)


In the above quote, Bergman is ascribed to a higher class and is used by the young Junker to position himself towards his parents and parents-in-law. Junker insinuates that his father-in-law dislikes Bergman not only for the explicit portrayal of sexuality but also because of the difference in class background. In the quote, Junker reflects on his own class background and sees how his younger self positioned himself as an intellectual via the films of Bergman.

Throughout the interviews, many participants have explicitly or implicitly used Bergman and his films to establish an elitist identity. In Belgium, many participants recognize that Bergman's films are associated with high esteem and a cultural elite, often in contrast to American films or soap operas on television, both seen as pulp, worthless. Many participants contrast their liking of Bergman to "mainstream", "popular", or "commercial" films. For example, Nero (male, b. 1954, Belgium) really struggles with this in the interview: "a popular film is often seen as cheap but that is not really the case, is it? I believe films can be easy to digest and still be art". At the other extreme, D.V. (male, b. 1956, Belgium) states explicitly that "Bergman's films are not passive consumption and that is what I have always looked for in film. I seldom go to the cinema and I would never go to entertainment films. Because it does not interest me. Life is too short to occupy myself with

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that kind of films".

Another participant (Pierre, male, b. 1950, Belgium) states that he probably saw his first Bergman-film with his wife, "because we were culturally active at the time and you could not ignore Bergman if you wanted to be part of this cultural life... Honestly... I saw them because it was a must, not because I felt so much for them. People were almost shocked if you had not seen his films, as if they wondered in what alien world you lived, especially in the 1970s... the films were much talked about, but not in detail because they are too difficult for that". Another male participant born in 1945 in Belgium explains: "it was always intellectual fuss, not for everyday people, no, not at all. Those who saw Bergman had read some books too... it was... elitist". Bergman's prominence in the Belgian cultural elite is also demonstrated by Eric K.'s (male, b. 1958, Belgium) strong reaction against Bergman: "one had to see Bergman but I did not agree. The films are puppet shows... for some strange reason Bergman's films became art in the 1950s, not least by this stupid auteur theory and the nouvelle vague etc... that is why I participate in this interview, because others will canonize Bergman and he does not deserve it". While some people evaluate the niche audience of Bergman negatively, some see this as a positive thing: Bergman and other art films embodied the discovery of "a different kind of films" (R.V.B male, b. 1942, Belgium).

The image of a cultural elite that likes Bergman can also be found in Sweden. For example, one female participant (born 1950, Sweden) states that her classmates probably thought that she tried to be intellectual when stating she liked Bergman-films. Another female participant (born 1947, Sweden) believes that Bergman "was much talked about in the cultural establishment, not by ordinary people... not the general public". Yet one was also perceived as somewhat "off" or strange when one liked Bergman-films, because of their images as dark and inaccessible. The difference between both countries is that in Belgium it sufficed to name Bergman to stand out from the crowd while in Sweden everyone was familiar with him.


It is not only class and cultural identity that play a role, but also generational differences,

which return in the interviews when the participants tend to position themselves in contrast to their parents' generation:

*I.S.: My father was anti, he thought Bergman was crazy, something loose in the head. He didn't understand how the films could even be produced? Why does he show that crap? Terrible, he thought. My mother was not the same at all, she was interested and found the films interesting... but there was never any dialog between them on Bergman since they differed so much in opinion.*
*Interviewer: so it is not a difference between generations?*
*I.S.: Well yes, I do think there is a difference. Our generation was more interested. – I.S.,* female, b. 1945, Sweden

Given that Swedish participants have more knowledge of Bergman's persona, they identify with him, and the films, differently (based on the persona rather than the films as the Belgian participants do). The characters of the films are more strictly evaluated with respect to the extent the participant can identify with them. This indicates that cultural proximity (Straubhaar, 1991) or geo-linguistic proximity (Athique, 2016:112) plays a role in the degree of identification with the characters. This is confirmed by the fact that the more accessible films, those "one can relate to", were clearly more popular and more liked by the Swedish participants, such as *Sommarnattens leende* (1955), *Smultronstället* (1957), or *Sommaren med Monika* (1953). In relation to these films, participants explicitly described which characters they liked and why.

Identification changed throughout the life of the participants, which illustrates the performative aspect of memory most clearly. Very often, and in contrast to Belgium, participants in Sweden saw the Bergman-films again and regularly throughout life, even when they were older. This re-watching not only results in more detailed accounts, but they also identify differently, while at the same time remaining aware of how they identified when they were young. They can recognize more now that they have lived more:

*We were between 25-35 years old when those 1960s and 1970s films came out so if you look at them now, many of us have gone through divorces or the death of a loved one, all of those things that are part of many people's life. We had no experience at all when we were 25-35, then we were occupied with having children and what shall I do for work and all that stuff. This other, this dark dark and the tragedy, you just couldn't deal with that then.* – I.S., female, b. 1945, Sweden

Also, the evaluation of the films changes. Some liked the films very much when they were young and cannot look at them today "because they are so boring" (Bitte, female, b. 1945, Sweden). Others continue to think they are highly relevant today.

For the participants in Belgium it was rather rare they had watched Bergman-films a second time. When they did, a similar change in evaluation could be noted, and in most of these instances participants spoke of a stronger identification at a later stage (compared to non-existent identification earlier).

*I recently watched* Smultronstället *again and only now I understand it. Because it is about an old man, a professor, an arrogant intellectual. But because his daughter is harsh to him, he realizes what is still left for him in his old days. I am 61 and I also pose myself that question. What can I do before I die? [...] I evolved in life of course, and also in vision on film. I find it much more interesting today than back then. Because I have experienced more myself.* – Pat, male, b. 1954, Belgium

Whether participants liked the films or not was not related to the amount of times they saw them or when. Participants mentioned how the films, among others, have broadened their outlook on life. Different people also mention how they have carried the images throughout their life. Here, the Swedish participants have a much more detailed image of the oeuvre of Bergman and thus their liking is more nuanced. It was not just the oeuvre that was evaluated with more nuance in the Swedish sample, but also the importance of Bergman as an auteur. In Belgium, to like Bergman means to like his films and this is static

through time. In Sweden, multiple participants did not like Bergman but liked *some* of his films and this changed through time. The extended knowledge of the public figure of Bergman and the recurrent possibilities for re-watching the films in Sweden influences the perception of his oeuvre.

## 4. Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored the influence of two contexts in the reception of Ingmar Bergman and his films, both domestically (Sweden) and internationally (Belgium). Clearly, memories are influenced by their contexts both now and then. The available information matters as well as the age of the participant when watching (cf. reminiscence bump and a possibly different evaluation later in life). Processes of canonization influence how these memories are remembered and told today. This canonization is for example reflected in the favorites the participants have listed in both countries.

Many Belgian participants see the Bergman-films as part of their coming of age because of the themes and the age at which they saw them. Remarkably, there is an *annexation* of the films in Belgium in terms of religion. This is in the first instance due to the active role of the Catholic pillar in "using" the Bergman-films to educate people and spread a message. Secondly, the secularization of Belgian society in the 1960s together with the reminiscence bump at work for my adolescent participants, result in a high degree of identification with religious themes. In particular, religion was the only theme where Belgian participants spoke of identification in their memories of their younger self.

Swedish participants evaluated the whole oeuvre much more in the light of their potential identification with the characters *in* the film, emphasizing the crucial role of the film text in the cinema experience. This is reflected in the films they considered to be the most important. With *Persona*, for example, many participants did not identify. At the same time, *Persona* was selected in both countries as one of the most favorite films on the drop-offs preceding the interviews. This illustrates a strong canonization. For both countries, I

have demonstrated the importance of Bergman as an author for the process of identification. In Belgium, participants identify with an assumed filmmaker based on the films. In Sweden, Bergman's persona, e.g. in terms of class, serves as an identification and/or a way of resisting and portraying identity to one's surrounding. In a sense, the clearer image of Bergman's persona in Sweden has the effect of bringing about a more rigid interpretation of the films compared to Belgium.

Different nuances can be added to Kuhn's typology on cinema memory. First, the strength of memories of images and scenes was not only intensified with negative emotions, such as fear, but also by heightened emotions in general, including joy and pleasure. Second, how the films are related to the life of the participants was dependent on different kinds of identification. Both time and cultural proximity play a role here. Identification differed over time (younger versus now), country (Belgium versus Sweden), personal identity (generation, gender, class), and with respect to the primary object of identification (the characters versus the assumed filmmaker). These are related, as cultural proximity largely increases character identification. Furthermore, place plays an important role in memories of cinema and cinemagoing. For Bergman's films, Sweden as a sociocultural construct clearly plays a role in the interpretations of both Belgians and Swedes.

# A case of viewing: *Scener ur ett äktenskap*

## 1. Introduction

The two previous empirical chapters showed the importance of the context for the reception of the auteur and the film. This chapter aims to investigate a particular series/film, *Scener ur ett äktenskap* (1973), as part of a *comprehensive* viewing experience. Here, I include textual cueing as the basis for interpretative mechanisms, in line with cognitive film scholars: textual cues lead to certain interpretations for the spectator. These cues serve as "sense-data" (Staiger, 1992:48) for emotional and other viewing experiences. In this case, personal emotions will stand in relation to discursive dimensions of emotions in the form of social norms on love.

*Scener* was broadcasted as a television series in Sweden between April 11th 1973 and May 20th 1973 and released internationally (also in Belgium) as a feature film in 1974[82]. Later, the series was also broadcasted in Belgium. Earlier international works on *Scener* focus primarily on the narrative structure of the story and its themes (Kalin, 2003), the series' heteronormativity (Tay, 2006; Dahl, 2005; Humphrey, 2013), or the series' psychological preoccupations (Librach, 1977). In Swedish literature, Erik Hedling (2008a) has written on how the series stands in relation to views on women in Sweden in the early seventies, and especially how the series is an expression of Bergman's wish to be relevant in Sweden after all the Bergman-criticism of the 1960s.

My interviews show clear signs of the earlier discussed authorship and Bergman's persona. Many Swedish participants draw parallels to the life of Bergman in their interpretation of

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[82] In Sweden, October 28th 1974
(http://www.svenskfilmdatabas.se/sv/item/?type=film&itemid=19808#release-dates), in Belgium February 1975 (based on the press reviews, see also pp. 94-95).

*Scener*. In Belgium, multiple newspapers wrote that the series took Bergman only a few months to write but a lifetime of living and experiencing[83]. This illustrates how international marketing promotes a similar auteurist interpretation as is often the case in Sweden, by drawing explicit parallels to Bergman's private life. These interpretations will not be discussed in the setup of this chapter as they are similar to the general conclusions from chapter four and five on the auteur. Instead, I will focus on how interpretations of the depicted love relationship are potentially based on ideas of love that have a social and cultural basis.

## 2. Love as socially codified

Complementary to the theory of love as a psychological given[84], I will mainly explore its more social and cultural dimensions. The latter tends to include lived experiences and love as an idea much more than the former approaches (De La Pava, 2017:22). It is these aspects of love that constitute the norms of love in a given society: love as societal construct

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[83] De Standaard, 28/2/1975, "Bergmans Scenes uit een huwelijksleven. Zoals het klokje thuis tikt..." [Bergman's Scenes from a Marriage. Like the clock ticks at home… NB. Proverb meaning there is no place like home]; Het Laatste Nieuws, 18/2/1975, "Beelden uit een huwelijksleven" [Images from a Marriage]; Rode Vaan, 27/2/1975, "Scenes uit een huwelijksleven" [Scenes from a Marriage]

[84] Throughout the 20th century, psychoanalysis and psychology, biology, evolutionary psychology, and neuroscience have all subsumed love to science (Illouz, 2012:162-3). Characterizing these strands is a view of love as an individual and innate experience. Freud considers romantic love to offer some sort of fulfillment (Wexman, 1993:6). Freudian popular culture sees love as the re-enactment of childhood conflicts in relationships to parents (Illouz, 2012). Yet debates are ongoing on whether love qualifies as an emotion. Scholars who tend to have a universalist approaches towards emotions, such as Ekman (1992, quoted in Felmlee ea., 2006:391) tend to argue it is not. One of the arguments here is that love does not correspond to a facial expression like many other basic emotions such as anger, sadness, or joy. Instead, it is suggested that it is an attitude, a plot, a mix of emotions, a syndrome, or a motivational state like hunger. Neurologically, love cannot be pinned down to one area of the brain. Other scholars state that love is an emotion, especially given its recurrence in different cultures and times. Furthermore, the average person *believes* that love is an emotion (Felmlee ea., 2006:392).
Psychological approaches to love have resulted in classifications and scales for measuring kinds of love, such as Rubin's *Measurement of Romantic Love* (1970), Hatfield and Sprecher's (1986) 'Passionate Love Scale', or Sternberg's *A Triangular Theory of Love* (1986). Psychological research on personalities and their compatibility strengthened the idea of love as a personal matter (Illouz, 2012:163-4). Cognitive film theorist Torben Grodal (2004:27-8; 2009:56-79), in line with evolutionary psychology, sees love as one of the key *innate* motivators for human action. In his view, emotions are the *precondition* of our individual and social development. Yet not all emotions should be seen from the perspective of the individual as love, sexuality, and desire are beneficial for the survival of humankind in general.

and practice. In this, I still implicitly value the love experience as true to the individual.

Many sociological and anthropological approaches tend to situate love in the social and cultural rather than in the psychological sphere. Examples include how love structures society on a macro-level through mechanisms for mating and marriage as well as control, or how love is shaped by power and status on a micro-societal level (Felmlee ea., 2006:397-8). Another strand of sociological research of love focuses on historical social transformations. Giddens (1992), Luhmann (1986) and Illouz (2012) all suggest that love is a social construction that evolves over time. Additionally, the cultural turn in sociology tends to focus on love in relation to norms, values, or ideology, for example individualism and love (Beck ea., 1995). Some feminist works can be put under this cultural strand, as they see love as a means of repression of women.

In all sociological approaches, institutional and collective bases of personal thoughts, feelings, and desires are explored (Bachen ea., 1996:280; Wexman, 1993:5). Seeing love or desire as innate "confuses history for nature and naturalizes the former under the guise of the latter" (Illouz, 2012:48). Different kinds of love, such as romantic love, are seen as specific to certain groups at certain times. For example, different authors agree that the association between romantic love (or passion), marriage, and personal fulfillment in Western societies gradually developed throughout the 19th century as part of the romantic cult of individualism. Before that, marriage was mainly an economic and social way of organizing family possessions and kinship (Giddens, 1992:38-9; Illouz, 2012:33-4; Shumway, 2003:21-2; Wexman, 1993:12; Kaufmann, 2011). The economic and rational view of love was dominant at a time of strong ideas on enlightenment of the human as rational. In contrast, the contemporary view developed under the influence of Romanticism, where the individual is not solely rational (Beall ea., 1995:429). Today, romantic love is seen as shaped by a set of cultural and social tensions and contradictions that structure modern selves and identities. In line with many sociological approaches, I believe that individual conceptions of (ideal) love stand in relation to the wider social and

cultural context.

Different authors indicate that love can be seen as a set of codes (Johnson, 2005:1; Giddens, 1992:2). Love encompasses two models that stand in (a conflicting) relation to each other (Giddens, 1992:37), also in people's minds (Bachen ea., 1996:296). Together they form a "system of ideas and ideals forming a kind of theory about love, […] a set of beliefs of an individual and often also of society[85]," and a normative morality (Ben-ze'ev ea., 2008:2, see also Wexman, 1993).

The initial *amour passion* (Giddens, 1992:37) or infatuated love (Kaufmann, 2011:131) later needs to be managed into a more durable version of love in order to establish a lasting relationship, a "house of little pleasures" (Kaufmann, 2011:131). In passion, we get carried away and tend to give up ourselves in order to be reborn with someone else. Passion is a utopia in the sense that it turns against the existing world in order to achieve something new.

The marriage model, on the contrary, is where the everyday is built up with this 'significant' other. This is necessarily grounded in the world that passion explicitly rejects. Passion requires us to give up our previous identity while marriage heavily relies on an already existent (and gendered) identity, which is yet to be acknowledged (Kaufmann, 2011:131-142).

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[85] Some authors define this romantic love as an ideology. The ideology encompasses that the beloved is everything to the lover and love is all you need, true love lasts forever and can conquer all; true lovers are united; love is irreplaceable and exclusive; love is pure and can do no evil; love is comprehensive (no boundaries), uncompromising, unconditional, and reality is irrelevant (Ben-ze'ev ea., 2008:xi-ii). Interestingly, the love ideal has similarities to moral values central to Christianity (Giddens, 1992:39). This parallel is drawn by multiple authors (Johnson, 2005:78; Beck ea., 1995:168-98; Illouz, 1997:3-8; Ben-ze'ev ea., 2008:35-8; Luhmann, 1986). However, considering love as an ideology seems to disregard potential contradictions offered by other cultural frames on love. Moreover, it ignores the suspicion of romantic love that is so characterizing for contemporary experiences: we no longer experience self-abandonment and ecstasy because of rationalization of romantic beliefs in science, technology, and politics (Illouz, 2012:161-2).

Marriage is based on monogamy (what Ben-ze'ev ea., 2008:87 call "owning the other's sexual freedom"), the pooling of economic resources and living together. Marriage is irreconcilable with the intense and all-consuming passion that the former implies, and it requires considerable "cultural work" from the participants to manage both. Sprecher and Metts (1999:835) explore this romantic ideal over time through quantified parameters such as romantic belief and relationship outcomes (satisfaction, commitment, and stability). For couples who were in a relationship for a longer time or who broke up, romantic beliefs decreased. For those who got engaged, their romantic beliefs remained steady. Although I do not believe in reduction of schemata into wholly measurable beliefs, this research still illustrates the presence of culturally inspired expectations (Shumway, 2003:22) and how couples manage inherent contradictions in the love ideal and reality through social and psychological adjustment (in line with Illouz, 2012:13).

Meanings that are assigned to love and sexuality can be seen as based on shared cultural ideas with similar socially mediated experiences (e.g. films). The repetition of similar narratives or themes might help the construction or reinforcement of particular ideas on love (Wilding, 2003:384; Konijn ea., 2011:46). Although love is perceived as socially constructed, it necessarily has psychological repercussions, where love may provide people with a template to understand life. People evaluate their feelings, thoughts, actions, and their beloved in line with their socialized views on love (Beall and Sternberg, 1995:429-31).

These competing cultural frames of the ideal of romantic love versus the institutional organization of a long-term relationship or marriage (Illouz, 2012:13) are important for my analysis of *Scener*. As I will illustrate, participants experience and manage these frames personally as well as apply them to the series for interpreting. Gender identities play a large role in these interpretations as it is a crucial component of heterosexual love (Shumway, 2003:9; Beck ea., 1995; Johnson, 2005:77; Illouz, 2012:9; Ben-ze'ev ea., 2008).

A heterosexual relationship is based on gendered differences and provides both "a site for performing gender identity and for transcendence" (Johnson, 2005:77; Illouz, 2012:9). One of the basic assumptions here for women is the "association of motherhood with femininity as qualities of the personality" (Giddens, 1992:42). Men, on the contrary, define themselves only as men today. Before, they "assumed that their activities constituted 'history', whereas women existed almost out of time, doing the same as they had always done" (Giddens, 1992:59). Through processes of emancipation and individualization, gender identities within love are increasingly under pressure (Beck ea., 1995:1-2) as they potentially oppose individual goals, such as self-actualization and/or a career. Especially for women, conflicts arise when entering the labor market, which results in "two competing urgency systems, two clashing rhythms of living, that of the family [or marriage] and the workplace" (Hochschild and Machung, 2003:250). Failure to deal with this contradiction is in essence a failure of "the family model which can mesh *one* labour market biography with a lifelong housework biography, but not *two* labour market biographies, since their inner logic demands that both partners have to put themselves first" (Beck et al., 1995:6, italics in original). In other words, sexual freedom and gender equality exacerbate gender roles as the crucial source of antagonisms in couples (Beck et al., 1995:2). The gender-division will be of importance to our analysis of *Scener.* The protagonists are in conflict with each other and themselves, based on love ideals and their roles therein.

A central conflict - in both *Scener* and society - is the tension between autonomy and attachment or the need for recognition (Beck ea., 1995:69-70; Shumway, 2003:27; Illouz, 2012:97; Ben-ze'ev and Goussinsky, 2008:18-20). This tension arose as a consequence of the association between romantic love and freedom in modernity, both desirable in a normative way (Giddens, 1992:40; Illouz, 2012:59). Individual freedom contradicts the idea of the unity of the couple. Each individual should strive for an autonomous individual development (also a demand implicit in the labor market) but unity requires (partial)

abandonment of the self (Beck ea., 1995:6; Ben-ze'ev and Goussinsky, 2008:65). Women especially have internalized conflicting ideals of care and autonomy. The female participants in my sample also experience these gendered conflicts. When they rely too much on the relationship, their lack of autonomy is fundamentally perceived as a problem of the self and a self-valuing problem ("learn to love yourself before you can love another"), while in reality it is a social problem: lack of worth is the result of a lack of recognition, which can only be generated by others (Illouz, 2012:121-54). Men tend to have "the upper hand in the process of monitoring recognition – initiating it and controlling its flow – [this] is also manifest in that he holds himself far less responsible for the successes or failures of the relationship" (Illouz, 2012:153-4). Consequently, breaking up is experienced, mainly by women, as a personal failure (Johnson, 2005:90; Illouz, 2012:111-48; Ben-ze'ev ea., 2008:41). As Illouz (2012) states beautifully: "even in a contested patriarchy, men and women both need other men's recognition" (155). The price men pay for this relative autonomy is a less-defined gender identity and diminished emotional capabilities, in both love and friendship (Giddens, 1992:117-25).

Conflicting gender roles have two sides: "the actual, objective state of affairs and our awareness of and attitude towards it" (Beck ea., 1995:34). Emancipation has primarily changed our attitudes. Yet romantic love functions as "ideological glue that held together men's and women's gender identities and power differentials and made them erotic and pleasurable – because spontaneous and unreflexive – while leaving intact gender structure and hierarchy" (Illouz, 2012:192). In order to truly break traditional gender roles, we need to socially redefine love and romantic desire. With this statement, Illouz (2012) situates herself in line with other feminist authors who claim that love is the source of gender inequality and sustains it. An example is Shulamuth Firestone (1957) who states that love is the main vehicle through which women accept their repression. Simone De Beauvoir (et al., 1997) makes an analogous claim. Love not only hides sexual and class segregations, it also creates them. More abstractly, but in similar vein, Ahmed (2004:214-5) states that it is through love that ideals are maintained: "[t]hrough love, an ideal self is produced as a self

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that belongs to a community; the ideal is a proximate 'we'". The family or relationship is only the setting of these tensions, not the cause (Beck ea., 1995:23-5). Love "mirrors and amplifies the "entrapment" of the self in the institutions of modernity, shaped by economic and gender relations" (Illouz, 2012:6).

Nevertheless, one cannot dismiss love too easily as the ideological backbone of gender and family. Despite the fact that heterosexuality is a "highly composed, organized and institutionalized set of practices and relations", love and intimacy are founded in joy and gratification as the result of active choice (Johnson, 2005:135). But to what extent is the choice individual or a result of societal constraints that change over time?

## 3. Changing love

Already in the 17th century we can see how - along with industrialization and the rise of capitalism - marriage (a term in which I include all forms of long-term commitment relationships) was increasingly seen as a site for realizing personal happiness and an emotional, personal commitment rather than a social institution and property relation (Kaufmann, 2011:89; Wexman, 1993:12; Shumway, 2003:12; Giddens, 1992:26-39). According to Beck et al. (1995:76), we can distinguish three stages of how men and women related to one another as a couple as society evolved from pre-industrial to modern times. Furthermore, the meaning of marriage and love changed both from a social perspective and from the point of implications for the individual. At first, neither men nor women had individual possibilities. The family was an economic unit and marriage partners were chosen accordingly. One's sense of self was closely related to social surrounding, such as extended family and religious structures (Illouz, 2012; Kaufmann, 2011; Shumway, 2003). As the extended family broke up, men increasingly started organizing their own lives while the family remained intact purely due to the (psychological and practical) confinement of women to the private sphere. Only at this point – in symbiosis with the industrial revolution – did marrying for love start to emerge. From around the 1960s, both men and women had increasing opportunities to make a life of their own (Beck et al., 1995:76).

By now, love became the most determining factor in one's choice to marry in the West (Kaufmann, 2011:102). The individual's freedom to choose his or her own life in itself became the general imperative to which all - both men and women - must conform. Society shapes demands and expectations, and it can be experienced as a personal failure when one is unable to meet them (Illouz, 2012:153-4; Ben-ze'ev and Goussinsky, 2008:41). Paradoxically, the more marriage became a choice, the more pressure came from personal expectations (Shumway, 2003:21-2). That is what individualization implies: every individual governs his or her own choices so when there is a problem, it relates to the individual's choice. As we will see, the inability to deal with tensions between the social and individual dimension of love can be seen as the central theme of *Scener* and our interviewees' struggles.

Another important change in the meaning of love and marriage through the process of individualization is demonstrated by changing views on sexuality. Sexuality becomes autonomous and gains new meaning, away from reproductive purposes and towards individual gratification (Levine, 2007:9-10), both inside and outside of marriage (Wexman, 1993:13). Sexual liberation was closely associated with the emancipation of women (e.g. the importance of anti-conception and that reproduction can be artificially produced). Sexuality became a goal in itself (Levine, 2007:10-1; Kaufmann, 2011:105; Giddens, 1992:27). This 'sexual revolution' not only allows for sexually liberated women, but also for the increasing acceptance of homosexuality. Yet Illouz (2012:61) is critical, since sexual freedom, like economic freedom, legitimizes inequalities. Both love and sexuality became *just another* source of pleasure, not necessarily related to one another (Kaufmann, 2011:105-6).

This "transformation of intimacy", as Giddens (1992:96) calls it, has further implications for divorce rates and the institution of the family. Previously deviant behavior such as singlehood, homosexuality or out-of-wedlock pregnancy is no longer stigmatized as it was

before (Illouz, 2012:60), at least in the Western world. The development of the self and increasing expectations of marriage as a consequence of this "free choice" (Shumway, 2003:21) leads to increasing divorce rates because of the incapability to manage the ideal with reality (Beck ea., 1995:94). Family relationships are organized through "negotiated commitment" and marriage is no longer inextricably linked to parenthood (Beck ea., 1995:104; Giddens, 1992:96). This Western concept of love predominates in cultures with a central position for a nuclear family. Love as the foundation for marriage is more present in individualistic rather than collectivist cultures (Beall ea., 1995:427). Yet despite its changes, the family remains a powerful device in that it reproduces a certain ideal. In that sense, the happy family is "both an object (something that affects us, something we are directed toward) and circulates through objects" (Ahmed, 2010:45). It steers our longing for happiness in its direction, further increasing expectations of marriage and the family. Representations influence and institutionalize our expectations (Wilding, 2003:384; Illouz, 2012; Jarnkvist, 2011:177).

The way society predominantly defines love has repercussions for its depictions and interpretations. Dominant social norms serve as the backdrop for aligning or deviating stances to love as represented in culture and media (Shumway, 2003). Film has been the key "vehicle for the reproduction, contestation and historical reflection on the larger shifts in intimacy and romantic love in the west, particularly in the twentieth century" (De La Pava, 2017:52).

## 4. Depictions of love

That love is often present or even central in film seems almost too trivial to state. Yet when we start investigating in what way, the answer is not at all clear. In the first instance, melodrama or other genres that focus on love relationships may come to mind. Arguably, many more genres of films include love relationships and what exactly would qualify as a representation of love is ambiguous. Let us investigate what this means.

I argue that classical narration with linear progression tends to favor the representation of the love ideal. As the goal of the character needs to be clear (Bordwell ea., 2015:23), love is usually simplified into a knowable and straightforward feeling without doubts or contradictions, much in contrast to reality. The linear progression of the narrative facilitates the structuring of the – in reality ungraspable – process of falling in love in concrete steps. It is inherent to the idea of true love to be strong and resistant to any obstacle, which is exactly what classical narration does. A road of obstacles is the basis of *any* classical narrative. That the protagonist has a clear goal is important for the psychological allegiance of the audience with the protagonist's desired outcomes.

Another imperative in classical narration is closure, not necessarily meaning a happy end. The aim is to give the audience a sense of ending, relief, and relative tranquility (Plantinga, 2009b:91-102; Berliner, 2017:18). Ideological "influence" in classical narration often lies in the fact that the viewer emotionally aligns with certain characters, through the structure and progression of the narration. The viewer aligns with certain ideas that are presented as morally or ideologically "right" in the film, usually ideas that are dominant in society (Plantinga, 2009b:203). Through the use of obstacles for the protagonist to obtain a love ideal, moral alignment with romantic ideals takes shape.

The use of close-ups underscores love at first sight, as the portrayal of mere looks and eye-contact can make it emotionally clear to an audience that two characters are attracted to each other (Illouz, 2012:210). Cinema as an audiovisual medium is much more capable of conveying looks than any other medium. This is ideal for presenting a love situation.

In order to symbolize that love will last through time, classical narration usually relies on the simple portrayal of a wedding rather than for example sexual contact (Ben-ze'ev ea., 2008:8; Wilding, 2003:377). Marriage is still prevalent as a determining life-choice today, even when it does not often last (Wilding, 2003:376; Shumway, 2003:21-2). As such, the wedding is for classical narration the ideal signifier for the duration of love in time, providing it with the closure it needs. In reality, weddings rarely symbolize this and often

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entail a practical approach to institutionalizing love with planning long before the actual event takes place (Wilding, 2003). The fact that wedding stands for durability both stems from reality in that it is shaped as an ideal through its simplified use in classical films on love. There is a circularity at work where both ideas of marriage influence each other in culture.

Two important tensions come up where reality seems to stand in stark contrast to how love is represented. First, there is a tension between passion and marriage: an everlasting passion is unattainable in a long-term relationship (see also Illouz, 2012). In the filmic portrayal of love, there is no such tension. Hollywood films build on earlier traditions of romance novels (Roach, 2016) where only what happens before marriage matters (Kaufmann, 2011:94-95; Wilding, 2003).

A second tension in representation is to be situated in the rapid emergence of women liberation movements from the 19th century onward. The equality of the sexes hardly found space within passionate love stories in films (Kaufmann, 2011) nor in the happiness of marriage that society promotes (Ahmed, 2010). Closure in classical cinema is conceived as the man who reaches his goal through the woman, even when the story is women-oriented (de Lauretis, 2011). In Bergman's films, women do not provide closure. As I will illustrate, *Scener* initially seems to start out as a classical narrative but as the characters grow, the lack of closure becomes obvious, largely due to Marianne's strengthened and new views on love and marriage.

When discussing love in film, more general views on love and sexuality surface. Torben Grodal (2004:28) believes love to be one of the emotions that enhance the fitness of the species, hence its recurrence in films. With this, he is situated within evolutionary psychology and does not regard questions of culture at all. On the other side, we find a repeated discussion of classical Hollywood love narratives in line with dominant romantic ideals (Ben-ze'ev and Goussinsky, 2008:8, see also Wilding, 2003:377). Building on the

idea of romantic ideology, Wexman (1993:ix-xi) argues that movie stars function primarily as romantic ideals and that films "define and demonstrate socially sanctioned ways of falling in love" (Wexman, 1993:ix). Her book is aptly titled "Creating the Couple", assuming that prevailing love ideals are influenced by Hollywood's representation of it. This can either be seen as top-down, how mass media and consumer culture institutionalized certain romantic expectations (Illouz, 2012), or as a cultural model developed in circular fashion between a cultural ideal and individual expectations (Wilding, 2003:384).

## 5. Analysis

I combine the three kinds of data that I have discussed in the methodological chapter: a textual analysis to identify potential emotional 'cues', audience interviews to explore evaluations of emotions in their memories, and contextual research on changing conceptions of love in society during the 1960s and 1970s. Combining these data allows me to define a context. Here, different kinds of (affective, social, and contextual) experiences can be distinguished in relation to the series.

### 5.1. *Scener* in society

*Scener ur ett äktenskap* was released in the early 1970s, which – together with the 1960s – was a turbulent time in terms of changing views on love and sexuality. The graph in the introduction on divorce rates in Sweden illustrates this.

Part of the series' success can be related to the television medium itself, with its large reach and popularity (Loisen et al., 2016:99), as "television was the most significant cultural form for the dissemination and acceptance of the monumental changes in sexual identities, practices, mores, and beliefs that developed in the wake of the sexual revolution" (Levine, 2007:4). As was generally the case for 1970s television, new ways of representing on television only developed after the political, social, and cultural changes were already happening (Levine, 2007:10). When looking at the wider Western context, the rising

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divorce rates in Sweden are overall comparable to the US (Illouz, 2012: 6) and other European countries (Eurostat). More than encouraging divorce, *Scener* most likely touched upon crucial changes in society and views on love and marriage that peaked in the 1960s-1970s (Shumway, 2003:24-6).

We cannot consider the television series as a reliable source of information on a social context. This arises as a problem when we relate *Scener* to its surrounding society. Historians have extensively discussed this (see Maltby, 2011: 5-6 for an overview). In short, using a film – or series – as a historical document raises questions of representativity of that time, and especially, risks overestimating the significance of a selection for analysis (Maltby, 2011: 6). While the series had huge success and was Bergman's breakthrough among the wider Swedish audience (Steene, 1998), the audience likely came from middle and higher class backgrounds. Reasons for believing this are, firstly, that the middle class was most free to experiment with love and sexuality over the course of the 20th century, as they were less bound by economic restrictions (Shumway, 2003: 7). Secondly, Bergman was known to mainly portray problems and situations from a bourgeois ideology point of view (Bergom-Larsson, 1978), which is also why he was criticized in the 1960s (Widerberg, 1962; Bergom-Larsson, 1978; Steene, 1998). Like emancipation in general, people with low education and/or economic means likely had little opportunity to divorce. Also, my sample consists mostly of higher and middle-class people. Therefore, it should be kept in mind that the impact of *Scener* discussed here is overestimated in comparison to the general (especially Swedish) population.

Still, *Scener* had quite an impact in Sweden. We know that viewer rates rose from approximately 26% after the third episode, up to 40% of the Swedish population by the time the last episode was broadcasted. The audience consisted of twice as many women as men (Steene, 2005: 409). The importance of the series can also be observed in the larger

Swedish newspapers at the time, with discussions on the series and divorce in general[86].
There are some extra article-series, like "Scener ur mitt äktenskap" [Scenes from my
marriage] in the popular newspaper Aftonbladet, where people talk about their marriage or
divorce[87]. The popular women's magazine *Svensk Damtidning* runs articles in conjunction
with the series on personal stories similar to those in *Scener*, from the different
perspectives[88]. They even offer legal advice on the side of these articles, educating
housewives on their rights in a divorce[89].

In Belgium, *Scener* had a less outspoken impact. Although many participants indicate that
the series / film was widely discussed, there was not necessarily more press coverage than on
other Bergman-films. Those articles that I found mainly testify to the success of the series
in Sweden in a very uniform way. Together with increasingly professionalized press files
during this time found in the archives, this illustrates the well-oiled marketing at the time
of release and an increase in availability of international literature[90].

Today, *Scener* is claimed to be Bergman's most widespread work (Almer, 2018). Let us
now take a closer look at *Scener* to explore how it deviates – or not – from love ideals in
particular and society in general at the time of its release. First, I will look at the form, then,
the themes.

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[86] Expressen, 17 May 1973, "Hur slutar det för Johan och Marianne?" [How does it end for Johan and
marianne?]; Expressen, 8 June 1973, "Nu kan vi fråga Ingmar Bergman om äktenskapet" [Now we can ask
Bergman about Marriage]; Aftonbladet, 17 May 1973, "Kan man ha det bra ihop efter skilsmässa?" [Can one
have it good after divorce?]; Aftonbladet, 18 May 1973, "Hur går det för skilsmässobarnen?" [How do
children of divorce have it?]

[87] e.g. 25 May 1973

[88] e.g. "den andra kvinnan" [the other woman], Svensk Damtidning no. 23, 7-13 juni 1973

[89] "Hemmafruar - ni har också rättigheter!" [Housewives - you also have rights!], Svensk Damtidning no. 26,
28 juni-4 juli 1973

[90] De Standaard, 28/2/1975, "Bergmans Scenes uit een huwelijksleven. Zoals het klokje thuis tikt..."
[Bergmans Scenes from a Marriage. Like the clock ticks at home…]; Het Laatste Nieuws, 18/2/1975,
"Beelden uit een huwelijksleven" [Images from a marriage]; Rode Vaan, 27/2/1975, "Scenes uit een
huwelijksleven" [Scenes from a marriage]

## 5.2. Love, identity, and sexuality in *Scener*

Throughout the series, Bergman uses a realist and naturalist style. In line with much of his earlier work, Bergman places focus on dialogue with few filmic experiments (Steene, 2005: 55; Scott, 1965:264). Typical for his work are close-ups (Borden, 1977:43). After *Såsom i en spegel* (1961), Bergman's visual style changed to a definite natural realist look with Sven Nykvist as his fixed director of photography (Hedling, 2006:55). Partially, the realism connects to the upcoming social-realism within Swedish cinema halfway the 1960s, with, for example, Bo Widerberg as one of the prominent filmmakers. The naturalism in *Scener* contrasts with Bergman's films from the previous decade, which have more emphasis on visual style than they are verbally rich (Steene, 1970), but all of his films are in style "austere" (Borden, 1977:42).

The filmic style of *Scener* shows clear links with Bergman's theater- and film work. He uses compositions rather than camera movements, he prefers continuity editing, and the focus lies on the actors rather than on the audiovisual medium itself (Scott, 1965:264). Paradoxically, he "shapes a baroque psychology from a streamlined aesthetic" (Borden, 1977:42). A focus on acting has been said to be characteristic of Swedish filmmaking (Steene, 2005:135; Törnqvist, 2003:218). In sound, *Scener's* hyperrealism is reinforced as there is no non-diegetic music.

Common to Bergman's work is an extensive use of close-ups, most often when the viewer gains psychological insight into a character through lines of dialogue, monologue, or in discussions between characters (Steene, 1970; Bordwell, 2007). Camera framing reveals more about the evolution of the couple in *Scener*. In the beginning they are often framed together, almost claustrophobic. More and more, as the film unrolls, they appear in separate and wider angle shots, only to be reunited within one shot again in the last chapter, upon reconciliation of Johan and Marianne. In the most extreme example, the camera cuts to a long shot right before they start fighting over the divorce. The camera

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strongly reinforces and symbolizes the mental distance between the main characters. The framing differs interior versus exterior. The rare exterior shots have a more liberating feel to it with the use of bird view camera angles and extreme wide shots. An example is when the couple drives to work in the second chapter, implying that when both are at work doing their own thing, they are more 'free', which stands in opposition to being locked inside in their house and marriage. The use of framing echoes the aforementioned imperative of freedom of choice for the individual versus its social limitations.

### 5.2.1. Identity-building and -crumbling

In the narrative, two equally important protagonists seem to have opposed goals at the outset, but they come together in the end. When we look at camera use in the analysis for sympathy structures, as described by Murray Smith (1995) and Margrethe Bruun Vaage (2014), there is an interesting textual play for facilitating sympathy for both. Different scenes seem to alternate focus on either Marianne or Johan. This is supported by a subtle play of reaction shots where one is more closely framed than the other, depending on the focus of the scene. This is an example of the cognitive concept "criterial prefocusing" through camera use (cf. chapter one, p. 62).

The alternating sympathy is especially present in the television series[91] and explains some of its far-reaching success for both men and women in two ways. First, both characters behave both morally and immorally. The viewer evaluates the characters (morally) on the basis of their actions and tends to feel an allegiance with either one depending on the context (M. Smith, 1995:75-86). Since no one character is morally superior and we get to know both equally well, we tend to understand and sympathize with both, as expected from the theoretical assumptions coined by Vaage on sympathizing with (anti-)heroes (2014). Second, we tend to align more with those we feel similar to, e.g. in terms of gender (Plantinga, 2009b:108). Since both characters are on equal footing in terms of sympathy structure, it is justified for different viewers to sympathize with either Johan or Marianne,

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[91] The film sides much more with Marianne than with Johan.

partly depending on other factors such as context, personal history, and (perceived) similarity with the character.

Both characters go through opposite personal evolutions. These evolutions resonate with changes in society like the sexual and women's liberation. Where Johan seems to have a clearly defined identity in the very first scene, Marianne can barely describe herself outside of her marriage to Johan and her relation to her children. In the third chapter, when Johan confesses his infidelity to Marianne, these identities reach an extreme. Marianne is making sandwiches for Johan while he is talking about his unfaithfulness. Marianne takes the blame while Johan takes up a victim role: "Jag vet inte vad som ska bli av det här, jag vet ingenting, jag är totalt förvirrad" [I don't know what will become of this, I don't know anything, I am utterly confused]. As Johan is planning to leave for Paris for a year the morning after, Marianne proposes to pick up his favorite costume from the dry cleaner. She shows compassion when he states that he cannot take their restricting life any longer. All she seems to feel is care for him, even when he is not faithful to her. While she increasingly becomes aware of her own socialization as woman, she still takes up the mothering role here. It is only near the end of the series that she more or less seems to have taken distance from that role, accentuated by low angle shots of her, bestowing more power on her through the cinematography.

At this point in the series, the roles have reversed and it is Johan who proposes to go out for dinner, while all dinner-related dialog and action before was initiated by Marianne. Johan's identity becomes unstable from the fourth chapter on, and especially in the fifth. As his career goes downhill, he becomes insecure and 'wants to come home' to the family that gave him a secure surrounding, materially but also in terms of (gender) identity. Implicitly, Johan's coming home would mean that Marianne needs to revert to her previous, strongly gendered role of supporting Johan, which she is not prepared to do anymore. Gender roles and increased awareness of these roles are crucial to how the story develops. When Marianne thereupon rejects him, Johan becomes aggressive and they fight. This violent

scene is vital in the buildup towards the end. Even though couples hate each other throughout Bergman's oeuvre, it is rare to see physical violence. It is the absolute depth of depths that is shown here, which is meaningful as it is the first time they openly show their emotions, giving force to the reconciliation happening in the next chapter (Kalin, 2003). It is only when there are no expectations left, that a new type of love can be established.

In the last chapter of the series, their initial identities have reversed: Johan does not know who he is while Marianne is happy with herself. The sexual liberation that she boasts represents her liberation in a wider sense. This relates to the aforementioned evolution towards the autonomy of sex, linked to Marianne's liberation as a woman. The evolution of both characters seems to be a measurement for their sense of identity and the extent to which they can feel successful in (any kind of) love. Much later, Tay (2006:224) criticizes this liberation as being a byproduct of the male's abandonment from responsibilities that patriarchal privileges entail, and feminism is reduced to ideas already accepted within dominant culture.

### 5.2.2. Components of love in 'Scener'

The three components that constitute love in *Scener* are (1) the material, (2) the everyday, and (3) the social. Although they are interrelated, I discuss them in this order. All three can be seen as ways of dealing with contradictory frames for organizing the love ideal. Strikingly, the start of Johan and Marianne's marriage was not love at first sight. The representation of their love is in this way revolutionary in itself. The fact that they got together for practical considerations and only later fell in love is valuable to the story. The practical aspect is the first component of love I discuss here. It is exactly 'the practical' consideration as a reason for (maintaining) marriage that *Scener* seems to resist from the very beginning, where the couple's visiting friends Peter and Katarina show us how love cannot survive when it is only practical and/or material. When Johan and Marianne speak about separation after Johan's confession, they mainly speak about financial issues. It is exactly that from which Johan wants to escape: "Jag ska bara försvinna, hör du det? Jag ska

dematerialisera mig (…) jag är behovslös, det enda som intresserar mig är att jag kan stiga ur det här" [I will just disappear, do you hear me? I will dematerialize (…) I have no needs, the only thing that interests me is that I can get away from this]. He gives up the material for the emotional, as if both oppose each other. This idea relates to the described tension between passion and marriage as institutionalized love. This tension persists throughout the series: at the end they can only be 'happy' and emotionally close when all the practical, the everyday, and the material is gone.

The second, related, component of love in *Scener* is what I call the banal perfection of everyday. It is the focus on the practical, on what is visible to the outside world and not on their feelings, that others see them as a perfect couple. In the beginning of *Scener*, this is how they define their happiness: no material problems, good friends, a good job (for Marianne) and security, order, happiness, loyalty (for Johan). Throughout the series, the perfect 'everyday' is used in a magnificent way as it highlights the banality of their relationship. When Johan will flee to Paris with Paula the next morning, Marianne sets the alarm for him, makes his breakfast, helps him pack his bags, … and it is Johan asking her to do so. It is this dynamic of mutual dependency in the everyday that makes it impossible to separate. Yet it is so banal that the whole situation becomes poignant. This is emphasized even more when both are naked in the bathroom the morning Johan will leave. Being naked does not matter as they do not *see* each other anymore, not physically and not mentally.

Ironically, it is this habit that Johan longs for when wanting to return home in the fifth chapter. Even more, Johan suddenly lacks part of his identity as his failed marriage becomes a personal failure. This brings us to the third and last component of love in *Scener*, the social component. Here we can really see the transition between the socially defined ideal partner and the individual striving for an ever-better ideal love, in line with the individualization process in society. More broadly, the conflict between the social and the individual relates to changing ways of organizing marriage (socially driven versus driven by

a search for personal happiness). The focus is constantly on how others look at Johan and Marianne as a couple, and they both try to escape this social control: Marianne by attempting to cancel the Sunday dinner at her mother's place, Johan by running away with Paula. He states that he looks most forward to not having to celebrate birthdays and Christmas with everyone anymore, but he is ashamed about running away. This is another way in which the social component of love materializes in *Scener*. We are ashamed when "we have failed to approximate 'an ideal' that has been given to us through the practices of love. What is exposed in shame is the failure of love, as a failure that in turn exposes or shows our love" (Ahmed, 2004: 214-215). Being ashamed requires both identification with the other and the love ideal and it is in that sense a social emotion[92].

The type of love that Johan and Marianne evolve away from is its practical, material and socially defined form. This corresponds to the institutional organization of marriage that is built on monogamy and the sharing of economic resources in order to increase wealth (Illouz, 2012). This marital organization contrasts with the all-consuming passion (and personal happiness) that Johan and Marianne strive for individually. It is only when they give up on their traditional views that a different kind of love can be realized at the end of the series, in which passion has its place.

### 5.3. Mapping audience responses

The emotional response of the audience seems to be similar for Sweden and Belgium. Many participants indicate that the series was recognizable or that it was easy to identify. This is illustrated in statements that the portrayal was realistic, that it made them think about how they do not want to end up, and that the series was often evaluated in relation to the reality the participants live in, either their own or their parents' relationship. Belgian participants talked more about *Scener* in terms of identification as compared to other Bergman-films (cf. chapter five).

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[92] Shame is a crucial notion in queer scholarship. For a useful discussion on Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick and the concept of shame, see Koivunen (2010).

The potential experience of love and its ambiguities is emotional for individual viewers but is connected to the social norms of love. First, I explore what images the participants have constructed in relation to these social norms. Next, in relation to the series, we will see that only those few who had deviant love images remember subversive aspects of the series. Ideal images of love that are available in society at the time further play a role in viewing that they help shape desires concerning where the characters may end up ("happy" or perhaps "together again"). The framework of the love ideal and its conflicts between passion and marriage facilitate a certain interpretation. That *Scener* does not have a happy end in the classical sense is experienced as something positive, because "it is more realistic" (male, b.1942, Belgium).

### 5.3.1. Participants, love, and sexuality in general

Many participants structure their ideas on love and sexuality around gender stereotypes. This relates to the conflict outlined above that gender roles are necessary for marriage to succeed. Only three participants did not think love or sexuality was different for women and men. Stereotypes in themselves form a clear outcome of social norms in the mind of the participants. The idea prevails that men are more sex-oriented, more rational, and less in control of their sexuality, while women are more caring, adapt more, want more emotional intimacy (than sex), and value other social relationships such as children and friends more than men do.

*Men are different than women. So ehhh I believe that women... are perhaps more calculated. But I don't mean in a negative way, because it sounds negative, I know, but it isn't. It's also genetic, right? The women needed protection so it had to be a strong... the strength is replaced by money, right? Those who have money, you will fall in love with them easier than someone who doesn't have money. It is so. Very unfortunate and painful but it's the truth. That doesn't mean you can't... but yeah... it's almost automatic. Such are women and with men... they will perhaps go more for passion, for physical beauty, sex,*

*sensual appearance. That's... more characteristic for men. Women also have that, don't get me wrong! But less. So yes, there is a difference. But generalizing is not... the message here.* – Nero, male, b. 1954, Belgium

I want to point out that the little nuance that is present in the quote might be due to the female undergraduate interviewer.

*I don't think women are so dependent on finding a new partner after divorce. Because women have a social network, they have often built a social network during marriage, they have friends, interests, and they have the kids, because the kids' love is often closer to the woman, in a way. So... women automatically get more love, not just from a partner but from friends and children [...] she doesn't hysterically need a new partner to confirm her all the time. But the man, he works works works and then there is divorce and he stands there, like, what will happen now? He doesn't have a social network outside of work and family. And he needs sex. Because otherwise he doesn't function. And who shall I ring on Friday Saturday and what shall I do? And that's when a new woman comes. So the need for love, as I see it, is really different for men and women.* – I.S., female, b. 1945, Sweden

Despite the liberation of women, emotional expectations and gender norms on a societal level remained largely conservative for my participants (see also Cancian and Gordon, 1988).

*Interviewer: So it was your generation that it all started with*

*Kicki: Absolutely. All the women back then started working. It turned around at that time. Women were expected to educate themselves and work.*

*Interviewer: Was there an internal conflict?*

*Kicki: Yes, it was a major conflict, because at the same time you were supposed to do what your mother did. I also did everything at home: all the work, the shopping, ...* – Kicki, female, b. 1941, Sweden

Confirming the conservative view of the respondents on gender-stereotypes is the notion that Bergman's portrayal of women is out of the ordinary; the female leads did not represent the gender-roles the participants were used to. "The women were allowed to think and talk," says Kaj (male, b. 1951, Sweden). Most participants consider the female characters to be strong and independent (or even "too independent" according to Nero, male b. 1954, Belgium). Many women take up a position in relation to the liberated woman-ideal that is represented by Marianne by the end of the series. In that sense, the changing view on love in society clearly recurs in the reflections of my participants on love. Many participants recognized that things changed and were different for them in comparison to their parents. Many women especially told me about their emancipation, not necessarily individually but rather in terms of possibilities. Some female participants recall the opening of the first daycare and how revolutionary that was. It became an "ugly" thing to be a housewife as it was considered boring. Different female participants stated it was self-evident women would study and earn their own money. Different women succeed, to varying degrees, in including their partners in household chores. Some feel the need to justify why they did not have an equal share in their marriage, illustrating the norm of "having" equality at home (even though reality probably looked different for most women). It also confirms that not being able to conform to this ideal is experienced as a personal failure while it is a conflict that arises in relation to societal norms. The justification points to an alignment with morals that circulate within society. A clear indication of class is present throughout these accounts on women's liberation and one's personal relation to it. As mentioned earlier in this chapter and in the methodology, both my audience and the audience for *Scener* are middle or higher class representatives. Lower classes did not have economic resources for e.g. daycare or divorce.

The sexual revolution also recurs in individual accounts. Monika (female, b. 1937, Belgium) tells us how she was in the first generation of doctors to prescribe birth control pills and how revolutionary that was. Often, sexuality is defined in gendered terms, where men were/are more free than women. Kristina (female, b. 1946, Sweden) considers her life

to be a personal revolution, where her first marriage took her out of her family home to a different city and into a new life. The best thing she ever did was to divorce from her first husband and to "live like men live":

*Interviewer: that you lived on your own terms, was that something you as a woman fought with? That you were a woman who lived like that? Or was it...*

*Kristina: That's what I thought, exactly that, now I will live like men live. Now I will have my different male acquaintances and I decide on my life within my four walls, my home. That's where they enter and where I decide who can enter and who cannot.*

*Interviewer: That sounds fantastic*

*Kristina: I succeeded in that [...] but you know, it was a bit like that after my first divorce, it was a bit this... I needed to actualize myself, I needed to live alone, I needed my company, to do like I wanted to and ehhhmmm if there was anyone, I did not want to live together with anyone, I just had these different men that I met every now and then, as I wanted it myself. Multiple of them proposed, and then I just thought "now I have to run" [LAUGHS] "now I have to run!" because I absolutely did not want to live with anybody else.* – Kristina, female, b. 1946, Sweden

In talking about love with my participants, two tropes return: love is beyond description and it produces predetermined feelings. Love is commonly perceived as a unique experience, yet interpretations and expressions of love seem to be very much standardized, such as the tendency to reduce love to biology or that love is beyond our control (Johnson, 2005:28-33). Returning characteristics are "to give yourself", "compromise", "unity and reciprocity" (mainly women), "compassion", and "accept the other one as he or she is". Some (mainly men) define love in individualistic terms, e.g. "to feel good about oneself". Most participants see infatuation – which cannot be controlled – as a first stage, often the precondition for love, after which love settles down and becomes more something that needs to be managed and needs to grow, echoing the previously discussed view on love as competing cultural frames.

*First comes infatuation but that does not last, does not last. Yeah. You cannot put a timeframe on it but it does not last all of your life. A short period. That is the first stage. Then it transitions to ehhh loving someone, not being in love but loving someone. And then more of a friendship. Yes, friendship. Three phases. Yes.* - D.P., female, b. 1959, Belgium

*Love is something that we should have in our everyday life, when you live with someone else, right? It's again about what I said earlier, much trust and confidence, and that two people can live together, have a dialog, talk to each other. And then this passion, passionate love that I talk about, one should have it sometimes, but you cannot live with it [LAUGHS] that just brings problems.* – Kristina, female, b. 1946, Sweden

Most participants claim they became more "realistic" as they grew older, implying less self-sacrificing and less emotionally intense relationships. The quotes below reflect the past/present-relationship where the past version is used interchangeably used with the present version of the self. At the same time we see a struggle with the societal love ideal of combining passion with the everyday love. The first participant states he became more realistic but at the same time continues to look for that ideal in everyday life. He seems to find it difficult to state plainly that it would not be present anymore. We see a strong link to what is represented in *Scener* and what I have defined as the "everyday" conception of love.

*When you are young you have some ideal images, that are perhaps given via your upbringing. That you... yes, I see it with my sons too, they have ideal images of that. Or from the negative side, if they see their parents are divorced, yes, they think we don't want that. That they experienced the negative and search for the positive. And the older you become, the more you can ehhh, we associate love with happiness, that we feel intense happiness and that ehhh, when you become older you get another image of that. In that*

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*sense, you relativize that ideal. That you still, well yes, you recognize the beautiful moments, or you look for it, but the ideal is reduced to its true proportions. Yes, that's so.* – male, b. 1958, Belgium

*Interviewer: Is your experience of love the same as when you were younger?*
*K.M.: No, it changed, was much more burning earlier, but now it is at a fixed level [CLICKS WITH TONGUE] ehhh it's both boring and a bit calmer now.* – K.M., male, b. 1951, Sweden

The experience of love for women is tied to their liberation of strict gender roles, as illustrated by the following quote:

*Interviewer: Is your experience of love the same as when you were younger?*
*Anonymous: I don't know, now I don't really live with anyone but if it would be so today it would be significantly more based on friendship, and especially on the freedom to do what I want. Because I want to have my own money and my own place to live and I would never enter a relationship where I would be forced to change my life as it is today. You do that when you are young because you didn't have any other life before that. The conditions are different, and so the experience of love is different as well.* – female, b. 1939, Sweden

Most participants had quite traditional views on sexuality. In total, only two participants (one in Belgium and one in Sweden) indicated the boundaries between friendship and sex needs not always be clear, diverging from the love ideal. Most other participants claimed that sexuality is private and most appropriate within love-relations, indicating that the traditional view on relationships prevails.

*Bitte: Honestly... when you... now I am a product of the Sixties but I am not a product of that time when you can have sex as... casually... no, sex is something very serious. It is precious.*

*Interviewer: Do you find love to be a precondition for sex?*

*Bitte: Yes, I find that, because it is so revealing* – Bitte, female, b. 1945, Sweden

*Interviewer: Is there a difference between sex with and without love?*

*Karin: Yes, I think so.*

*Interviewer: Is there a hierarchy?*

*Karin: Yes, a desirable hierarchy [LAUGHS] I find that. It should be a hierarchy.* – Karin, female, b. 1941, Sweden

One participant changed his mind during the interview, giving us a clue about norms and desirable answers on love and relationships:

*G.F.: Yes, of course, it is connected. But you can have a very nice physical relationship without being in love. When I was young, I was single until I was 29 and I have had my share of loose relationships. That was not wrong, I mean, I felt good during that time.*

*Interviewer: But do you find sex is worth more when there is also love?*

*G.F.: Yes. I guess so... but I don't know. Now that I think back, I am not so sure actually. It was good with those relationships too. I wasn't walking around and complaining that I was not madly in love with the woman I would be dating at that point. So ehhh ideally it would be but in reality I don't think so. There are many aspects in a physical relationship, not only the act but also psychologically. Every woman is a new road, one could say, and the opposite and ehhh that is at least my experience from when I was young and independent. So that is fun to remember now that you have asked! I haven't thought about those days in a very long time.* – G.F., male, b. 1936, Sweden

Many participants see monogamy as the best way to organize a relationship, for a variety of reasons (stability, the children, "it is natural", "it is necessary"). Here also gender identities play a role. Some men claimed that monogamy is necessary but unattainable for themselves:

*Pat: So ehh, some animals, they can be monogamous. Ducks. So as an ideal it is nice, but in practice, in our kind of society that is difficult, if not impossible. So you have to be strong to resist the temptation.*

*Interviewer: and do you want your relationship to be monogamous?*

*Pat: My wife, she is monogamous in nature, because of her upbringing. I am not. I trust her because I know she is faithful from her basal character. But I am not faithful and she knows it. But you have to accept the other like he is and ehh sometimes I think if she would be unfaithful, she would perhaps have more understanding for me and be less venomous when it comes down to it.* – Pat, male, b. 1954, Belgium

Only two women claimed it is not necessary in their relationship.

*Interviewer: Do you find the representation of love and relationships in* Scener *was innovative, or did it fit into everything else that was broadcasted at the time?*

*Anonymous: It stood out. If that would have been like any other television series, the streets wouldn't have been empty at the time of broadcast. There was a brutal openness and brutal revelations, and two people that really dared to talk to one another in the end. And that is why they came back to each other, because they succeeded to unravel what they liked and didn't like. They had lived out all their aggressions very openly towards each other, and then there is only the essence left. And that was exactly how I had it with my ex-husband and so I saw it as a confirmation, yes, one can have it like that and it doesn't have to be wrong.* – female, b. 1939, Sweden

We see here a deviating stance to the social norm of love. Not coincidentally, this was the only participant (female, b. 1939, Sweden) that remembered and could relate to the ambiguous ending of *Scener*. No other participants have discussed the particular representation of love in *Scener* at the end as noteworthy. This specific memory is primarily emotional as she can relate the scene to her own life (cf. Kuhn's Type B-memory, p. 30). Arguably, the emotional dimension in combination with alternative views on love is

precisely the reason why hers and not anyone else's memory of the deviating (from the social norm of love) ending exists today. This illustrates the reflecting emotions as I laid them out in the theoretical chapter: an interaction between discursive affect in terms of love as a social norm and the individual emotional experience of what she saw in relation to that norm.

What also changed during the time under consideration here was the increase in divorce, also a noticeable topic in my interviews. L.E. (female, b. 1933, Sweden) recalls how she was the only woman on her street who owned her own house and lived by herself after her divorce. Bitte (b. 1945, female) made the conscious choice of not marrying at all (while nonetheless being in a long-term relationship). She explains that it was a political statement, not to glorify the couple and to avoid sharp borders with those who were alone. Many participants testify how divorce or questioning marriage had not been an option for their parents. Especially the women did not have any opportunities to leave (no job, no money, no education) while the generation that I interviewed differed remarkably. There is somewhat a generational identity discernible here, where participants differentiate themselves from their parents' generation.

*My parents... I never doubted their love for one another, never doubted that. But I don't really know what was between them. It was secret, how it was for us in those days, we did not talk about certain things and definitely not about love and relationships. That's personal, secret. And so everything you see... you don't really know whether it was real. It was supposed to be like that and you didn't reveal personal issues. So my parents... I never saw anything else but love, but the difference is that I don't know whether it was really true.* – male, b. 1949, Belgium

### 5.3.2. Societal images of love in interpretations of Scener

The change in conceptions of love for my participants lies mainly in increased

opportunities and choices for women: in terms of who they were with or not and in terms of love and sexual encounters. For the organization of love relationships, next to all participants relied on the institutionalized and heteronormative idea of marriage as the dominant social norm. It is precisely this practical, material and socially ideal form of love that is under scrutiny in *Scener*. That many people expressed perceiving the representations as "realistic" confirms this. The emotional force of the series can be seen in the elicitation of emotion in relation to social, moral and ideological norms on love. The series made people reflect on their own situations and life, and for some it even gave new perspectives.

*I.S.: I was pregnant at the time. There was much that happened during that pregnancy and in our relationship. So I started wondering right then in 1973-1974, will this last? Will our marriage last? But that had little to do with* Scener. *Or perhaps I cannot say it so straightforward like that, maybe it had an additional influence.*
*Interviewer: Did you watch it with your husband?*
*I.S.: Yes*
*Interviewer: Did you talk about it?*
*I.S.: We already had said everything there was to say by then... the thing that happened... because things happened. 1973, very serious things and before I gave birth and so on. So that ehhhh for me that was a crisis year. That's how I remember it. I cannot say it was related to* Scener *but it was generally that everyone started talking about it back then, how is it really, how do we have it?* – I.S., female, b. 1945, Sweden

As the quote illustrates, most people evaluate the series from the perspective of a dominant love ideal that corresponds to their own striving in love and life. The social dimension is key in the interpretation of love for *Scener*. The participants all stated that they communicated about this with their peers. The social responses form a large part of the reflections on the series by my participants in both Belgium and Sweden. They all remember watching and discussing the series with others. The post-cinema experience is elementary to the development of our social and cultural selves. Film evaluation in

interaction with others is a key part of emotional experiences in relation to a film (besides emotional experiences during the film). Implicitly, social interaction forms the backbone of Kuhn's discussion of the performative characteristics of memory: memory is necessarily grounded in the environment and one's identity, including social interactions – both in formation and in retrieval (Kuhn, 2002:9-12; Timcke, 2017:13). Precisely the social dimension may have led to "false" memories. One participant (male, b.1952, Sweden) first claims to remember the awkward silence while watching the series together with his parents, but he later on states he could not have seen it with them because he was already in his early 20s at the time of release. The social dimension can be seen as significant for the larger canonization process and the persistence of the series in cultural memory. When asked what the most important Bergman-film was in general, many stated it was *Scener*.

## 6. Conclusion

I can conclude that *Scener* stands in relation to the society it is created in and with the changes that Western societies underwent. Johan and Marianne struggle with the ideals of everlasting passion and individual accomplishment in marriage. On an individual level, they struggle with their (gender) identity within and in relation to their marriage. As the reasons to marry in society evolve from practical to the pursuit of happiness, they struggle to stay together. Johan wants passion and goes out to search for it but when it fades, he wants to come back. Both identities of Johan and Marianne are strongly and in different ways connected to "love". Marianne first conservatively constructs her identity around the family and her marriage. When this shatters, she finds herself in new ways, an evolution tying into the societal process of women's emancipation and sexual liberation at the time. But Johan's identity is also dependent on how he loves. He feels accomplished when he has a career, a family, a wife and a lover. Even though his sense of self initially seems quite strong, when he loses love, his identity also seems to be lost.

The last episode embodies all that Bergman has reacted to in the previous chapters in terms of love representation. Finally, Johan and Marianne are liberated from the banal 'everyday'

and mutual expectations that determined their relationship before. Even though they are not together, they support one another. It is through marriage that they have the love they have in the end, but they had to get rid of the marriage ideal to be able to live it to the fullest.

My participants confirm ideas on love (and its inherent conflicts) similar to those of Johan and Marianne. Many participants recognize themselves in the love of Marianne and Johan as it includes the everyday struggles and conflicts this ideal encompasses in reality. This includes the struggles around gender-roles and ideas on women-liberation. Even though the participants have strongly gendered opinions on love and sexuality, they often take a conflicting but liberated stance by comparing themselves to their parents. In this sense, participants align with Marianne both as a repressed *and* liberated woman.

The very end, where *Scener* poses a fairly rare representation of love and marriage, was often not remembered. Only one participant explicitly referred to this scene because of her own diverging opinions on love compared to the others in my sample. This seems to confirm the influence of societal definitions of love onto how people watch and feel but also remember.

To conclude, I distinguished two types of responses, the emotional and the social. The social encompasses how people communicate about a film and what they aim for in doing so (fashioning their knowledge of art cinema is an example for some Bergman-films, discussing love and their own situations is an example for *Scener*). These evaluations circulate (discursively) within society and eventually contribute to canonization and future reception in the form of an available interpretation. The emotional response relates to both discourse and one's own situation, and it is entangled with the text and its representations. These are the Type B memories Kuhn defined earlier (2011: 87). The emotional reflection is most outspoken here as participants identify and evaluate what is depicted in relation to their own life. For *Scener*, how people speak about their interpretations confirms the persistence of normatively evaluating the series in terms of how one or one's parents *should*

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have it. Managing cultural frames in terms of gender or passion vs. marriage ideals is part of that. False memories affirm this. The norm reflects the love ideal and its contradictions as a schema to evaluate depicted love. It confirms how love – as defined and felt by the participants in relation to the society they grew up in – is influential in the interpretation.

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# General Conclusion

## 1. Summary of the findings

The primary objective of this dissertation has been to bring back the text and the auteur into NCH. The secondary objective was to re-write Ingmar Bergman, the auteur, persona and his films from below, making use of ethno-historical interviews on cinemagoing at the time of the films' release.

After an overview of how NCH came into being within film studies, including the contributions of Janet Staiger and Annette Kuhn, I traced how the text and the auteur are implicit in many studies in the NCH strand. My findings are that NCH studies have overlooked: (1) the centrality of the text to cinemagoing as a social experience, usually implicit to studies conducted so far; (2) the content of the text, how it addresses viewers, and how it is formative for the emotional experience, which, in my humble opinion, is the most important dimension of any cinemagoing experience; (3) the singularities of different decades under investigation. Too often, Kuhn's conclusions of her 1930s British audience have been uncritically transferred to later decades, thereby effectively ignoring the increasing importance of film titles and auteurs for the choice of cinemagoing, as well as the increasing importance of medium-specificity. Cinemagoing has been overly interpreted as going to the actual cinema, while already in the 1950s people started seeing films on television that they also consider to be cinema memories. Because television was available, cinema stood out even more as a particular experience and a conscious choice.

To bring in the auteur into the historical reception situation, I have re-conceptualized Bergman as an *auteur cum celebrity* in chapter four. The meaning of his persona is approached as context-activated, making central use of Richard Dyer ([1979] 2004) and Janet Staiger's (1992, 2008) works. The clarity of self-fashioning as a concept has enabled

the exploration of authorial agency as a contribution to textual (in this case press) analysis. This chapter has investigated how Bergman has constructed himself via self-fashioning, how this interacts with the press' constructions, and what the audience eventually does with that persona in the reception of Bergman and his films. The least we can say is that the result is a highly ambiguous persona that is very relevant in the interpretation of his films. Bergman's own role is indispensable therein. The continuous confirmation of the explicit links between Bergman's private life and his films via his public persona (in his own writings and the press) re-confirm him as auteur. In other words, the celebrity-aspect of his recognition is inseparable from his auteur-status, for both Sweden and Belgium. While in Sweden Bergman's private life is essential to the interpretation of his films, it is his auteurist persona that has a similar effect in Belgium.

This aspect is further demonstrated in chapter five, where we can see how participants in different countries construct a different underlying auteur, based on the information that is available. Belgian participants made assumptions about Bergman and his personality based on the films alone, and often drew parallels with their own personality. Swedish participants distinguished more between Bergman, on the one hand, and his films on the other. Yet, the Swedish participants also used the persona of Bergman to establish their own identity, e.g. as an intellectual. Chapter five also investigates what films are of importance to the participants and how canonization potentially plays a role in this.

Film exhibition in Sweden and Belgium is remarkably similar in the 1950s and 1960s due to pillarization in Belgium and the comparable screenings in voluntary and non-governmental movements in Sweden. The most notable difference here is that the Catholic pillarized screenings included strong normative ways of framing the films for the audience, often from an auteurist or art-film perspective. Many participants in Belgium indicate a lack of understanding and/or use these dominant frames for making sense of their experiences. This is in line with the traditional canonization of Bergman's work. As is shown throughout the empirical chapters, this practice can be increasingly seen in newspapers, too.

In both countries, canonization plays a crucial role in what films are listed as favorites and what is remembered by the participants.

The international reception of Bergman's films as explored through the Belgian case differs substantially from the domestic reception. The context of reception plays a crucial role in how films are evaluated and how they are perceived through time. This has allowed me to explore interpretations and cinema memory in a different light. The study presented in this chapter contributes to an alternative, and especially more nuanced, view on the reception of Bergman's films, including his authorship and strong memories of particular film texts.

Theoretically, chapter five has nuanced Kuhn's typology in terms of place, given the pertinent presence of Sweden as a socio-cultural construct for all participants. Identification relates to this as cultural proximity plays a role herein. Potential further research would include censorship and institutional aspects of cinema, cinema-screening, and cinema-going into these findings.

As an answer to the claim that the text is crucial to the emotional experience, and consequently, cinema memory, the last empirical chapter investigates how *Scener ur ett äktenskap* stands in relation to societal norms of love, how these norms have historically grown, and how the participants make meaning around these norms in relation to their own identities and memories of the series.

*Scener* provided an interesting case to investigate comparatively how changing ideas on love in society resonated with participants in that society. As the series and the film were widely discussed, it provides unique insight into processes of canonization. On the one hand, we again have critical acclaim. In Sweden, press coverage was extensive and the viewing numbers rose for every episode that was screened. In Belgium, articles often reported on the success of the series in Sweden, influencing audience anticipations concerning its release. On the other hand, many participants in both countries indicate that the series was widely

discussed. This undoubtedly was reinforced in Sweden through the extensive press coverage. Through the social evaluation with peers, participants have reflected on their emotions in relation to the series. The social dimension reinforces the emotional dimension as the social construct of love is (normatively) used for relating the series to one's own or one's parents' relationship.

I included a textual analysis in this chapter to explore how cues in terms of narrative, characters, and conceptions of love stand in relation to the life and memories of the participants. To conclude, participants remember very much in line with their own moral values, their own life and relationship(s), and prevailing discourses on love and marriage.

False memories confirm the dominant way of interpreting and evaluating the series on an individual level through cultural memory that lingers. The case study illustrates beautifully how despite a seemingly changing society, in the 1960s and 1970s but also today, older gender and relationship patterns reside in dominant ways. Discussions on love, passion, and sexuality persist in society to this day. In this lies the continued relevance of Bergman's work, not only academically but also socially.

## 2. Achievements

In including the text and the auteur in the historical reception study, I have succeeded in a more comprehensive image of the reception of Bergman and his films, at the time of release, roughly covering the 1950s and into the 1970s. An additional dimension is what that reception has meant and continues to mean for my participants and their identities. In contrast to many other studies within the new cinema history strand, the text is openly acknowledged to be central to the experience and the choice for that experience. Including the text not only gives us valuable insight into canonization but also into memories and how those emotions add to cinema memory. In relation to the films, emotions are crucial to what is remembered and how the self is constructed in relation to that, given the prevalence of anecdotal discourse in these kinds of memories.

Through the use of interviews, my contextual research from archives has transcended its assumptions on context and made room for exploring contextual possibilities and constraints on interpretation. The use of interviews and actual accounts prevented my own patterns of interpretation being equated with my participants', which is especially problematic when doing historical research based on textual analysis alone. In this regard, my study contributes to the other side of film studies, the more traditionally text-focused studies. Rather than remaining with a textual analysis that *assumes* an intelligible viewer, I have empirically verified cueing and structures of sympathy with actual historical audiences.

In the second instance, my approach offers an improved operationalized approach to account for emotional dimensions in existing oral history methods. For example, in relation to Staiger's contextual focus and new cinema history's emphasis on social dimensions of cinemagoing, there are many more possibilities for including emotional viewing patterns and their relation to dominant and alternative discourses surrounding individuals then and now. As illustrated in the last empirical chapter on *Scener*, dominant ideas of love that circulate in society play a role in how people evaluate the series, their own or their parents' love lives, and the relationship between the series and their own lived experiences. A future research possibility here would be to investigate the changing of affect and emotions through time over a larger sample of both materials and participants compared to what I have done here.

Empirically, my dissertation can be seen as counterhegemonic to most existing literature on Bergman so far, thanks to the use of audience interviews. Most works on Bergman tend to subscribe to the canonization of his persona and works. My interviews clearly show the need for nuance when dealing with the importance of Bergman in the everyday life of participants in Sweden and Belgium. At the same time, it is interesting to see that canonization of films and authors/auteurs extends to ordinary life and reflects on the accounts and preferences of my participants, as described in chapter five.

## 3. Reflections on limitations and possibilities

Dealing with memories to explore the historical reception has limitations, as already discussed in the methodological chapter. To partially overcome this, interviews could be triangulated with data on exhibition and circulation as well as demographic data to fully grasp for which parts of society our sample can stand or to what extent it is representative as an audience. For example, I have not dealt with rural versus urban cinemagoing due to the comparative setup at the national level, while rural experiences have been shown to differ substantially (see Treveri Gennari ea., 2018).

Another way forward, away from individual accounts without becoming too general, would be to investigate interpretative communities through an increase of the sample (see Barker, 2006:133). Yet another research path would be to investigate the distribution and marketing of Bergman's films and his persona. This would cast new light onto the increasing role of his persona in the cinemagoing experience, especially after his international breakthrough at the end of the 1950s.

In my study, the time perspective is especially interesting and it is difficult to know to what extent exactly the interviews have been shaped by the interviewer, the situation, or the need of the participants to tell their life-stories in relation to the topic. It is equally difficult to know to what extent these accounts can be seen as more generally valid historically. Memories can in this sense never be a discovery of a lost past; they are rather the embodiment of cultural narratives that stand in tension to a historical past as well as today (Radstone, 2016:10).

The time-perspective is precisely the strength of this study as this gives us an indication of how our participants value their experiences over time. As such, the present plays a crucial role with regard to the data as an almost invisible norm against which these memories are set. Moreover, we cannot consider the data in any other way than in relation to the present. Anything else is impossible due to lack of a nuanced insight into the lived reality of my

participants.

Another unavoidable consequence of the interview situation, and the mere interest into a specific topic as the starting point for an academic interview, is that participants evaluate the topic in a new way, perhaps ascribing more importance than they should. This has been confirmed by participants at a later stage. In a sense, this fact has worked against the goal of countering the canonization. Nevertheless, I feel that my audience accounts have provided unique insight into the reception and context of Ingmar Bergman and his films at the time. My participants' accounts illustrate a much more varied response to the films than critical acclaim has assumed so far. Belgium and Sweden as different contexts play a crucial role in this. Remarkably, some of those responses last through to today. The most beautiful example here is G.F. (male, b. 1936, Hungary/Sweden) who watches his VHS-copy of *Sommarnattens leende* (1955) whenever he feels down.

All of this illustrates Bergman's ongoing relevance for academic explorations as well as for audience members. This dissertation has only started to lift the veil on explorations of influences and interactions of directors, auteurs, and films within society as a whole and with respect to audiences in particular. Film viewing is so much more than only the text or context. A way of deepening this approach is to pick up on Janet Staiger's interpretative strategies (1992). Many of the recurring themes within Bergman-studies return to the audience in particular ways. Although I have paid attention to these, I have not fully explored the discourses around these themes that give rise to more specific interpretative strategies. Examples of these strategies include the social message of the films, religion, politics, art cinema, or other Swedish stereotypes.

To end this conclusion, I wish to meta-reflect on the idea of developing new theory. Instead of coming up with new concepts and/or attacking others' concepts, I have aimed to unite different visions and to focus on their reconcilability. This has allowed for a more in-depth and comprehensive understanding of the viewing experience, leaving behind rigid

and arbitrary borders between the social and the individual. At the core of this dissertation lies a belief that my theoretical approach can be the dialectical starting point of something else, as true academic work always is.

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# Filmography

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1944 | Hets | Klopjacht | Torment / Frenzy |
| 1946 | Kris | Crisis | Crisis |
| 1946 | Det regnar på vår kärlek | Herboren door de liefde | It Rains on Our Love |
| 1947 | Kvinna utan ansikte | De vrouw zonder aangezicht | Woman Without a Face |
| 1947 | Skepp till Indialand | Schip naar Indialand | A Ship Bound for India |
| 1948 | Musik i mörker | Muziek in het donker | Music in Darkness |
| 1948 | Hamnstad | Havenstad / Havenmeisjes | Port of Call |
| 1948 | Eva | Eva / Verdorvenheid | Eva |
| 1949 | Fängelse | De Gevangenis | Prison |
| 1949 | Törst | Dorst | Thirst/Three Strange Loves |
| 1950 | Till glädje | Naar het geluk/Hymne aan de vreugde | To Joy |
| 1950 | Sånt händer inte här | Zoiets gebeurt hier niet | This Can't Happen Here |
| 1950 | Medan staden sover | Terwijl de stad slaapt | While the City Sleeps |
| 1951 | Sommarlek | Zomerspelen | Summer Interlude/Illicit Interlude |
| 1951 | Frånskild | Gescheiden | Divorced |
| 1952 | Kvinnors väntan | De verwachting der vrouwen | Secrets of Women/Waiting Women |
| 1953 | Sommaren med Monika | Monika en de begeerte | Summer with Monika/Monika: Story of a Bad Girl |
| 1953 | Gycklarnas afton | De nacht van een clown | Sawdust and Tinsel |
| 1954 | En lektion i kärlek | Een les in de liefde / Liefdesles | A Lesson in Love |
| 1955 | Kvinnodröm | Vrouwendroom / Vrouwendromen | Dreams |
| 1955 | Sommarnattens leende | De glimlach van een zomernacht | Smiles of a Summer Night |
| 1956 | Sista paret ut | Het laatste paar | Last Pair Out |
| 1957 | Det sjunde inseglet | Het zevende zegel | The Seventh Seal |
| 1957 | Smultronstället | Wilde aardbeien | Wild Strawberries |
| 1958 | Nära livet | Op de drempel van het leven | Brink of Life/ So Close to Life |
| 1958 | Ansiktet | Het gezicht | The Magician |
| 1960 | Jungfrukällan | De maagdenbron / De bron | The Virgin Spring |
| 1960 | Djävulens öga | Het oog van de duivel | The Devil's Eye |
| 1961 | Såsom i en spegel | Als in een donkere / duistere spiegel | Through a Glass Darkly |
| 1963 | Nattvardsgästerna | Avondmaalgasten / Winterlicht | Winter Light |
| 1963 | Tystnaden | De grote stilte / Zwijgen | The Silence |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1964 | För att inte tala om alla dessa kvinnor | Om over al die vrouwen maar niet te spreken | All These Women |
| 1966 | Persona | Maskers | Persona |
| 1967 | Stimulantia | Stimulantia (Daniel) | Stimulantia |
| 1968 | Vargtimmen | Het uur van de wolf | Hour of the Wolf |
| 1968 | Skammen | De schaamte / De schande | Shame |
| 1969 | Riten | Het ritueel / De ritus | The Rite |
| 1969 | En passion | Een passie | The Passion of Anna |
| 1971 | Beröringen | De aanraking | The Touch |
| 1972 | Viskningar och rop | Kreten en gefluister / Schreeuw zonder antwoord | Cries and Whispers |
| 1973 | Scener ur ett äktenskap | Scenes uit een huwelijk | Scenes from a Marriage |
| 1975 | Trollflöjten | De Toverfluit | The Magic Flute |
| 1976 | Ansikte mot ansikte | Van aangezicht tot aangezicht | Face to Face |
| 1977 | Das Schlangenei | Het slangeëi | The Serpent's Egg |
| 1978 | Höstsonaten | Herfstsonate | Autumn Sonata |
| 1980 | Aus dem Leben der Marionetten | Uit het leven van de marionetten | From the Life of the Marionettes |
| 1982 | Fanny och Alexander | Fanny en Alexander | Fanny and Alexander |

# Questionnaire

## Sweden

Informed Consent

*Vi kommer prata om en del olika ämnen. Jag börjar med en svår generell fråga, sen kommer vi prata om hur du upplevde Bergman-filmerna, efter det, lite kontext-relaterade frågor, sen om kärlek inom Bergman-filmer, om själva personen Ingmar Bergman, och till slut om kärlek generellt. Handlar bara om filmer och tv-serier, inte hans teateruppsättningar.*

*Det finns inget rätt eller fel, det viktigaste är att ni berättar vad du känner och tycker.*

Allmänna frågor

o Jag börjar med en svår fråga. Frågan kommer tillbaka senare men just nu vill jag gärna höra vad dina första tankar är. Vad är kärlek för dig?

o Vad betyder kärlek i ditt liv?

o Är du gift?

o Har du barn? Barnbarn?

Frågor om publikens upplevelser

Första filmen

o Kan du berätta lite om första IB filmen du såg? Var och med vem?

o Kommer du ihåg vad du kände?

o Kan du tänka på en film där du lärde dig något? Vilken film och vad?

o Kan du tänka på en film som påverkade ditt liv på ett speciellt sätt?

    o Vilken är den viktigaste filmen du såg och varför?

    o Kommer du ihåg vad du tyckte om Ingmar Bergman som regissör då?

- Tror du att du känner samma för IB som regissör då som idag?
- Var du medveten om att du såg "en Bergmanfilm" när du såg en Bergmanfilm eller spelade hans namn ingen roll?

Känslor

- Skulle du säga att du gillar hans filmer?
- Känner du lika starkt för IB filmerna idag, som när du såg dom för många år sedan?
- Vad är annorlunda?
- Känner du igen dig eller ditt liv i filmerna? På vilket sätt?
- Minns du om du upplevde berättelserna specifika för just den tiden, och för Sverige? Eller kändes det universellt och tidlöst?
- Resten av världen kanske anser att det som skildras i Bergmanfilmerna är Sverige, vad tycker du om det? Speglar filmerna Sverige?
- Vad tycker du om det religiösa i hans filmer?
- Känner du igen det från ditt eget liv?

Perception av andra

- Hur tror du att man ansågs då om man var en sån som gillade Bergmanfilmer?
- Hur anses man idag?
- Vad tyckte dina föräldrar om hans filmer?
- Hur var dina upplevelser jämfört med dina föräldrars?

Frågor om kontext

- Vilken roll har censur haft på hans filmer?
- Vilken IB film eller tv-serie har haft mest påverkan på det Svenska samhället?
- Hur?
- Varför?
- Vad känner du för just den filmen eller tv-serien?

(visa grafik)

- Har du sett serien när den sändes?
- Hur upplevde du den?

o   Vad tror du den här påverkan på samhället kan bero på?

o   Känner du någon som skilde sig efter Scener ur ett äktenskap kom ut (1974) eller pga den serien?

o   Var den här förställningen om kärlek annorlunda eller liknande än vad man kände från teve på den tiden?

Frågor om kärlek och relationer inom Bergmanfilmerna

o   Kan du tänka på en kärlekshistoria i film eller tv som var minnesvärd (generellt)? Berätta.

o   Det finns många kärlekshistorier i Bergmans filmer, kan du tänka på någon som du upplevde som speciell? (specifik IB)

o   Varför tror du att du tänker på just den?

o   Kan du relatera till den i ditt eget liv?

o   Hur skulle du beskriva vad kärlek är i Bergmans filmer?

o   Upplevde du att IB beskrev relationer på ett realistiskt sätt? Varför eller varför inte?

o   Hur framställde IB kvinnorna i sina filmer?

o   Hur framställde IB män i sina filmer?

Scener ur ett äktenskap

o   På slutet av Scener ur ett äktenskap har huvudkaraktärarna ett annorlunda slags förhållande än de hade i äktenskapet. Vad har de?


Frågor om personen Ingmar Bergman

o   Tycker du Ingmar Bergman var attraktivt/snygg? Varför?


o   Vad vet du om hans privata (kärleks)liv?

o   Vad tycker du om det?

o   Hade han ett ovanligt kärleksliv?


o   Hur såg det Svenska folket på Ingmar Bergman?

- o Vad är Skattehistorien?
- o Vad tycker du om den?

- o Vilken roll spelade kärlek i hans liv, enligt dig? Vad betydde kärleken?

- o Översättar han sitt privata liv till filmerna eller är kärleken i filmerna annorlunda?

Frågor om kärlek generellt
- o Har du varit förälskad någonsin?
- o När upplevde du kärlek?
- o Upplever du att kärlek har olika nivåer/stadier?
- o Vandrar alla samma stig?

- o Vad är "riktig" kärlek?
- o Vilka begrepp skulle du använda som synonymer för att beskriva kärlek?
- o Tror du det här begreppet är samma för alla?
- o Är det annorlunda för män/kvinnor?
- o Hur är det för homosexualla eller lesbiska människor?
- o Har män och kvinnor olika krav på kärlek? Vad kräver de?
- o Hur väljer man en partner?

- o Är din kärleksupplevelse nu fortfarande samma som när du var yngre?
- o Har din bild av kärlek ändrats genom ditt liv?
- o Är din bild av kärlek annorlunda än den från dina föräldrar?
- o Har kärlek förändrats i samhället?

- o Hur hänger kärlek ihop med sex? Lust?
- o Är det annorlunda för olika människor? För män/kvinnor?
- o Vad är skillnaden att ha sex med någon som du älskar eller inte älskar?

- o Vad tycker du om monogami?
- o Vill du att ditt förhållande är monogamiskt?
- o Vad tycker du om att stanna ihop med en person hela sitt liv?

- o Tror du människor från olika klasser, eller skikt av samhället upplever olika former av kärlek?
- o Hur skulle du beskriva din (klass) bakgrund?

- o Sammanfattad, vilken plats skulle du säga Ingmar Bergman eller/och hans filmer tar i ditt liv?

Till slut...
- o Finns det något som du kan tänka på som vi inte har pratat om ännu?
- o Du får mejla om du tänker på något som du undrar eller vill berätta eller efterförklara
- o Drop off

## Belgium

Informed Consent en drop-off

*We zullen tijdens het interview over verschillende zaken spreken. Ik begin met een zeer algemene, moeilijke vraag. Daarna gaat het over hoe u de Bergmanfilms ervaren heeft. Nadien komen er meer contextgerelateerde vragen. Vervolgens praten we over liefde in de films van IB en tot slot over liefde in het algemeen. Dit interview gaat enkel over zijn films en tv-series, niet over zijn theaterstukken.*

*Er is geen juist of fout antwoord. Het belangrijkste is dat u vertelt wat u denkt en voelt.*

Algemene vragen

- o Ik begin met een moeilijke vraag, om uw eerste gedachten te horen. Nadien komen we

er nog op terug. Wat is liefde voor u?

o   Wat betekent liefde in uw leven?

o   Bent u getrouwd?

o   Heeft u kinderen? Kleinkinderen?

Vragen over uw ervaringen als publiek

Eerste film

o   Kan u vertellen wat de eerste Bergmanfilm was die u zag? Met wie en waar?

o   Herinnert u zich wat u voelde?


o   Kan u aan een Bergmanfilm denken die invloed heeft gehad op uw leven?

o   Kan u aan een Bergmanfilm denken waarvan u iets geleerd heeft?

   o   Wat is de belangrijkste film die u gezien heeft?


   o   Herinnert u zich wat u vond van Bergman als regisseur toen?

   o   Wat vindt u van IB als regisseur vandaag? Is dit verschillend?

   o   Was u zich bewust van wanneer u een Bergmanfilm zag? Was u zich bewust van de
       rol van regisseurs, beïnvloedde kennis van de regisseur uw filmkeuze?

Gevoelens

   o   Zou u zeggen dat u van Bergmanfilms houdt?

   o   Is dit gevoel even sterk vandaag als zoveel jaren terug?

   o   Wat is eventueel anders nu?

   o   Herkent u uw eigen leven in zijn films?

   o   Herkent u het religieuze uit zijn films uit uw eigen leven?

Perceptie van anderen

3   Hoe werd men vroeger aangekeken indien men zei dat men van Bergmanfilms hield?

4   Hoe wordt men vandaag aangekeken bij deze uitspraak?

5   Wat vonden uw ouders van Bergman's films?

6   Denkt u dat er een generatieverschil is in hoe zij en u Bergman's films ervaren hebben
    of zouden ervaren hebben?

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Vragen over context

- o Herinnert u zich of de verhalen in Bergman's films specifiek voor die tijd waren, of waren ze eerder tijdsloos?
- o Zijn de verhalen Zweeds of eerder universeel?
- o Vindt u dat de films u een goed inzicht in Zweden en de Zweedse cultuur verschaffen? Zou u zeggen dat ze de Zweedse maatschappij weerspiegelen?

- o Welke rol speelden censuurcommissies volgens u?

- o Ken u de film/tv-serie Scenes uit een huwelijk?
- o Heeft u die gezien wanneer deze uitgezonden werd op tv?
- o Hoe ervaarde u die?
- o Vond u dit een vernieuwende manier om liefde en relaties in beeld te brengen?

Vragen over liefde en relaties in Bergman's films

- o Kan u aan een liefdesverhaal denken dat u waardevol vond (in het algemeen)?
- o Kan u op een liefdesverhaal komen binnen het werk van Bergman?
- o Waarom denkt u aan dit verhaal?
- o Kan u dit relateren aan uw eigen leven?
- o Hoe zou u de liefde in Bergmanfilms omschrijven?
- o Worden relaties door Bergman op een realistische manier voorgesteld?
- o Hoe worden vrouwen weergegeven in Bergman's films?
- o Mannen?

Vragen over de persoon Ingmar Bergman

- o Vindt u Ingmar Bergman een aantrekkelijke man?

- o Wat weet u over zijn privéleven?
- o Wat vindt u van zijn privéleven?
- o Was zijn liefdesleven ongewoon, denkt u?

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o Welke rol speelde liefde in zijn leven? (afhankelijk van hoeveel ze weten)

o Denkt u dat hij zijn leven naar zijn films vertaalde? Dat ze er een reflectie van zijn?

Vragen over liefde algemeen

o Bent u verliefd geweest?

o Wanneer ervaarde u liefde?

o Heeft liefde verschillende stadia?

o Indien ja, doorloopt iedereen dezelfde stadia?

o Wat is "echte" liefde?

o Welke begrippen of synonymen zou gebruiken om liefde te omschrijven?

o Denkt u dat dit hetzelfde is voor anderen?

o Is dit verschillend voor mannen en vrouwen?

o Is het verschillend voor holebi's?

o Hebben mannen en vrouwen verschillende verwachtingen of eisen van liefde? Wat dan?

o Hoe kiest men een partner?

o Ervaart u de liefde op dezelfde manier als toen u jonger was?

o Is uw beeld van liefde veranderd doorheen uw leven?

o Verschilt uw beeld van liefde van dat van uw ouders?

o Is liefde veranderd in de maatschappij?

o Hoe hangt liefde samen met seks en lust?

o Is dit verschillend voor verschillende mensen? Is dit verschillend voor mannen en vrouwen?

o Wat is het verschil tussen seks met iemand waarvan je houdt of net niet? Is het ene

beter dan het andere?

- o Wat vindt u van monogamie?
- o Wil u dat uw relatie monogaam is?
- o Wat vindt u van het idee om uw hele leven met een persoon samen te zijn?

- o Hebben mensen met een andere klasse-achtergrond volgens u een andere liefdes-ervaring?
- o Wat is uw klasse-achtergrond?

- o Samengevat, welke plaats heeft Ingmar Bergman en/of zijn films in uw leven?

Tot slot...
- o Is er iets waaraan u denkt waarover we het nog niet gehad hebben?
- o Is het ok dat u later opnieuw gecontacteerd wordt indien er zaken onduidelijk zouden zijn? U mag zelf ook altijd mailen (naar Jono) als u nog iets wil toevoegen of iets extra wil verduidelijken
- o Drop off: is alles ingevuld?

# Drop-off

**<u>Sweden</u>**

Namn: _____

Vilket namn eller initialer får jag använda för rapporteringen – eller anonym?

_____

Man / Kvinna

Födelsedatum: _____

Var bodde du under din uppväxt?

_____

Vad är din högsta utbildning? Vad är/var ditt yrke?

o   högskolexamen/högre yrkesutbildning_____

o   högskolestuderande

o   gymnasieskola

o   yrkesskola eller motsvarande

o   grundskola eller motsvarande

Vad är dina föräldrars högsta utbildning?

Mor:

o   högskolexamen/högre yrkesutbildning

o   högskolestuderande

o   gymnasieskola

o   yrkesskola eller motsvarande

o   grundskola eller motsvarande

Far:

o   högskolexamen/högre yrkesutbildning

o   högskolestuderande

o   gymnasieskola

o        yrkesskola eller motsvarande

o        grundskola eller motsvarande

Politiska orientering: vänster / mitten / höger / opolitisk

Religion: religiöst aktiv / tidigare religiös / religiöst neutral / icke-religiös

Filmpreferens: Ser helst Bergman-filmer / ser helst svensk film / ser helst europeisk film /

ser helst klassisk film / ser gärna alla slags filmer

Kulturkonsumtion:

|  | Varje dag | Varje vecka | Varje månad | Ngn gång/år | <1x/år |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Film |  |  |  |  |  |
| TV |  |  |  |  |  |
| Radio |  |  |  |  |  |
| Internet |  |  |  |  |  |
| Tidning |  |  |  |  |  |
| Magasin |  |  |  |  |  |

Vilken är dina favorit Bergmanfilmer? (1 är den mest favorita)

1)_____2) _____ 3)

_____

Vilka Bergman-filmer har du sett? (markera på listan bifogad)

| 1944 | *Hets* |  |
|---|---|---|
| 1946 | *Kris* |  |
| 1946 | *Det regnar på vår kärlek* |  |
| 1947 | *Kvinna utan ansikte* |  |
| 1947 | *Skepp till Indialand* |  |
| 1948 | *Musik i mörker* |  |
| 1948 | *Hamnstad* |  |
| 1948 | Eva |  |

| 1949 | *Fängelse* |  |
|---|---|---|
| 1949 | *Törst* |  |
| 1950 | *Till glädje* |  |
| 1950 | *Sånt händer inte här* |  |
| 1950 | *Medan staden sover* |  |
| 1951 | *Sommarlek* |  |
| 1951 | *Frånskild* |  |
| 1952 | *Kvinnors väntan* |  |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1953 | *Sommaren med Monika* | |
| 1953 | *Gycklarnas afton* | |
| 1954 | *En lektion i kärlek* | |
| 1955 | *Kvinnodröm* | |
| 1955 | *Sommarnattens leende* | |
| 1956 | *Sista paret ut* | |
| 1957 | *Det sjunde inseglet* | |
| 1957 | *Smultronstället* | |
| 1958 | *Nära livet* | |
| 1958 | *Ansiktet* | |
| 1960 | *Jungfrukällan* | |
| 1960 | *Djävulens öga* | |
| 1961 | *Såsom i en spegel* | |
| 1961 | *Lustgården* | |
| 1963 | *Nattvardsgästerna* | |
| 1963 | *Tystnaden* | |
| 1964 | *För att inte tala om alla dessa kvinnor* | |
| 1966 | Persona | |
| 1967 | Stimulantia | |
| 1968 | *Vargtimmen* | |
| 1968 | *Skammen* | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1969 | *Riten* | |
| 1969 | *En passion* | |
| 1971 | *Beröringen* | |
| 1972 | *Viskningar och rop* | |
| 1973 | *Scener ur ett äktenskap* | |
| 1975 | *Trollflöjten* | |
| 1976 | *Ansikte mot ansikte* | |
| 1977 | *Paradistorg* | |
| 1977 | *Das Schlangenei* | |
| 1978 | *Höstsonaten* | |
| 1980 | *Aus dem Leben der Marionetten* | |
| 1982 | *Fanny och Alexander* | |
| 1984 | *Efter repetitionen* | |
| 1986 | *De två saliga* | |
| 1991 | *Den goda viljan* | |
| 1992 | *Söndagsbarn* | |
| 1996 | *Enskilda samtal* | |
| 1997 | *Larmar och gör sig till* | |
| 2000 | *Trolösa* | |
| 2003 | Saraband | |

<u>**Belgium**</u>

Naam: _____

Welke naam of initialen mogen worden gebruikt bij rapportering, of wenst u anoniem te blijven?

_____

Man / Vrouw

Geboortedatum: _____

Op welke plaats woonde u gedurende uw jeugd?

_____

Wat is uw hoogste niveau van opleiding?          Wat is/was uw beroep?

o        universiteit        _____

o        hogeschool

o        hoger middelbaar onderwijs

o        lager middelbaar onderwijs

o        basisschool

Wat is het hoogste niveau van opleiding van uw ouders?

Moeder:

o        universiteit

o        hogeschool

o        hoger middelbaar onderwijs

o        lager middelbaar onderwijs

o        basisschool

Vader:

o        universiteit

o        hogeschool

o        hoger middelbaar onderwijs

o        lager middelbaar onderwijs

o        basisschool

Politieke oriëntering: links / midden / rechts / niet-politiek

Religie: religieus actief / vroeger religieus / religieus neutraal / niet-religieus

Filmvoorkeuren: ziet het liefste Bergman-films / ziet het liefste Zweedse film / ziet het liefste Europese film / ziet het liefste klassieke film / Ziet graag alle soorten films

Cultuurconsumptie:

|  | Elke dag | Elke week | Elke maand | Een keer/jaar | <1x/jaar |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Film |  |  |  |  |  |
| TV |  |  |  |  |  |
| Radio |  |  |  |  |  |
| Internet |  |  |  |  |  |
| Krant |  |  |  |  |  |
| Magazine |  |  |  |  |  |

Welke zijn uw favoriete Bergmanfilms? (1 is de meest favoriete)

1)_____2) _____ 3) 

_____

Welke Bergmanfilms heeft u gezien? (aanduiden op bijgevoegde lijst)

| 1944 | *Klopjacht (Hets)* |  |
|---|---|---|
| 1946 | *Crisis (Kris)* |  |
| 1946 | *Het regent op onze liefde (Det regnar på vår kärlek)* |  |
| 1947 | *de vrouw zonder gezicht (Kvinna utan ansikte)* |  |
| 1947 | *Schip naar Indialand (Skepp till Indialand)* |  |
| 1948 | *Muziek in het donker (Musik i mörker)* |  |

| 1948 | *Havenstad (Hamnstad)* |  |
|---|---|---|
| 1948 | Eva |  |
| 1949 | *Gevangenis (Fängelse)* |  |
| 1949 | *Dorst (Törst)* |  |
| 1950 | *Aan de vreugde (Till glädje)* |  |
| 1950 | *Zoiets gebeurt hier niet (Sånt händer inte här)* |  |
| 1950 | *Terwijl de stad slaapt (Medan staden sover)* |  |
| 1951 | *Zomerspel (Sommarlek)* |  |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1951 | *Gescheiden (Frånskild)* | |
| 1952 | *Het wachten van vrouwen (Kvinnors väntan)* | |
| 1953 | *Mijn zomer met Monika (Sommaren med Monika)* | |
| 1953 | *De spullebaas (Gycklarnas afton)* | |
| 1954 | *Een les in liefde (En lektion i kärlek)* | |
| 1955 | *Vrouwendroom (Kvinnodröm)* | |
| 1955 | *De glimlach van een zomernacht (Sommarnattens leende)* | |
| 1956 | *Het laatste paar (Sista paret ut)* | |
| 1957 | *Het zevende zegel (Det sjunde inseglet)* | |
| 1957 | *Wilde aardbeiden (Smultronstället)* | |
| 1958 | *Op de drempel van het leven (Nära livet)* | |
| 1958 | *Het gelaat (Ansiktet)* | |
| 1960 | *De Maagdenbron (Jungfrukällan)* | |
| 1960 | *Het oog van de duivel* | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | *(Djävulens öga)* | |
| 1961 | *Als in een donkere spiegel (Såsom i en spegel)* | |
| 1961 | *De lusthof (Lustgården)* | |
| 1963 | *De avondmaalsgasten (Nattvardsgästerna)* | |
| 1963 | *De grote stilte (Tystnaden)* | |
| 1964 | *Om over al die vrouwen maar niet te spreken (För att inte tala om alla dessa kvinnor)* | |
| 1966 | Maskers (Persona) | |
| 1967 | Stimulantia | |
| 1968 | *Het uur van de wolf (Vargtimmen)* | |
| 1968 | *De schaamte (Skammen)* | |
| 1969 | *Het ritueel (Riten)* | |
| 1969 | *Een passie (En passion)* | |
| 1971 | *De aanraking (Beröringen, The touch)* | |
| 1972 | *Fluisteringen en kreten (Viskningar och rop)* | |
| 1973 | *Scenes uit een huwelijk (Scener ur ett äktenskap)* | |
| 1975 | *De toverfluit (Trollflöjten)* | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1976 | *Gelaat tegen gelaat* <br> *(Ansikte mot ansikte)* | |
| 1977 | *Het slangeëi* <br> *(Das Schlangenei)* | |
| 1978 | *Herfstsonate* <br> *(Höstsonaten)* | |
| 1980 | *Uit het leven van de* <br> *marionetten* <br> *(Aus dem Leben der* <br> *Marionetten)* | |
| 1982 | *Fanny & Alexander* | |
| 1984 | *Na de repetitie* <br> *(Efter repetitionen)* | |
| 1986 | *De twee zaligen* <br> *(De två saliga)* | |
| 1991 | *Den goda viljan, The* <br> *best intentions* | |
| 1992 | *Söndagsbarn, Sunday's* <br> *children* | |
| 1996 | *Enskilda samtal, Private* <br> *Confessions* | |
| 1997 | *Larmar och gör sig till,* <br> *In the presence of a* <br> *clown* | |
| 2000 | *Trolösa, Faithless* | |
| 2003 | Saraband | |

# About Ingmar Bergman

Ingmar Bergman (1918-2007) was a Swedish film director whose career came to a height between the mid-fifties and mid-eighties of the twentieth century. He directed over 40 feature films and numerous theater plays in Sweden and abroad. His work is often linked to his personal life and experiences, referring to his father being a pastor and that he had many women and marriages (and consequently, many children). Common themes in Bergman's films are faith and doubt, the portrayal of women, and artists and jesters (Koskinen, 2007).

From the very beginning, Bergman was recognized by the Swedish press as a talented filmmaker, largely due to the fact that his merits were already established within theater by the time his first screenplay came into film in 1944. When he fully directed his first feature film, *Kris*, he was only 28 years old but already known in the Swedish press (Björnehult ea., 1986). After receiving positive criticisms for some time, in the 1960s Bergman's recognition at home went down, mainly because of the alleged lack of political and societal questions in his films. This criticism slowly diminished again and Bergman was increasingly seen as an icon and master by the end of the 1970s, beginning of the 1980s (Björnehult ea., 1986; Koskinen, 2007; 2009). Bergman's international fame might have stirred patriotic feelings in critics in Sweden, making them less harsh on his output while at the same time Bergman addressed sensitive questions around marriage that were predominant in society by then, for example with *Scenes from a Marriage* (Björnehult ea., 1986:81-2).

Internationally, Bergman "is among the relatively small, exclusive group of filmmakers - a Fellini, an Antonioni, a Tarkovsky - whose family names rarely need to be accompanied by a given name: "Bergman" is a concept, a kind of "brand name" in itself" (Koskinen, 2007:5). Some of his most widely recognized films are *Sommaren med Monika* (1953), *Det sjunde inseglet* (1957), *Smultronstället* (1957), *Persona* (1966), and *Fanny och Alexander* (1982).