Extracting versatility
Films commissioned by the mining industry in postwar Sweden

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Abstract
This study investigates how films commissioned by Swedish mining companies were employed for institutional use between 1945 and 1965. A central aspect of what gave these films their versatility stems from circumstances that allowed commissioned texts to pass as non-partisan audiovisual aids, as educational and informative instruments and as occasional examples of film art through intermediaries. In detaching texts from the biases of commissioning bodies, these films were treated as instrumental – and occasionally artistically valuable – texts on mining, in relation to work management and Sápmi contexts. Because these commissioned films blended in with established institutions, rather than offering a radical voice in society, they became sources for knowledge about how and which forms of audiovisual communication on industry were regarded as broadly viable. This study contributes new knowledge on the broader environment of Swedish film, including its use by industry, its role in early public service television, and the conditions for existence of short film production in relation to subsidy policies.

In its methodological approach, this study is in conversation with the field of useful cinema studies and seeks to expand its focus on film as part of broader organizational behaviour outside of direct company reach. Through four case studies that mix archival research with textual analysis, selected film examples are examined in how they interplayed with institutional conceptualizations of advertising, management, public service, and film as an art form. Chapter 1 contextualizes communication challenges in a nonpartisan postwar climate from the perspective of industry companies as film commissioners. Here, artistic experimentation and advertising approaches were considered unfavourable compared to a more traditional and factual approach, which was then believed to be more versatile. Chapter 2 analyses how the managerial approaches of the mining industry were revitalised, through the Swedish Council for Personnel Administration working as a film consultancy that established films about industry as an aid towards increased productivity. Through analysis of their entanglements with two films commissioned by mining companies, it is argued that the autonomy of the manager is protected, while the miner’s work is promoted as optimisable through close monitoring by management. Chapter 3 contextualises the use of industry-commissioned films on early public service television. It argues that ambiguous conceptions of public service within programming on industry presented commission films with broadcast opportunities, effectively circumventing advertising prohibitions. Analysis of two films on the mining industry broadcast in 1957 and 1960 respectively argues that television was used to impose invisibility on the existence of the industrial exploitation of Sápmi. Chapter 4 explores the relations between film policy and the dominance of commissioned films over independent short film production in postwar Sweden. Criticisms of commissioned films as boring in their adherence to traditions in filmmaking are connected to an ambition for them to become spaces for experimentation. This intention was in part driven by the lack of special subsidies for independent short film production. While some experimentation occurred in industry-commissioned films, it was sporadic in part due to commissioners not seeing themselves as patrons for the film arts.

Keywords: film history, swedish film, sponsored film, industrial film, useful cinema, mining, Sápmi, non-theatrical film, public service television, film distribution, the Swedish Film Institute, Radio Sweden, documentary film, film policy.

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Notes on formatting

Throughout the thesis, several decisions in formatting have been made to ensure consistency, and in some cases visibility, to Swedish and historical contexts.

First mentions of films include the following in order: original title (English title if applicable) (with ““” and not in italics if it is my translation), followed by [name of the production company] for [name of commissioner], year of release). E.g.: Varför så många tjänstemän? (“Why so many office workers?”, Suecia-Film for LKAB, 1960). After the first mention: original title. First mentions of non-commissioned films are written as follows: original title (English title or “translation”, production company, year of release). E.g.: En kluven värld (A Divided World, Svensk Filmindustri, 1944). The bibliography also includes the names of the film directors or television producers when these have been found.

First mentions of Swedish company or institution names first present the official or translated English name followed by the official Swedish name in parantheses, and Swedish official initials. E.g.: Swedish Employers’ Confederation (Svenska Arbetsgivareföreningen, SAF). After first mention either the initials or the English name is used.

Swedish words for specific technical terms are given in parentheses at its first mention. E.g.: air-legged rock drills (knämatare).

Citations in-text are either in English originally or English translations by the author, with footnotes presenting citations in the original language (including original spelling mistakes and emphasis in italics) to indicate what was translated. Unless otherwise stated, original citations are in Swedish.

In the interest of historical preservation, and to call attention to its existence, place names in Sámi and Meänkieli languages have been added – the latter spoken by the Tornedalian minority – in parentheses at the first mention of Swedish place names. This hopefully supports readers in clarifying what sites that are discussed where these national minority contexts are prominent. E.g.: Kiruna (Northern Sámi: Giron, Meänkieli: Kieruna). Common Sámi place names are available at the Sámi Parliament of Sweden’s website at https://www.sametinget.se/ortnamn/sapmi. For other names, The Land Survey’s (Lantmäteriet) maps at https://minkarta.lantmateriet.se/ have been consulted.
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Introduction

In an article published in the engineering trade paper *Tekniskt magasin* in 1951 titled *Rättvisa åt alla – även på film!* (“Justice for all – even on film!”), museum manager Torsten Althin pointed towards several difficulties and current limitations of film as a medium to speak about industry.¹ Here, Althin criticized a new film on and commissioned by Kiruna city (Northern Sámi: Giron, Meänkieli: Kieruna) in the north of Sweden titled *Från ödemark till modern stad* (“From wilderness to a modern city”, AB Kinematografiska Anstalten, 1950) for its lack of “economic education”.²

While praising the film for its technical presentation and its depiction of the early history of the region, Althin found it unjust that the mining industry in the town had been given little attention in connection to the history of the town. Beyond some references to Hjalmar Lundbohm, the first managing director of LKAB (Luossavaara-Kiirunavaara Aktiebolag), little was said, according to Althin, about how mining by this company had been central to the town’s modernization since the 1900s. Also deemed unfair was that nothing was said in the film about the “enormous engineering work and proper economic administration”, which according to him was central to the town’s development.³

Althin points out that such topics were often well explained in films commissioned by industry itself. But due to a great “ignorance” about how modernity in Sweden came to be, in part due to “many American and even some Swedish [fiction] films misleading the public”, the so-called industrial

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¹ Althin was the manager of The National Museum of Science and Technology (Tekniska museet). On their film activities, see Pelle Snickars, *Kulturarvets mediehistoria: Dokumentation och representation 1750-1950* (Lund: Mediehistoriskt arkiv, 2020), 482-486. Readers familiar with the Swedish language should be aware that the use of the word “industry” in the thesis primarily (unless otherwise stated) refers to the Swedish equivalent *industri* rather than the wider term for economic activity *näringsliv*.
² Torsten Althin, “Rättvisa åt alla – även på film!,” *Teknisk Tidskrift* 81, no. 4, (January 1951): 72. *Tekniskt Tidskrift* was a trade paper for engineers by the Swedish Technologists’ Confederation (Svenska Teknologföreningen, SvTF).
³ Althin, “Rättvisa åt alla,” 72. Original citation: “[…] det ligger ett enormt ingenjörsarbete och skicklig ekonomisk ledning […]”.
film (industrifilm) – films often commissioned by industry itself – had a “great mission to fulfil”.

More films were indeed made: the industry’s economic “record years” (rekordåren) in the 1950s and 1960s were also years in which they frequently commissioned films. An article in the business trade paper Veckans affärer in 1966 assessed that around 100 commissioned films were made in Sweden in 1965 alone for a total sum of 14 million SEK (circa 164 million SEK in January 2023 money). According to the Swedish Film Database’s website, 24 feature films were made in Sweden the same year. Between 1945 and 1965, around 75 titles, mainly short films, were commissioned by Swedish mining companies. The mining company LKAB, which Althin wanted to see more of, commissioned four films produced by AB Svensk Kulturfilm in the following three years. Indeed, all major Swedish mining companies would in this timespan commission films that sought to educate, inform, instruct, and persuade audiences about mining and mining companies, and thus partake in this greater “mission” of economic education through industry-commissioned film.

For Althin, however, the limitation of films’ ability to speak about industry could not necessarily be solved by industry alone. Towards the end of the article, he points out that the collaborations between the industrial commissioner and the filmmakers often led to too much focus on technical aspects that were only of interest to engineers themselves. There was a risk here of ineffective communication with a broader audience – becoming “a

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4 Althin, “Rättvisa åt alla,” 72. Original citation: “[…] amerikanska, och för all del även svenska filmer, förvillar allmänheten. Här har industrifilmerna en stor mission att fylla.” This critique of fiction film, and the dichotomy between fiction film and educational film was hardly original, instead a common trope, as Pelle Snickars points out in Kulturarvets mediehistoria. Snickars also mentions that Ahlin brought up this dichotomy in an introduction to a film on a porcelain factory he directed in 1926. Snickars, Kulturarvets mediehistoria, 507-508.
5 “100 industri filmer om året – men varför?,” Veckans affärer, no. 7 (April, 1966): 31. Throughout the thesis, the term “commissioned film” is used instead of another popular term, “sponsored film”. The Swedish term beställningsfilm can be translated to either of these English terms, but English scholarship on these Swedish film contexts in recent years use the term “commissioned film” more frequently to translate the term beställningsfilm.
7 See the section “Defining mining” for definition of mining companies.
shouting voice in the desert” if they leaned too heavily towards lecturing on industrial processes, for example.8

Although he was positive towards commissioned films as an educative force for a broader public, Althin was not convinced that the current films were as versatile as they could be for this purpose. What was at stake here for the films was to partake in existing institutional conceptualizations and expectations of what moving images of industry would be of interest for the public. In other words, making a viable film was not just about simply getting information out there via moving images and sounds, but crucially involved finding a way to fit commissioned texts into existing media contexts.

In this thesis, I narrow down the investigation of this corporate communication challenge to consider how films by Swedish mining companies from 1945 to 1965 were made versatile through institutions that either gave incentives for commissioned texts in society, including management consultancies and Swedish film policymakers, or intermediaries for which commissioned films were convenient, such as public service television. Alignment and versatility here become interconnected keywords to speak about overcoming numerous contradictions and polarizing areas the commissioned films found themselves in as they were attempting to find communication opportunities via institutions. What is described is not a history of how audiences reacted to the films, in part because very little of this kind of source material has survived. Nor do I seek to quantitively map who the audience was and the extent of the screening occasions of each film. Instead, this is an exploration of how commissioned films were made relevant for the white-collar, male-dominated institutions that assisted them in finding audiences in the first place.

While Althin particularly sought justice for engineers within films on industry, in the timeframe of the thesis, few spoke of the same need for “filmic justice” in films about mining regarding blue-collar working conditions or the industrial colonization of Sápmi (the land of the Sámi). That these films instead spoke on the behalf of workers or Sápmi people was a non-factor in their versatility. Precisely because these commissioned films looked for opportunities to blend in with established institutions, rather than offering a radical voice in society, they become sources for knowledge about how and which forms of audiovisual communication on industry were deemed suitable and useful.

Research aims and objectives

In this thesis I investigate how films commissioned by Swedish mining companies were made viable for various institutional circumstances between 1945 and 1965. Through four case studies that mix archival research with textual analysis, I explore selected film examples and examine how they interplayed with institutional conceptualizations of advertising, management, public service television, and film as an art form.

I argue that a central aspect of the versatility of these films came from circumstances that allowed commissioned texts to pass as something other than advertisements for the company, instead emphasizing them as sources for non-partisan audiovisual aid, as educational and informative instruments, and as occasional examples of film art through intermediaries. In detaching texts from the biases of commissioning bodies, their films were treated as instrumental – and occasionally artistically valuable – texts on mining in relation to work management and Sápmi contexts. Although detaching texts in this way occasionally played down the voice of industry that was made through direct collaboration between commissioner and an intermediary, it was also encouraged through practices of how advertising is applied and how short film production is financed.

To understand this, I delve into interconnected challenges regarding the production and distribution systems the films were part of, how and by whom mining was communicated, and the aesthetics of the texts themselves. Rather than seeing this interplay as the result of a commissioner’s or film producer’s astuteness alone, I argue that both the text and the use of films themselves were largely shaped together with intermediaries and their shared circumstances. Here, I expand on previous research into useful cinema – the study of functions of films for organizations – in emphasizing that conceptualizations of film use were broadly negotiated. Here, I reject claims that so-called industrial films and their use were peripheral features in society, even if they since have endured neglect.

The first case study describes several challenges of achieving versatility, in part through overcoming the differences between a film company and a mining commissioner. I demonstrate how negotiations about a film text became an exercise in which moderation regarding advertising the commissioner became treated as the most versatile approach. Then, I focus on three institutions taking on the role as intermediaries of commissioned film: the Personnel Administration Council (Personaladministrativa Rådet, hereby

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the PA Council), a think tank subsidiary of Swedish’s Employers’ Confederation (Svenska Arbetsgivareföreningen, SAF) that worked on making films by industry viable in broader terms; the public service television operated by Radio Sweden (Sveriges Radio, SR), which broadcast commissioned films in its early years; and the Swedish Film Institute (Svenska Filminstitutet, SFI), which promoted certain texts as art to defend the fairness of film policy in 1963.

By viewing these institutions as intermediaries for commissioned films, the thesis contributes a new understanding of the broader environment of Swedish film, including its use by industry, its role on early television, and the conditions for existence of short film production in relation to subsidy policies. The chapters also contextualize previously unknown films commissioned by the mining companies LKAB and Grängesbergsbolaget as well as early television productions about the mining industry. Through this specific selection of case studies, the thesis demonstrates how the imagination of mining, the modernization of mining work, and mining in Sápmi were communicated via films commissioned by the mining companies. Rather than understanding film as a stable force that worked for mining and other industries according to principles of filmmaking developed in isolation, the four analytical chapters show how alignment with intermediaries and their needs are key to understanding the production of commissioned films and the conception of their purpose.

Below, I first introduce the conditions and constraints at play between 1945 and 1965 that shaped the versatility of commissioned films. Here, I introduce the main intermediaries that this thesis will focus on and the conflicting interests they were part of, including systems of film production and distribution, positions regarding the aesthetic approach to films, and the voices of and on the mining industry. This is followed by a theoretical discussion in which I situate my focus on versatility within previous research.

Introducing the case studies in a broader Swedish historical context

Although beneficial to the corporations that commissioned the films, the spaces for them in society were found, and in part driven and designed, by others of high societal standing who argued for their public good. Commissioning films for broader audiences therefore risked being wasteful for the commissioner if their ideas were not aligned with what other institutions needed or wanted to see. Swedish companies rarely invested in separate film departments; instead film was one of many media forms of concern in their information departments. Beyond the commissioner and the
producer, who had a limited role in distributing of the films, there were several agencies and agents beyond their direct control that had a say in the use of films before they reached external audiences. While film was far from a new medium by the end of World War 2, questions of what commissioned films should be or do in Sweden were far from settled as new institutions and voices staked their claims on directions of the media form. At the centre of these discussions was the potential for commissioned films to work broadly beyond internal use in their own companies.

The dominance of a vertically integrated film environment in Sweden during the time frame of the thesis meant that large film companies such as Svensk Filmin industri (SF), Sandrews, and Sveriges Folkbiografer managed both production and theatrical distribution.10 The predominant scholarly approach to the Swedish film industry has been about companies as institutions of commercial entertainment film. Here, a more direct and straightforward connection between film companies and audiences often emerges without much emphasis on intermediaries between the two.

The introduction of the commissioner as a third party in a film production meant that film companies took on an intermediary role between the commissioner and potential audiences, while also being a main collaborator alongside the commissioner on the film text. Although commissioners financed these short film productions, greater prestige and financial returns for film companies lay in commercial feature film production and distribution. This prioritization of the feature film in cinemas, mainly in the form of entertainment film, was also seen from the consumer’s perspective, who paid tickets for the feature film while short films, including commissioned films, were projected as a pre-film programme included in the price of admission.

With short films lacking a featured status in the theatrical space, commissioners looked to a large extent beyond projection in cinemas. The same film production companies were also involved in this alternative distribution — for example, the largest production company, Svensk Filmin industri, which distributed educational films from 1921 to 1961 via their department devoted to films for schools (Skolfilma delningen).11 The less spatially restricted nature of non-theatrical exhibition also involved other intermediaries working with commissioned films in an unofficial or more

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10 Sveriges Folkbiografer’s film production was largely operated by Nordisk Tonefilm, for which they were the sole proprietor from 1949 to its bankruptcy in the late 1960s.

official capacity. An example of the former discovered in this thesis is early public service television, which was introduced to Sweden in 1956 with what became known as Radio Sweden (Sveriges Radio, SR). Here, films commissioned by mining companies could be broadcast alongside other programmes, with no apparent direct involvement from the broadcaster in their production. An example of the latter was the PA Council, which worked in part as a management and communication consultancy for industry between 1952 to 1980. Promoting themselves also as a film consultancy that could assist industry in reaching their film goals, this council provided corporations with film and other audiovisual media as an aid, but also contributed to films productions and their distribution directly.

For these endeavours outside the film theatre, the versatility of film texts was vital because there were many viable projection contexts. Two aspects of this versatility that were often interconnected were the broad desire for films to work as instruments in society (to educate and instruct audiences) and the desire to avoid coming across as direct advertising. Both downplayed connections between film and its benefits for the commissioner. Although advertisements were common — for example, in newspapers and in a designated slot in cinema programmes in the format of short commercials (reklamfilm or annonsfilm), often at 35-metre length (circa 76 seconds)\textsuperscript{12} — any resemblance to advertising in longer film texts was generally unwelcome in many spaces including educational institutions and work councils. Swedish television prohibited direct advertisements. The PA Council did not promote a connection between advertising and audiovisual aids, instead working with films that more directly addressed aspects of work-life research and industrial productivity that they were involved with beyond their film section. Yet as I discuss in these case studies, the instrumentality of films on mining could hardly be separated at some level from being promotion for the companies. Commissioned films becoming viable content for Radio Sweden in the early years meant having to negotiate how they fit within their vague conceptualization of public service television without advertising. Meanwhile, the PA Council was unable to dissociate itself from the promotion of company management strategies, given that they were themselves involved with research on productivity in industry.

These issues of looking at films as instruments also extended to constrictions around the voice of industry via these films. In case studies surrounding the mining companies Boliden, Grängesberg, LKAB, and Stora

\textsuperscript{12} Length of cinema commercials could vary between 35-70 metres in Scandinavian cinemas according to a transnational comparison provided by Yvonne Zimmermann based on Swiss archival sources. Yvonne Zimmermann, “Advertising and Film: A Topological Approach,” in Films that Sell: Moving Pictures and Advertising, ed. Bo Florin, Nico de Klerk, and Patrick Vonderau (London: British Film Institute, 2016), 28.
Kopparbergs Bergslags AB, I point to films as producing limited instrumental views of land use and forms of work management. Although they were limited in the sense of not making room for the voices of Sámi and workers, they were versatile as a general promotion of the status quo in a calm ideological climate in the 1950s and 1960s regarding industrial politics.

Adding a sense of stability was the fact that the Social Democrats would be in government for the whole period. Their adoption of a version of Keynesian macroeconomic theory of soft state intervention through fiscal and monetary policy post-WW2 coincided with a booming economy that would last until the oil and steel crisis in the early 1970s. A factor of the nonpartisan climate was a Swedish modification to the Keynesian approach called the Rehn-Meidner model, which pushed the interests of worker unions and employer unions in the direction of higher industrial productivity.\footnote{13} Here, setting the salary rates for workers in all industries became based on companies with above average levels of productivity, in theory incentivizing workers and companies alike to become more productive: the former via increased pay for the same job, the latter to ensure healthy profit margins.

Prior to these changes between 1945 and 1948, a heated and polarized ideological debate had arisen around democratizing the economic system, with the labour movement (Arbetarrörelsen) on one side leaning towards planned economy and on the other, SAF and Federation of Swedish Industries (Sveriges Industriförbund) campaigning for free enterprise.\footnote{14} With SAF and others not feeling threatened by a radical labour movement in the 1950s and 1960s, the film section of their subsidiary consultancy the PA Council was from its establishment in 1952 not used for direct campaigning for the privatization of industry.

Instead, there was a climate of approaching film as useful for industry beyond its function as a campaign instrument and more broadly as an instrument providing education and information. Although the labour movement emphasized social commentary to a stronger degree than industrial companies, previous research on film activities within the labour movement sees a similar emphasis on film as needing to be imbued with didacticism.\footnote{15}

The quality of film was here, as I will show in my case studies on industry-commissioned films, associated with ideas about film as a tool for learning and informing. Industry-commissioned films—particularly those that were not seen as advertisements—could therefore be made versatile by being associated with having instrumental qualities to them.

In this environment the PA Council—while having ties to SAF, which a few years prior was actively on the side of free enterprise—sought to be an intermediary beyond recent partisan lines by becoming consultants on what film could offer in terms of knowledge on productivity. One such intermediary role was their position as a film consultant working between Swedish industries and OEEC’s productivity drive. Similarly, public service television in its early years was open to representing both state-owned and private industry interests, as seen with films on LKAB and Boliden respectively. Here, early television played the role of an intermediary for industry by not challenging the status quo on how industry was viewed. Versatility was therefore partly about films having a non-partisan approach with regards to dominant economic ideologies and did not move beyond a view of industry broadly accepted by institutions.

However, with new radical voices on industry emerging in the late 1960s, this elitist non-partisan approach to industry in moving images was challenged. Alternative views of the mining industry became a conspicuous national affair. On October 2, 1966, Swedish television broadcast the reportage *Svart vecka i Nimba* (“Dark week in Nimba”), which presented the Swedish mining company Grängesbergsbolaget as an oppressive, colonialist force in their operations in Liberia. In 1968, a year before the much-televisioned great mining strike started in the mining company LKAB, Sara Lidman’s book *Gruva* (“The Mine”) objected to the previously established image of Swedish mining. Photographs taken by Odd Uhrbom of miners were presented together with Lidman’s interviews of workers in LKAB’s mines in Kiruna and Svappavaara (Northern Sámi: Veaikevärri, Meänkieli: Vaskivuori). Both suggested a dark ecology to contemporary work underground that was not presented in the commissioned films. By playing down these conditions, the mining companies had contributed to the political silencing of their exploitation of land and the labour force. In one of the more famous passages in *Gruva*, one miner is quoted as saying:

I don't mean to complain... But I and many, many with me who work dutifully... we feel excluded, eaten away, frozen out, reprimanded, controlled, weighed, and measured... in short, we feel as if time goes by without us gaining access to a meaningful togetherness where the work should be the most

valuable part of the whole. Now it is considered an inevitable evil. The whole existence should be more human... One should be able to go out one night just to check the weather and meet a friend on the same errand and one should be able to go back in without looking at the clock and without that fist around the heart... in two hours you must go to work... in five years you will be deaf... in ten no one will recognize you.16

Gruva was noteworthy as a publication that opened much debate regarding its biases and potential good or harm – but also about working conditions in Swedish industry. Unlike feature films such as Arne Mattsson’s Männen i mörker (Men in the Dark, Nordisk Tonefilm, 1955), which had illustrated negative aspects of the mine as a workplace, it was not immediately treated by both critics and worker unions as fiction.17 While mental and physical toll, injury, and death from working in the mines had been well known as an internal tragedy, to make these issues visible to the public through a publication that appealed to their emotions via its focus on the worker contested what had been previously shown: the health of the worker as in alignment with the system that builds upon its labour. While there had always been depictions of the mines through films, photography, and other audiovisual technologies, Gruva shifted the lens momentarily away from an institutionalized idealism and an educational focus on the work that was most frequently seen at the time through the mining companies’ own commissions.

Another part of the context around the versatility of commissioned film considered for this thesis is its connection to the status of short films at the time. Because there was no designated short film policy and no state subsidies for their production in Sweden between 1945 and 1965, commissioned film was, at least in theory, an important source of financial support for experimentation and film art. Given this production reality and a system geared towards feature film, most short films produced in Sweden had one or several commissioners behind them financially. While an instrumental

16 Sara Lidman, Gruva (Stockholm: Alb. Bonniers boktryckeri, 1968), 122. Original citation: “Jag menar inte att beklaga mig ... Men jag och många många med mig som arbetar pliktroget ... vi känner oss uteavstås, avsnästa, utfrusna, tillrättavisade, kontrollerade, vägda och mätta ... kort sagt vi känner det som att tiden går utan att vi får inträde i en meningsfull samvaro där arbetet skulle kunna vara den värdefullaste delen av det hela. Nu ses det som något ofrånkomligt ont. Hela tillvaron skulle kunna vara mer människovänlig ... Man skulle kunna gå ut en natt bara för att se på väderet och träffa en kompis i samma ärende och man skulle kunna gå in igen utan att titta på klockan och utan den där knyttnäven runt hjärtat ... om två timmar ska du till jobbet ... om fem är är du döv ... om tie känner ingen igen dig ...”

17 “Gruvfilm väcker fackprotester. ”Osann, skrämmande skildring,” Svenska Dagbladet, March 24, 1955, 8. The film was largely criticized for an unrealistic and harmful depiction of workers. In an interview with director Arne Mattsson for this article, he states that he was refused access to film the workers’ living quarters. 

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approach could add to a film’s viability in varied projection settings, there was at the same time a growing aesthetic concern raised by film professionals around the short film medium becoming bereft of experimentation and variety.

The establishment of the Swedish Film Institute and a radical turn in film policy in 1963 towards the subsidization of film projects based on evaluations of quality combatted commercialization in feature film production but did not pay particular attention to the situation for short films. As before, no earmarked subsidies were available for independent short film production. Coinciding with the new film policy was a short-term willingness by industry commissioners to experiment with moving images. However, they soon returned to established formulas. Because conditions for independent short film productions were not substantially improved, filmmakers’ dependency on working on commissions remained. That this system benefitted commissioners was downplayed by SFI, who defended a system of evaluation of films based on quality separate from production or commission context. This case is indicative of the versatility of commissioned films paradoxically depending on intermediaries attaching little importance to them being commissioned.

Beyond periphery: Positioning versatility in previous research

In this section, I will discuss how my study builds on previous research. My theoretical and methodological approaches are rooted in the research of so-called useful cinema, which studies the use of films in institutions – a field which gained traction around the early 2010s. The particular emphasis on versatility throughout the thesis attempts to promote an understanding of the use of commissioned film as ubiquitous, rather than the notion of it as a distinct phenomenon.

Below, I build towards an argument that research could have a clearer focus on “usefulness” as something negotiated around the need to establish films as mutually beneficial for several actors, rather than a limited focus on its benefits for singular institutions. The former lens on how versatility occurs is better equipped to understand the role of all actors involved in the production and circulation of commissioned texts, especially when their interests in how to use them differed. I begin the argument, however, by presenting how focusing on commissioned films and their use as something distinct risks making film history writings about them marginal in themselves. One potential inclination towards such idiosyncrasy is treating commissioned films as a distinct type of film text, which the early considerations of industry-
commissioned films were born out of. A problem with this approach is that it risks limiting the texts of interest to study exclusively to archetypical images of industry. Another potential inclination is attributing the usefulness of films to one institution, such as what a film does for the commissioning body. Here, a potential problem is that we become no closer to understanding their use in society outside of the chosen institution’s direct control, which while often more visible, might be overstated.

Both these approaches risk placing commissioned films into film cultures isolated from the broader history of film as an applied medium. Here, I encourage attempting to connect the often more hidden dots between the contexts around the commission with the conditions for films as a medium more broadly, such as overarching policies and intermediaries without direct association to commissions. This section is followed by a segment on past research on the institutionalization of commissioned films in Sweden.

**Origins of industry-commissioned film research as idiosyncratic texts**

In recent decades, research within cinema studies has become interested in cinema’s own archaeology beyond that of the entertainment film. Films commissioned by industry had not previously been a topic of scholarly interest, unless in the approach of advertisement as minute-long ads, spots, or commercials (reklamfilm or annonsfilm) that aimed, for example, to sell a branded product. Commercials in this limited sense are outside of the scope of the thesis due to them playing a very small role for mining companies, as they were not producing products directly for the consumer market. Generally speaking, research on commercials has focused on their potential effect, appeal and message in society isolated from other non-fiction film contexts. In the anthology Films That Sell, Yvonne Zimmermann describes scholarship on commercials as often approaching advertisement in a “narrow sense”, while encouraging a broader perspective on advertising as a rhetoric of persuasion through a variety of moving image formats. Consequently, researching advertising in its “broader sense” beyond commercials requires

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18 The exception is Fagersta, which produced studs for winter tires under their brand SECOMET. A couple of commercials from 1963-1965 exists in their archives, mainly demonstrating the use of studded tires in rallying.

19 Zimmermann, “Advertising and Film,” 22.
taking an interest in its “generic diversity” and the variations of its historical contexts, use and utility.20

Early approaches to a broader history of commissioned films tended to treat industrial films as a category of film text rather than viewing industry-commissioned film as highlighting specific contexts of the study of film. This was happening at the same time as cinema studies became more interested in exploring its source material through archival research. Invested from the late 1970s in exploring the origins of film beyond an auteur approach, research on early cinema presented the potential of a wealth and diversity of primary and secondary sources. The 1978 International Federation of Film Archives (FIAF) conference – bringing archivists and scholars together to see around 600 early films – has been noted as a possible origin point for both early cinema research and New Film History and its commitment to the archive as a source for developing film history further.21 This focus on archives also brought forward another key development, pointing to film culture thriving beyond the commercial entertainment cinema via the so-called nontheatrical film.22 Researching commissioned films outside of this cinema has been key to understanding their everyday presence and functions.23

20 Zimmermann, “Advertising and Film,” 23.
21 The New Film History movement has been described by media historian James Chapman as an approach where “film is understood as a complex cultural artefact whose form and content are the outcome of many processes – ideological, industrial, economic, technological, social, aesthetic – that shape the final product.” James Chapman, Film and History (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 30.
Faced with new modes of inquiry into archives, researchers had to come to terms with early forms of commissioned film and films about industry. In researching early non-fiction film forms before the documentary, Tom Gunning defines “process film” as a “view genre” – meaning a form of actuality film presenting the development of raw material into finished products. Gunning does not give specific emphasis to process films commissioned by industry here; rather, this “view aesthetic” may be seen in non-commissioned works as well. However, he makes a link to industry by concluding that these views of process “enact […] a basic narrative of industrial capitalism.” Speaking to the potential pedagogical significance of showing industrial process as part of education, Elizabeth Wiatr has suggested that it boiled down to moving from an understanding of industry as a subject to be visualized, to film on industry as an aid to a general training of visualization. Wiatr argues that films showing industrial processes could address the impossibility of representing the limitless nature of capitalism through their potential to engage the viewer from seeing the concrete process in the image, to seeing the abstract beyond it – “to imagine off-screen space” – for example, through intertitles.

The term “process film” has long been treated synonymously with the term “industrial film”, both terms prioritizing what is shown rather than their potential commission context. While the terms “industrial film” and the Swedish term industrifilm have been used both in research and historically after the early cinema period, they are vague terms not clearly defined beyond this period and therefore used cautiously here. Jennifer Lynn Peterson’s entry for “industrial films” in Encyclopedia of Early Cinema suggests that

27 In the book Kallprat om film published in 1928, John Magnus Ragnar Larson Ring (alias Lasse Ring), director of Hasse W. Tullbergs filmindustri describes “industrial films” as “cheap” and “smooth recordings” of industry. It is possible therefore that the term industrifilm was also attached to a certain “view aesthetic” in Sweden. Lasse Ring, Kallprat om film (Stockholm: A.-B. Tullbergs films förlag, 1928), 26.
industrial films tried to “educate audiences about technology and to demystify industrial production through the observation of process”.\textsuperscript{28} Peterson goes on to note that up until around 1912, the term “industrial” was a common category in film catalogues and as a term used in the trade press. Given that these films were shown as part of regular screening packages, the term and approach to “industrial” were purposeful as they guaranteed a different content to other content such as “news events” and “sports”. As Peterson suggests, the terms may have had a practical function as inventories of what exists in the world.\textsuperscript{29}

However, as Salomé Aguilera Skvirsky points out, making the terms “process film” and “industrial film” synonymous risks seeing the aesthetics of labour as exclusively “industrial”.\textsuperscript{30} In her revised definition of a “process genre”, industry-commissioned films are just one of many forms of film attentive to processes.\textsuperscript{31} Showing processes – such as the loading of train carts at a mining site – is not inherently exclusive to films commissioned by industry, but may find its way into fiction film, independent documentaries, experimental works, or other forms of commissions.\textsuperscript{32}

The point of diverging from earlier terms such as industrial film and process film here is also to not reduce our conception of industry-commissioned film to being only about representing industrial process. While industry often commissioned films that show processes in the time frame of this thesis, earlier research shows that process images originated outside of industry and were imported from popular film forms.\textsuperscript{33} In his case study of early British industrial film, Harry Parker observes that few of the films narratively and temporally stuck to presenting processes coherently; instead

\textsuperscript{29} Lynn Peterson, “industrial films,” 321.
\textsuperscript{31} For example, Skvirsky included the installation of an ice window in an igloo in Nanook of the North and the heist sequence in the fiction film Rififi (1955) as examples to explain what the process genre may consist of. Skvirsky sees, however, a limitation to the genre that it cannot easily represent affective labour.
\textsuperscript{32} Sara Anne Gooch’s PhD thesis on the mediation of the steel industry is a noteworthy contribution in looking various industrial images together, including industry-commissioned films, 1930s documentaries, experimental film, and dystopian Hollywood films. Sara Anne Gooch, “Mediating the mill: steel production in film,” (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 2012), 13.
they often presented industrial sequences out of order and featured visually excessive “views” that confused such logics. While “‘industrial film’ emerged as a generic marker” by being linked with possible educational benefits in the early trade press, the films themselves did not necessarily live up to these ideals. Investigating the differences and overlaps between industry-commissioned films and worker union films in West Germany after 1945, Stefan Moitra argues that neither presented consistency in the portrayal of industry. While working in different institutional contexts, the worker union films intentionally avoided breaking stylistically or thematically with films commissioned by companies themselves.

Rather than being tied to specific genres, then, or being a genre of film itself, industrial films were produced according to different approaches, particularly if they were believed to have a purpose for the organization. For example, one of the case studies on a film commissioned by the mining company Grängesbergsbolaget in Chapter 2 features no images from the company in question. But as we see in Chapter 1 and Chapter 4, commissioners could be unwilling to depart from established traditions. My point is therefore not to reject that there were recurring traits and narratives to industry-commissioned films, but to challenge the idea of treating these findings as ways to distinguish these texts from others. Commissioned films did not necessarily have a clearly distinguishable way of representing industry to public service television as explored in Chapter 3, for instance. A recurring point made in this thesis is that similarities to known film forms were key to their versatility.

Medieverbund and the A.R.T.s

An influential text for moving away from thinking of industry-commissioned films as a fixed category has been the anthology Films that Work. Although the term industrial film (albeit loosely) is used throughout, Films that Work was among the cornerstone anthologies published around the early 2010s that led to considering terms such as “industrial film”,

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35 Parker, “‘View’ and ‘Process’,,” 2.
36 Stefan Moitra, “‘Reality Is There, but It’s Manipulated’: West German Trade Unions and Film after 1945,” in Films that Work: Industrial Film and the Productivity of Media, ed. Vinzenz Hediger and Patrick Vonderau (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 331.
37 Vinzenz Hediger and Patrick Vonderau, eds., Films that Work: Industrial Film and the Productivity of Media (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009).
“educational film”, and “instructional film” not as a phylum of films with its own morphological characteristics but rather as rooted in organizational origin and behaviour. Thomas Elsaesser here suggests that researching such films is partly about looking beyond earlier categorizations such as avant-garde, documentary and advertising film and instead seeing non-fiction as part of a Medieverbund – here understood as a network of media practices focused around spaces, initiatives and/or their associations. Importantly, the idea of the Medieverbund can be made antithetical to the idea of isolated “cinemas” and texts when we consider medias and intermediaries broadly.

To explore these aspects, Elsaesser suggests that we should approach films with a practically-oriented curiosity by asking about the “three As”: who was the commissioner (the Auftraggeber); the occasion(s) they were part of (the Anlass); and “to what use was it put or to whom was it addressed” (the Adressat). These three prompts guided the initial research for the thesis and were important in discovering the intermediaries they were involved with. I then asked the same questions of the films in the context of the intermediaries they were part of: for example, what were their Anlass as part of the PA Council, in the context of the Swedish Film Institute, and on television? The versatile status of industry-commissioned films through intermediaries, both in terms of persistent and locally adapted qualities, can then be gauged from both the overlapping and separating aspects of the “three As”.

Although it is handy as an initial starting point to better understand the complexity of the material, Elsaesser warns that looking for the three As could lead the researcher down a long road chasing archival traces without certainty of finding satisfying answers. This could certainly become the case if one tries to map all occasions of a film text. In the same anthology, Vinzenz Hediger and Vonderau, eds., Films that Work: Industrial Film and the Productivity of Media, ed. Vinzenz Hediger and Patrick Vonderau (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 22.


Hediger and Patrick Vonderau therefore suggest three other one-word prompts for researchers that are arguably particularly suited to providing insight to their persistent traits for an organization. These are referred to as the “three Rs”: how media contribute to the industry’s institutional memory (Record), are used to “induce in their audience a spirit of cooperation” (Rhetoric), and optimize performance in all areas of the organization (Rationalization). These prompts are particularly equipped for the study of individual film use in the internal communication between workers and a company, which is outside the scope of this thesis. Previous research on films for internal management has been particularly focused on their rhetoric and rationalization.

More relevant to this study of versatility are the three Ts that were established in the introduction to the anthology Films That Sell. Here, Patrick Vonderau points out that films are also characterized by being transient, having diverse topographies, and repeating topoi. By transient, Vonderau refers to the films as always changing, sometimes in a practical sense in terms of different versions of the same title. In the films researched for this thesis, there were few films for which I have found different versions, but the notion of media being transient is here extended to refer to their role in relation to intermediaries. As seen in Chapter 2, for example, the PA Council

42 Hediger and Vonderau, “Record, Rhetoric, Rationalization,” 37.
43 Hediger and Vonderau, “Record, Rhetoric, Rationalization,” 40-42.
44 Ramón Reichert makes a distinction between work-study films – films about optimizing work processes and worker performances by showing work concretely—and the more abstract management films, which try to represent its function in part of business. Textual analysis on the latter points to how they embody corporate solutions to social problems and relations between management and workers – it is perhaps in these films produced for internal purposes in which the “corporate voice” become most distinct. Ramón Reichert, “Behaviorism, Animation, and Effective Cinema: The McGraw-Hill Industrial Management Film Series and the Visual Culture of Management,” in Films That Work: Industrial Film and the Productivity of Media, ed. Vinzenz Hediger and Patrick Vonderau (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 283-285. In a case study on videos by a network of US telecommunications companies called the Bell System that aimed at improving workplace racial integration, Heide Solbrig suggest that the films did little to contribute to changing social segregation. Instead, by being committed to economic rather than political concerns, they impacted citizenship by shaping it as economic through putting an emphasis on productivity over social change. Heide Solbrig, “The Personnel Is Political: Voice and Citizenship in Affirmative-Action Videos in the Bell System, 1970-1984,” in Films That Work: Industrial Film and the Productivity of Media, ed. Vinzenz Hediger and Patrick Vonderau (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 259-282.
experimented with putting films in their catalogues under different categories and descriptions, so the films were therefore not “fixed” to one space even if there were no different versions made. The term *topographies* refers to the notion of charting the sites where such films are screened. This is an important factor to keep in mind when exploring their versatility. For example, having an overview of the different screening situations of a film commissioned by Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags AB in Chapter 1 becomes essential to understanding disagreements surrounding its aesthetics. While I do not frame the analysis of the films in the thesis around how they share *topoi* such as recurring themes and structures, Chapter 4 delves into this sameness as a potential challenge to their versatility.

### A distinct film culture? The *useful cinema* paradigm

Vonderau notes that these “three Ts” summarize a turn towards researching commissioned films from their individual use to an institutional outlook. This perspective on how institutions have used film in society has become popularized under the term “useful cinema” from the anthology bearing the same name edited by Haidee Wasson and Charles R. Acland. Partly coined to highlight an alternative and vibrant institution of film which has existed parallel to commercial entertainment landscapes such as Hollywood, they suggest useful cinema as a broad term for films and celluloid technologies that “do something in particular” in and for organizations.\(^\text{46}\) Here, films and their technologies are suggested as “serving as instruments in an ongoing struggle for aesthetic, social and political capital."\(^\text{47}\)

Since then, the term useful cinema has been used in numerous books, articles, and PhD dissertations to refer both to a film landscape beyond art and entertainment cinemas and as an approach to study how films have been used. In this regard, Kit Hughes has suggested that we might think of use in terms of “targets” – for example, of films targeting “emotions, actions, beliefs, knowledge, attitudes.”\(^\text{48}\) Because their use is not tied specifically to the cinema space, but takes place in many different screening situations including schools, prisons, factories, unions, clubs, boardrooms, outdoor venues or as part of

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\(^\text{48}\) Kit Hughes, “‘For Pete's Sake, I'm Not Trying to Entertain These People’: Film and Franchising at International Harvester,” *Film History* 27, no. 3 (2015): 43.
In line with the useful cinema approach, this thesis similarly moves away from researching commissioned films as morphology and limiting the analysis of use to individual companies, such as specific mining companies. This approach attempts to avoid treating certain images and sounds of a film as corporate or industrial peculiarities. Yet, at least in the research of films commissioned by industry, there is another potential source of idiosyncratic reading of film use when individual companies are treated as institutionalizing it themselves.

Three examples from the growing scholarship on films commissioned by the Ford company point to different conclusions regarding Ford’s own role and power over their commissioned films and their use. In *Rhetoric Inc.: Ford’s Filmmaking and the Rise of Corporatism*, Timothy Johnson concludes through textual analysis and investigating Ford’s archives that “Ford consistently generated powerful and cohesive economic stories” through film. To Johnson, the rhetorical strategies of the films become evidence of Ford as a rhetorical actor, whose rhetoric on society was conveyed over decades of films. In a chapter in the anthology *Learning with the Lights Off*, which focuses on the history of US educational cinema, Lee Grieveson connects the investment in films by the Ford company in the 1910s and 1920s US to a visual instruction movement hoping that cinema could be used to form and manage citizenship. With films presenting lessons on American history and its political economy, and in labelling its film programme as a pedagogic project, Ford designed films to become a source for civic education in the US educational sector. Grieveson notes that entry into the educational sector with industry-commissioned films depended on institutional belief in the transformative effect of cinema on education and the level of anxiety regarding its negative effects – but does not elaborate on this aspect in this contribution.

However, as Katy Peplin demonstrates in her research into their distribution, Ford could not make headway into the educational film system

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with films when they were not believed to have pedagogical significance. Neither were Ford’s films readily welcomed into movie theatres if exhibitors understood the films as advertisements, especially if they were to be shown at a cost to the corporation. Peplin’s contribution is a necessary reminder to look beyond corporate sources and histories when researching their commissioned films and their use. Peplin presents a case in which Ford did not credit other collaborators in their filmmaking efforts. Furthermore, Ford’s film output was met with scepticism in trade papers, which was not presented in Ford’s own narrative of its filmmaking endeavours. These two challenges to films being useful are not clearly stated and are arguably missing in these accounts by Johnson and Grieveson which largely support their findings with Ford’s own publications, texts, and archival remnants. A limitation of this omission is the assumption of consensus and success regarding use and ascribing only a limited selection of entrepreneurs with the agency to determining the uses of films.

Versatility as located within institutionalization

One challenge of researching commissioned media, then, is looking beyond the lingering assumption of singular institutional control. In a recent contribution, Patrick Vonderau problematizes the tradition of attributing sole authorships to institutions, as has for example been the case in research on advertisements, where it is “impl[ied] that ads are identical to their institutional function(s), or made to maintain and reproduce the institution.”

What risks being lost in such readings are the more concealed historical details that point to relations between an institution and other agencies that were involved. It is therefore desirable for research to move from thinking of stable institutions to coming to grips with the more modular and reactive concept of institutionalization. Vonderau here refers to Cynthia B. Meyers’s research on radio admen, which focuses on advertising not as one stable institution,

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but a diverse set of institutions and practices, complex and contradictory, pulled this way and that by tensions, competing world views, and internal doubts about its use and effectiveness.\textsuperscript{55}

A similar perspective is taken by C. Claire Thomson in her research on the Danish informational cinema scene between 1935–1965, in which she argues that this national structure of film use was produced “as texts, as reels and as a concept” by various actors through the formation of the complex networks itself:

Informational films become informational films as and when the network crystallises – differently in different places at different times. This is as much a matter of matter as it is of travelling concepts.\textsuperscript{56}

What is of interest, then, is the complexity of how institutionalizations of film use occur in a broad sense, or, in other words, how film use is conceptualized and adapted to accommodate the interests of a variety of actors. This includes exploring negotiations around different approaches to film use, and if there were uncertainties about films being useful, and why this was the case. Given that my study does not focus on the audience perspective, nor on the screening situations of films, I mainly fix the lens on these questions towards the institutions themselves.\textsuperscript{57} In this approach, as I will return to under methodological approaches, we should be aware of corporate archives as historical agents in themselves that work to promote or erase historical contexts around use.

Here I follow Paul Monticone’s prompt in an article on the possible institutional failures of using films by US electricity organizations in the 1920s in considering useful cinema not as “a polemical assertion but a proposition that can be tested—qualified, refined, and made more precise—

\textsuperscript{56} C. Claire Thomson, Short Films from a Small Nation: Danish Informational Cinema 1935-1965 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), 42.
through further research”.  

For example, in their research into Frank and Lillian Gilbreth’s concept of the use of film for motion studies research in the 1910s, both Scott Curtis and Florian Hoof argue that its actual usefulness for this practical purpose is uncertain. However, the concept of use acquired interest as a potent example of the increasing belief in the tenets of visual management.

Nadine Chan offers another key interpretation by considering films as intrinsically “unruly objects” that depart from their original intentions and purposes. While recognizing film as powerful disciplinary tools of colonial governance, her dissertation on colonial educational films in British Malaya also points out how desired readings of films were not guaranteed. Writing on the prospect of showing films about venereal disease in the British colonies in the 1920s, there was much uncertainty among colonial officers regarding whether educational intent and design in film texts would turn into voyeuristic pleasures when shown to their intended audiences. While such pleasures were not seen as a concern for industry-commissioned films in Sweden, Chapter 4 explores uncertainties regarding commissioned films and the limitation of their versatility by being boring to audiences. Unlike Chan’s research, however, my focus is less on what impact this had for a particular audience-commissioner context but rather why this concern was emphasized by film professionals and whether there was a need by commissioners to address it.

My conceptualization of what film approaches are deemed versatile by institutions also draws from knowledge outside of the film business. In Zoë Druick’s research into the relations between non-fiction films and institutions, the concept of film use is closely tied to developments in biopolitics. In the book Projecting Canada, which analyses the documentary film approaches of The National Film Board of Canada, Druick rejects the notion that changes to the form of their output over the decades were merely reactions to previous

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documentary practices. In part, this notion was a response to Bill Nichols’s early notion of dominant modes of documentary forms as successive trends – for example, that an observational mode which avoids voiceover commentary was an attempt to overcome the deficiencies in the “earlier” and more didactic expository documentary. Later versions of the modes of documentaries by Nichols draw away from this idea of a timeline of trends.

Druick instead sees the use and textual approach of documentary film as influenced by its social policy and the developments of social science towards the management of populations. For example, popular social science techniques such as the representative sample help to understand an approach towards “typicality” and “statistical stories” in the films of the 1940s and 1950s. Yet importantly, Druick clarifies that this did not make films a straightforward biopolitical truth instrument; instead the National Film Board was also a space for innovative filmmaking fuelled by ambivalences regarding its task to build a manageable concept of the nation. Several examples in this thesis point to the versatility of film as affected by established forms of knowledge outside film, including postwar ideas of more personal corporate communication and how productivity is managed.

Conceptualizations of film use therefore served to protect established institutions. Therefore, established ideas of use and the versatility of film also needed to be protected from alternatives. In Lee Grieveson’s book *Cinema and the Wealth of Nations* film use is connected to the encoding and sustaining of liberal political economies benefitting a wide variety of corporate actors. Suggested alternative uses of film that pushed it away from sustaining oligopolistic markets, including ideas of film as a “public utility”, were therefore broadly resisted by institutions both linked to commissioned and commercial entertainment cinema, since this threatened existing practices. In Chapter 3, I argue that the inclusion of commissioned films on early public

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63 Zoë Druick, *Projecting Canada: Government Policy and Documentary Film at the National Film Board* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2007), 6-7 and 182.
service television was in part driven by Radio Sweden not wanting to address the concept of hidden advertising in their programming.

This dynamic of sustaining established forms is also about avoiding frictions. As I argue in this thesis, commissioned films becoming read as advertisements for companies became a worry surrounding their communication potential in a non-partisan climate in postwar Sweden. It could benefit both commissioners and intermediaries if the films were not treated as advertisements, but rather detached from them as unbiased and factual texts, even if there could be disagreement where one would draw the line on this concept. This kind of dynamic relates to how Vinzenz Hediger and Patrick Vonderau describe so-called industrial films as “a strategically weak and parasitic form” that take the appearance of other film forms such as that of the educational film or the documentary. In its original context, this description was zoomed in on an argument that industrial film is not a genre of film. Yet more generally, the notion of passing as other forms of film captures a central aspect of versatility as being about adapting to what has already been established, rather than doing something distinctly new.

However, in this broader application, using the words “weakness” and “parasitic” together has some connotations that may cloud the argument. Strategic weakness here does not mean that these films were wavering in terms of their narrative and purpose, but rather that they could use existing forms and approaches to strengthen them. Additionally, the idea of these film forms as parasitic may associate commissioned films with doing harm to a “host” form, but this approach can obscure mutual dependencies—or at least benefits. In Chapter 3, for example, I demonstrate how the passing of commissioned films as content for public service television benefited not only the public relations of a mining company, but also a television company needing to fill programme schedules on a budget. Here, we might follow Bert Hogenkamp’s suggestion that it would be helpful to understand media commissions in any given sphere as often establishing more mutualistic rather than parasitic relations. A dynamic emphasized by looking at the versatility of films is


therefore their mutualistic properties as instruments. Through intermediaries considering commissioned films as instruments for learning, for example, they could become promoted as detached from commissioner bias. This form of passing could be mutually beneficial.

The mutual notion of strategic weakness, perhaps better understood as a strength of passing, is of particular interest to this study of the versatility of commissioned films in that there was little need for an industrial commissioner of film to have a consistently divergent approach from films by the government and other respected institutions in their aesthetics or distribution, for example. Films could benefit from meeting institutional expectations of the medium to more easily move into various screening situations. For example, industry-commissioned films could hitch onto intermediaries as a transport vehicle, instead of the commissioner financing this distribution themselves.

Agreement, then, or at least some form of toleration of the idea of the films’ usefulness needed to be established beyond the commissioner’s own institutional reach and control. Recent contributions challenge, for example, the notion of singular institutions and their command over films in their physical movement. The place for commissioned films in society was not given or organically developed; instead, it depended on the shapes institutions took, for which the commissioner occasionally may have played a lesser role.

Empirical evidence for industry films passing as something else is presented in the anthology *Schaufenster Schweiz. Dokumentarische Gebrauchsfilme 1896-1964*, in which the authors serially analyzed 1,200 films of regional, private, and state commission origins about tourism, education, and industry. Through similarities of narratives, motives, and rhetoric about Switzerland across these various commissioners, the construction of national identity could be almost indistinguishable from a private company’s own.

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72 One largely overlooked historical aspect is that control of analogue film was largely relinquished to others when film copies were travelling, e.g., when “handled by shippers and porters, by customs officers, governmental authorities and projectionists.” John Sundholm, “Stuck on Ferrum: Oberhausen’s relations with the Swedish Film Institute 1963-1969,” *International Short Film Festival Oberhausen: re-selected Dossier 2*, (2023) [https://www.kurzfilmtage.de/en/archive/re-selected-dossier/#c6040](https://www.kurzfilmtage.de/en/archive/re-selected-dossier/#c6040). To travel with ease, film copies often needed to follow accepted travel standards in format that film producers and commissioners adhered to. For the film to travel tax-free across borders it required an agreement with custom offices that the film was for serious use, e.g., of educational value, through approved and appropriately filled out forms. See also: Mats Björkin, “Ports as nodes in film logistics: Swedish film agent Oscar Rosenberg in the years after the First World War,” *NECSUS European Journal of Media Studies* 12, no. 1 (2023): 115-166.
promotion. The history of non-fiction film in Switzerland then can be understood as a history of utility film.\textsuperscript{73}

In exploring how commissioned films were versatile in institutions we should not ignore their ability to pass as a form of exploitation when studying these relations, but rather be aware that this form of opportunism could be diverse and complex. Yvonne Zimmermann has recently argued for keeping in mind that there has existed a “robustness or persistence” of strategies and forms of screen advertising.\textsuperscript{74} Using early films showing industrial process as examples, Zimmermann describes these films as having always been about product placement (paid or not) and consumption, therefore functioning as “\textit{branded} object lessons” and “\textit{branded} instructive entertainment”.\textsuperscript{75} Consumption becomes actively promoted in these texts, not only in the sense of consumption of products after the film is over, but also in the act of viewing through consuming an imperial gaze offered through its images.\textsuperscript{76} Arguing that these are inherent aspects of commissioned films, Zimmermann suggests that we should be looking for localized adaptations of their persistent traits.\textsuperscript{77} A case in point is Fabian Zimmer’s research into films made by hydropower companies in France, Germany, and Sweden in the 1950s as forms of “emotional management”.\textsuperscript{78} Building on research on the emotional history of technology, he describes more complex and ambiguous attempts to redirect negative emotions regarding hydropower via films as these gained traction in the form of environmental organizations, for example. The varying strength level of protest movements in the three countries is shown by Zimmer to correspond to the ambiguity of technological optimism offered in the film texts.

To summarize, what is of interest, then, is not only what films did for a company or an institution, but also how versatile they were in their application by institutions. It is imperative that this research also explores beyond archives of commissioners and looks for archival traces of perceptions

\textsuperscript{73} Zimmermann, \textit{Schaufenster Schweiz}, 18.
\textsuperscript{76} Zimmermann writes of an imperial gaze that is promoted through approaches such as the use of expensive colour technologies in early process films, highlighting through stencilling non-whites as an “other” as a visual attraction to be consumed by the viewer. Zimmermann, “Early Cinema, Process Films, and Screen Advertising,” 42-44.
and practices of film use elsewhere. In the chapters of this thesis, I consider film as useful not as a given, but to explore attempts to control and harness the use of an unruly medium. By focusing on mining companies and intermediaries, then, I am looking at how film could be negotiated as a mutually beneficial instrument. The emphasis on versatility is, in this sense, looking at the institutionalization of the commissioned films’ ability to blend in. In the following, I describe trajectories of concepts of use of Swedish commissioned film discovered in previous research.

Previous research on institutionalization of commissioned films in Sweden

Most of the research on commissioned films in Sweden has occurred in the last twenty years, offering insight into a variety of commissioning contexts. As Erik Florin Persson points out in a historical overview of the commissioned film in Sweden, the Swedish term beställningsfilm becomes equivalent to terms such as commissioned or sponsored film in the English language.79 Like those umbrella terms, the term beställningsfilm was widely used historically to refer to both commissions from private companies as well as governmental organizations. The film production companies Europafilm and Svensk Filmindustri had separate departments for commissioned films (“beställningsfilmsavdelningar”), but other film companies were also involved in their production, including Artfilm, Minerva Film, Nordisk Tonefilm, P.A. Norsteds & söner, Sandrew-Ateljéerna, Suecia-Film, Svensk Kulturfilm and Svensk Talfilm.80

Earlier research on commissioned film in Sweden in the late 1990s presented perspectives on the production of industry-commissioned film. In Nordic Explorations: Film Before 1930, Mats Björkin offers some initial reflections on the production company AB Tullberg Film – among the first film production companies with a dedication to commissions from industry – and particularly the film Sverige och Svenska industrier (Sweden and Swedish

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industries, 1921), which featured Greta Garbo “to promote the products you need for modern warfare”.\textsuperscript{81}

Mats Björkin and Pelle Snickars later expanded on the Tullberg Film example in a chapter on Swedish non-fiction filmmaking and its reception in the 1920s and 1930s. One of the central insights here is that Tullberg’s production was archival in practice, as the company re-used and re-edited images and scenes for new productions.\textsuperscript{82} Thus, Tullberg’s productions of industry-commissioned films were “industrial compilations”.\textsuperscript{83} As Florin Persson has pointed out, the case of Tullberg Film presented by Björkin and Snickars is an early example of describing commissioned films as a transient practice.\textsuperscript{84} Björkin and Snickars’s chapter is also notable for describing a non-fiction film culture in the 1930s that had begun to extend to new institutions such as the museum, which had connections to radio via filmmakers such as Prince Wilhelm (son of Gustav V, King of Sweden), who appeared on both media forms.

**Paternalistic traditions**

These early examples pointed to commissioned films as having the potential to be broadly applied rather than being limited exclusively to matters directly involving industry, for example. Before and during the timeframe of the thesis, the use of film by institutions often took what has since been described as a paternalistic approach to educating broad sets of audiences. In his research on the temporary state control of film and image distribution and production through the National Board of Information (Statens informationsstyrelse, SIS) during the war, Mats Jönsson argues that a strategy of “visual upbringing” (visuell fostran) was developed.\textsuperscript{85} Prioritized in SIS’s approach was a subtler form of advocacy deemed as a more imperceptible way of controlling domestic opinions and creating a national community. Over


\textsuperscript{82} Mats Björkin and Pelle Snickars, “1923/1933 Production, Reception and Cultural Significance of Swedish Non-fiction Film,” in *Triumph der Bilder: Kultur- und Dokumentarfilme vor 1945 im internationalen Vergleich*, ed. Peter Zimmermann and Kay Hoffmann (Konstanz: UVK, 2003), 274.

\textsuperscript{83} Björkin and Snickars, “1923/1933,” 276.

\textsuperscript{84} Florin Persson, *Film i stadens tjänst*, 74.

\textsuperscript{85} Jönsson, *Visuellt fostran*, 18.
time, such strategies, including the use of metaphors, became part of the national cultural heritage, such as Bertil Almqvist’s image and slogan *En svensk tiger*, which was commissioned in 1941 by SIS for a vigilance campaign.  

While SIS was dissolved after World War 2, there is an indication that postwar propaganda initially stuck to similar approaches. For example, metaphorical approaches continued in films and images promoting work ideals in postwar Sweden. In one contribution, Mats Hyvönen investigates post-WW2 representations of work in films and images commissioned by the Bureau for Ekonomisk Information (“Economic Information”, EI), a cooperative body established by the Swedish Trade Union Confederation (Landsorganisationen, LO), the Swedish Confederation of Professional Employees (Tjänstemännens Centralorganisation, TCO), and SAF between 1949 and 1956.  

He argues that these commissions employed metaphors to create a uniform image of “the good work”. Metaphors of vehicles and “the team” (e.g., “we are all in the same boat”) connected individual work to the idea of it as a neutral and universal human activity. That these emphases towards cooperation occurred right after a fierce political debate regarding macroeconomic ideology which had put the labour movement at odds with SAF may not be coincidental. The distancing effect of metaphors at the same time dissociated the rhetoric from the new realities of work and its challenges.

It is also evident that the idea of national institutions as taking charge of using moving images for visual upbringing carried on in Sweden after the war. Support for a postwar paternalistic approach to audiovisual media has been identified, for example, in the research on television. Monika Djerf-Pierre has described early 1950s Swedish news broadcasting as a paternalistic regime where an educated elite took on roles as teachers of society.

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86 The sentence “En svensk tiger” has the double meaning of “a Swedish tiger” and “a Swede keeps silent”. It was originally made to encourage civilians to not spread information to foreign interests that may harm Swedish national security.  
88 Hyvönen, “Bilder av det “goda” arbetet,” 266-269.  
89 Hyvönen, “Bilder av det “goda” arbetet,” 269.  
Östling, Anton Jansson and Ragni Svensson Stringberg connect this institutionalized purpose of audiovisual communication to an older hierarchical tradition of cultural service, including the popular science “peasant lectures” (bondföreläsningar) in Sweden from the late 1890s. Cultural upbringing was also among the educative purposes assigned to television. For example, Malin Wahlberg’s research on “art propaganda” programmes point to how lecturing approaches to educating audiences in the arts were dominant early on but became less didactic in the 1960s. The associations with a paternal tradition in early public television is important to understand their use of commissioned films as analyzed in Chapter 3.

Propaganda and information as adjacent terms

With film becoming established as working in the service of institutions, lines were blurred regarding what could be seen as informational or as propaganda, and what these terms meant. Several authors have pointed to terms such as information and propaganda having historically been treated loosely and occasionally overlapping. Elin Gärdeström demonstrates in a study of advertisements in Sweden in the 1930s that relations between terms such as advertisement (reklam), propaganda, enlightenment (upplysning) and information were not distinct during a decade in which there were few pronounced negative associations with advertising. Towards the end of the
decade, associations with advertisement shifted from the concept of it as an instrument to sell a product, to becoming about the selling of the idea of the good life.95 As Mats Jönsson describes in an article tracing the institutionalization of non-fiction film in Sweden between 1920 and 1960, these approaches to advertising were aligned with the trademarking needs of the nation.96

Although this could shift advertisement closer to today’s more politically biased idea of propaganda, the word propaganda could have more neutral or even positive connotations in postwar Sweden. Fredrik Norén and Emil Stjernholm write in the introduction of an anthology on post-WW2 “public relations” in Sweden that propaganda could be used as a neutral term synonymous with information well into the 1960s.97 They therefore argue that there was no particular moment in which these terms were made distinct from each other; instead, relations to these terms were always changing.98 In a digital reading of parliamentary records between 1867 and 2019, Johan Jarlbrink and Fredrik Norén observe that the word propaganda was used in a positive or neutral sense in postwar Sweden.99 However, by the 1970s the number of issues with which the term was associated with a non-negative approach had sharply diminished.100

Other terms also similarly lacked strictly enforced definitions. In a chapter analysing SF’s educational film section, Stjernholm and Florin Persson see no consistency in the uses of terms such as educational film.101

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95 Gärdeström, Reklam och propaganda, 206.
97 Fredrik Norén and Emil Stjernholm, “Efterkrigstidens samhällskontakter: en inledning,” in Efterkrigstidens samhällskontakter, ed. Fredrik Norén and Emil Stjernholm (Lund: Mediehistoriskt arkiv, 2019), 10. The editors playfully use the word “samhällskontakter”, which can be translated to “society contacts”, instead of the term “public relations” to frame the anthology. As mentioned by the authors and as I will explain further in Chapter 1, the term was originally defined by Stig Arbman in 1946 as a Swedish translation of the term public relations.
100 Jarlbrink and Norén, “The rise and fall of ‘propaganda’”, 389. According to Table 4 on this page, propaganda could be used positively or neutrally in the 1950s to speak of productivity.
Nor was there consistency in their stance on whether films commissioned by industry should be treated as distinct from educational film and therefore used differently pedagogically.\textsuperscript{102}

On the one hand, the overlapping of terms could lead to decision paralysis regarding what a film should be or do, as Eva Blomberg describes in her research on the idea in the 1930s labour movement to produce a film about former Prime Minister Hjalmar Branting – which did not come into fruition.\textsuperscript{103} Among the issues the committees could not agree on was on how the film should address the need to be informational. In an article on two Swedish committees commissioning governmental informational films from 1945–1960, Fredrik Norén suggest that they were caught in a tricky balancing act between opposing logics of the film market versus the “logics of governmental information” – for example, in its approach to film as entertainment or as objective in its information.\textsuperscript{104}

As we will see in Chapter 1, commissioned films by private companies struggled with similar balancing of logics and had to come to grips with what terms such as advertising entailed textually. On the other hand, the blurred lines created an environment for vitalizing corporate communication as a form of audiovisual aid. Mats Björkin shows that the PA Council’s film activities (largely replacing Economic Information by the mid-1950s, as I discuss in Chapter 2), took a national approach to education about work and workplaces, treating film as a “contact-creating tool”\textsuperscript{105}. As Björkin has developed further in later works, contact became a key concept representing a shift in post-WW2 industry from emphasizing mass communication towards a desire for more targeted and personal interaction with society aligned with organizational theory.\textsuperscript{106} Embracing contact as a branch of knowledge became

\textsuperscript{102} Stjernholm and Florin Persson, “Ett filmbolag i samhällets tjänst?,” 52-53.
\textsuperscript{103} Blomberg, “Filmeändet – att utarbeta en filmpolitik,” 103-128.
a promise to make the most out of film and other media as a communication tool.

**A hegemony involving commissioned films**

Rather than one institution largely controlling film, as Jönsson argues for during WW2 via SIS, the postwar information media landscape has been described by Norén and Stjernholm as “a decentralized model with commercially driven features”. Yet in non-fiction film production and distribution, the decentralized system of many production companies and institutions involved with film was still working within a hegemony. From 1920 to 1960, Jönsson sees a long development that solidified and embraced top-down control of production of the non-fiction film. Non-fiction film culture was during this time establishing inner circles of professionals working on films for educational, advertising, or other purposes which kept amateurs at a distance. Yet such gatekeeping was welcomed through a system that encouraged conformism via the practice of “raising and fostering filmmakers” in “large collective processes within companies, institutions or organizations that were supervised and controlled from above”. This system encouraged prioritizing the commissioned short film over independent alternatives.

Support for top-down control of film was in part driven by political discourse. By looking at the debates in Swedish Government Official Reports (Statens Offentliga Utråden, SOU), Per Vesterlund observes that from the 1930s to the 1950s the idea of film as part of national politics became broadly accepted. Assisting direct associations between the state and films were initiatives such as the labour movement’s film activities, which eagerly discussed the societal role of film, albeit with an often “instrumental perspective” for film to be in service of pedagogy and social enlightenment.

Although there was an indication by the labour movement towards desiring

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109 Jönsson, “Non-Fiction Film Culture,” 143.
111 Vesterlund, “Den svenska modellen,” 239.
more democratic alternatives to, for example, the existing vertical monopoly of film companies, Vesterlund questions if these activities sought to detach themselves from the existing hegemony. The establishment of the Swedish Film Institute in 1963 would lead to a film policy separated from cultural policy. Yet, as I discuss in Chapter 4, this new institution also did not improve conditions for an independent short film alternative to the dominant practice of these being commissioned.

**Mining contexts**

**Defining mining**

The first images that often come to mind when talking about mining are those of terraforming because of excavation, such as open-pit mines or tunnels for underground mining. Giant machinery, such as excavators in strip mining (e.g., the Bagger 288) or ultra-class haul trucks (e.g., the Caterpillar series) are striking features often associated with the mining process. Globally, resources often associated with mining are precious metals such as gold, silver, and platinum alongside mineral gemstones such as diamonds and opals. These images obviously do not give the entire picture of what mining entails, nor are they all relevant if we consider the Swedish context.

Also, the popular image of mining is often isolated to the blasting process alone – that is, showing how rock is fragmented into pieces through drilling and the use of explosives. Yet, as the commissioned films make clear, mineral extraction does not stop at the level of blasting in a mine: most mining companies went through further processes such as, in the case of mining iron ore, liberalization (crushing and grinding rocks from the blast down to size) and separation of ore from unwanted material (flotation, followed by thickening, filtering, and drying) which would produce a mineral concentrate called pellets, and waste, called tailings. Most companies went further, using their ironworks to do metallurgical extraction to make metal. This process started off with smelting the mineral concentrate, which was then put through a converter and refined into metal, while producing slag as a rock-like waste by-product.

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According to a broad definition of the word, mining in English as well as in the Swedish language (gruvdrift, bergshantering) is the extraction from the earth of minerals or other geological materials deemed economically valuable. The International Standard Industrial Classification of All Economic Activities (ISIC), which was adopted by the United Nations in 1948, put “Mining and quarrying” as a separate section from “Agriculture, forestry and fishing” and “Manufacturing”, for example. In practice, The Central Bureau of Statistics in Sweden (Statistika centralbyrå, SCB) adopted this classification of these economic activities in their statistics, and produced yearly official statistics on “Metal and Mining Industries”.

This classification, as well as these national statistics, became an important way to initially limit my focus on mining based on historical conceptions. Here, the extraction of minerals includes solids such as ores and coal and liquids such as petroleum and gases. Within the timeframe of the thesis, no mining of liquids (such as petroleum) or gases occurred in Sweden. Oil was present, however, via films distributed by the Swedish offices of British Petroleum, Esso, and Royal Dutch Shell, but also by oil refinery companies in Sweden. According to the US Bureau of Mines Minerals Yearbook, oil refineries existed in Sweden during the timeframe of the thesis, but this industry belongs under the Manufacturing section according to ISIC and had no direct connection to the mining industry here. For our purposes, mining can further be divided into the extraction of metallic minerals, industrial minerals (also called nonmetals) and mineral fuels as per national statistics. Table 1 summarizes the minerals mined in Sweden in these three categories during the period of this study based on SCB national statistics from each year spanning 1945–1965, which gives an idea of the historical diversity of Swedish mining.

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115 A Swedish approach to ISIC was developed in in 1969 (Svensk standard för näringsgrenindelning). A joint Nordic-Standard Industrial Classification (NOR-SIC) was adopted in 1977, based on the UN 1968 ISIC.


Table 1: Minerals mined in Sweden 1945–1965 according to national statistics by SCB.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of mineral</th>
<th>Minerals mined (largest to smallest output)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Metallic</td>
<td>Iron ore, copper, lead, zinc, tungsten, pyrite, molybdenum, manganese, gold.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonmetals(^{119})</td>
<td>Clay, graphite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mineral fuel</td>
<td>Coal, oil shale</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among these minerals mined, the mining of metals, particularly iron ore, were much larger industries than those mining nonmetals and mineral fuel. The national mining statistics of Sweden for 1962, for instance, notes that the total production of coal (mainly operated by municipalities) for the year amounted to 496,732 tons. Iron ore production for the same year was 23.5 million tons, 17 million tons produced from a single ore field in Kirunaavaara (Northern Sámi: Gironvárri, Meänkieli: Kierunavaara) operated by LKAB.\(^{120}\)

That the official SCB annual statistics include the output of private companies made it possible to limit the later search of commissioned films to companies that had substantial mining activity. Initially, I noted down all Swedish companies that were mentioned in these statistics,\(^{121}\) but I would find out later that there was a strong correlation between the scale of extraction and the number of films commissioned. Below a certain level of activity, it does not seem likely that companies would invest in film as part of their communication strategy. Companies such as AB Yxsjö Gruvor operating a single mine with less than 100,000 tons yearly production have left no film

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\(^{119}\) National statistics are less detailed for nonmetals of lower significance.


\(^{121}\) For instance, the Belgian company Vieille-Montange operated a zinc mine in Åmmeberg, Örebro country from 1857. Foreign companies operating in Sweden, while minor, have not been included in the research, due to the potential difficulty in assessing if their films were commissioned in Sweden.
traces in my searches. Contributing to this phenomenon was that larger companies would take over most smaller companies operating a single mine by the late 1950s, leaving us with a handful of mining companies that have left traces of commissioned films: Boliden AB, Fagersta Bruks AB, Grängesbergsbolaget (also named Trafik AB Grängesberg–Oxelösund (TGO)), Höganäs AB, LKAB, Sandviken Jernverk, Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags AB, and Uddeholm AB. Apart from Höganäs, which also managed substantial coal and clay mining operations, all were predominately, at least in terms of minerals, mining iron ore. Of these companies, I include case studies from films commissioned by Boliden, Grängesbergsbolaget, LKAB, and Stora.

An alternative could have been to forego these more rigid definitions of mining and mining companies and consider more broadly the branch of “extractive industries” which mining is sometimes put together with, such as forestry, hunting, and fisheries. Rachel Webb Jekanowski’s PhD thesis, “A Nation of Fur, Fish and Fuel”, while not referencing the ISIC definition, does precisely this in her consideration of a “resource cinema” in Canada. Given the large quantities of commissioned films by Swedish companies working in these and other extractive industries, I found it more productive to specifically focus on mining in a narrow sense to limit options in archival exploration. Additionally, looking at extractive industries in a wider sense becomes more about understanding the negotiation of removal of finite resources in general terms, while this thesis explores films in relation to the specific contexts of the work environment and the colonial contexts of Swedish mining described below. Partly this choice of a narrow exploration of mining relates to the historical material itself. For example, companies such as Stora worked in both mining and forestry but treated them as separate endeavours organizationally and in their newsletters. Mining being traditionally treated as a particular line of work and culture was an aspect that commissioned films played into in the negotiation of land use, as analysed in Chapter 3.

Previous research on Swedish mining history

Mining in Sweden has roots back to at least the thirteenth century and was until the middle of the eighteenth century organized by bergslag, a form of cooperative of persons given rights through charters (bergsprivilegium) approved by the royal mining authorities. From early on, mining in Sweden has primarily taken place in the northernmost provinces Lappland and

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Norrbotten – land that is also part of Sápmi, as described in the next section – as well as Västerbotten and the Bergslagen region further south. The Bergslagen region is loosely defined as consisting of Västmanland, the southern parts of the Dalarna province, and the eastern part of the Värmland province. From the eighteenth century onwards, it became common that companies took over the ownership and operation of mines. From the mid-nineteenth century, hundreds of smaller mining businesses (hyttor, bruk) were gradually replaced by larger companies, which has been understood as a turn towards the modernization of mining as an industry. At the end of the nineteenth century, mining had moved from seasonal to year-round work with permanent staff. Women, who had worked in all aspects of mining in the pre-industrial period – averaging at around 15 percent of the workforce in the 1850s – were officially prohibited from working in mines underground in 1900 through a new work environment legislation (Arbetsmiljölagstiftningen 1900). This prohibition of women working as miners underground would last until 1978. In the time frame of the thesis and since, mining has been strongly associated with a masculinized industrial tradition where machismo is a trait associated with the ideal worker.

The written histories of Swedish twentieth century mining have traditionally followed the economic and technological development of larger companies. The earlier histories of the twentieth century were connected to the establishment of museums on industrial heritage from the 1900s, which were financed by the larger companies such as Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags AB. Writing about the history of industrial heritage in Sweden, Marie Nisser describes the treatment of history in these initiatives as “elitist” both in the sense that it was operated by leading figures in the industry and that it did

124 Some women were, however, given dispensation to work underground in canteens, in healthcare, in transport and as cleaners. Ringblom and Abrahamsson, “Omförhandling i gruvan?,” 40.
125 Eira Andersson’s PhD thesis investigated the experiences of masculinity in the LKAB underground mines between 2006-2007. Here, they note that during the time of study 88 percent of workers in the active mines in LKAB were men. Eira Andersson, “Malmens manliga mysterium: En interaktiv studie om kön och tradition i modernt gruvarbete,” (Ph. D. diss., Department of Social Sciences, Technology and Arts, Luleå University of Technology, 2012), 11.
126 Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags AB’s museum was founded in 1922.
not focus on the perspective of workers. With the foundation of Tekniska Museet in Stockholm in 1924 through the initiatives of Torsten Althin, industry history as a history of technology became firmly established in Sweden. During the timeframe of the thesis these approaches to the history of mining were dominant, as it was not until the mid-1970s that practices of industrial heritage included industrial environments in a wider sense, such as a historical examination and collection of materials on worker culture. Previously, it had been mainly artists who became preoccupied with such perspectives, including Selma Lagerlöf (Nils Holgerssons underbara resa genom Sverige), E.T.A. Hoffmann (Die Bergwerke zu Falun) and Gustaf Fröding (Nya dikter). The author Johan Falkberget, whose work from 1901 to 1963 largely dealt with the historical copper mining society Røros (Southern Sámi: Plaassja) in Norway, spoke of his oeuvre as channelling the perspective of the miner: “I am the miner, the mining comrade. I am that of being, feeling, – my poetry, my research is that of the miner and my view of everything is probably also his.”

Since the 1970s, writings on the history of Swedish mining have followed both traditional and new trajectories. Among those following traditional trajectories are the great number of historical books produced or commissioned by the mining companies themselves. The information manager and librarian Sven Rydberg – who also managed Stora’s museum and was in contact with film producers regarding films – continued the legacy of historians before him in writing a great number of books on the histories of the mining company based on their own archival material. A shared narrative across these books, as in many films that include a historical perspective, are of the company as a modernizer of rural mining communities around the turn of the twentieth century, a tricky economic situation around the First and Second World Wars, and of the 1950s and 1960s as the “record years” (rekordåren). More recent histories include the new economic uncertainty

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128 Nisser, “Industriminnen,” 80. Nisser traces these developments of the industrial archaeology field in Britain in the early 1970s.
129 A great amount of literature has been focused on the Falun miner Fet-Mats (Mats Israelsson, -1677). For an overview, see Bo G Jansson, Falu gruva i skönliteraturen: Med särskild hänsyn till dikteningen kring Fet-Mats-motivet (Falun: Högskolan Dalarna, 2012).
with the first oil and Steel Crisis (Stålkrisen) in the 1970s^131 and the associated great “mine death” (gruvdöden) throughout the 1970s and 1980s when mining in Bergslagen was largely shut down.\textsuperscript{132}

A common focus in the literature is also the increased mechanization and later automation of the labour. In the beginning of the twentieth century mining involved the use of augers, hammers, and dynamite in open-cast mines where tacit knowledge of the rock was essential to the work of the miner. The first mechanization largely happened in loading operations. When much of mining in Sweden moved underground during the 1950s and 1960s the entire mining process became gradually fully mechanized featuring machinery such as pneumatic drills, joy-loaders and diesel trucks. In 1966, LKAB were the first company in the world to introduce computers to control production flow via a Centralized Traffic Control system in their Kiruna mine.\textsuperscript{133} From the late 1980s until today, mining in Sweden has gradually become more automated and remotely controlled, turning the miner into an operator.\textsuperscript{134}

A great amount of more recent research also goes beyond the largely top-down company narratives. Work environment and medical research has, for example, focused on the occupational health risks of mining, including the silicosis disease (“miner’s lung”) that was most prominent from the 1930s until circa 1980,\textsuperscript{135} and more recently exposure to carcinogens such as crystalline silica and diesel exhaust underground.\textsuperscript{136} Occupational risks were


\textsuperscript{132} LKAB in Northern Sweden was saved from bankruptcy through an injection of approximately 6 billion SEK from the state in the early 1980s. For seven years before 1983, yearly loss averaged at around 500 million SEK. Ulf Eriksson, “Gruva och arbete: Kiirunavaara 1890-1990. Avsnitt IV: 1970-90,” (PhD diss., Department of Economic History, Uppsala University, 1991), 365.


\textsuperscript{134} Ulf Eriksson, “Gruva och arbete IV,” 368.

\textsuperscript{135} For an historical overview, see Annette Thörnquist, “The Silicosis Problem in the Swedish Iron and Steel Industry during the 20\textsuperscript{th} Century,” in \textit{Work Life, Work Environment and Work Safety in Transition: Historical and Sociological Perspectives on the Development in Sweden during the 20\textsuperscript{th} Century}, ed. Annette Thörnquist (Stockholm: Arbetslivsinstitutet, 2001), 71-101. Thörnquist notes that the problem of dust in industry was mainly handled between employers and workers in companies until the early 1960s, as governmental regulation at the time “concerned primarily the prevention of occupational accidents” (p. 71).

\textsuperscript{136} See e.g., Ingvar A Bergdahl, Håkan Jonsson, Kåre Eriksson, Lena Damber, and Bengt Järvholm, “Lung cancer and exposure to quartz and diesel exhaust in Swedish
not addressed in the films commissioned by the mining companies in the timeframe of the thesis. This separated film as a medium from, for example, the employee newsletters, which included descriptions of accidents at the workplace as well as obituaries for miners who died as a result. Yearly accident statistics reports by the Swedish Mining Confederation (Svenska Gruvföreningen) from the time give some idea of the prominent scale of accidents. In the year 1957, for instance, 1926 accidents were reported and from these 18 workers became fatally wounded. Mechanization was here considered a main factor in the number of deaths.

While primarily a technological history of LKAB from 1890 to 1990, Ulf Eriksson’s four-volume PhD thesis offers much detail regarding technological change in relation to work environments using both archival sources and an extensive number of interviews. His research on the post-WW2 development of the rationalization of work becomes central to the second chapter and its case study on the film *Varför så många tjänstemän?* (“Why so many office workers?”), Suecia Film for LKAB, 1960). Another valuable source here has been Tage Alalehto’s PhD thesis in sociology on attitudes regarding technological change in LKAB between 1946–1987. As LKAB became 96 percent government-owned in 1957, it was in the process of moving mining underground causing new challenges and doubts among mining engineers regarding which methods would be best suited.

While initially much less effective than open-cast mining, rapid technological advancement led to the decision to expand production despite tougher work conditions underground. Meeting quotas became a “daily struggle”, and in an “almost desperate” search for bottlenecks the idea of rationalizing the use of manpower became all-comprising among management. Old rationalization approaches favoured by workers due to the room they allowed for negotiation were thrown out and replaced by a piece-rate system based on Methods-Time-Measurement (MTM), which took the control of the production process away from the workers and moved it to

137 *Yrkesskadestatistik vid svenska malmgruvor år 1957*, Meddelanden från Svenska Gruvföreningen, no. 86, 1958, 1-5.
138 *Yrkesskadestatistik vid svenska malmgruvor år 1957*, 5.
140 Grängesbergsbolaget, or Trafik Grängesberg-Oxelösund (TGO), owned the final 4 percent until 1976.
planners and engineers – in doing so, legitimizing the construction of a large administrative apparatus. Supporters of this system included the labour union LO, which desired for more use of MTM in industry and collaborated with employer organizations regarding rationalization methods. The tightening of this system, Eriksson argues, is central to understanding the “LKAB-strike”, or “the Great Miner’s Strike” (stora gruvstrejken) between December 9, 1969 to February 4, 1970 when 4,700 workers without the support of LO gradually stopped their work.

This wildcat strike gained popular support and was frequently televised, and eventually led to the abandonment of the piece-rate system. In his review article of research on radicalization movements in Sweden in the 1960s and 1970s, historian Kjell Östberg states that the miners’ strike and the wave of wildcat strikes that would follow were particularly important for strengthening union laws, social reforms in day care, health and parental insurance and housing subsidies, but also for initiating the concept of Wage Earner funds (Löntagarfonder). According to oral historian Robert Nilsson Mohammadi, the strike has been made meaningful in part through solidarity movements that documented it, often using the participants’ own voices to narrate it. Tracing the use of voices from the miners and other participants in written publications and performing arts from 1968–2009 in one chapter of his PhD thesis, he notes that voices of the miners before the strike were used to create meaning in their work, while productions after the strike used voices as a witness of the reality of the mines. Sara Lidman’s book Gruva published prior to the strike is described by Nilsson Mohammadi as constructing voices “to create understanding for [the workers’] horizons”. Although he does not mention earlier commissioned films, these observations provide a sharp distinction from the films discussed in this research, where the voices were never directly those of the workers.

144 Alalehto, “Teknik och konflikt,” 35.
147 Mohammadi, “Den stora gruvstrejken,” 68.
Sápmi mining contexts

Missing from many histories of mining and mining companies is the colonial context regarding Sápmi. Within Sápmi there are three nationally recognized minorities most commonly associated – the Tornedalians, Sweden Finns, and the Sámi – of which the Sámi are also considered by the Swedish state as indigenous peoples.148

Definitions of Sápmi as the territory of the Sámi vary, but in this thesis I follow definitions from a map drawn by Anders Suneson that is published online by the Sami Information Centre (Samiskt informationscentrum).149 In this map, “Swedish” parts of Sápmi extend to all of Northern Sweden down to Idre (Southern Sámi: Eajra) and Söderhamn. In terms of mining, then, it is particularly in the research of the mining companies LKAB and Boliden in which we should consider the Sámi colonial context.150

148 In this work the focus is mostly put on the Sámi aspects of Sápmi, but both Tornedalians and Sweden Finns have historical and contemporary associations to spaces where the mining company LKAB have operated and continue to operate. A group of Tornedalians referred to as Lantalaiset are particularly associated with the Kiruna and Gällivare municipalities, which are parts of their lands they call Lannanmaa. Although this thesis briefly considers the Tornedalian context regarding mining work in chapters 2 and 3, this and the Sweden Finns minority contexts should be considered as outside the scope of the thesis. Although it is important to understand the full complexities of industrial presence in Northern Sweden, this is done in part because the films discussed at no point addresses these contexts. While Sámi were made invisible as part of modernity as discussed in Chapter 3, these other minority contexts were completely invisible.


In the late nineteenth century, the Swedish State would design economic interpretations as part of laws and policies favouring segregation between Sámi and Swedes. Through the Reindeer Grazing Acts of 1886 and 1896, the question of who owns the land in Northern Sweden would no longer be contested in law: forestry, farming and mining claims would be considered as owning the land while reindeer herding and other uses of land by Sámi would be limited to usufruct rights rather than ownership. This was seen by the state at the time as a privilege given by them to the Sámi. Policies such as this, further restricted in 1928 and 1971, by design divided Sámi into two categories: reindeer herders and the rest – the latter receiving none of these rights. Legislatively since then, Swedish State policy has over the centuries ensured that the Sámi as a whole “have no treaties and no formal [land] reserves”.

Conflicts regarding industrial activities in Sápmi have been and continue to be manifold. Among the most extensively researched conflicts have been the damming of important rivers from the 1910s, which tie mining to a greater network of colonial industrial activities. The construction of the large hydropower complex in Porjus (Lule Sámi: Bårjås), which in 1914 dammed the great Lule river (Stora Lule älv) and created the lake Stora Lulevatten, was initiated to electrify the Riksgrensbanan railroad which LKAB used for transporting iron ore to Narvik (Northern Sámi: Áhkánjárga, Lule Sámi: Áhkánjárgga) in northern Norway. As Staffan Hansson points out in a dissertation on the establishment of the Porjus hydropower station 150 kilometres south of Kiruna in the 1910s, further ambitions to establish the

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153 Raitio, Allard and Lawrence, “Mineral extraction in Swedish Sápmi,” 6. It should be mentioned that the Swedish state has not been the only colonizer of Sápmi. For example, Helge Salvesen summarizes many aspects of Norwegian colonization sharing similarities to the Swedish, including forcible assimilation and discriminatory laws. He mentions, for example, that the Norwegian state in 1902 prohibited the selling of state property in Finnmark in Northern Norway, an area of Sápmi known for its mining reserves at the time, to people who did not speak Norwegian. Helge Salvesen, “Tendenser i den historiske sameforskning-med særlig vekt på politikk og forskning,” Scandia: Tidsskrift for historisk forskning 46, no. 1 (1980): 27.
region for energy-intensive industries such as ironworks had failed by the 1920s.  

As Sweden did not have large coal reserves in proximity which could work as an alternative energy source, energy-intensive industrialization of Northern Sweden became much limited, even though the power from Porjus helped LKAB expand their extraction activities. Peder Roberts states in an article on the early years of the company that it became the ore exports rather than belief in expanded industry in the north that would fuel “actors across the political spectrum […] in their visions of a bright national future.” Similarly, the notion of cheap energy was described by the Swedish state as a common good. However, the insincerity of this claim becomes clear in Patrik Lantto’s research on the National Association for Swedish Sami (Svenska Samernas Riksförbund, SSR) as well as Åsa Össbo’s research into the industrial colonialism of the hydropower development from the 1910s to the 1960s. For example, a suggestion by SSR in 1959 of Sámi getting a share of profits from hydropower exploits to develop a fund for future generations was not acknowledged by the Swedish state.  

These contexts of economic restrictions and industrial colonialism have roots in elements of segregation in the governmental system. Sámi who moved (or had to move) to other trades besides reindeer herding became invisible in written sources by no longer being recognized as Sámi in population registers administered by the Swedish Church until the mid-twentieth century. This invisibility was in part caused by industrial activities such as damming, which reduced the opportunities to practice reindeer herding, hence reducing the number of Sámi in registers and Sámi that “qualified” for usufruct land rights. Over time and with industrial expansion

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154 Staffan Hansson, “Porjus: en vision för industriell utveckling i övre Norrland,” (Ph. D. diss., Department of Business Administration, Luleå University of Technology, 1994), 263-266.  
158 Össbo, “Nya vatten, dunkla speglingar,” 242-244.
this meant fewer “Sámi” in the system that the state and corporations had to navigate based on their own idea of who the Sámi were.

Furthermore, the “Swedified” names forcefully given by Swedish authorities to Sámi for official documents have obscured their heritage connection to Sápmi, and, arguably, linkages between Sámi and non-reindeer herding economic systems. At the same time as this forceful assimilation was happening, the Swedish state also wanted to conserve Sámi as an “other” through the paternalistic approach of “Sámi-shall-remain-Sámi” (“Lapp ska vara lapp” – “Lapp” is now considered a derogatory term for Sámi), in part as a response to worries that Sámi culture and reindeer herding practices could become “degenerated” by assimilating too strongly with Swedish culture.

This system of othering the Sámi allowed racist political, cultural and legislative thoughts and actions: eugenic and Social Darwinist ideas would be present in politics during the timeframe of the thesis. The State Institute for Racial Biology in Uppsala carried out race biology projects on Sámi from 1922 to 1935 and this name of the institute would remain until 1958. As we will see in Chapter 3, films commissioned by mining companies played into this segregation rather than offering an alternative interpretation of Sápmi, mining or Sámi, by not including Sámi as an active part of the newer economic history and the present. Instead, as in much of the history of mining, Sápmi and the Sámi are made absent in most contexts beyond the pre- or non-industrial.

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159 Ulf Mörkenstam, “Om ”Lapparnes privilegier”: Föreställningar om samiskhet i svensk samepolitik 1883-1997,” (Ph. D. diss., Department of Political Science, Stockholm University, 1999), 111-112.

160 For a general overview of the “Sámi-shall-remain-Sámi” doctrine, see e.g., Lantto, “Tiden börjar på nytt,” 40-45. On page 41, Lantto specifically highlights 1906 as a year when the phrasing “Lapp ska vara lapp” came into use from a speech by Vitalis Karnell, then Parish priest in Karesuando and later the first nomad school inspector.

161 Salvesen states that social Darwinist thinking would still be part of parliamentary debate in Sweden in 1965. Salvesen, “Tendenser i den historiske sameforskning,” 32. For an extensive overview on historical research into racism and xenophobia in Sweden, see Martin Ericsson, Historisk forskning om rasism och främlingsfientlighet i Sverige (Stockholm: Forum för levande historia, 2016). Chapter 4 in Ericsson’s contribution is on Sápmi contexts.

Material and methodological approaches

As no overview exists of commissioned films in Sweden, nor is it clear where to look for material about them, a fair amount of establishing leads and collecting information on material had to be established in the initial phase of the archival research. This became increasingly important once it became clear how scattered the films and material about them are. While the thesis work did not start out with a preconceived idea regarding which archives, films, commissioners, institutions, and agencies that were of interest, it had a starting point in limiting itself to films commissioned by mining companies, thereby identifying connections between the mining industry and film. As described above in the section “Defining mining”, the pool of potential commissioners to explore were based on their industrial activity proven through historical statistics rather than picking specific companies from the outset based on my contemporary impression of their activities. This initial mapping gave some necessary room for different options for case studies if access to material would become difficult. At the same time, it created a productive boundary to further research within.

Collecting archival leads and material

As the workable definition of mining for the project was beginning to take shape, collecting of information and leads was initiated in a three-pronged approach that focused on finding films commissioned by the companies I had defined as mining companies. Firstly, I made a list of keywords and keyword combinations in Swedish as well as English that I could run through search engines in databases and on the internet to find material. New keywords were later added and applied throughout the work on the thesis. These

163 Initially, I sought to look for commissioned films by mining companies in all of Scandinavia, but as the project developed it became centred on the Swedish context. 164 Examples of early keywords and Boolean expressions include: “gruv* OCH beställ*”, “bergslag* + film*”, “LKAB OCH beställ*”, “brytning* + *film*”, “reklam* + gruv*”, “mining + film”, “järn* + *film*”, “same* + gruv* + film*”, “filmbe* OCH gruv*”, “grufilm”, “dagbrott OCH film*, “sponsor* AND swed* AND mining”, “commission* + Boliden + film”. 165 As Gregory A. Waller has suggested, returning to digital databases with new keywords, a process of “re-search” is central to the research of this kind: “It is in this process of re-searching that the particular capabilities and opportunities digital resources afford to the historian of nontheatrical cinema (and perhaps to media historians more broadly) become most strikingly evident.” Gregory A. Waller, “Search and Re-search: Digital Print Archives and the History
keywords were applied to search engines in national libraries (catalogue databases, media databases and newspapers, the latter of which use OCR methods), Google, and YouTube. Of importance in terms of finding films initially was the Swedish Media Database (Svensk Mediedatabas, SMDB), which is discussed below, and, somewhat surprisingly, YouTube or similar video sites – where films or fragments of films have either been uploaded legally through apparent copyright owners or with unknown legality.

Secondly, I started around the same time to reach out to national, regional, and specialized archives to find more leads. It became apparent early on that much material existed that had not been catalogued in national archives and had left no traces on the internet or in published books. This attests to Erik Florin Persson’s point that one should not solely look at national archives when researching commissioned films, because it risks missing both local aspects and relations between the local, the national and the international. He points out that the films’ transient aspects extend to archival institutions today, which makes researching their role in society even more difficult. This is a concern that the national archives are becoming increasingly aware of, and helpful leads were provided through contacting these institutions as well about material elsewhere. Reaching out to extant companies was also a crucial part of the initial phase of the research to establish possible leads. Similarly, reaching out to local interest groups on mining history also provided leads.

Finally, a significant part of the three-pronged approach in the initial phase was to look through film catalogues at the Swedish Film Institute and trade papers on companies and institutions. Although many issues of catalogues for educational films, for example, are unavailable, which means that descriptions of several films are potentially lost, extant catalogues were invaluable to establish one aspect of the distribution as well as film use, and descriptions of films presumed lost.

From these approaches I made two sets of documents, one in Microsoft Excel and another in Microsoft Word: the first collected information on the films themselves and the second detailing potential volumes and folders of interest in archival collections. The document on films and film fragments was structured in a hierarchy of company, with films under each company section. Each film entry included the sections “title”, “year of release”, “technical specifications”, “production company”, “personnel”, “description”, “status archival material” and “additional comments”. The


second document had the archival institution as the highest level of the hierarchy, followed by “archive”, “volume”, “box”, and “folder”. After filling in archival material (e.g., box or folder) of interest to look through, I would describe the content for these archival materials once I had gone through them in the archives themselves. The initial details of the descriptions at the archival visits would vary depending on the opportunity to photograph the material. Photographs from archives were stored in folders in the same system as the Microsoft Word document. Although the collection of information and leads are described here as an initial phase of the research, it should be noted that this work was ongoing throughout much of the work on the project. This is partly due to discovering new leads after the initial phase and archival collections made available during the project. The documents mentioned above were therefore considered as living documents updated at regular intervals.

Film sources

The thesis, like much of the previous research on “useful cinema”, is admittedly less focused on the format of film. This is not without its drawbacks. In the textual readings of film, I have mostly used digital copies made available to me rather than extant analogue copies. In part this is a practical concern: not all archives are willing to lend out or are unable to project their analogue copies. If they can handle or loan out analogue copies, this usually comes with some additional handling fees, while digital scans already produced often are sent for free. From my experience, most digital transfers that I have come across for this project are rarely new, and certainly not always made with much care, meaning that the image and sound quality is often subpar, and far removed in several ways from the analogue copies, extant or not. This is not helped by the practice of making digital transfers from other archival formats such as VHS and U-Matic rather than the analogue copy itself, hence the digital copies are often distinctly lossy, rather than lossless, versions of films. Furthermore, the convenience of smaller file sizes in archiving has often trumped the desire for higher quality transfers, as in the case of the Swedish Media Database.

By not focusing on the film format there has also been less of a focus on following the trajectory of analogue film copies, which might, for example, tell us more about the viability of these films in society. As John Sundholm has recently stated in an article, “Every copy is an original because every copy has a different story to tell”. Here we might for example see different

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trajectories of copies of 35mm film versus 16mm, although both formats were often offered by distributors until 16mm largely took over.

Another drawback is the exclusive focus on film. As Annika Wickman and others have demonstrated, films were not always used in isolation, but rather formed part of a Medieverbund where film played one part, and slide projection, filmstrips and other audiovisual technologies another, but working together in a network.168 Through topic modelling of 3,100 Swedish Government Official Reports (SOU-reports) between 1945–1989, Pelle Snickars presents a case that film was the medium most frequently worked with in the Swedish government, but that “interrelations between media [were] everywhere”.169 Both industrial companies as commissioners and other institutions described in this thesis were well versed with what were often referred to as audiovisual aids in their many formats. As Figure 1 below shows, Fagerstakoncernen were by 1964 using 16mm film, 35mm filmstrip (bildband) and 5x5cm slide film (diabild, smådiaserie). The application of these formats and technologies that were part of them may look different to film. A curiosity worth mentioning here is that LKAB in the 1960s used 35mm slide projectors to assist precision drilling of mountain walls (Figure 2).

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Figure 1: An example of the heterogeneity of film formats and film from a company archive. Pictured is a list of audiovisual aids in Fagestra’s archives in October 1964. Three formats are mentioned: 16mm sound film, 35mm filmstrip and 5x5cm slide film, some synchronized with taped sound. Among the ten items under 16mm film, there is a mix of colour film and black and white as well as language versions available. Lengths of the films vary from 3-42 minutes. Six different production companies are credited, including the television producer Sveriges Radio-TV. From “Bildband/Diaserier”, letter from G. Puls October 23, 1964. 91 – Dia-serier, bildband, SECO 1958. 1961-1965, 59, CAMR Marknadsföringsstöd, Marknadsavdelningen, Fagersta Bruk AB.
Figure 2: A Rank Aldis Tutor 500 35mm slide projector inside a protective casing on wheels, here used to project points for drilling in the mountain wall. The worker projects a slide presenting a drilling schema, which are then replicated on the mountain wall itself with white paint to guide later precision drilling. Images from the film Malm i rörelse (Ore on the move, Nordisk Tonefilm for LKAB, 1969).

Research on non-film audiovisual aids is also severely lacking in the Swedish industry context. We know very little about who was involved in
their production. Were they, for instance, largely produced in-house or by separate production companies? We also know little about their distribution and the history of such media themselves in Sweden. Non-film audiovisual technologies may have an even more precarious and ephemeral state in archives: while having “film archives” has become a practice in corporate and other archives, the concept and practice of having “filmstrip” or “slide film” archives is more foreign.

Yet in part because these other technologies existed, film was treated as a specific approach, with specific histories, technologies, and practices, often discussed separately from other audiovisual formats. But because other media were also used in company information departments, as described in Chapter 1, commissioning film was not a given, but instead always at risk of being discarded for other media approaches. This exclusive focus on film is interesting to study as a specific practice that developed its own role in the system, but we must also be aware of a survivor bias here: by looking for film in, for example, information departments, we often find information departments that were most positive to film or used film the most. My broad initial scope for defining mining companies for the study as described above, however, does make me aware that smaller companies which operated a single mine did not commission their own films. At the same time, this initial search makes clear that commissioning films was widely practiced by companies above a certain size, while archives are much less clear on the practices of commissioning other audiovisual aids.170

Digital film databases

At first, searchable digital databases such as Swedish Media Database (smdb.kb.se, SMDB) and the Swedish Film Database (SvenskFilmdatabas.se) were key to find film titles and basic (but often incomplete) information about them. The Swedish Media Database, operated by the National Library of Sweden (Kungliga biblioteket, KB) allows researchers to watch digital copies of films in their system and request digital copies when that is not the case. The freely searchable aspect of this database allowed me at the early stage to look at a broad output of films on mining and industry, and films from various production companies and commissioners when this was stated. It became clear to me here that precisely because of the lack of distinct genre traits of industry-commissioned films textually it is often difficult to tell from the images alone whether a film was commissioned and by who, unless stated

170 E.g., the parts of LKAB’s archive made available to me, where no trace of the commissioning or use of filmstrips are apparent.

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through voiceover or via opening or end titles, which have not always survived.

The Swedish Film Database, while open to everyone, does not give access to viewing films directly, but it was important for finding film titles and basic information about them at an early stage. Managed as part of the Swedish Film Institute, this database gives indication of analogue archival copies of films available at the Swedish Film Institute. Another initial source for films was Filmarkivet.se, which is a collaborative effort between SFI and the National Library of Sweden to make archived films available to the public. Here, a few commissioned films by Swedish mining companies are available to stream, including Ferrum (Nordisk Tonefilm for LKAB, 1963) and En chef utvecklar medarbetare (“A manager develops employees”, Suecia Film for Grängesbergsbolaget, 1965). As previous researchers have pointed out, however, while Filmarkivet.se consists of a large amount of content, it is largely made contextless.171 For example, for the film En chef utvecklar medarbetare it is not stated in the metadata that Grängesbergsbolaget commissioned the film although it is made clear in the end credits of the copy that we can stream at the website.

Although they are not keyword searchable like digital archives, it was through the visits to non-digital archives that potential case studies started to appear through their complex heterogeneity. Here, films, or references to them, were found in regional and corporate archives which are not present in SMDB, Svenskfilmidatabas or Filmarkivet.se. The process of looking into archives for commissioned films did not, however, guarantee a wealth of material on each initial case of interest. Nor is an empirical approach, as we will get back to, necessarily the highest priority. What becomes clear is that the study of commissioned films is unpredictable in terms of where one finds material.

171 Pelle Snickars, “Remarks on a failed film archival project,” Journal of Scandinavian Cinema 5 no. 1 (2015): 63-67. In 2012, an anthology on looked at the difficulties of digital archiving with filmarkivet.se as a case study, see Mats Jönsson and Pelle Snickars, eds., “Skosmörja eller arkivdokument? Om Filmarkivet.se och den digitala filmhistorien (Stockholm: Mediehistoriskt arkiv, 2012). Among difficulties raised include incompleteness in the collection, local versus national contexts, the concept of the original film and accessing different versions and fragments. For this context on Swedish commissioned films, see Florin Persson, Filmen i stadens tjänst, 299-302.
The corporate archive, and the corporate in the archive

An obvious starting point for researching commissioned films might be the archive of the commissioner or the stated production company, yet it is extremely varied how much each film left paper trails in these various archives. There is no single answer to why this is the case. Among practical reasons could be that the commissioner was less involved, that film discussions largely took place in other forms (e.g., over the telephone), or that archiving this kind of paper trail was not prioritized or materials have been lost somewhere inside the archive.

Archives, then, are incomplete because of historical as well as current practices, making them what Antoinette Burton has described as “full-fledged historical actors.” They are not just a collection of passive materials that the researcher activates, but instead should be described for what they are doing and have done. In the absence of material, too, the archive is actively doing something. Here, we should be aware of what is generally unspoken or unseen in many archives, including corporate archives. In reflecting on his experiences with oil company archives, Andrew Barry notes that archives are strategically managed to function in certain ways for the company. For example, the wealth of material available organized by departments or specifics people in leading roles at the company, almost always white men with academic backgrounds, may obscure “systematic absences” such as doubts regarding their decision-making, or attributing any active role to women, blue-collar employees, and minority subjects. By leaving out active minority voices, for instance, archival sources are “already colonized.” Complications regarding access are another function of the archive: remote locations, the routine filling of forms, or correspondence with lawyers and others representing company interests may make the process of research daunting or unfeasible. Restricted access to certain parts of archives also may

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serve a function for the company.\textsuperscript{176} In Sweden, individual companies and organizations are not subject to the principle of openness and decide for themselves which materials to make available.

Digital access to certain parts of the archive, such as an online film archive, may also give a false sense of transparency and completeness. LKAB’s Vimeo page, for instance, has by August 25, 2023, 271 videos that include old and new commissioned or self-produced films.\textsuperscript{177} No descriptions are made of the collection, and for most users the collection may seem representative or even complete. Yet this is not the case. As an example, the collection does not include the film *Varför så mange tjänstemän?* (“Why so many office workers?”), Suecia-Film for LKAB, 1960), discussed in Chapter 2, which promoted the value of piece-rate system work (*ackordarbete*) and more bureaucracy in industry. It is uncertain why it is not included, as the LKAB archive itself has a digital copy of the film on DVD.

Here, we might argue alongside Mona Damluji that a function of such an archive is as a “repertoire” that “project[s] the idea of a company as a cultural agent” – of performing a public good.\textsuperscript{178} To look solely at one corporate archive risks describing a corporate repertoire when we should question its function as repertoire for the corporation. This point should also be extended to research into individual films. Extensive sources on one film in one corporate archive does not by default mean that it is representative, or that it helps to describe and uncover the networks that commissioned films were part of, or commissioner agency more generally. That film may just be a film that the archive or archivist prioritized to keep records of, or a film that the commissioner took more agency in to produce, distribute and promote. These films can be interesting to research precisely to explore these aspects of corporate engagement. But focusing solely on these objects may unnecessarily credit an elevated film agency to the corporation in our research unless we are more careful by also showing interest in films with little to no traces.\textsuperscript{179} While nearly all commissioned films are ephemeral and so-called orphaned films, with little knowledge today among companies about their own past media

\textsuperscript{176} Especially protected by mining companies are their historical charts, maps, and data on prospecting, given their potential value for future mining activities.


\textsuperscript{179} On the value of looking into industrial media that has left few traces, as well as sources behind tracelessness, see e.g., Jason S. Mittell, “Invisible Footage: ‘Industry on Parade’ and Television Historiography,” *Film History* 9, no.2 (1997): 200-218.
commission and production, not all orphans are created equal in the archives. Even the most ephemeral of films may provide knowledge about the concept of commissioned films and how they worked.

To look past the “repertoire” offered by one archive or a set of corporate archives, it is helpful to access several different archives, but not necessarily with the purpose of gaining a large amount of material to quantitively prove something one way or the other. Rather, it is done to get a better sense of extant and current repertoires and look for connections in the margins. As Katherine Groo warns the researcher in Bad Film Histories: Ethnography and the Early Archive, New Film History and adjacent research practices risk privileging an empirical approach to archives and their primary sources. In other words, if amount of material is privileged, the researcher risks replicating the “archive fever” of old where the archive as a system helps determine what is researchable through what has been deemed as archivable. Purposefully following traces of badly archived material, tracing “bad objects” that “play tricks on the fevered”, was made easier for me by having stubbornly decided early on to look for films commissioned by Swedish mining companies. Through this boundary, several “bad objects” came up, including the film Lapplands järnberg (“Lapland’s iron mountains”, Artfilm, 1957), which is not found in the LKAB collections, but for which traces in other archives and textual analysis of a film copy allowed for reading against repertoire. This was made even more important due to the film itself offering an archive of images to tell a version of a history of Sápmi. Below, I describe how I approached the archives that I predominantly used for the research for this thesis.

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180 The terms “ephemeral film” and “orphan film” refer to films (and other material around the film) that have suffered archival neglect. Despite commissioned films at one time having had “parents” in the commissioner, film production company and possibly filmmakers, they have often become abandonware with time, with little knowledge of rights ownership. An important early initiative to give access to these ephemeral media was the Prelinger Archives (https://archive.org/details/prelinger?tab=about), founded in 1983 by Rick Prelinger. On the origins of the “orphan films” term, see Dan Streible, “The Role of Orphan Films in the 21st Century Archive,” Cinema Journal 46, no. 3 (July 2007): 124. Since 1999, the Orphan Film Symposium has been held biannually.

181 Katherine Groo, Bad Film Histories: Ethnography and the Early Archive (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2019), 14.


183 Groo, Bad Film Histories, 38.
Repertoires and material in the archives

Arkivcentrum Dalarna (ARDA)

Established in 2006 in Falun in central Sweden as an economic association by several institutions including the corporation Stora Enso AB, Arkivcentrum Dalarna is a regional archive that seeks to collect and archive historical material from the Dalarna region. From 1917 to 2006, the archive was operated by the mining company Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags AB, who initially hired the historian Alvar Silow from Uppsala University to systematize the collection. With the change of ownership in 2006, the corporate archives from Stora Enso AB (established as a forestry industry corporation in 1984) were moved to the National Archives of Sweden. The archives of the company’s earlier history, as Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags AB, have remained at Arkivcentrum Dalarna and it is the largest archive in its system, with its first material dating back to 1347. The archives for the company for the timeframe of the thesis are not searchable online, nor are lists of volumes available through the National Archives of Sweden.

In terms of film material, an inventory produced in 2003 of the analogue collection of Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags AB states that the archive has in total around 230 films with 114 unique titles. Most of the holdings ranging from circa 1914–1988 are 16mm and 35mm copies, with two 8mm films. The holdings include a large amount of films not commissioned by Stora – for example Arne Sucksdorff’s nature documentary *En klåven värld* (*A Divided World*, Svensk Filmindustri, 1944) and various films attributed to the agricultural film production company SoL-Film. In addition to this collection, the archive also has several VHS copies based on their analogue collection that can be seen on location. I viewed several films at the archive based on paper trails that confirmed that those films had been commissioned by Stora in the timeframe of the thesis.

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184 In addition to Stora Enso AB, the following institutions were also founders: Falu municipality, Dalarnas Folkrörelsearkiv, Stiftelsen Stora Kopparberget, the National Archives of Sweden and Region Dalarna (then Dalarnas läns landsting). See “Organisation,” Arkivcentrum Dalarna, accessed May 7, 2023, https://www.arkivcentrumdalarna.se/847.php.
186 “Arkiv: Gruvrättens arkiv (Stora Kopparbergs Bergslag),” Riksarkivet, accessed May 7, 2023, https://sok.riksarkivet.se/arkiv/x6MGjG1dDazUjtpiuWJWQ1
187 “Filminventering 2003,” Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags Aktiebolags Centralarkiv, ARDA.
My focus in the extensive paper collection was limited to the archive of the company’s information department (Koncernfunktion Information arkiv), which has material dating back to the initiation of the company archive in 1917. Together with the archivists on site, searches were made in the internal database for references to film in the volume descriptions (volymannmärkning). From these searches, three archive series became the focus for the research: “F16 Dr Silows dossiér” (45 volumes), “F20 Dr Rydbergs dossiér” (52 volumes) and “F98 Bergslagsfilmen” (6 volumes). The first two are the material from the company’s two information managers during the timeframe and include all aspects of the company they were involved with sorted thematically. For example, the archiving of Silow’s archive contains only one volume (number 724) where film activities have been collected. For the Rydberg archive, however, the correspondence regarding film is spread out over four volumes (780, 823, 824, 825). Additional volumes of interest were discovered during this process that had more information on film activities. Finally, the archive series on “Bergslagsfilmen” was explored in full, which is archived as an archive series on a specific film, *En svensk storindustri* (*Story of Stora*, 1954), explored in Chapter 1. The archive material on Stora gives information on the internal processes regarding the collaborations with Svensk Filmindustri from the commissioner perspective. However, with most of the Svensk Filmindustri archives being closed to researchers, we do not know if they hold more material from the producer perspective about these films.

**The LKAB archival collections**

Unlike the archives on Stora, the LKAB collections have no clearly designated space(s) where all material is organized for researchers to engage. Visiting the company’s administrative office in Kiruna in May 2019, I was able to see digital copies of 20 films described as from the 1910s to the 2000s stored on DVDs, several which have since been made available on their Vimeo page. The post-WW2 films were later confirmed to have been commissioned by LKAB through other sources. Additionally, the staff in Kiruna made available two archived folders from 1967 reporting on the feasibility of an internal television system in the Kiruna mines. According to the staff, no other archived material on their films existed there, nor did they know where such material was.

At the same time, I was in contact with Kiruna municipality and their collection of material on LKAB, who could point me to more films. At the time, they were in a process of relocating their entire archive due to the move of the city itself. The need to move the city was publicly announced in 2004 due to safety concerns about surface infrastructure and buildings sinking.
because of underground mining activities. The move of the town four kilometres east and the building of a new urban centre began in the late 2010s and is expected to be completed by 2033. In December 2021, I visited the new town hall, Kristallen ("The Crystal"), in the new town centre, where the archives of Kiruna municipality are stored.\(^{188}\) Their LKAB collection is uncatalogued but consists of several shelves of media (both commissioned or produced by LKAB and not) stored on 16mm, 35mm, VHS, and U-Matic, as well as tape recordings on different formats. A selection of this material was loaned out of the archive with permission from Kiruna municipality and LKAB because there was no way to look at the material on site. While the mining company was one of the more active commissioners of films, the lack of access to paper-based material such as correspondence on films from its information department drove me towards looking for other sources for context, such as trade papers and newspapers found in other archives and databases. Yet knowing of and accessing specific commissioned films in the Kiruna municipality archive, such as *Lapplands järnberg*, was central to the discovery of commissioned films on early Swedish public service television discussed in Chapter 3.

The Swedish Labour Movement’s Archives and Library (ARBARK)

Located in Flemingsberg, a southern suburb in Huddinge Municipality in Stockholm County, the Swedish Labour Movement’s Archives and Library (Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och bibliotek, ARBARK) features an extensive collection of archives on Swedish labour history. The interest in this archive came from the idea of following traces of a large commission by LKAB in the early 1960s where Nordisk Tonefilm was the producer. The context behind Nordisk Tonefilm’s archive being here is that from 1944 until 1969 the company was owned by the “National Association of The People’s House Associations” (Folkets-hus-föreningarnas riksorganisation, FHR). Gradually established all over the country during the twentieth century by the labour movement, the People’s houses (*folkets hus*) worked as community centres for the working class and would often be built to allow for cinema screenings organized on a national level from 1944 by Sveriges Folkbiografer AB.\(^{189}\)

The Nordisk Tonefilm archive in Flemingsberg is exclusively a paper archive (110 volumes), as film copies have been moved to the Swedish Film

\(^{188}\) The building of the new town hall was financed by LKAB.

The register, which is available online through arbark.se, notes that what has been kept is mainly correspondence around the production, promotion and sales of films, while nothing has been preserved of “supplier invoices and receipts that previously made up around two-thirds of the archive”.

Here, I have focused mainly on the archive series on “Swedish correspondence” and “Other correspondence” between 1955–1965. Because Nordisk Tonefilm also produced feature films, most of the correspondence referred to these activities. Finding traces that referred to commissioned mining films required a lot of manually browsing, in part because the volume descriptions are not detailed. What related material was found, however, had great value, in particular production diaries which highlight often invisible aspects of the production of commissioned film, as discussed in Chapter 3.

**Center for Business History (CFN)**

The Center for Business History (Centrum för Näringslivshistoria AB, known from 1974–2006 as Föreningen Stockholms Företagsminnen) offers a service to Swedish companies to operate their archive and do research on Swedish business history. Their archive centres are located in Uppsala and in Bromma, west of Stockholm. In Bromma, I looked at the archives of the PA Council. The PA Council was initially financed by SAF from 1952 but was described as an independent organisation working on questions regarding human problems in work. Specific foci included approaching problems from the field of industrial and organizational psychology and education about the workplace. In terms of film activities, the PA Council became a hub for educational films on industry and work. Their activities included distribution and “film days” and working as consultants on the use of audiovisual material. The PA Council would become a centre for industrial audiovisual consultancy until it was dissolved in 1980.

In exploring archives of mining and film production companies it became clear that many film activities involved the PA Council, which together with Mats Björkin’s research on industrial film pointed me towards

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190 SFI’s library also has a 27-volume archive of the company, largely scripts from Nordisk Tonefilm’s feature film productions.


looking for archival collections. In 2020, I was made aware that Centrum för Näringslivshistoria had archives and that they were in the process of re-sorting the collection. During this time, I was granted access to material on their film activities (referred to as “Filmverksamheten”), which make up several shelf metres of material, primarily in three archive series: “D2 Förteckningar och register över filmer”, “E3 Korrespondens – Filmverksamheten” and “F2 Filmverksamhetens handlingar”. The material in these archive series is varied, including correspondence with Swedish industries, production companies and foreign educational film institutions, but also registers of all films and other audiovisual media the PA Council distributed (at least 1,600 titles), as well as film catalogues and pamphlets on film screening events from the mid-1950s to the late 1970s. It is unclear to what extent the archive also includes film copies and copies of other audiovisual media; however, a majority of copies were either destroyed or sent back to the commissioner during the 1970s and 1980s. My own exploration into this archive was mainly to the first ten years of the council, 1952–1962, specifically focusing on assessing their film consultancy efforts together with the Swedish mining industry, as discussed in Chapter 2.

The Document Archive, Radio Sweden (SR/D)

Traces in catalogues in the PA Council archive of television productions on the mining industry made me interested in finding out more about the connections between the early years of Swedish television and commissioned films. Located in Sveriges Radio’s building on Oxenstiernsgatan 20 in Stockholm, the archive consists primarily of the archives of Radio Sweden (Sveriges Radio, SR), “Swedish Television” (Sveriges Television, SVT) and the Swedish Educational Broadcasting Company (Sveriges Utbildningsradio). In its research library, I went through the first decade of Radio Sweden’s yearbooks from when they started initiating television broadcasts in 1954 (before 1957 as the yearbooks of AB Radiotjänst). Here, I looked more specifically at the latter half of the yearbooks, which note titles of programmes broadcast in each year, looking for programmes on industry. In the archive proper, I went through registers of broadcast programmes in the archives of SR’s Culture Section (Kulturredaktionen, TVK), the Documentary Film Section (Dokumentärfilmsektionen, TVKF) – including the personal archives of its manager Lennart Ehrenborg (Lennart Ehrenborgs arkiv, T07) – as well as the Radio Council (Radionämnden, A39) archives. These gave more detailed information about some programmes, as well as a better picture of what had

193 “Huvudkort 1-1600,” D2a Kartotek över filmtitlar, PA Council archives, CFN.
been produced in-house by, for example, the Documentary department, and which programmes had been acquired elsewhere. Finding the broadcast dates of programmes of interest made it possible to look for more context about them in newspapers, including non-searchable newspapers on microfilm at the National Archive.

**National Library of Sweden (KB)**

Due to the law of legal deposit (*pliktleverans*) requiring companies and organizations to deposit published material with the National Library in Stockholm, their archival collections include a lot of material of interest to almost all aspects of the project. While often incomplete, several relevant trade papers, press materials, books and company grey literature are available here.\(^{194}\) Initial searches looked for published material from mining companies and film production companies. A minority of these published materials referenced commissioned films by mining companies directly, but several publications discuss commissioned filmmaking more generally. A central publication available here in relation to this is Einar Förberg’s instructive book targeted towards commissioners titled *Att sälja med film* (“Selling with film”), published in 1946.\(^{195}\)

Interestingly, a systematic look through extant company employee newsletters published between 1945–1975 including *Bergslagen* (by Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags AB), *Gravposten* (Grängesbergsbolaget), *LKAB-tidningen* (LKAB), *Malmaren* (LKAB), *SKIP* (LKAB) and *Smältdegeln* (Boliden) showed that films were rarely mentioned here. It is unclear why this is the case, but the consequences were that employees were not kept well-informed on ongoing film projects through the newsletters. This does not rule out that employees were given a window into the development of commissioned films through other, more informal sources of information. Nevertheless, it is peculiar given that the information department that helped produce the newsletters were among those in the company most involved with film projects for the company, as discussed in Chapter 1. A few notable

\(^{194}\) Another source for trade papers, especially during the Covid-19 pandemic, was the website Project Runeberg, which includes free scanned electronic editions (if often incomplete) of trade papers such as *Teknisk Tidskrift*. Some, but not all, scanned material is OCR-ed. “Teknisk Tidskrift,” Project Runeberg, accessed May 2, 2023, http://runeberg.org/tektid/.

mentions of films in employee newsletters are, however, referred to in this thesis.

I also examined mentions of film in the Swedish-language Sámi news magazine Samefolkets Egen Tidning (The Sámi People’s Newspaper, from 1960 Samefolket, or The Sámi People) between 1945 and 1965. After the first initiatives in 1904, the news magazine has become the longest running publication written by Sámi since regular publication began in 1919. No mentions were found of films commissioned by mining companies, but attitudes regarding films and descriptions of the Sámi situation in relations to mining were valuable particularly for the research into the third chapter of the thesis.

The National Library also has an extensive scanned digital collection of daily and weekly newspapers (dagstidningar) keyword searchable through Optical character recognition (OCR) technology at tidningar.kb.se. Newspaper pages may be viewed at computers at the National Library. Most searches were made between 2019–2021 looking for film titles, mentions of production companies and persons found to be involved in commissions, and more general terms such as “beställningfilm” and “industrifilm” to capture historical contexts regarding commissioned films. Searches were thus primarily made before the National Library launched an open beta of a new version of the service in 2022. As previous research has pointed out, OCR technology does not give a perfect representation of actual mentions of keywords searched for, and often provides inconsistent or noise results.

The library also has an extensive collection of newspapers on microfilm, such as regionally distributed newspapers not available digitally. These are stored in boxes with film rolls labelled by date of publication (usually several months of newspaper publications on each film roll), which when threaded through the microfilm reader present copies of pages of newspapers chronologically. Selective searches were done in the regional newspapers Dala-Demokraten, Falu-Kuriren, Norrbottens-Kuriren, Norrländska Socialdemokraten and Västerbottens Folkblad after I knew specific dates of film premieres or broadcasts, following a practical rule of looking at all issues ten days before to ten days after such a given date.


Swedish Film Institute Library (SFI/B)

Accessed through the library of the Film House in Stockholm, SFI’s archives include a variety of company and film personnel archives, a script archive and extensive press clippings and promotional material collections. Most of what has been catalogued refers to feature film productions. Collections of film catalogues became important initially to identify commissioned films. Several film magazines, trade papers and rare books on film and television were also accessed. Of relevance in the company and film personnel archive became the Gunnar Höglund archive, a six-volume archive that features correspondence, drafts, and notes for film ideas, talks and productions he was involved in. Some of this material refers to his collaborations with LKAB. In the script collections, I looked at Höglund’s scripts for the film Kiruna (1960), mentioned in Chapter 3, and the LKAB-commissioned film Ferrum (1964), discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

Outline of chapters

This dissertation consists of four chapters, each including case studies, followed by concluding remarks. Each chapter analyses the versatility of films commissioned by mining companies in different institutional circumstances. These case studies analyse how various interest groups explored how commissioned films could serve their own and others’ purposes, and what these approaches towards versatility signified in what was communicated in the film texts.

In the first chapter, I focus on the postwar communication challenges from the view of industry companies as film commissioners. A brief and divisive debate between industry and the labour movement around the best macroeconomic directions forward in the mid-1940s was followed by a long economic boom with eased tensions. At the same time, there was more demand for industry to have more open lines of communication. Both factors pushed for a nonpartisan and more personal approach to corporate communication. Expanding on Mats Björkin’s previous research into film as a contact medium in the postwar industry media landscape, this chapter discusses how this move towards more personal interaction with society brought new challenges of costs to communication in corporations. The chapter focuses particularly on the monetary costs and time investment restraints of contact as pushing a vision of commissioning films that could be used for a wide range of screening situations. Here, artistic experimentation was considered unfavourable compared to a more traditional and factual
approach believed to be more versatile. In a case study of a film project between 1946–1954 that resulted in *En svensk storindustri* (*Story of Stora, Svensk Filmindustri for Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags AB, 1954*), correspondence between film producers and information managers are analysed. Sticking to a traditional “documentary line” was treated as a pragmatic approach both to keep doors for the film open and as a guiding principle for cost-cutting. The chapter points to the intention of the commissioning body to not allow the film text to come across as advertising. Yet the commissioner was willing to invest in attractions such as colour film and to design special film screenings with cocktail parties as prioritized occasions for contact.

In Chapter 2, the attention shifts to how industry-commissioned films became part of the postwar European productivity drive in Sweden. It describes a support-system for industry-commissioned films in Sweden via the establishment of the film section of The Swedish Council for Personnel Administration, a think-tank subsidiary of the Swedish’s Employers’ Confederation from 1952 to 1980. As a film consultancy, this council provided corporations with film and other audiovisual media, but also contributed to their film productions directly. In both forms of consultancy, industry acquired aid in communicating forms of productivity management without this productivity threatening the existing autonomy of the manager. In the first case study, *Varför så många tjänstemän?* (“Why so many office workers?, Suecia-Film for LKAB, 1960), the Council was credited with the script. The representation and rationalization of work management in the film is seen as affected by the investigations into productivity by the Council in LKAB’s mines. Promoting consultancy and standardization of blue-collar work through time studies in the film came at the expense of finding value in protecting autonomy in miner’s work. In the second case study, on the film *En chef utvecklar medarbetare* (“A manager develops employees”, Suecia Film for Grängesbergsbolaget, 1965), the text invites discussion of the quality of management itself as a measurement of individual character – protecting against the notion of standardizing this work in the productivity drive.

Chapter 3 contextualizes the use of industry-commissioned films on early public service television. It argues that a vague concept of public service in terms of programming on industry combined with convenience presented opportunities for commissioned films to be shown on early Swedish television despite a prohibition on advertising. In the case studies, specific focus is put on two films on the mining industry shown on television in 1957 and 1960 respectively, both imposing invisibility on the existence of the industrial exploitation of Sápmi. Broadcast on Radio Sweden in 1957, *Lapplands järnberg* (“Lapland’s iron mountains”, Artfilm for LKAB, 1957) placed Sámi outside of present economic relevance. The company commissioning the film had months earlier been acquired by the Swedish state. In the second analysis
of a TV production on the Boliden mining company, Sápmi is made entirely absent. Its focus on gold mining, despite making up only a small part of Boliden’s output, rationalized the company ground and underground as restricted spaces. Nearly indistinct from the mining companies’ own commissions, the TV film could function as free PR for industry especially in the context of youth recruitment.

Chapter 4 explores the relations between film policy and the dominance of commissioned films over independent short film production in postwar Sweden. Here, criticisms of commissioned films as boring in their adherence to traditions in filmmaking are connected to an ambition for them to become a space for experimentation. This intention was in part driven by the fact that special subsidies for independent short film production did not exist. This discourse shifted focus from quality of film being a tool for enlightenment and education, to not being redundant as an artform. Entering this discourse was the film *Ferrum* (1964), seen here as part of a short-lived experimentation with media forms in LKAB in the early 1960s. This included testing self-produced live television for internal information soon after public service television had been made available in Northern Sweden. Having been widely claimed as a quality film, *Ferrum* was used as an argument by the new Swedish Film Institute for not changing the lack of commitment to short film as a space for experimentation in their new film policy in 1963. Indicative of commissions as an unstable foundation for experimentation was that the film was the only film of this kind LKAB would commission. The return to traditional approaches for future projects is seen on the one hand as due its established versatility, and on the other due to the commissioner not seeing themselves as a patron for the film arts.
Chapter 1: Treating advertising carefully

For almost three decades after World War 2, the Swedish mining industry was booming all over the country. During this time, their interest in film as a medium for communication was influenced by the introduction of the concept of contact, which Mats Björkin describes in his book on post-WW2 industrial media cultures as an approach to communication “between individualism and the mass ideologies of the interwar years”. Contact, based on the concept of public relations established abroad, became in part about solving problems of distance in increasingly bureaucratized institutions. Key to the concept of contact was interactivity, with film being reintroduced as an aid to establish more personal engagement within organizational bodies. These approaches to corporate communication were developing at the same time as the earlier paternal mode of control of industry was changing towards a more democratic model where the worker, consumer and the voter in theory had more of a say in the operations of institutions, thereby demanding more direct and open lines of communication.

As an approach towards more personal interactions between corporations and society, contact was to a great degree concerned with communication having to be versatile. This also meant adapting communication to popular media forms. For example, it was believed that using film could create more engagement with corporate issues than the written word.

In one reading, this push towards more versatile communication could imply the need for commissioning a variety of film texts for various communication occasions. However, as I argue in this chapter, which explores a mining commissioner and their perspectives on film as a versatile instrument, there were strong motivations towards getting the most out of time commitment and investments into film as a contact tool by making singular

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198 Björkin, *Post-war Industrial Media Culture*, 12.
199 Björkin, *Post-war Industrial Media Culture*, 83.
texts as adaptable as possible. Contact via film was costly, and commissioners therefore sought to follow known formulas in the production of the texts. Additionally, in a non-partisan climate surrounding the position of industry in society from the end of the 1940s, assuring the contact potential of film texts became, for commissioners, about avoiding blatantly persuasive approaches.

In this environment, a key rationale for the versatility of commissioned films rested on what Vinzenz Hediger and Patrick Vonderau have called strategic weakness: the idea that new texts should stick to known film forms such as the traditional documentary instead of creating new distinct ones.\(^{201}\) Crucially, as I explore here, this strategic weakness was also about what known forms to not resemble. Hints of a strong bias could come across as advertisement for the commissioner and therefore as a disingenuous attempt at transparent communication. This worry about subjectiveness, combined with a desire to cut costs, limited the room for negotiations regarding artistic freedom within film projects, putting commissioners and film companies at odds with each other due to different priorities and approaches to versatility.

In a case study on a film commissioned by the mining company Stora Kopparberg Bergslags AB between 1946–54, I describe how film was treated as a medium for impartial and concrete communication. The chapter follows the production history of a film idea that through much elaboration would eventually become the title *En svensk storindustri* (*Story of Stora*, Svensk Filminustri, 1954). This film was intended as a prestigious company presentation film (*företagsfilm* or *företagsbeskrivning*) for a wide and varied domestic and international audience.\(^{202}\) Here, the film company Svensk Filminustri’s desire to use the expertise of the filmmaker to give their artistic interpretations of industry clashed with the company’s information manager and their know-how about contact opportunities.\(^{203}\) For the commissioner, an impartial approach was considered key to versatility; the film should therefore stick to traditional documentary approaches that were considered more objective. While they rejected the idea of using actors and having a poetic approach to the voiceover, this allowed the film to be treated as images

\(^{201}\) Hediger and Vonderau, “Record, Rhetoric, Rationalization,” 46.

\(^{202}\) The terms *företagsfilm* and *företagsbeskrivning* may be synonymous with the English term “prestige film” when used in an industry-commissioned context, but like that term is equally loosely defined and liberally used in historical records. A common trait for such films were that they were broader in their presentation of companies and made for a broad audience. *Företagsfilm* and *företagsbeskrivning* were treated as a category of films in the PA Council film catalogues in the 1960s (see Chapter 2).

\(^{203}\) I use the terms “information department”, “advertising department”, “information manager” and “advertising manager” interchangeably because they were used interchangeably in the time period and in the chapter’s case study. It was not uncommon that this department of a company would be called an “advertising and information department”.

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representing Swedish industry rather than exclusively as servicing the commissioner.

To contextualize this approach from the commissioner’s side on needing to eliminate bias, I first briefly take us back to the immediate years after WW2 where great artistic licence was taken in a film commissioned by the Fagersta mining company during a time of disagreement and uncertainty regarding how the economy is best managed. This is followed by tracing the origins of the concept of contact, emphasizing – at least in theory – a concrete and transparent approach to communication.

A semi-documentary anomaly in the 1940s

On October 25, 1948, a film premiered celebrating 100 years of the ironworks and mining company Fagersta AB in the Swedish region of Bergslagen. It represented an anomaly in the post-WW2 industry-commissioned film. *Bergslagsbygd – En bildrapsodi till Martin Nordkvists svit ‘Stålets och malmens rike’,* which may be translated to “The Bergslagen countryside – A pictorial rhapsody to Martin Nordkvist’s cantata The Kingdom of Steel and Ore”, connects images of industry to local history, culture, and folklore. Instead of using the voiceover to explain the image – a dominant mode of the post-WW2 industry-commissioned film – the film takes liberties to appeal to a more spiritual connection between industry and society. In their analysis of two films commissioned by Fagersta AB in the 1940s, historian Jan af Geijerstam and photographer Peter Nyblom describe both this film and the earlier *Fagersta – stålets och arbetets stad* (“Fagersta – the city of steel and work”, Svensk Filmindustri, 1943) as “semi-documentary and dramatic reportage”.

Elements in the film that support this description include the advertising manager E. Edmark acting the role of the ironmaster in the films’ historical segments, and several quotes of poetic phrases from the voiceover, narrated and co-written by the actor, filmmaker, poet, and playwright Rune Lindström. A poetic approach to the voiceover is matched with a dramatic score and imagery: accompanying closeups of men in a dark mine shaft (Figure 3, left) Lindström talks about the “genuine [inner] spark

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206 Co-written with director Eric Johnson.
of song and imagination” of the men that meet “the raging fires and the mountain's interior”. A baritone takes over and the orchestra, which had accompanied Lindström’s voice in the background, swells as we get a montage of work underground. A chronology of the work process is not presented or explained by the voiceover.

The height of both the dramatic and semi-documentary approach comes when the film turns fantastical in a segment on the celebration of Midsummer Eve in Fagersta. With the forest, mines and ironworks now shut down for the celebrations, we get a glimpse of other beings having their own celebrations, including forest nymphs and a nixie playing the violin near the river and underground (these were played by “members of Operabaletten” (the Royal Swedish Ballet, Figure 3, right)).

Figure 3: Left: Close-up of two men in a mining shaft elevator as it descends. Right: An uncredited performer as a violin-playing nixie underground. From Bergslagsbygd - En bildrapsodi till Martin Nordkvists svit ´Stålets och malmens rike´ (1948) [FB/A]

Although fairy tales about the mines, such as that of the mine spirit (bergsrå or gruvrå), have historically been shared among workers, locals and on museum tours208 – the film Bergslagsbygd stands out as the only post-WW2


208 According to folklore legend, the mine spirit (gruvrå) could present itself as a well-dressed woman, an old man, a troll, or an animal in the mines. It was therefore strictly prohibited to kill animals who had made their way down into the mines. The mine nymph would often attempt to scare people away from the mines but would also reward certain persons for good behaviour. See “Gruvrå,” Institutet för språk och folkminnen, accessed March 1, 2022, https://www.isof.se/lar-dig-78
film commissioned by a mining company to include such fantastical elements steeped in local knowledge. The poetic flourishes and liberties with the text may be attributed in part to the ensemble involved in its making, many with roots in Fagersta and whose expertise lay partly in theatre, music, and feature films. Although rooted in a standard commissioned message of the corporation as a societal benefactor, Bergslagsbygd granted those involved artistic licence to divert from film as a straightforward relying of this message.

In this sense the film belonged to a non-fiction tradition from the 1930s where films were produced with emphasis on a creative vision rather than film as attempting literal translations of the actual. Yvonne Zimmermann notes John Grierson as one of several figures at the time, including Paul Rotha and Hans Richter, exploring techniques for film to advertise democracy and teaching citizenry. As Lars Weckbecker has argued in the case of Grierson – who described documentary as a “creative treatment of actuality” – this focus away from non-fiction film as dissemination of facts attempted to offer “visions of the real” compelling to our own subconscious. Zoë Druick connects Grierson’s interests in the mental work of film to the social sciences at the time and their interest in human ecology as consisting of types and typical traits. Coinciding with the prevailing notion in sociological research at the time of the individual needing to adapt to society, a film about mining made during this time in Canada could consist of composites of what was statistically considered typical to help manage labour unrest. Bergslagsbygd was in a similar fashion emphasizing commonly associated ideas of the Bergslagen region of Sweden regarding work, life and identity to the point of

mer/kunskapsbanker/lar-dig-mer-om-vasen-i-folktron/vasengalleriet/gruvra. Other popular folklore tales talked of the risk of being captured into the mountains (bergtagning) in which creatures such as trolls would capture people or their animals and bring them to their lairs in the mountains or underground. Director Eric Johnson was an experienced sound technician who had worked on many feature films. Scriptwriter and narrator Rune Lindström made his breakthrough as an artist in 1941 with the play Himlaspelet. The production also had a strong local presence, as the composer Martin Nordkvist, Lindström, the baritone, the men’s chorus and children’s chorus featured in the film all were from Fagersta. Yvonne Zimmermann, “Advertising and Avant-Gardes: A History of Concepts, 1930-1940”, in Advertising and the Transformation of Screen Cultures, Bo Florin, Patrick Vonderau, and Yvonne Zimmermann (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021), 105-106. John Grierson, “The Documentary Producer,” Cinema Quarterly 2, no. 1 (1933): 8.


Druick, Projecting Canada, 52-54.

Druick, Projecting Canada, 69-71. Druick here contextualizes the production of the film Coal Face Canada (1944) in relation to managing unrest regarding labour conditions in Canadian mines.
exploring its typical myths. Artistic license in the non-fiction film was, according to this approach, key to reaching audiences; they were thereby made crucial experts on the communication between the film and its public.

The local expertise involved – and persuasive approach applied – served a particular function in Bergslagsbygd. A new municipality named Fagersta stad had on January 1, 1944, replaced the earlier municipality Västanfors landskommun in which Fagersta had been an industrial site. The three films commissioned by Fagersta AB, for which Bergslagsbygd was the final entry, served a purpose to envision the new municipality with industrial roots, more so than social purpose. Via the Fagersta AB commissions, an “industrial spirit of community” (bruksanda) in which the company was described as having a paternal role was emphasized. By featuring local artistic interpretations of this spirit, the “new” Fagersta space became associated with familial connection to the company. As much as the film acted as information to recontextualize the local history of the company in the region, the persuasion was formed towards subconscious connections crafted by the artistic perceptions of the space created by the filmmakers.

The persuasive approach of Bergslagsbygd can also be placed in the wider context of a more radical political climate regarding macroeconomic directions at the time. Towards the end of World War 2, with the Great Depression still fresh in memory, there was uncertainty regarding the way to

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215 The two earlier films were Fagersta: Stålets och arbetets stad (1943) and a shorter version of the same film Stål bygger stad (“Steel builds the city”, 1943), the latter premiering on New Year’s Eve in 1943, the final day of the municipality under the name Västanfors. Both were directed by Rune Lindström and produced by Svensk Filmindustri.

216 Brian Winston has famously stated that all films funded in such a way as the films of the British documentary film movement were “running from social meaning”, as in not actually providing political commentary or economic analysis. Brian Winston, “Paying the Piper: The Realist Film in the Service of the British State,” in Triumph der Bilder: Kultur- und Dokumentarfilme vor 1945 im internationalen Vergleich, ed. Peter Zimmermann and Kay Hoffmann (Konstanz: UVK, 2003), 151.

217 The English translation of bruksanda as “industrial spirit of community” is borrowed from Jon Sunnerfjell, who notes that there is no singular understanding of the concept. Sunnerfjell supports his description of the term on earlier work by Anette Forsberg, Chatrine Höckertin and Hans Westlund who describes bruksanda as the establishment of a mentality where industry was expected to take responsibility for the basic welfare of its employees and families in return for loyalty to the company. This loyalty meant that entrepreneurship was not supported. Jon Sunnerfjell, Un-learning to labour? Activating the unemployed in a former industrial community (Lund: Arkiv Förlag, 2023), 16, 19, and 53; Anette Forsberg, Chatrine Höckertin and Hans Westlund, Socialt kapital och lokal utveckling: En fallstudie av två landsbygdskommuner (Östersund: Arbetslivsinstitutet, 2001), 8, 80.
manage the economy going forward. In 1944, the labour movement proposed through a 27-point postwar programme the need for a democratization of the economy. Largely pushing towards a planned economy approach, this election manifesto aimed, among other things, to introduce price controls and deter the formation of monopolies and cartels to set wage rates.\textsuperscript{218} As Rikard Westerberg shows, the ensuing debate in the 1940s between the labour movement and agents for free enterprise called \textit{Planhushållningsfrågan} led to using media to form public opinion.\textsuperscript{219} Under the umbrella organization the Enterprise Fund (Näringslivets Fond), defenders of free enterprise including SAF and the Federation of Swedish Industries organized advocacy activities including information campaigns portraying planned economy as strangulating industry.\textsuperscript{220} These activities largely continued until 1948, when the Social Democratic Party won the general election which kept them as a majority party in the government – a position they would hold until 1976.

While \textit{Bergslagsbygd} likely was not used as a direct campaign tool in these matters, it is worth noting that the Fagersta company had in 1944 been acquired by the holding company Industrivärdens, whose shareholders were from the Stockholm-based private banking firm Handelsbanken. Its Grierson-inspired advertising of the company’s local roots could therefore be advantageous to minimize the idea of the new and distant private ownership as a possible threat to these interests.

As a Keynesian approach to managing the economy took hold in Sweden from the early 1950s, coinciding with an economic boom that lasted until the early 1970s, tensions eased between previous ideological factions. Like Keynesian theory, the Swedish approach built on the idea of state intervention through fiscal and monetary policy instead of following aggregate market demand. Central to what was called the Rehn-Meidner model became the strengthening of labour unions to collectively bargain with employer unions for wage rises in line with productivity growth.\textsuperscript{221} Instead of keeping to old partisan lines, then, there was a climate for collaborating across them, in part because increasing productivity became of mutual interest to the parties in this system. This was evident also in image production. As Mats Hyvönen points out, the cooperative body “Economic Information” – involving SAF, the Swedish Confederation of Professional Employees and the national labour union Landsorganisationen (LO) – sought to create films and

\textsuperscript{218} Ernst Wigforss, ed., \textit{Arbetarrörelsens efterkrigsprogram: De 27 punkterna med motivering} (Stockholm: Victor Pettersons bokindustriaktiebolag, 1944).
\textsuperscript{219} Westerberg, “Socialists at the Gate,” 97.
\textsuperscript{220} Westerberg, “Socialists at the Gate,” 120-122.
images between 1949 and 1956 promoting metaphors of the “good work” resulting from working together.222

In this calmer political climate from the late 1940s, film as a contact instrument became for the industry less about finding intuitive approaches to persuade audiences towards a radical ideological approach, and more about informing and educating the public on what a company was about. This was not about full transparency and fairness in the communication – the films would not talk about issues of work safety, for instance – but rather to hide biases more actively behind a veneer of objectivity instead of artistic license. The expertise desired for this communication work from the commissioner’s side was of a more general character, which contrasted with a medium-specific idea of employing film officers, which I introduce in the next segment.

Post-WW2 contact work and its specialists

Writing about the film production practices of the General Post Office (GPO) in 1936, John Grierson identifies what he calls a “more or less unique” factor “responsible for the quality of the work” done in their Film Unit – a dedicated Film Officer.223 Working with the financial and logistical terms set at the beginning of the year by the Public Relations Officer, the Film Officer has “more or less free commission to secure the best creative work he knows how”.224 Grierson then explains that the situation elsewhere, including when film projects were launched by industrial commissioners, rarely leads to positive outcomes:

[The filmmaker] is often subject to a committee which will shamelessly dictate the order and nature of his shots. He is subject to any veto which a self-assertive and often impertinent managing director cares to issue. The result in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred is either dullness or disaster: dullness, if the film-maker tamely submits; disaster if, in the ordinary vanity of his trade, the film-maker tells the committee to go to the devil and walks out.225

Grierson continues to say that film officers in this business are the “sine qua non of good work”: a required expert to ensure quality films for public service alongside their own poets and writers, and a person who

222 Hyvönen, “Bilder av det “goda” arbetet,” 266-269.
combines their skills in creative and departmental outlook. In other words they could help hone creative visions of the films to institutional realities and desired future developments of them. Although this 1936 article reads in part as a promotional piece for the GPO Film Unit, Grierson’s lack of faith in filmmakers and commissioners being able to collaborate well without this expert mediator on films reflected a common, if occasionally inaccurate trope: the commissioner as a film amateur and the filmmaker as an amateur industrialist.

The frequent disaster situation expressed by Grierson was certainly not foreign to Swedish film workers approaching commissioners. But in Sweden the disaster was often described as being caused by the lack of strong convictions from commissioners themselves on what the films should do or be like. In a written speech to the Swedish Marketing Federation (Svenska Försäljings och Reklamförbundet) on May 15, 1956, filmmaker Gunnar Höglund mentions that the executive board or manager could be too fickle when it came to the objective of the film, allowing the script to pass among too many non-experts and thereby changing the entire point of the film in the process, creating an impossible situation for the filmmaker. A dynamic Höglund describes here is of everyone at some level having knowledge of what films are supposed to be like, which could all be considered valid opinions given that they often were supposed to work for broader audiences.

Höglund’s speech was addressed to people in a changing profession that would more frequently become assigned by companies in Sweden to deal with film projects, traditionally called “advertising man” or advertising manager (reklamman or reklamchef), and from the mid-1940s also called “information manager” or manager of the information department (informationschef or chef för informationsavdelningen). In practical terms, these people were often managers of the company’s advertising or information department and not unusually for smaller companies the only employed person in this department. They therefore rarely were exclusively “film officers” within companies in Sweden but also managed other media formats relevant to the company, including but not limited to signs, booklets, company newsletters, postcards, and photographs.

228 The title “film officer” (filmofficer) did, however, exist in the Swedish military film production system under AMF. See Wickman, “Filmen i försvarsutsjäst,” 92. As described in Chapter 2, film consultants (filmkonsult) outside the company, which share attributes of Grierson’s idea of film officers, would become available in the late 1950s through the PA Council.
In their day-to-day work, they worked with various external communication and media institutions involved with radio, newspapers and, from the mid-1950s, television. As such, it benefited them more to be versatile in communication forms rather than specialists in a media type. Their approach to this communication would also vary, from being informative and instructive to persuasive and sales oriented. This meant that not unlike the managing director or executive manager, it depended in part on these managers’ own convictions about the specific need for film whether it would be given more exclusive focus by the company. Unlike the managing director, however, their expertise and responsibilities were, after the introduction of the concept of contact work, honed towards communication objectives or targets. By having an information department in the first place, company information turned from a philosophy into a concrete communication strategy.

**Addressing the need for broader company communication**

Post-WW2 ideas about communicating company information in Sweden were informed by influences from abroad as well as state initiatives during the war, such as the National Board of Information (Statens informationsstyrelse, SIS) and their objectives to control public information discourses. The advertising or information manager was increasingly part of a profession that sought to familiarize itself with concepts other than pure advertising to contextualize its work. According to Larsåke Larsson, who has written the only detailed histories of the early years of public relations in Sweden, the necessity of developing external communication in companies came in part through shift in the power balance after World War I towards the public. One of these shifts happened through interwar reforms that ensured that a larger demographic could vote, including women. Another shift – here Larsson cites Lars Gröndahl in an article for Affärsekonomi in 1964 – was through the Saltsjöbad Agreement of 1938 between SAF and LO. Here the employers' and workers' central organizations agreed to first seek an agreement through negotiations without the

230 As Larsåke Larsson mentions, this time period was also one in which base goods became branded. This caused a need both for direct advertisement and informational approaches to these brands. Larsson, *Upplysning och propaganda*, 53.
232 Larsson, *Upplysning och propaganda*, 52.
involvement of the government, rather than progressing from local strikes to
general strikes requiring government intervention. This turn towards so-
called industrial democracy in the late 1940s saw the introduction of work
councils (företagsnämnder) within companies where representatives of
employees and employers met to discuss work environment and employment
policies. A collective agreement was signed in 1946 between the employer
confederation SAF, the labour movement organisation LO, and the white-
collar Swedish Confederation of Professional Employees that established an
incentive for establishing work councils. These developments displacing
company power away from clear sovereignty led to companies showing more
of an interest in more directed external communication. Work councils would
become an important contact opportunity in which films could be used, but
also external to the company there was an increased interest in human-industry
relations and work environments, including the education sector, in social
movements, and interest organisations.

Origins of the concept of contact from public relations

The originally foreign concept of public relations was key to the
development of the related concept of contact in Sweden. The concept of
public relations was, according to Larsåke Larsson, first used in Sweden in
1936 by engineer Will Wallin, who described it as new information
technology (upplysningsteknik). In a 1946 publication based on his
presentation at an information day for advertising managers in Swedish
industries, Stig Arbman translated the term public relations, which he saw as
an American concept, into “society contact” (samhällskontakt).

233 Larsson, Upplysning och propaganda, 53. Larsson here references Lars
Gröndahl, “PR-funktionen och PR-funktionären,” Affärsekonomi 37, no. 12 (1964):
887. The Saltsjöbad spirit of non-intervention by government ended in the early
1970s through new laws on employee board representation (1972), workplace status
of union representatives (1974) and employment protection (1974). Most significant
to ending the Saltsjöbad spirit of cooperation between employers and employees
was, according to Astrid Hedin, the 1976 “Act of Co-Determination in the
Workplace” (Medbestämmandelagen, the “MBL-law”). Astrid Hedin, “Before the
Breakdown of the Salsjöbaden Spirit of Labour Market Cooperation,” Scandinavian
234 Hedin, “Before the Breakdown,” 594. This agreement called
Företagsnämndsavtalet was according to Hedin strengthened in 1958 and 1966 but
replaced by the “MBL law” in 1976, see previous footnote.  
235 Björkin, Post-war Industrial Media Culture, 27.  
236 Larsson, Upplysning och propaganda, 53.  
237 Stig Arbman, Om samhällskontakt: Några synpunkter i diskussionen kring
industriell demokrati (Stockholm: Esselte Reklam, 1946), 1-3.
describes public relations in practice as divided into “actions” (handlingar) and “information and transparency” (upplysning och insyn).238 “Actions” are defined by Arbman as changes or betterments of potential relations of distrust from the general public or specific groups, with examples including improving salaries for workers, making public documents relating to the management of the company, making sure workers of the company give a good impression of it239 or contributing locally or regionally, such as the building of hospitals.240 Examples of “information and transparency”, divided into external and internal forms, include giving employers, shareholders, customers, and suppliers “detailed and open information about the company, its finances, its working methods, its future plans and its current problems.”241

What Arbman was suggesting was that society contact was direct rather than abstract communication behaviour by companies. He suggested annual reports and company newsletters as tools for this society contact. In 1956, Gustaf Bondeson, who also uses the phrase society contact to translate the term public relations, wrote a book on the contact potential of annual reports.242 Since the fall of 1954, SAF had together with the NGO Industrial Institute for Economic and Social Research (Industriens Utredningsinstitut, IUI) produced “spring” and “fall” filmstrips on the economic situation in Sweden.243

It is uncertain when looking into historical records if the wording “society contact” as a translation of public relations became popular in the first decade after 1945. Nor was the wording “public relations” necessarily widely used in these years: people working specifically with information in Sweden were rarely employed, in terms of titles, as PR officers working in PR departments.244 Instead, while doing a similar type of work in practice, they

238 Arbman, Om samhällskontakt, 6. The word upplysning may also be translated to enlightenment or explanation.
239 Arbman, Om samhällskontakt, 7. Here Arbman mentions a specific example: that companies which are operating trucks should ensure that their drivers are careful and considerate on the roads.
240 Arbman, Om samhällskontakt, 6-7.
241 Arbman, Om samhällskontakt, 8.
242 For a discussion of this publication, see Björkin, Post-war Industrial Media Culture, 91-92.
243 “Ekonomisk vårjournal 1957 färdig,” Arbetsgivaren 5, no. 5 (March 9, 1957): 1. IUI was funded by SAF and the Federation of Swedish Industries.
244 In an article for Industria in 1959, Nils Kjellström mentions that only five Swedish companies were using the term public relations by then to name their information department: Mobil Oil and Ford in Stockholm, and AB Addo, AB Plåtmanufaktur and Kockums AB in Malmö. Nils Kjellström, “PR – gammalt som Eriksgatan,” Industria 55, no 3 (1959): 44. The PR term became more commonly used starting from 1960, when the state press officers association Sveriges Pressombudsmän changed their name to Svenska Public Relations Förening (SPR).
were often referred to using the title of advertising or information manager as mentioned above. Regardless of title, their work was, however, often referred to among consultants as contact work. Indeed, any office person in a company or institution could be a “contact man” (kontaktdit) – referring to an employee who was doing some form of contact work.

The singular word contact, less clearly associated with specific interpretations of public relations, was widely used in post-WW2 Sweden as institutions were looking to find approaches towards communication matching the changing relations between them and the public. Putting the word society together with contact was perhaps a bit misleading in relation to much of this work as it did not seek out to address society as one entity – instead often attempting to nurture more personal interactions. Contact, in this sense, was an antithesis not only to television, as Björkin argues, but also to the idea of non-fiction film connecting to the audience as members of society through one persuasive creative vision of reality. While this approach emphasized the importance of hiring creative minds and championed the film officer as a mediator between creative visions and institutional reality, those promoting the idea of contact argued that institutions themselves should emphasize developing and specializing connections.

The logistical problems of reaching out

A particular challenge with maintaining and establishing these more direct connections between industry and society that was recognized from early on was the amount of “contact time” (kontakttid) needed to establish and maintain good contacts. In 1950, Rune Höglund investigated the contact logistics in five anonymous Swedish industry companies with over 1,000 employees. He found that each company developed “contact specialists” (kontaktspecialister) for their communication work with the press and other information media workers. An in-depth study of the distribution of contact hours between office workers and various groups reveals to Höglund a pattern: the advertising and information manager would be one of only four managers having any contact with the press and other information media workers. At an anonymized company studied in detail, this person would in 1950 have 110


246 Höglund, Företaget i samhället, 170.
telephone calls and send 90 letters out of the 135 telephone calls and 106 letters sent in total by managers of the company during the year to this contact group (Table 2). The minor share was divided between the CEO (verkställande direktör, vd), a sales manager, and the factory manager.\textsuperscript{247} Other managers were simply busy with other contacts: the CEO’s focus was most prominently on industry organizations within their own industry, employer organizations, and companies which the CEO was a board member, and was rarely in direct contact with municipal authorities and organizations, the press, and the educational sector, apart from universities. Interestingly, various managers at the factory would do nearly all the contact work with tour groups to the company.

\textsuperscript{247} Höglund, Företaget i samhället, chart 1. Less quantity of course does not mean that these phone calls and letters with media contacts were of less importance.
Table 2: Excerpt of chart of contact types and contact time as divided by managerial positions in the anonymized company “Epsilon” in 1950 by Rune Höglund in Företaget i samhället. T = telephone calls, L = letters.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contact type</th>
<th>CEO</th>
<th>Ombudsman</th>
<th>Head of sales (A)</th>
<th>Head of information section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government bodies, central</td>
<td>12 T</td>
<td>120 T</td>
<td>160 T</td>
<td>4 T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14 L</td>
<td>80 L</td>
<td>180 L</td>
<td>4 L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government bodies, local</td>
<td>14 T</td>
<td>12 T</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40 T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 L</td>
<td>6 L</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipality bodies</td>
<td>7 T</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23 T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20 L</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Branch organisations</td>
<td>34 T</td>
<td>24 T</td>
<td>40 T</td>
<td>14 T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38 L</td>
<td>6 L</td>
<td>20 L</td>
<td>28 L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour market organisations</td>
<td>46 T</td>
<td>12 T</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>26 T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30 L</td>
<td>8 L</td>
<td>24 L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools (orig.: lägre skolor)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12 T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher educational and scientific bodies</td>
<td>14 T</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10 T</td>
<td>6 T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 L</td>
<td>4 L</td>
<td>30 L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Press and other information media</td>
<td>6 T</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>110 T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8 L</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>90 L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign organisations</td>
<td>12 L</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6 L</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional organisations</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6 L</td>
<td>18 L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-profit organisations</td>
<td>4 T</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>26 T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14 L</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>24 L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Companies where CEO is on the board</td>
<td>78 T</td>
<td>18 T</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>56 L</td>
<td>8 L</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visitor groups</td>
<td>6 L</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6 T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total number of calls and letters</strong></td>
<td>215 T</td>
<td>186 T</td>
<td>210 T</td>
<td>267 T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>204 L</td>
<td>108 L</td>
<td>216 L</td>
<td>225 L</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

248 There are two heads of sales at this company, one for “product A” and one for “product B”. Showing here the former. The difference between the two is that the second has a section manager under them who does a lot of the contact work for them, and that the sales manager for product B has the second most contact with press and other information media (15 phone calls, 2 letters).
Regarding film within the company, then, it was not uncommon that companies relied heavily in terms of work hours on the manager of the information department to contact film workers and to manage how the films were envisioned as a contact tool. While the information manager needed the approval of the CEO and the company board for major decisions, such as financing a film, much of the correspondence and decision-making may have never reached these upper-level managers. Given the goal to establish more personal connections between the company and society, it is a bit paradoxical that so much of the direct contact with the media happened through one employee. Who was employed in this position, as well as the organization of the information department, was therefore significant not only in terms of the emphasis on film or other media, but also to the commissioner’s role in making the film. Despite finding all managers very occupied in their jobs with their selected contact groups, Rune Höglund considers advertising and information managers the actual specialists within each company because “[c]ontacts constituted their main form of work.”249 In this expert role, their objective given by the system was contact, but the tools utilized for this were up to the manager.

This concept of reaching out posed a challenge in terms of effective contact (e.g., creating long-term goodwill through apparent or genuine transparency), and efficient contact (e.g., hassle-free, wasteless or time-saving communication).250 Although the information manager would always want their films or other commissioned media to be effective, working on making them so meant balancing effectiveness with the need for efficiency, which also played a part in their day-to-day work. Not only did the information manager have to juggle their specialist contact responsibilities with various press and other media, but Rune Höglund’s study shows that half of the information manager’s work in terms of telephone calls and letters was thinly spread out to nearly all other groups of interest to the company.

249 Höglund, Företaget i samhället, 172-173.
250 A Swedish book on goodwill published in 1943 describes the term as having an abstract value: “The closest you get [to a definition] is if you say that goodwill corresponds to commercial prestige, reputation, the trust and sympathy of the public, the clientele, the employees, indeed, the suppliers towards or benevolent attitude towards a company, its management, products, service, and business ethics. Goodwill is thus an abstract value. Perhaps one can dare to translate goodwill more generally with trust value.” From Gustav Cassel et al., Om Goodwill: några inlägg i en aktuell fråga (Stockholm: Esselte, 1943), 7. Original citation: “Närmast kommer man väl, om man säger, att goodwill motsvarar kommersiell prestige, anseende, allmänhetens, kundkretsens, de anställdes, ja, leverantörernas förtroende och sympati för eller välvilliga inställning till ett företag, dess ledning, produkter, service, affärs moral. Goodwill är alltså ett abstrakt värde. Kanske kan man våga generellt översätta goodwill med fortroendevärde.”
At the back of the mind of the information manager, then, there was therefore a limit to how many letters and phone calls one should have with a film company before the film should be ready. At the same time, the films should be efficient in themselves, which as Mats Björkin notes was the main argument of the information consultant Einar Förberg and his 1946 book *Att sälja med film* (“To sell with film”). Like any other audiovisual medium, film had for a long time been known for its potential (and dangers) in terms of its effects, but in postwar Sweden, where more people were employed as consultants or contact specialists, the argument for the purpose of film became more nuanced to deal with the increasing challenge of communicating efficiently. Films were not only intended to address the company’s outreach needs, but also to meet the needs of the company’s contact specialist. Working on a singular film sufficient for many contexts rather than a larger quantity of specialized commissions could be desirable to the contact specialist who also had to juggle other responsibilities.

**Experiment versus tradition: Communication via film as a pragmatic problem.**

Discussions from the mid-to-late-1940s showed a renewed interest among information managers to understand the specific uses of films. Mats Björkin argues that the post-WW2 developments of organizational theory put wind in the sails of the old technology of film. This is perhaps best seen in the occasional discussions that occurred without the presence of film industry professionals doing their spiel to possibly secure new customers. Here, film as a contact tool was also brought into economic realities in terms of time and money.

The value of film for goodwill and sales was discussed at a meeting between Swedish advertising managers in charge of films within their respective companies (including the mining companies Fagersta, Stora and Uddeholm) on May 25, 1948 in the collective Reklamträffen (“the advertisement rendezvous”). The meeting minutes illustrate common

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252 Björkin, “Technologies of Organizational Learning,” 304.
253 As Björkin notes, we must keep in mind that books such as Förberg’s *Att sälja med film* (1946) were themselves “[…] an instrument for selling – selling the production of films.” Björkin, *Post-war Industrial Media Culture*, 109.
254 “Protokoll fört vid sammanträde med Reklamträffen i Stockholm tisdagen den 25 maj 1948 kl. 11.00 på L M Ericssons Försäljningsbolags lokal, Södra Kungstornet,” 762, Koncernfunktion Informations arkiv, Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags central archive, ARDA, 1. The companies represented in the working group Reklamträffen
approaches at the time from the commissioner’s side, one of which was the position that film reached the broadest audience if it stuck to “traditions”. What is meant by traditions is somewhat unclear, however, but the use of the word relates to the idea of familiar forms: the audience should not be confused about what kind of film they are watching. Three uses of films were mentioned: firstly, film could be used for public goodwill – defined here as making an industry part of the public’s consciousness. In part, films were seen here as a tool to replace the time-consuming company tours for less important guests; films should therefore reflect the experience of visiting the company. Secondly, films could be used internally for instructional purposes “to promote industrial democracy”, to explain structures within the company, or as part of the employment of new people. Finally, film could help advertise – for example, by showing how a product was made. This statement was followed by a discussion about how films are to be made, which focused on a dichotomy between tradition and experiment in relations to costs:

Immediately the question arises whether a film should be traditional or original. The traditional film probably has greater accuracy, as people find it easier to grasp this film than a film that is original and more puzzle-like. One can do the little thought experiment by asking oneself: “What does a film cost per newly acquired soul?” If the impact is great, the film pays off, but an industrial film currently costs around SEK 40,000, and the sceptic then immediately asks what it would be like to spend SEK 40,000 on a salesperson, instead of on the film. He might be able to win a big market and get lots of new customers if he had this big financial help.

in 1948 were AGA, Asea, Atlas Diesel, Bofors, Bolinder-Munktell, Bulstfabriks AB, Electrolux, Fagersta (via E Edmark), Hellefors, Malcus, Motala Verkstad, Sandviken Jernverk, See Fabriks AB, Separator, SKF, Stora Kopparberg (via Alvar Silow), Svenska Fläktfabriken, Svenska Metallverken, Svenska Kullagerfabriken, Telefon AB L. M. Ericsson and Uddeholms AB (via Moje Åslund).

255 “Protokoll fört vid sammanträde med Reklamträffen,” 2.
256 “Protokoll fört vid sammanträde med Reklamträffen,” 2. Original citation: “Hur skall detta göras? Ja, när det kommer till kritan är det den personliga insatsen som är av betydelse, det goda uppslaget och upplägningen är A och O. Genast uppställer sig frågan om en film skall vara traditionell eller originell. Den traditionella filmen har troligen större träffsäkerhet, en är människorna ha lättare att fatta denna film än en film som är originell och mera rebusartad. Man kan göra det lilla tankeexperimentet att fråga sig: ”Vad kostar en film per nyvunnen själ?” Är träffverkan stor så betalar sig filmen, men en industrifilm kostar f.n. omkring 40.000 kronor och skeptikern frågar sig då genast hur skulle det vara att köta på 40.000 kr på en resande, i stället för på filmen. Han kanske kunde vinna en stor marknad och få massor av nya kunder om han hade denna stora ekonomiska hjälp.” 40000 SEK in
Central to this argument about making the films clear was the economic impetus to create the most impactful film in terms of contact for the least amount of money. As the end of the quote illustrates, however, in the example of sales there was some doubt whether a film would do as much good work for a company compared to sending a salesperson around to come into direct contact with potential customers. A salesperson could also adjust their pitch to various contacts in more ways than one film copy could. On the other hand, film could be consistent in terms of delivering the same sales pitch via voiceover for each screening.

This hypothetical comparison associated film’s purpose with travel. The meeting minutes go on to note that foreign markets had started demanding colour films: a film by the bearing manufacturer SKF was returned from South Africa with a note that black-and-white films were too outdated to be screened.\textsuperscript{257} However, according to the advertising managers at the meeting a regular colour film would easily cost around 100,000 SEK. Adding to financial woes was the point brought up by Johan Paues of the forestry and steel company Hellefors that films easily get outdated and may not be useful after a few years. The next sentence in the meeting minutes simply asks the question: “Can we afford this?”\textsuperscript{258}

Cost-cutting approaches to film were deemed important: within the internal company politics it could be hard to justify a costly film to shareholders and employees alike – especially if it did not turn out to be a success by their measurements. Yet the cost-cutting approach had its limits as it could be costly in terms of time. The meeting minutes describe that O. Lidbeck from the industrial gas company AGA asked why the larger companies simply do not produce the films themselves. Lidbeck stated that AGA sold filmmaking equipment, and that there was no lack of directors or cinematographers around.\textsuperscript{259} The representative from the arms manufacturer

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\textsuperscript{257} “Protokoll fört vid sammanträde med Reklamträffen,” 3.

\textsuperscript{258} “Protokoll fört vid sammanträde med Reklamträffen,” 3. Original citation: “Ha vi råd till detta?”

\textsuperscript{259} “Protokoll fört vid sammanträde med Reklamträffen,” 4. The industrial gas company AGA were particularly invested in innovating within radio and optical technologies. Among media technology patents included the Aga-Baltic film-on-sound system in 1930, early television systems and the anamorphic Agascope lens and film format around 1955. For some context regarding the Aga-Baltic film-on-sound system and the related patent wars, see Christopher Natzén, “The Coming of Sound Film in Sweden 1928-1932: New and Old Technologies,” (PhD diss., Department of Cinema Studies, Stockholm University, 2010).
Bofors, Gustaf Hansson, replied that the advertising managers had too much to work on and did not need extra work in making films.\textsuperscript{260}

Even if outsourcing most of the labour of making films to the film producers would relieve information managers of additional work, placing complete trust in filmmakers and production companies alike did not make economic sense – in part because there existed a level of scepticism towards this artistic profession. As Brian R. Jacobson notes in relation to the production of French industrial film during the 1950s, corporations feared that filmmakers were the “unpredictable variable” in a film production in terms of cost and making a clear corporate commission.\textsuperscript{261} The ideal filmmaker would have a deep connection to industry and its financial logics while also being able to clarify the corporate message to the best of their ability as a filmmaker. In lieu of this ideal being available, and seemingly uninterested in employing “Griersonian” film officers, the role of the head of the information department at the company was in part to rein in film productions in terms of costs. This required these managers to be closely involved in the production, at least before the shooting stage, which the Reklamträffen meeting minutes describe as “[…] 90% waiting around”.\textsuperscript{262}

The complexities regarding investing in film described above can be understood as a clash between logics driving commissioners versus those of the filmmaking industry. In an article on the factors affecting approaches to filmmaking in two Swedish committees commissioning governmental informational films from 1945–1960, Fredrik Norén demonstrates that such committees were pulled at one end towards the “logics of the film market” and at the other end towards the “logics of governmental information”.\textsuperscript{263} From the three variables resources, content and organization, Norén points out opposing logics steering the film market and governmental information: while much of the film market functions through large resources and creating entertaining content, and is organized through how the market works, actors

\textsuperscript{260} “Protokoll fört vid sammanträde med Reklamträffen,” 4.

\textsuperscript{261} Brian R. Jacobson, “Corporate Authorship: French Industrial Culture and the Culture of French Industry,” in A Companion to Documentary Film History, edited by Joshua Malitsky (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2021), 155. A famous example of a filmmaker being the unpredictable variable is Peter Kubelka’s work on Schwechater, a 1958 advertisement for Schwechater Bier. Kubelka’s experimental approach led to a film found useless (at least initially) by the commissioner. Earl Bodien for Film Quarterly called Schwechater a “beautiful sabotage”, noting that after seeing the film Schwechater Bier destroyed their copies and sued Kubelka. Years later, however, the company requested a new print of the same film, seeing how well the film did on the European festival circuit. Bodien writes that according to Kubelka himself, he was “paid handsomely” for this new copy. Earl Bodien, “The Films of Peter Kubelka,” Film Quarterly 20, no. 2 (Winter 1966-1967): 55.

\textsuperscript{262} “Protokoll fört vid sammanträde med Reklamträffen,” 4.

\textsuperscript{263} Norén, “Statens informationslogik,” 67.
focusing on governmental information encourage low spending and objectivity in content and have a cooperative and governmental structure to its organization. Norén finds evidence of government institutions at the time attempting to “turn the information towards the logics of the film market” by editing the length of their films to suit cinemas, making the information come across in entertaining ways without too much factual information, or through attempting to hire well-known directors, for example. However, there were limits to how original such films could be and limits to the amounts of money organizations were able or willing to spend on them due to the way governments perceived information dissemination. This, in turn, guided the models of approach, and Norén sees an Italian neorealist approach to some films in relation to the lower expenses of such filmmaking, thus meeting governmental logics of limited spending. Additionally, the British documentary movement helmed by John Grierson was seen by one committee in 1949 as a good model, in part due to its inclusion of fictional elements within its serious spirit of promoting education and democracy.

In one sense, the idea of the generalized, travelling film text flew in the face of the idea of contact as a more tailored approach to a company’s societal relations. For the advertising managers, however, this media form was often deemed as not worthwhile to invest in to be textually challenging, diverse, or different. Here, we see a push towards making films that Vinzenz Hediger and Patrick Vonderau have called “strategically weak”: they should blend in with existing forms of film rather than developing new ones. As I illustrate in the case study of Stora Kopparberg below, a generalizing factor to the production of films was the use of cost-saving approaches and established modular structures. Another aspect that contributed to the generalized approach was that information managers involved at the script phase steered the film towards a literal rather than a poetic approach to the voiceover. The voiceover script served as an insurance that the film would speak directly and not come off too strongly as advertising. In the end, a “literal”, albeit costly, film was produced seeking to take advantage of the


267 As we will come back to in Chapter 4, however, towards the late 1950s this generalized text would become more challenged within the commissioned film milieu, particularly with the establishment of industrial film festivals, where the problems of sameness became heightened.

268 Hediger and Vonderau, “Record, Rhetoric, Rationalization,” 46.
Contact as a textual challenge: Stora Kopparberg and a film production 1946-1954

Although Stora Kopparberg Bergslags AB was established in Falun in the Dalarna province in 1862, historical sources show that copper mining in the Falu mine can be dated back to the year 1288. By the mid-nineteenth century, the industry in the region had diversified into forestry and paper production, and by 1872 Stora had expanded its industry into steel production through the construction of the Domnarvet ironworks. The company would develop through the twentieth century into a leading player in the production of copper, iron, paper, timber, paint, and energy through hydropower. While copper had been the dominant extracted resource historically, by the twentieth century mining iron ore became the most extensive. By 1950, Stora extracted iron ore in the Grängesberg, Tuna Hästberg, Blötberget, Dannemora, Ramhäll and Vintjärn mines. The iron ore would largely be used for the manufacturing of steel in Stora’s Domnarvet and Söderfors ironworks. Most of the mines were sold to the Swedish steel company SSAB when it was founded in 1978 following the Steel Crisis. The final mining activities came to an end in 1992 when the Falu mine closed for these operations, but it has continued to this day as a tourist attraction managed by the Falun Museum. Stora would eventually cease to exist as a company in 1998 when it was merged with the Finnish forestry company Enso Oyj as Stora Enso Oyj.

The corporate image of Stora was often centred on its tradition and history in mining. The archives in Falun present evidence of films about Stora from 1914 onwards that presented the extent of their corporate activities. In 1917, the company hired historian Alvar Silow (1885–1963) as a librarian in the company library department (Bergslagets Biblioteksavdelning), which was established the same year. Through the efforts of Silow, the library

270 “Scen- och textlista till filmen: “Utställningsfilm 1914”,” 724, Koncernfunktion Informations arkiv, Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags central archive, ARDA.
271 Detailing the early history of the Stora Kopparberg Museum, Karin Grahn Wetter point out that early initiatives by Carl Sahlin (1861–1943) and Olof A. Söderberg (1872–1931) were key to the establishment of both the library department and the
department was gradually turned into an information department with him as its manager – which included the management of the company’s museum, Bergslagets museum, established in 1922. In a document written by Silow in December 1922 on the organization of information within the company, he describes that while the library department had originally been devoted to industrial history, this work had close connections to “direct information work”.

The same text gives insight into what such work entailed, which Silow separates into “intelligence agency” (underrättelseväsen) and “propaganda”. Intelligence agency work entailed keeping management up to date on developments through reviewing newspapers and trade papers (“preferably daily before office hours”), collecting and distributing news material to various departments of the company, and editing statements to the press. The propaganda work included direct advertising, but was primarily understood as the more neutral activity of education. Indeed, Silow was particularly sceptical about advertising, writing that it is risky, should be made with great caution, and that ingrained habits distinguish even the best of the advertisement agencies. Silow brings up the example of communicating about the export of iron ore and the distribution of electricity, which he argues should first and foremost be addressed through an informational approach. Tools mentioned for propaganda work include printed advertisements, hidden...
advertisements (*dold reklam*) in newspapers and trade papers, brochures, postcards, maps, travel handbooks, gift items, exhibitions, personal connections (e.g., in consulates), photographs, magic lantern slides (*skioptikonbilder*), and films. Both films and magic lantern slides were described as to be used for demonstrations internally and externally, the latter to be made available for loan to lecturers.

A similar, centralized structure to Stora’s information department is described four decades later in the engineering science trade paper *Teknisk-vetenskaplig forskning* by then information manager Sven Rydberg, although its communication activities are described here as working with “public relations” (in the English term) rather than propaganda. In this system, films were not given privileges administratively and are not mentioned specifically in Rydberg’s article. The manager who oversaw intelligence work and management of the library was also the same individual who would oversee the company’s propaganda or public relations activities. All these activities were also put under the budget of the information department, often referred to as the library section.

From early on, the company’s role in the commissioning of films was tied closely to the other information work in the department. Film was here treated as an expression of information in the form of news or in connection to industrial heritage research, rather than in terms of pure advertisements, despite the company selling a variety of paper, steel, and paint products on the consumer market. Within a script from an internal presentation given ahead of the screening of a new film in 1970, it is explained that Stora had from early on established regular production activities through the Swedish film company Svensk Filmindustri, in part through their newsreel *SF-Journalen* (1914–1965). The first commissioned film from 1914 was, however, produced by Pathé Frères. Another regular partnership from the 1930s until

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277 Silow uses quotations marks when referring to this concept. To describe it, he includes the example of getting someone to write about new machinery in a trade paper in which the company runs advertisements.

278 “P.M. rörande Bergslagets underrättelseväsen och propagandaorganisation,” 4-5.

279 “P.M. rörande Bergslagets underrättelseväsen och propagandaorganisation,” 8.


281 [Undated and unsigned script for internal presentation of the new film *Stora Kopparberg i går och i dag* in 197Y], 1602, Koncernfunktion Informations arkiv, Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags central archive, ARDA.

282 BR Ferling, “Den första Bergslagsfilmen,” Memo by BR Ferling, February 26, 1963, 1602, Koncernfunktion Informations arkiv, Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags central archive, ARDA. 2. Ferling notes that the idea for the film (title unknown) was initiated by CEO Erik Johan Ljungberg. The film was shown at the Baltic Exhibition (*Baltiska utställningen*) that took place in Malmö between 15 May to 4 October 1914.
the 1960s was via Sven Nilsson and his film production company Svennilssonfilm, who would produce films about the local industrial history in the Dalarna region for Stora, often filming old working methods and company events with an archival and museum purpose in mind.\

Collaborations with SF were expanded post-WW2 as Stora sought to commission a film for broader communication purposes. As the company was approaching the year 1947, which would mark the 600th anniversary of the first mining grants in Falun, it was suggested internally to produce a film presenting the entire corporation that could be part of this anniversary. Information manager Alvar Silow explained in his synopsis of the film that it should serve the following audiences and screening situations:

The film and its screenings are intended to be included as part of the celebration of the 600th anniversary of the creation of the 1347 letter of privilege. - It will be used 1/ at the actual anniversary ceremony in Falun. 2/ during screenings for the staff at Berglaget's various sections and administrations, 3/ through the company's sales organization at home and abroad, for screenings for customers etc., 4/ through the Swedish Institute, 5/ at domestic and foreign film theatres, 6/ as an educational film etc.

Rather than envisioning it as a film to reach only specific groups, Stora sought to commission a film that could present the company in very broad terms. It is striking, for example, that the film was both suggested to work as part of the sales work and as an educational film. However, this followed the argument made by Einar Förberg in the book *Att sälja med film*,

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published the same year, that it was not the film itself that was supposed to sell, but the salespersons who brought it along to be projected. As such, a film to be used for advertising did not have to be an advertisement in the narrow sense.

This new film, referred to in the correspondence as “the new Bergslagen film”, sought to do this and more through one part presenting the history of the region and the role of the company in its history, while a second part was to present extraction and manufacturing, as well as the company’s involvement locally and in foreign markets. While the often-commissioned newsreel segments could communicate about each of these aspects separately over time, these segments could hardly stand on their own to educate audiences or build an extensive understanding or branding of the company. Instead, these segments were considered “incoherent” and “useless” by Stora once they were no longer part of the newsreel context. A similar expression of a company viewing their own archival material as unusable is described in Fabian Zimmer’s contextualization of Vattenfall’s archival practices in the 1950s. By 1955, 20,000 metres of archival film on their industry had been collected, which were described as not usable for general audiences at the time in 1959.

By commissioning a film that presented the whole company, rather than some of its parts, there was opportunity to explain how it all came together as Stora. For Stora, such a film acted to centralize a very decentralized company of mines, mills, and ironworks, establishing a stronger connection between the viewer and Stora rather than specific operations of the company, such as the Domnarvet ironworks. That a “Stora film” should show all sections of the company was part of the expectations; anything else was assumed to lead to disappointment by workers in sections not included. In a letter to Gösta Werner on November 7, 1952, producer Christian A. Tenow writes in reply to Gösta Werner’s idea of cutting some scenes from workplaces in the film that then the question arises: Why are not we included? And that question is quite awkward when presented within a large company. Because they do not want artistic films. I know Your answer and I agree with You – but that is how it seems.

286 [Undated and unsigned script for internal presentation of a new film in 197Y]. Original citation: “osammanhängande” and “oanvändbara”.
287 Zimmer, Hydroelektrische Projektionen, 122.
288 Copy of letter from Christian Tenow to Gösta Werner, Stockholm, November 7, 1952, sent to Sven Rydberg, Falun, 747, Koncernfunktion Informations arkiv, Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags central archive, ARDA. Original citation: “[…] då kommer
However, producing films that stood on their own for a broad audience meant higher and more unpredictable production costs – with no easy estimate of how well the film would meet its goals. In correspondence between Svensk Filminustri (SF) and Stora, it was repeatedly stated that the surest way to assure the quality of the film in terms of reaching its objectives was to carefully craft the film on paper first. After the synopsis of the film was written by the commissioner, the role of the film producer, in this case SF, was to use one of their screenwriters to translate the synopsis effectively and convincingly into a script that could work as a film. The script was then reviewed by Stora’s information manager as well as employed engineers and other academics in charge of different areas of industrial production. The latter reviewers were told by the information manager when the scripts were sent out which pages particularly related to their expertise and which they wanted comments on. This careful process reminiscent of peer review not only meant that the commissioner had a large hand in the production at the writing stage, but also that the quality assurance was affected by how engineers and other technical experts understood the film as presented on paper.

From the first synopsis to the final revisions, the paperwork relating to this film project between 1946 and 1954 which has survived in the Stora archives presents to us fascinating dialogues between a commissioner and a producer about what would make the best film given the aforementioned idea of a company communicating to a broad audience. Here, the specific logics at play when producing this form of commissioned film become apparent. While the commissioner’s arguments in this correspondence shares logics of lower spending and an objective approach with governmental information logics as presented by Norén, I would argue that industry was less willing to turn their information towards the film market specifically. Instead, not turning the information in this direction was deemed more appropriate to keep a semblance of objectivity. While sticking to this approach was in part driven by cost saving, this project was unlike government information films in the sense that the commissioner was willing to spend to make the film prestigious by using colour film and hosting special screenings.

As the commissioner, Stora desired predictability in the costs of production. For example, relying on making the film in the moment on location and treating this process as unique and untouchable was deemed too unpredictable in terms of costs. Given that this general presentation film needed to feature many locations where Stora operated, much effort was put into ensuring how this issue could be made economical. Correspondence
between Stora and SF frequently referred to a “kronor per film metre” variable.

A key approach to save both time and money was to lessen the amount of shooting days. As the head of the commissioned film department at Svensk Filminustri Christian A. Tenow explains in a letter to Alvar Silow, the number of days needed for exterior shots were unpredictable due to weather, given that sunny weather was preferred.289 Plans were therefore made to schedule almost all shooting in the sunniest months. Interior shots, too, were unpredictable because the industrial environment was less controlled than at a studio, where Tenow estimates one could shoot as much as ten times the amount of footage in a day. However, using a studio was at odds with the desire for the film to follow a factual approach. It would also not be suited to the film’s target to capture industrial processes nor to replace company tours. The selection of Svensk Filminustri as a producer was made in part because they already had old film material from Stora, including the feature film Stål (“Steel”, Svensk Filminustri, 1940), and recordings by Prince Wilhelm that Stora initially thought could still be of use to save time and money.290 No material from these productions would be used in the end.291 Svensk Filminustri also made clear in the early correspondence that they had an extensive sound and music archive from other films that was used in their productions to lessen the need to make new sound recordings for each film.292 Because film was expensive, saving metres of film needed through reusing old film material was a widespread practice.

This desire to re-use past material was not unique; indeed, perhaps most industry-commissioned films were compilations of new and old material. Patrick Vonderau’s suggestion of films as transient and having repeated topoi can be seen here as a deliberate strategy for efficiency.293 Stock footage held at the company’s own film archive was not only invaluable

289 Letter from to Christian A. Tenow to Herr Fil. Lic. Alvar Silow, Gruvan, Falun, September 14, 1946, 762, Koncernfunktion Informations arkiv, Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags central archive, ARDA, 2. That Tenow explains this rather basic information to Stora’s information manager suggests to me that this film raised more economic concerns than previous commissions.
290 “P.M. rörande Bergslagets jubileumsfilm 1947,” 3. An earlier note by Alvar Silow reveals that he had also been in contact with the production companies AB Sandrew-Bauman, Europafilm and Kinocentralen prior to choosing SF. “Jubileumsfilm 1947”, Handwritten note by Alvar Silow, undated, 762, Koncernfunktion Informations arkiv, Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags central archive, ARDA.
291 In part due to the production switching to Agfacolor film in the 1950s.
evidence of the history of the company but was actively used as part of an economic approach to creating new media texts.  

However, to maximize the use of old footage and thereby save money, old and new films needed to follow a similar organizational approach. It could be harder to include archival footage in a film based on an original narrative. It could be beneficial, for example, if films were structured into sections of production, much like how the company organized itself. An early draft for how the many shots the film should contain within its roughly 45-minute runtime had the following suggestion for sections:

- Opening credits, 6 [shots]
- The water, 15
- Preamble, 15
- Historical, 60
- The forest, 15
- The mine, 20
- Domnarvet, 15
- Söderfors, 15
- Kvarnsveden, 10
- Skutskär, 10
- Skutskär sawmill, 15
- Research, 15
- Social, 15
- Agriculture, 10
- Future, 10
- Unforeseen [backup footage], 14

For instance, a film about Stora’s earlier Åg and Korså ironworks was a film compilation based on Svensk Filmindustri’s newsreel production on Stora until 1930. This film, put together in the late 1950s with a voiceover by Olle Björklund, became a historically valuable compilation of nineteenth century methods of producing bar and pig iron that now belonged to the past.

Structuring the film into such segments, most of which represented different locations, is seen as far back as Stora’s first film from 1914, where most of these segments remain the same.296 This consistency across film projects created the flexibility to use archival footage as part of the filmmaking in part because it adhered to the decentralized system of the company itself. As with most films commissioned by industry, each section was a self-contained unit: the film would present the mining sequence in isolation after the sawmill segment, and not crosscut between these. Specialists from the mine or the sawmill could then easily review pages of scripts in relation to how these sites would come across in the film and have a say in whether new footage needed to be recorded. While this consistent sectioning of the films was in part a cost-saving measure, technological development would eventually become so rapid that the company considered using still images with sound (stillfilm, here as slides with synchronized gramophone recordings) instead of film to save on the costs of updating the segments for new films.297 Film, then, was not necessarily seen as the best alternative for this modular approach to production.

Another way to ensure a predictable form of filmmaking in terms of expenses was by using voiceover. In the initial synopsis of the film, information manager Alvar Silow notes that recording sound and image at the same time is “unnecessarily expensive” – by recording these separately it was

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296 “Scen- och textlista till filmen: ”Utställningsfilm 1914“”
297 [Undated and unsigned script for internal presentation of a new film in 1970]. It is unclear in the source material what would make the most accurate translation of the Swedish term “stillfilm”. A SOU report from 1974 describes stillfilm in the following way: “Stillfilm often consists of a 35mm filmstrip with accompanying sound on a gramophone record or, in most cases nowadays, on an audio tape. The combination of 5x5 cm slide film series and audio tapes are also common. […] Stillfilm has become a designation for quite different products, which only have in common that they are combinations of sound and image. Synchronization of image and sound takes place either by manual image switching with help from the audio cue from the tape or by automatic image switching via control impulses inserted into one of the tape channels.” SOU 1974: 94 Bevara ljud och bild : förslag om arkivering av radio- och tv-sändningar, grammofonskivor, spelfilmer m.m, 136. Original citation: “Stillfilmen består ofta av ett bildband med tillhörande ljud på grammofonskiva eller i de flesta fall numera på ett ljudband. Vanlig är även kombinationen smådiaserie och ljudband. […] Stillfilm har blivit en beteckning på ganska väsensskilda produkter, som endast har det gemensamt att det är fråga om sammansättningar av ljud och bild. Synkronisering av bild och ljud sker antingen genom manuell bildväxling på ljudsignal från bandet eller genom automatisk bildväxling via styrimpulser inlagda på en av bandkanalerna.”
also cheaper and easier to produce foreign language versions. This common approach to filmmaking at the time also allowed for extensive use of voiceover to make sense of the silent images, which could in theory be adjusted for various audiences. However, beyond various language versions, tailoring various versions of the voiceover in the same language to groups such as workers, customers or students looks to have not been practiced (no such commentaries have been found in my research). Instead, this and other films for broader audiences aimed to be at a level that should be clear and informative to everyone. For the commissioner, use of voiceover was not only cheap, but also left fewer aspects up to chance as experts within the company could go through every word in the script several times to make sure everything came across clearly, correctly, and beneficially. With voiceover, images were made economic and unambiguous, cutting the number of metres of film necessary to explain a process or historical moment.

Producer Christian Tenow argued, however, during the synopsis phase of the new Bergslagen film that a greater interest in the film’s extensive historical segment could be achieved if it did not rely solely on “using commentary to make dead things come alive.” Here, he brought up the idea of using actors in costumes to portray historical figures instead of using voiceover to explain what industry was like in the past. While actors would require salaries – increasing the estimated cost per metre of film – Tenow argued that using actors would “win metres and clarity.” Alvar Silow was adamant, however, that while some interpretations of historical sources were encouraged, this was not to be considered and the suggestion was promptly rejected.

**Keeping to a documentary line**

The rejection of actors was not only about economic concerns but was also part of a strict concept by the commissioner of what would suit the film. While actors added expenses and unpredictability to the film budget – and added the unpredictable element of actor performances – the rejection of actors came in part from the desire to produce a film that kept away from giving poetic licence to the material. In establishing Stora’s museum, Silow

298 “P. M. rörande Bergslagets jubileumsfilm 1947,” 2. Original citation: “önödigt dyrbart”
301 “P. M. rörande Bergslagets jubileumsfilm 1947,” 1.
had according to Rydberg fought against a prevailing romantic, nostalgic attitude in museums run by the local heritage movements (hembygdsrörelser).\footnote{Sven Rydberg, “Alvar Silow,” [obituary] in Dalarnas hembygdsbok 1964, ed. Björn Hallerdt (Falun: Falu Nya Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1965), 165.} Actors were not considered by Silow as good replacements for simply filming the historical records from the museum as per his original suggestion.

In part, this rejection related to a worry about the filmmaking leaning towards fictional forms, particularly the theatrical. Film directors in Sweden, particularly during the 1940s and early 1950s, had often in addition to working with films of various kinds also worked with theatre (e.g., as stage directors). Helge Hagerman, who was initially considered for the director role of the new Stora film, was no exception: in 1945 he had been the stage director for Kaj Munk’s play Han sidder ved Smelteglen (He sits at the Crucible) at the national theatre touring company Riksteatern.\footnote{“Riksteater på åtta fronter,” Aftonbladet, January 31 1945, 11.} From Stora’s perspective, then, the rejection of actors may be read as a signal that this kind of film should not be directed like a play at any point, which may also explain why Helge Hagerman’s services were ultimately not desired here.

Stora and SF were in some disagreement about valid directions towards strategical weakness, with the latter open to the idea of including elements most associated with fiction films. To meet somewhere in the middle, discussions about the concerns of theatrical influences between Stora and the film company referred to the term “documentary” as a modest approach that was less directly associated with advertising. In the early correspondence, discussions refer to the notion of not crossing a “documentary line”. In the same letter that introduces the idea of using actors, Tenow writes:

> The more I deal with “advertising film” the more I realize that “advertising film”, in the form that they usually get, usually counteract the company’s interests. The film is such a powerful means of propaganda that one must be extremely careful when designing the films. As one industrialist once put it, “you have to crawl close to the ground” when making a film. Exaggerated and tendentious images usually have a completely opposite effect than the one intended. One should stick to the purely documentary line in a case like this. And I feel that you totally share this point of view. But do not be afraid to use actors in sections that can highlight the issue clearly.\footnote{Letter from Christian A. Tenow, SF, to Herr Fil. Lic. Alvar Silow, Falun, August 22, 1946, 6. Original citation: “Ju mer jag sysslar med ”reklamfilm” dess mer blir
Tenow suggests here that filming people in costume would not interfere with the mutual desire for a film that was grounded in its delivery. Here, and in other correspondence, the idea of a pure documentary line is connected to restraint: to be aware that many filmmaking tools could easily be used to make the film come across less grounded, and more like an advertisement, in its approach to the audience. Although the film being an advertising tool was part of its original intention, it was not to be exclusively read as such.

As Ib Bondebjerg has noted, while the Scandinavian documentary scene from the 1930s until the 1960s was inspired by the Griersonian ideas of creative treatment of actuality, the dominant commissioned filmmaking landscape and their assignments limited this poetic freedom – instead, the filmmakers had to find ways to be creative within these constraints. In this restricted environment, the commissioner was not pushing for a pure documentary in terms of freedom and transparency in order to explore its purity for its own sake, but rather saw it as part of their task to rein in poetic licence. Here, films were often to be explicit through providing facts and an overview of the industry, but implicit in the way this came across to avoid the films being experienced as agitation. Although the film had a general audience in mind, its first audience was always the information manager and engineers reviewing ideas and scripts, often from a position of examining whether the film presented industrial activity concretely. In this case, there seemed to be few concerns regarding the dominant use of voiceovers; instead, these offered guarantees that the film had a factual approach.

After long written correspondence regarding the film during August 1946, traces of work on this project as described by Silow disappear for some years in the archives. Tenow hints on August 22 that it would not be possible to make the film by May 1947 as originally planned, a situation likely not made easier by the disagreements regarding the initial synopsis. At the 600th


306 Letter from Christian A. Tenow, SF, to Herr Fil. Lic. Alvar Silow, Falun, August 22, 1946, 1. By August the production also could not take advantage of two of the sunniest months, June and July.
anniversary celebrations on September 13 and 14, no film screening was mentioned as part of the programme described in detail by the local press. Both the Dala-Demokraten and Falu-Kuriren newspapers do, however, mention that the event itself was documented on film. In the Stora archives, two films present the event: a silent film in colour with intertitles by Sven Nilsson showing the events in Falun, and the Svensk Filmindustri production Bergslagets minnesår 1947 (“The Bergslaget Anniversary 1947”), directed by Helge Hagerman, showing the celebrations in both Falun and Stora Tuna. Segments of the latter may have made it into SF’s own newsreels.

Silow retired as the manager of Stora’s information department in 1951, his position taken over by Sven A. Rydberg. After his education in intellectual history at Uppsala University, Rydberg worked his way up from a secretarial position to become second-in-command (biträdande chef) at the Swedish Institute (Svenska Institutet, SI) between 1945–50. As Nikolas Glover outlines in his thesis on the first 25 years of the Swedish Institute, it began as a semi-official organization for public diplomacy in 1945. Funded partly by the private sector and partly by the state, SI aimed to “promote Sweden’s political, economic and cultural relations” abroad, in part through publications, films, and television programmes.

Within SI, Rydberg became involved with their film projects. However, before he left only one notable film was produced with SI’s name attached: the Stockholm city symphony Människor i stad (Symphony of a City, 1947) directed by Arne Sucksdorff. Some correspondence in 1949 point, however, to a desire by SI to use film for contact work abroad more actively and frequently. On August 23, 1949, Christian A. Tenow of Svensk Filmindustri sent a suggestion to Handelsdepartementet (Ministry of Commerce and Industry) to co-finance production of an informative film on Swedish industries intended as part of the “export offensive” towards foreign

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311 Glover, National Relations, 3.
312 Glover, National Relations, 153.
markets. A letter by SI’s director Gunnar Granberg and Rydberg to the same Ministry on October 6 agrees with Svensk Filminдustri’s idea and suggests that in addition to getting help by Swedish shipping companies to transport films, SI could together with Swedish official foreign representatives arrange screenings for large audiences with an interest in connecting with Sweden. This could be done as long as said film “could not be characterized as propaganda for specific companies and industries, a circumstance that Svensk Filminдustri may more or less have overlooked”. Later the same month, the Ministry asked Sveriges Industriförbund (Federation of Swedish Industries) to comment on this suggestion; they ultimately rejected the idea of mixing several industries and state interests in one film.

These experiences with SI made Rydberg keenly aware of the textual expectations of films for potential Swedish foreign agencies, as well as know-how on how to reach and move films through such markets. In 1952, these aspects would influence the production of commissioned film in Stora when Rydberg would reintroduce Silow’s original 1946 suggestion to have a film to present the company as a whole. The previous disagreements on the treatment of the film’s historical segment did not sever relations between Stora and Svensk Filminдustri. Instead, this new cooperation would result in the 53-minute-long En svensk storindustri (Story of Stora, 1954). Similar in scope and structure to the earliest proposals, Story of Stora presented a history of the company as well showing how the corporation had been modernized. However, to get to this finalized film meant again addressing the documentary approach to the text.

Discussions around the film Story of Stora continued previous dialogues regarding where to draw the documentary line. The renewed film project did not get off to a good start with a proposed script by Rune Lindström, who had worked on the Fagersta commission Bergslagsbygd

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313 “Film. Produktion o distribution i exportfrämj syfte, 1949,” Letter from Alli Johanson, Kungliga Kommerskollegium [National Board of Trade], to Sveriges Industriförbund [Federation of Swedish Industries], October 28, 1949, 92 [2223-2230], Sveriges Industriförbunds arkiv, CFN. Johanson asks in this letter whether the Federation of Swedish Industries could comment on the suggestion. These comments have not been found. The earlier correspondence between SF, SI and Handelsdepartementet are attached to this letter.


315 Letter from Gustaf Settergren to Kungl. Kommerskollegium, December 17, 1949, 92 [2223-2230], Sveriges Industriförbunds arkiv, CFN. SF would, however, in 1951 produce a film about Scandinavian industries for the Swedish Marshall organisation (Marshallorganisationen) titled Ett hörn i norr (Living Stream, 1951). This film was directed by Arne Sucksdorff.
mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. According to Rydberg, “[t]he fairy tale style used by Lindström causes facts to be treacherously conjured away”. Stora’s strategy for their film, as it had been in 1946, was to make sure that the script was factual and grounded. Rydberg was convinced that Lindström’s script would work better if information was presented plainly (for example, in voiceover):

One finds out that the copper mountain began to be mined “when White Christ was still struggling with paganism.” It is not said properly when the mine gave the most. The many small industries were established “after the Copper Mountain began to rumble”, they acquired “iron mines early on”, etc. The style also leads one calling the forest the “green gold” and that it becomes natural to end with a mountain wife and a drunken fiddler. In my estimation, I am convinced that one can achieve the same strong effect with a more subdued, less sweeping text, and let the facts work through themselves.

Lindström’s script was ultimately rejected, and Gösta Werner, who at this point was employed by SF and had become an established director of commissioned films, was brought in to write a new script and direct the film. According to Christian A. Tenow, after reading Lindström’s script Werner referred to his suggested reconstruction scenes as “loose beards”

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317 Letter from Sven Rydberg to Christian Tenow, July 15, 1952, 1. Original citation: “Man får reda på att kopparberget började brytas ”då Vite Krist ännu kämpade med hedendomen”. Det säges inte ordentligt ut när gruvan gav som mest. De många små bruken kom under Bergsaget ”efter det att Kopparberget började tryta”, man skaffade ”tidigt järngruvor”, etc. Stilen leder också till att man kallar skogen för det ”gröna guldet” och att man finner det naturligt att sluta med en bergfru och en berusad speleman. För min del är jag övertygad om att man kan nå lika stark effekt med en mera dämpad, mindre yvig text, och låta fakta verka genom sig själva.” The word bergfru mentioned here has also been used for female forms of mine spirits. In that case Rydberg is possibly here referencing Lindström’s film Bergslagsbygd for Fagersta in 1948.

318 Rune Lindström would, however, continue to produce films for industry. In 1952 he would direct Vi som går tobakvägen for Svenska Tobaksmonopolet, a film intended foremost as internal information for the company. The film was according to Teknisk Tidsskrift “purely documentary” (Swedish: rent dokumentarisk). “Hänt inom tekniken,” Teknisk Tidsskrift 82, no. 46 (December 16, 1952): 1087.

319 Stjernholm, Gösta Werner, 254. Stjernholm briefly discusses Werner’s work on the film based on sources from newspapers and Werner’s archive, which do not mention the initial collaborations with Rune Lindström found only in Stora’s archives.
(lösskägg) that could be thrown out, possibly humorously referring to the idea of costumed actors put forward at a previous point. In the Stora company journal Bergslaget, Werner positioned the new film (and by extension, himself) as modern both in terms of applying colour technology and that it would avoid using actors in costume. As Emil Stjernholm has shown in his doctoral thesis on Gösta Werner, the director used opportunities such as writing shorter articles to strategically place himself within certain circles influential to his career as a filmmaker. A consistent trait that he advertised about himself was that he was a filmmaker whose artistry was of a more implicit nature. Similar to Rydberg and others trusted with proofreading the script, Werner also had an academic background which meant that he could describe his role and the process of the filmmaker within such perspectives, a practice which carried on with the re-edited scripts Gösta Werner delivered.

Here, Werner showed detailed knowledge of history and industrial processes that he had collected over half a year of research. Yet, a letter to Rydberg by the now-retired Silow, who had received Werner’s script drafts, was critical of his style. Werner’s descriptions of the company using adjectives such as “largest”, “best” and “oldest” were, according to Silow, too closely associated with advertisement, which he suggested the company did not need. Silow claims in the same letter that Rydberg was the only person to truly understand the “correct style” for the film, writing that he hoped that Rydberg would himself revise the script. This, according to Silow, would be instructive to the director and cinematographer, adding that Rydberg in this aspect should “[t]reat them strictly!” It is unclear in the archival records if Rydberg made the subsequent revisions of the script; only Werner is credited for this work in the film’s credits.

Historical reconstructions, actors in costumes, and explicitly poetic voiceovers were during this revision work seen by both the commissioner and

320 Letter from Christian Tenow, Svensk Filmindustri, to Sven Rydberg, Falun, November 7, 1952, 747, Koncernfunktion Informations arkiv, Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags central archive, ARDA, 1. Lösskägg may also be translated to false beard. Werner may be both alluding to these suggested scenes being artificial and that they are easily removable.


322 Stjernholm, Gösta Werner, 284-285.

323 Stjernholm, Gösta Werner, 240.

324 Stjernholm, Gösta Werner, 254.


327 “Betr. Filmmanuskript av Gösta Werner,” 1. Original citation: “Hålla dem kort!” Thanks to Saki Kobayashi for pointing out that this is an old idiom for “behandla strängt”.

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Svensk Filmindustri (through Werner) as unnecessary distractions from the factual purposes of the film. Christian Tenow, who had brought up the idea of actors for the historical segment in 1946 to Alvar Silow, comments in 1952 to Rydberg that “we both know that such scenes are not theoretically desirable in the so-called ‘Documentary Films.’” A possible acceptable alternative suggested by Tenow was to use animation to simulate old industrial processes for the film’s historical segment. Yet for Tenow the question for Stora’s information manager now was if this new film should strictly follow these documentary lines. As the film was also meant for a foreign market this point needed, according to him, to be seriously considered. Having read the foreign trade press, Tenow questioned whether the films that adhere strictly to the documentary approach “have the same grip on the audience as when that ‘school’ was new.” He suggested that they speak about this issue to Gösta Werner, who had been to the Edinburgh Film Festival that year.

**Investing in contact opportunities**

Werner had been part of the Edinburgh Film Festival with his short film experiment *Midvinterblot (The Sacrifice, 1945)*, a film about pagan rituals, at the second edition of the festival in 1948, and had participated in 1951 with the commissioned film *Sagan om ljuset* (“The tale of the light”, Kinocentralen for Kooperativa Förbundet, 1949). This leading film festival for documentary filmmaking had been initiated by John Grierson. Its aims were, according to co-founder Forsyth Hardy, to present “a world view of documentary achievement” and “to create an opportunity for the reconsideration and reassessment of the principles and methods of the documentary movement.” That the festival challenged what documentaries are becomes clear through the selections: while Hardy notes that the UK had got acquainted with the “brilliant” documentarian Arne Sucksdorff through...
the festival and that it featured renowned filmmakers such as Robert Flaherty, the festival also screened films by filmmakers further away from the classical documentary tradition such as Norman McLaren and Roberto Rossellini. For Svensk Filmindustri and Gösta Werner, it was therefore a festival to be at to take the pulse of where the documentary was or was heading. While these discussions relating to Stora’s films are missing from the archival material, a letter in 1954 notes that Werner went to the festival in 1954 to screen *Story of Stora*, hinting that at least Werner himself believed the film to be appropriate for a festival that helped define the current status of documentary film. To increase the chances of press coverage of the film in Britain, Tenow sent descriptions and photographs on the film in English to Forsyth Hardy, which he believed “should yield something in the form of column millimetres in *The Scotsman, Times* etc. where he writes”.

While SF had contacts in the festival circuit to help transport the film there, Rydberg had contacts in foreign embassies from his time in SI that could help getting the film screened abroad as well as international recognition. Even during the production of the film, such connections were activated. During the work on the English language version of the film, it was debated who should do the voiceover. Discussions focused about who would add prestige to the film and actor Laurence Olivier was suggested as the preferred option. After hearing about this wish from Rydberg, the Foreign Ministry’s press officer Olof Rydbeck sent a letter to Gunnar Hägglöf, the Ambassador of the Swedish Embassy in London, to suggest that he personally contact Laurence Olivier unless he had a better idea, given that this was “not a commercial film of any kind, but a cultural film that sheds light on an important section of Swedish society.” While it is unclear what happened next, Laurence Olivier declined, and Michael Redgrave was offered the role, which he accepted. Michael Redgrave, much like Laurence Olivier, had

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335 It should be noted that the British Free Cinema movement separated itself from this alternative documentary tradition begun by John Grierson, and therefore also activities in Edinburgh. The Edinburgh Film Festival therefore was not the only established venue for documentary filmmaking in the UK at the time. Christophe Dupin, “A History of Free Cinema,” BFI Screen online, accessed February 3, 2023, http://www.screenonline.org.uk/film/id/592919/index.html


337 Letter from Tenow to Rydberg, July 24, 1954, 747, Koncernfunktion Informations arkiv, Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags central archive, ARDA. Original citation: “Något skall det avkasta i form av spaltmillimetar i The Scotsman, Times etc där han skriver.”


339 Stjernholm, Gösta Werner, 255.
worked extensively in Hollywood, and was selected in part because he would be a familiar Brit to US audiences, his accent believed to work on both sides of the Atlantic. Story of Stora would eventually also be translated into French, German, and Spanish versions, with similar attentiveness by Stora to get the right person to do the voiceover. However, there were less focus in these three versions on having a famous voice. They were, however, to be of good quality, even if it meant doing the recording of such voiceover abroad with the filmmaker present. Stora had since the Silow days become more ambitious to produce a film for international contact work.

Financially speaking, the most ambitious part of the production to improve its international contact potential was the choice to shoot the film in colour. Early discussions suggested that Gevacolor increased cost estimates of the film production by about 50 percent alone. SF was initially reluctant to produce the film in colour because of concerns over the need to revise the script again. After internal discussions between Rydberg, Tenow, Werner, and cinematographer Sten Dahlgren between choosing Gevacolor or Agfacolor, they landed on the latter, despite this being an even costlier option. The choice to reject Gevacolor was in part based on Tenow hearing from Ove Sevel at the Danish production company Nordisk Film that it did not produce good and sharp exterior shots. Unfamiliar with shooting on Agfacolor, Werner and Dahlgren travelled to Agfa’s laboratories in

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341 These language versions had a different introduction compared to the Swedish version of the film, featuring an “exotic person” that would play the role of a foreign costumer willing to learn more about the company. A script of this introduction stated that “how exotic this person should be, should of course be the subject of discussion.” From “Förslag till upptakt till The Story of Stora: Endast avsett för utländska versioner,” Draft for commentary track for The Story of Stora, attached with letter from Sven Rydberg, Falun, to Direktör Sixten Wohlfahrt, Domnarvet, May 14, 1954, 772, Koncernfunktion Informations arkiv, Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags central archive, ARDA, 2.
342 E.g., Letter from Sven Rydberg to Gösta Werner, September 4, 1954, 747, on the Spanish version of the film.
343 Letter from Christian Tenow, SF, to Sven Rydberg, Falun, April 15, 1953, 747, 2. It was believed that too rapid editing in color was confusing and difficult for the eyes, hence the need to cut down the number of scenes for the given length (1250 metres) at the time. In Tenow’s letter to Rydberg on April 21, 1953, however, cinematographer Sten Dahlgren is described as suggesting that these issues could be fixed during filming.
344 Letter from Christian A. Tenow to Sven Rydberg, April 21, 1953, 747, 1.
345 Letter from Christian Tenow, SF, to Sven Rydberg, Falun, April 17, 1953, 747, 2.
346 Letter from Christian Tenow, SF, to Sven Rydberg, Falun, April 17, 1953, 747, 2.
Leverkusen to get training in the format. From Stora’s perspective, moving to colour was connected to the prestige of possibly having the first Swedish corporate film in colour screened abroad, as Rydberg writes to Tenow in May 1954:

I do not want to hide from you that there is now a certain nervousness here in the office to get an English version out as soon as possible, as there is a feeling that we are admittedly first in the field with a colour film, but that other companies are on our heels. We want to keep our lead […] 348

Another costly endeavour was to arrange special screening premieres in Sweden and abroad in addition to regular theatrical and other distribution. 349 Story of Stora premiered the same day in Falun and Stockholm on May 7, 1954, to ensure that not only the local press in Dalarna would write about the film, but also that Stockholm newspapers would write about the premiere. 350 The Stockholm premiere at Röda Kvärn, which only included invited guests, was followed by a cocktail party paid for by Stora. Cocktail parties also followed the film’s screenings in special premieres arranged between 1954–55 in Skövde, Malmö (Biografen Alcazar), Gothenburg (Göteborgs Museums Skulpturhall), London (The Mayfair Hotel, Figure 4), Oslo (Scala Kino), Copenhagen (Ingeniörshuset), Brussels (Palais des Beaux-Arts), Paris (Maison de la Chimie), Grenoble, Hamburg (Hotel Atlantic), and Amsterdam (Royal Tropical Institute). 351

347 Letter from Christian Tenow, SF, to Sven Rydberg, Falun, April 17, 1953, 2.
348 Letter from Sven Rydberg to Christian Tenow, SF, Stockholm, May 14, 1954, 772. Original citation: “Jag vill inte dölja för Dig att det nu härskar en viss nervositet här på kontoret att få ut en engelsk version så snart som möjligt, då man ju har en känsla av att vi visserligen är först på fältet med en färgfilm, men att andra företag är oss i hälarna. Vi vill ju gärna behålla vårt förspång […]”. I have not found information that states that the film turned out to be the first one of its kind in colour in Sweden.
350 “P.M. med förslag till visningsprogram för Bergslagsfilmen,” Memo suggesting a screening schedule for the film The Story of Stora by Sven Rydberg, April 12, year unknown, 747.
351 [Invitation cards for premiere screenings in London, Oslo, Paris, Grenoble, Hamburg and Amsterdam, 1954–1955], 748. Additional screening for invited guests without cocktail parties were arranged in Jönköping (Biografen China), Uppsala and Linköping (Biografen Röda Kvärn).
Figure 4: Invitation card to the London premiere for The Story of Stora.

For Rydberg, the London screening was “[t]he big and real premiere”, even more so than the earlier planned Edinburgh screening. Writing to G. Grafström at Stora’s London office before the Edinburgh festival, Rydberg notes that Grafström did not have to take into account the response from Edinburgh if it did not succeed there, “but that it would be fun to mention if it does well [there]”. Although less prestigious from a film market perspective, the London premiere was likely deemed more important by Stora because they had an office there, thereby more contacts and future contact potential, compared to Edinburgh where Stora did not have an office.

The foreign premieres were made to fit 300 to 500 invited managers of its country’s industries, Swedish embassy personnel, and press. For screening in capitals, the foreign ambassador of Sweden in that country would often be invited as a special guest to raise the profile of the screening, as Stora was not necessarily a familiar name abroad according to Rydberg, which was the case in London. In the case of the London screening, it was not a given to Rydberg that ambassador Hägglöf would feel at home at what was primarily

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a screening of a film commissioned by a private corporation. In a letter to Stora’s London office, Rydberg therefore suggested to give the event a more national Swedish touch:

One possibility to make it easier for Hägglöf to participate would perhaps be to add a depiction of Swedish nature, model Sucksdorff, to our film as an introduction, whereby the whole thing would feel more like a Swedish evening.³⁵⁶

It is not stated in the archival material whether these changes to the text were made in the end to accommodate Hägglöf, who was present as a distinguished guest at the event in London. In any case, the film text was not understood as sacred by Stora as they were primarily occupied in the preparations to these screenings to accommodate the audience. No place is this clearer than in copies of receipts after such screenings in the Stora archives, which show that 80 to 90 percent of the costs involved in the screenings came from the cocktail afterparty.³⁵⁷

The film premiere occasions were treated as a good opportunity for contact work – strengthening previous connections and establishing new ones. Tailoring the list of invites was done by Stora and their contacts abroad. For instance, for the Oslo screening 87 representatives from 43 different industries and institutions were invited after multiple revisions based on recommendations from the Oslo-based machinery parts manufacturer Keddell & Bommen A/S.³⁵⁸ Screenings were therefore opportunities not just to meet old contacts, but also to establish new ones. In addition to administrating these recommendations together with Stora’s own, adding up to 440 invitations total, Rydberg would also send invites to newspaper editors located in Oslo and included letters with pamphlets describing the film and photographs of some of the facilities depicted in the film.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁸ “Fortegnelse over personer som vi foreslår innbudt til Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags demonstrasjonsfilm i Oslo ca. 17 januar 1955,” Memo from Keddell & Bommen A/S to Stora Kopparberg, undated, 748.
³⁵⁹ Rydberg sent letters to the following newspapers between January 20-21,1955: Aftenposten, Arbeiderbladet, Dagbladet, Morgenbladet, Morgenposten, Norges
The final film shown at these events and elsewhere gives an overview of the industries, historical and present, which Stora were part of. After a montage on the flow of rivers in the Dalarna region – recalling the Heraclitus metaphor of us not being able to step into the same river twice – the film moves to show the ruins of old before moving into a historical segment presenting the role of the Falu copper mines during the Swedish Empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Contemporary images of museum artifacts and copper structures abroad were given historical context through the voiceover. A review of the film in the local newspaper *Falu-Kuriren* described this historical segment, which featured no re-enactments, as avoiding “national pomp” and “romanticism”; instead, it was “strictly speaking a factual account of what actually happened.”

The reviewer furthermore commended the dominant sections of the film devoted to the modern-day Stora and its mines, ironworks, mills, paper, and forest industries. At no point does the film talk about the dangers surrounding this work. Instead, the film focuses its attention on the industrial processes in a vacuum, such as the mechanical journey from extraction of iron from the many mines to the manufacturing of steel in the Domnarvet and Söderfors ironworks. Here, Sten Dahlgren’s camerawork frequently lingers on close-ups of technical processes such as machinery rather than the bodies working around them. These images are fused with an explanatory voiceover and a classical music score for the film by Erland von Koch, which dampened the presence of industrial noise. The photography in combination with Agfacolor made the motifs visually appealing, according to critics in Sweden and in the excerpts of writings about the film abroad. In a digest published by the Edinburgh Film Festival, the *Edinburgh Evening News, Sunday Observer* and *The Weekly Scotsman* were quoted as agreeing on the colour photography as visually appealing and impressive.

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*Handel & Sjöfartstidende, Nationen, Verdens Gang* and *Värt Land*. See letters in volume 748, Koncernfunktion Informations arkiv, Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags central archive, ARDA.

360 Kajman [Nils Fjällman], “‘En svensk storindustri”: Bergslaget i Agfacolor,” *Falu-Kuriren*, May 9, 1954, 5. Original citation: “strängt taget en saklig berättelse om vad som faktiskt skett.” Nils Fjällman was part of the Dalarna Art Society (Dalarna konstförening) where Alvar Silow had been one of the founding members in 1926.

361 “Edinburgh Film Festival 1954: A digest of films shown at the eighth Edinburgh Film Festival August 22-September 12, 1954,” excerpt from publication by Edinburgh Film Festival Film House, 1954, 747, 23-24.
In internal correspondences with Stora, however, Tenow expressed some doubts about how the film had been received. Tenow would report that he had the impression from the Edinburgh festival that the film “had not hit as well as we hoped”, adding that they had seen “many films over the years with the same character”. This impression may have also been Tenow’s own position. In 1949, he had been quoted in an article by Lennart Ehrenborg on the lack of the creative documentary film in Sweden stating that “the commentary, the voice from above, it must go, it is a nuisance.” Similar opinions among film workers can be found into the 1950s and in the 1960s, as we will come back to in Chapter 4. In 1952, director Anders H. Ångström, described the production of commissioned film as a creative deadlock because of the commissioner, stating: “It is the conventional commissioners who are deathly afraid of coming up with something new who are hindering development.”

For a commissioner, following conventions with film was not necessarily a negative but instead partly the point. This chapter has explored logics behind this approach to versatility from a commissioner’s perspective, which I connect to what Vinzenz Hediger and Patrick Vonderau call the strategic weakness of industrial media. In the case of the Bergslagen mining company Stora, a versatile film for them meant following a known literal approach to the documentary form with emphasis on objectivity.

To make this factual appeal ring true, it was paramount that the film did not hint at advertisement for the company. This contrasted with early suggestions by the film company SF, who saw benefits in engaging with styles of artistic licence associated with fiction film and theatre. The disagreements between Stora and SF were in this sense a clash between different perceptions of which approaches to the text could pass as documentary.

I relate the commissioner’s approach here to a postwar environment where nonpartisan and transparent personal contact between industry and audiences was emphasized. While versatility here in theory could mean the need to commission many different films for different occasions, I suggest that a focus on making singular films versatile was in part emphasized by costs. Cutting costs was partly about making productions cheaper, but also cutting the time investment of information managers stretched thin as the company’s

362 Letter from Christian Tenow to Sven Rydberg, Falun, October 19, 1954, 748. Original citation: “jag har fått det intrycket att filmen inte slog så som vi hoppades. Man har tydligen sett många filmer under årens lopp som haft samma karaktär.”
contact specialist. Yet, saving money and time was not done at the expense of prioritized contact opportunities, such as special premieres and colour photography that raised the prestige of the company internationally. What could be of less importance was film festivals, even if they carried prestige for the film companies involved.
Chapter 2: Developing aids for management

Working on establishing connections between industry and audiences via film was neither for the commissioner or the film producer attuned with the conventional idea of their main roles and expertise. The mining commissioner’s main objective lay in extracting resources as efficiently as possible. While film companies working on commissioned film were paid to make films functional for industry’s contact purposes, it was outside their expertise to explore how they could directly contribute to industry’s emphasis on increasing productivity. There was therefore a market for film expertise that adapted film to become an instrument of productivity itself.

In this chapter, I analyse how the mining industry was assisted in management through a film consultancy that established films about industry as an aid towards increased productivity. The main home of film consultancy about industry in postwar Sweden was the Council for Personnel Administration (Personaladministrativa Rådet, the PA Council), a think-tank subsidiary initiated and financed by the Swedish’s Employers’ Confederation (SAF) between 1952 and 1980. The PA Council on the one hand provided consultancy and service to industry regarding their audiovisual information and communication needs, and on the other hand ran and co-funded work life research in companies.

I begin the chapter by expanding previous research on the establishment of the PA Council. A new finding is that their activities with film from early on were connected to a desire to keep up with the development of knowledge in the European productivity drive initiated by the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC). Through its link to the OEEC film services, the PA Council became associated domestically as a specialist distribution service of films presenting knowledge about productivity. As this central hub of knowledge was developing, the PA Council promoted how they

could be a service to Swedish companies in the production and distribution of their films as audiovisual aids.

As I describe these aspects, I present two commissioned films where the PA Council context contributes to an understanding of their commentary on work management. For the first film commissioned by LKAB in 1960, the PA Council were credited with the script. Here, the visual representation of work and the way this was described through voiceover was shaped by the sociological research collaborations between the PA Council and LKAB to explore sources of productivity in the mines. The film was therefore as much a promotion of the legitimacy of LKAB’s new directions in work management as it was of the tenets of the PA Council’s research into productivity.

In the second case study on the last film of a trio of films commissioned by Grängesbergsbolaget circa 1965, I argue that the activities of the film consultancy to promote the supply of films as aids created an opportunity for commissioners to commission their own aids that strayed away from visual representation of the company. In both case studies the individuality of the manager is protected, while blue-collar work is promoted as optimizable through close monitoring by management. This downplayed benefits of earlier practices of distant management in the mining industry, which the companies sought to move away from.

**Keeping up with productivity: initial film activities of the PA Council**

Demands for independent film consultants with an industry focus in Sweden were initiated by the desire to participate in a film-based knowledge economy operated by the OEEC. In 1948, Sweden joined the OEEC together with 16 other European countries to be part of the Marshall Plan, which aimed to revive European economies after WW2 by 1952.\(^\text{366}\) Administered first by the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA, 1948–51) followed by the Mutual Security Agency (MSA, 1951–53), the OEEC countries received American aid, which included funds, machinery and consumer goods – but

\(^\text{366}\) Maria Fritsche, *The American Marshall Plan Film Campaign and the Europeans: A Captivated Audience?* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2019), 4. The Marshall Plan was also called the European Recovery Programme (ERP). The other OEEC countries were Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Switzerland, Turkey and the United Kingdom. All also became part of the later established OECD (1961- ).
also films and filmstrips documenting industrial progress or giving technical instructions to new industrial methods.  

The move of these Marshall films to Sweden was initially inefficient. By 1952, the American Embassy in Stockholm had received 1,200 prints from about 400 titles, of which 50 were “MSA films”. Assistant Attaché Carl Gebuhr of the Embassy, who oversaw the film operations there, stated that distribution of films was not limited by projectors. However, there was difficulty in finding experts to appraise films for the various Swedish film markets because Sweden did not have a “productivity centre”. Productivity centres were NGOs in member OEEC countries that worked with and promoted issues of productivity. Two distribution institutions were by April 1952 involved in facilitating distribution of MSA films in Sweden: Economic Information (Ekonomisk Information, EI) and the Swedish Agricultural Information Office (Jordbrukets Upplysningsnämnd). The former was a collaboration between SAF, LO and the white-collar Swedish Confederation of Professional Employees (Tjänstemännens Centralorganisation, TCO) and should not be confused with the free enterprise think-tank Bureau for Economic Information (Byrån för Ekonomisk Information).  


369 “Report on visit to Norway and Sweden, July 14-22, 1952,” 11. According to Gebuhr, filmstrip activities in Sweden were by 1952 “[...] a small and weak operation”.  


371 Adding to the confusion was that both involved SAF and operated in the same time frame, Ekonomisk Information from 1949-1958 and the Bureau for Economic Information from 1944-1962. The latter did not involve any labour organizations. It is unclear if the similarity of names was a strategic choice. For context regarding the Bureau for Economic Information, see Westerberg, “Socialists at the Gate,” 87-89, 120-122.
panels to look through films and find their relevancy and use for industry were arranged in EI, in part with the hope that Swedish firms “would be interested in purchasing copies of the films.”

The initially ineffective distribution of these films mirrored perceptions of industrial development. While the US had no “ready-made plan for increasing productivity” in Europe by 1948, their unhappiness with the slow development there gradually shifted operations from giving consumer and capital aids to OEEC member states to focusing on their own productivity. While all the OEEC members signed a commitment in 1951 to enhance productivity by a 25 percent increase of production in five years, there was much disagreement for how this would be best overseen by the member states, as well as the role of the US in this. Sweden was, according to historian Bent Boel, one of the harshest critics of the role of the US in enhancing European production beyond the aid programme, in part because they believed themselves to not need much additional assistance.

Whether Sweden needed additional assistance or not, there was a strong interest to keep in touch with the development of knowledge on productivity in the OEEC. With increasing international competition in the late 1950s and 1960s, Swedish industry would largely invest in rationalizing existing markets rather than developing new ones. In part, this focus on productivity was incentivized by the solidaristic wage policy of the Rehn-Meidner approach to Swedish macroeconomics, leaving low-productivity companies with the option to “rationalize or disappear.” Actively looking for ways to become more productive in existing industry was therefore key, as all companies needed to adhere to the collective increase of wages set by national unions, which used productive companies as a yardstick. While Sweden did not have an official productivity centre by the time the OEEC established the European Productivity Agency (EPA) in 1953, they still desired to have a seat at the table to get access to knowledge about these matters – including films. Having a presence in EPA was in part, according to SAF, to “avoid double work and double initiatives” in productivity questions.

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373 Boel, The European Productivity Agency, 22.
378 W., “Produktivitet Väst,” Arbetsgivaren 1, no. 3 (December 19, 1953): 3. “W.” may have been the chief editor of Arbetsgivaren at the time, Per Gösta Wermelin.
Visual consultancy as key to productivity

The move to develop new approaches to productivity drove the desire to get a new perspective on the systems beyond how industry was already represented in numbers. The simple calculation of productivity as measurable aggregate output from single inputs in a company’s production could not in itself adequately answer what caused one company to be more productive than the other. Such calculations alone were frustratingly bereft of ideas about how to adapt work towards the simple and one-sided demand of increased efficiency. Industrial psychologists and sociologists could provide fresh eyes and new data for management by observing the human worker from different perspectives. Film and other audiovisual media became tools not just for the visual representation of industry, but also to conceptualize and promote new approaches to work and its management. Although this priority towards developing new viewpoints on industry was not new by the 1950s, it became intensified via the productivity drive.

A key example of these “new” eyes on productivity was the visually minded consultant. In the aptly titled book *Angels of Efficiency*, a history of visual consultancy between 1880 and 1930, Florian Hoof describes the idealization of the sensory expertise of the consultant, who could discover and visualize new knowledge about efficiency. This knowledge, a tool of visual management, could provide perspectives for decision-making within the centre of an organisation.

This special centralizing role of consultancies is, for Hoof, a condition for their success.\(^{379}\) One case study focuses on Frank and Lillian Gilbreth’s brand of film-based industry consulting in the 1910s, in which the motions of workers were studied in detail to find more efficient methods of working, which could then be employed in management strategies. What the Gilbreaths offered was, at least on the surface, an easy conceptual framework of labour to work with: filmic analysis as a means for management towards optimization. Scott Curtis has, in an earlier study, argued that the Gilbreths’ demonstrations were efficient at selling a utopian idea of visual management via the film camera, but doubts if the couple were promoting an actually efficient solution.\(^{380}\) This point aligns with Hoof’s larger argument that visual consultancy, while having had a dominating presence in corporations until the present, still was at its core a “fleeting form of knowledge” that required believers and consultants to push the faith as both a science and as something

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enticing to management. That the contributions of visual consultancy had to be believed to add value for management is in its intangibility comparable to a simple formula of input and output. Hoof crucially points out that this form of knowledge was less transparent and democratic, and that the asymmetries of knowledge generated in favour of management and consultants reduced their need to directly address societal conflicts.

Developed as a link between the European Productivity Agency and Sweden with regards to developing visual consultancy, the PA Council was initiated and financed by SAF in 1952 with board members from various unions including those of the labour movement. Split into sections working on work life research and sharing knowledge developments, the PA Council became what Mats Björkin describes as a “human resources consultancy agency”. Among the services that the PA Council could offer were information and practical advice on issues of human relations in the corporate world. Under the lens of human relations as a communication issue, the PA Council could assist “business and industry to develop their own rhetoric and vocabulary.” Here, film could work as a form of contact – a word that the PA Council would frequently refer to in the description of their offerings and the purpose of audiovisual media. Film could be “contact-creating” and help solve “contact difficulties”.

The wider post-WW2 conditions that enabled this communication consultancy approach to audiovisual media have been well addressed in Björkin’s work. He describes a key role associated with the PA Council as working on efficiency in communication. We can also see from the context of the practical problems around contact in Chapter 1 how an institution such as

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381 Hoof, Angels of Efficiency, 8-9 and 245.
382 Hoof, Angels of Efficiency, 310.
383 The board of the PA Council consisted at its infancy of nine representatives from the Employer’s Confederation, the industry and various trade unions, a representative from “the Swedish Employment Agency” (Arbetsmarknadsstyrelsen, AMS), one representative from the Swedish Trade Union Confederation, and a representative from the Confederation of Professional Employees. Björkin, Post-war Industrial Media Culture, 83. The first chairman of the board was managing director Axel Gustaf Torbjörn Enström (1893-1977) of the pulp and paper manufacturer Svenska Cellulosa AB. Swedish collaborations with the OEEC also happened through the “Central Committee on Productivity Issues” (Centralkommittén för produktivitetsfrågor), from 1957 as “the Productivity Board” (Produktivitetsnämnden), but these committees did not work to disseminate knowledge on productivity via audiovisual means directly.
384 Björkin, Post-war Industrial Media Culture, 81.
385 Björkin, Post-war Industrial Media Culture, 83.
386 Björkin, Post-war Industrial Media Culture, 28.
387 Björkin, Post-war Industrial Media Culture, 83. Originally “kontaktskapande” and “kontaktproblem”.

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the PA Council could be of assistance here. Where I want to develop the contextualization of the role of the PA Council in the Swedish commissioned film landscape further, and particularly in films from mining companies, is in connecting their communication consultancy to industry’s primary target of productivity. To get there I will first describe the foundations of their film activities as connected to the European productivity drive after World War II.

**Consultancy services: Translation and research**

Initially, the consultation that the PA Council’s film section offered was based almost exclusively on turning imported media from the OEEC into instruments for Swedish industry. The “new eyes” on productivity presented by the PA Council in the early years primarily involved giving customers access to foreign representations around productivity questions. In 1953, as part of the establishment of EPA, a clearing house and preview library for films and filmstrips was established in Paris. This was named the Film Information and Exchange Service (FIES), which engaged in the collection and dissemination of information on films and filmstrips that shed light on productivity issues. According to one article in *Business Screen*, this central hub supplied film, filmstrips, and information about them to so-called productivity centres around Europe and set out to acquire around 400 new films per year – 200 from the US and 200 from Europe.

The PA Council film activities in their information section began in 1954 when we can see the first imports of films from the OEEC into their loose-leaf catalogue system (Figure 5). Around this time, they also took over the distribution of American industrial and vocational films previously managed by Economic Information. Sweden had since the early interwar years developed a stable distribution and production network of films for the military through “Army, Navy and Air Force Film” (Armé–Marin–Flygfilm, AMF), and it was from this environment the PA Council found the expertise to run the film section. Lieutenant-Commander Bengt Magnusson, who had been head of the Swedish Navy Film Service (a subsection of AMF), led the

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film section until 1962 when the role was taken over by Lieutenant Commander Sven-Erik Hallonstén, who had been Magnusson’s replacement at the Swedish Navy Film Service.\footnote{Searches in the AMF film database at the AMF film archive in Stockholm (Tullgårdsgatan 10) on June 2, 2022, gave more context to their prior film activities in the military. During his time at AMF as head of the Navy Film Service, Bengt Magnusson was a producer, director and scriptwriter on several naval military films and filmstrips. Sven-Erik Hallonstén (born 1921), often referring to himself as Sven Hallonstén in correspondence, should not be confused with journalist and librarian Sven Hallonsten (1942-2020). Sven-Erik Hallonstén has five entries in the AMF film database: one as a cinematographer, two as assistant directors and two as director, all likely produced prior to his work at the PA Council.}

After recommendations from John P. Seabourne of FIES, the production company Suecia Film, which had previously produced “quality films” and made Swedish versions of films for AMF, would produce films for the PA Council under their supervision.\footnote{“Report on a visit to Sweden, by J. P. Seabourne, from 31\textsuperscript{st} October to 20\textsuperscript{th} November (approx..),” November 12, 1954, Korrespondens (allmän.) Filmserviceavdelningen OEEC-EPA? 1957-1959, E 3 Korrespondens – Filmverksamheten, PA Council archives, CFN. A condition for this was that laboratory work was carried out by Filmkopia. Other production companies evaluated and visited were AKA-film, Svensk Filmindustri, Filmteknik, Nordisk Tonefilm and Europafilm. A search on the production company Suecia-Film in the AMF film database revealed around 300 films by AMF co-produced with Suecia-Film. The first productions in this database are from 1947 while the final seven productions were made in the 1980s.} It is unclear in the existing archival records of the PA Council how much of a dissemination of ideas for how films could be used and their value was brought directly from the military through AMF. However, for the films that were received through FIES, the Copenhagen-based Arnø Studio was used by the PA Council to make Norwegian, Danish, or Swedish language versions of films. As it was assumed that each language was understood by the others and their audiences, it was not unusual to only make either a Danish, Norwegian or Swedish version of a film. Swedish voiceovers for films were performed by actors from Malmö City Theatre (Malmö stadsteater).\footnote{“Kalle Anka-film skall hjälpa företag i kamp mot olyckor,” Svenska Dagbladet, January 31, 1963, 7. This voiceover work may not have been credited. The films acquired in the 1950s from the U.S. Office of Education had according to a search after PA Council films in the AMF database commentary by the radio announcer Åke Engerstedt.}

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Figure 5: The first film in the PA Council’s loose-leaf system (from 1960 as catalogue) was a 19-minute Swedish version of Elements of Hardening (U.S. Office of Education, 1945), showing the quench hardening process of steel, which entered this system in May 1954 (back page, not pictured). From this front page we see that the film was catalogued as part of “manufacturing industry” and “material science”. It is also stated under “Trycksaker” that the film included a booklet. Prints were ordered from Arnö Studio but for printing a “Request and Authorisation form” was required to OECD (FIES). Swedish ownership is here set to the PA Council with sponsors including the Mechanic Federation (Sveriges Mekanförbund). Prints of the foreign films left in the archive were destroyed in 1988 or earlier. From “Huvudkort 1-1600,” D2a Kartotek över filmtitlar, PA Council archive, CFN. The film is available for streaming in the AMF archive.

An note in an early correspondence folder of the PA Council’s archives divided their film consultancy tasks into three separate sections. The first, named “Contact activities for OEEC”, notes that the PA Council should write reports, import films and filmstrips from the OEEC, translate and edit certain films and filmstrips and ensure their distribution. A central task as the Swedish branch of OEEC was to arrange advance screenings, administer an “assessment committee with appropriate subgroups”, and send reports

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394 “Översikt över uppgifter betr. visuella hjälpmedel,” undated memo signed by “BM” (Bengt Magnusson), Korrespondens (allmän.) Filmserviceavdelningen OEEC-EPA? 1957-1959, E 3 Korrespondens – Filmverksamheten, PA Council archives, CFN.
and/or publish about these assessments of films and filmstrips.  

The activities of the second section, titled “Inventory of educational film in Sweden”, included collecting existing catalogues, cataloguing, and noting possible distribution of Swedish films without distributors. Here, it is also suggested that either as a part of the first and second section that the PA Council may in the future be involved in being technical advisors, in training instructors and projectionists in, for example, taking care of equipment and writing articles in newspapers and trade papers about the PA Council’s audiovisual activities. The final section, titled “Audio-visual aids for the Council’s own operations (personnel administration)”, states that the Council should produce and translate films, filmstrips and other audiovisual media for the Council’s “field workers” and for industry and training institutes such as the Institute for the Training of Foremen of the Swedish Employers’ Confederation (Sveriges Industriförbunds Arbetsledareinstitut), established in 1930. Additionally, this section mentions that the Council should monitor literature and the trade papers Business Screen, Film User and Naval Training Bulletin, give “[t]echnical service to field workers” and maintain “the necessary foreign contacts.”

Extant material in the PA Council archives suggests that the council partook in all the aforementioned activities, albeit to varying degrees of intensity and consistency. Traces in the archive make clear that assessment of foreign films, filmstrips and production of Swedish versions became a prioritized and laborious task that involved industry itself. Before foreign films were ordered for preview from FIES or other distributors, the PA Council reached out to Swedish industry “together with a note asking for expression of interest.”

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396 “Översikt över uppgifter betr. visuella hjälpmedel,” 2. Original citation: “Inventering av utbildningsfilm i Sverige”
398 “Översikt över uppgifter betr. visuella hjälpmedel,” 3. Original citation: “Teknisk service åt fältarbetare” and “Upprätthållande av erforderliga utlandskontakter”
399 “Delays in returning films on loan,” letter from Bengt Magnusson, The Swedish Council for Personnel Administration, to Mr. John Seabourne, Film Information and Exchange Service, February 27, 1959, Korrespondans (allmän.)
Filmserviceavdelningen OEEC-EPA? 1957-1959, E 3 Korrespondans – Filmverksamheten, PA Council archives, CFN, 1. Magnusson explains to Seabourne in this letter the process of previewing and ordering films at the PA Council, to explain delays in returning films to FIES. Magnusson expresses worries here that the PA Council may be viewed as “more or less the black sheep in your flock” among the OEEC members, as Seabourne explained in a previously letter not understanding why the PA Council repeatedly was slower than other members in returning film copies.
Council reached out to one to two experts within industrial fields for a first preview to assess whether the films were of interest. If films passed this preview, a second preview was arranged with “a larger and representative group” to assess its relevance for Swedish concerns and whether making a Swedish version was necessary. Sometimes more previews were needed as there could be “difficulties finding sponsors for specific items.” Whether sponsorship in this sense primarily meant monetary or labour resources or both is unclear, but in any case industry was involved in producing Swedish versions of foreign films. The import of foreign films was therefore to a large degree controlled by industry itself – specifically engineers and other white-collar employees invited to see the films. Despite shortages of suitable films for industry in Sweden, according to Bengt Magnusson, only five percent of previewed films were approved for adaptation by 1959. Among regular contacts for previews were engineers of the Institute for the Training of Foremen.

In addition to getting support from engineer experts, the PA Council reached out to their OEEC neighbours in the west, the Norwegian Productivity Institute (Norsk Produktivitetsinstitutt, NPI) and their audiovisual section headed by Inga Millar, and to the southwest with the Danish Productivity Council (Handelsministeriets Produktivitetsudvalg, Sekretariat for Danmarks Erhvervsfond) headed by Claus Riis, to ask whether their productivity centres had seen certain films and would recommend them or not. This suggests that many aspects of the use of these films were not localized or nationalized at the textual level; indeed, these Scandinavian extensions of the OEEC occasionally invited each other to read their scripts for films and add suggestions. In most cases however, if foreign films were deemed relevant

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400 “Delays in returning films on loan,” 1.
401 “Delays in returning films on loan,” 1.
402 “Delays in returning films on loan,” 2.
403 “Översikt över uppgifter betr. visuella hjälpmedel,” 1. This source specifically mentions having contact with civil engineer Sven Engelgren (1907-1986), chief assistant of the Institute, for these questions.
404 See, e.g., “Prövekopier fra Paris,” letter from Inga Millar, Norsk Produktivitetsinstitutt, to Bengt Magnusson, Personaladministrativa rådet, September 25, 1959, Korrespondens Norsk Produktivitetsinstitutt 1956-1963, E 3 Korrespondens – Filmverksamheten, PA Council archives, CFN. Here, Inga asks Bengt if 21 films and filmstrip titles are “worth striving to acquire”. Among the 21 titles, Bengt’s handwritten note on the letter notes 12 films “without interest”, the remaining 9 have been acquired by the PA Council.
405 See, e.g., “Audio-visuelt materiale: butikkcentra,” letter from Inga Millar, Norsk Produktivitetsinstitutt, to Bengt Magnusson, Personaladministrativa rådet, February 10, 1959, Korrespondens Norsk Produktivitetsinstitutt 1956-1963, E 3 Korrespondens – Filmverksamheten, PA Council archives, CFN. Inga Millar here invites Bengt Magnusson to note potential changes to a script on a 16mm film on
for the PA Council to distribute, experts from industry (primarily engineers) would edit the voiceover script after the initial translated draft by the PA Council (Figure 6). They would also be involved in the production of booklets that would act as a teaching guide for when the film was used.

![Handwritten edits of the voiceover script by engineer Kennet Nilsson of LKAB to the Swedish version of Steel and America (1965).](image)

**Figure 6:** Handwritten edits of the voiceover script by engineer Kennet Nilsson of LKAB to the Swedish version of Steel and America (1965). In addition to factual corrections, the following sentences (translated, original in image) are stricken out: “The work can seem dangerous and frightening. But good training and the right protective devices—the statistics show—mean that this industry is one of the least prone to accidents.”

The film, featuring Donald Duck and produced by Walt Disney Productions for The American Iron & Steel Institute, was distributed by the PA Council as an “educational film for vocational training in the mechanical engineering industry and ironworks”. From the folder “PAF 783 Stålet och Amerika,” F2a 5, F2a Filmdagar, PA Council archives, CFN, 5.

In addition to the film activities, the PA Council was a dominant institution for work life research. By 1968 around 300 experts, mainly psychologists and sociologists, were employed to study various aspects of work life. A report documenting the work life projects involving the council from 1952 to 1968 state the following ten areas of study, with the number of projects in parentheses:

shopping malls to make the film “useful” (Norwegian: brukbar) in Sweden. According to Millar, an identical letter was sent to Claus Riis in Denmark.

Much of this research was directed towards practical implementations towards increased productivity. A pilot sociological study that, for example, began with interviewing foremen on the factory floor could be followed up with publications presenting their responses in relation to production quotas on each floor. Psychological tests or models to structure the foremen’s work could then be developed with the goal to align personnel to the right jobs. In a Marxist critique of Swedish work life research published in 1969, Lennart Christiansson et al describe the PA Council as developing sieving mechanisms of employees for the employer, stating that they rarely forced the employer to adapt the work to the worker.408

This point speaks to the dichotomies in value systems between the “technical/economical system” and the worker described in Sverre Lysgaard’s influential research of workers’ collectives.409 While the worker desires room for diverse solutions within a company, the economy promotes invariant

407 Original name of research categories in Swedish: Arbetslivets makromikrostrukturen (9), övergripande värderingar och teorier (1), aktiv arbetsanpassning (36), förändringar på arbetsmarknad och i företagets tekniska, administrative och sociala miljö (11), information – samråd (5), chef, ledare, ledarskap (14), personalarbete (6), forsknings- utrednings- och konsultationsverksamhet (2), metodutveckling (37), uppföljning och kontroll (5). Arbetsvetenskaplig forskning: projektkatalog över pågående forskning 1968 och avslutade projekt 1952-67 (Stockholm: Personaladministrativa Rådet, 1968), VI-XIV.

408 Lennart Christiansson et al., Konsten att dressera människor (Stockholm: Prisma, 1969), 121.

409 Sverre Lysgaard, Arbeiderkollektivet, 4th ed. (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2014), 144-145. Lysgaard states that the workers’ collective can work as a “buffer” between the two dichotomies.
strategies and not treating workers individually. We can see this approach at the macroeconomic level in Sweden through collective bargaining of wages via national unions.

Consultancy in co-production

With all these connections to industry and experience with scripts, the PA Council could provide an additional service in co-managing the production of films for Swedish industry commissioners. To promote this opportunity, the PA Council highlighted the efficiency of their central position. In an article in the SAF-operated trade paper *Arbetsgivaren* titled “Does the company need the film consultant?”, the author establishes a parallel between the PA Council and the activities of the Advertising and Industrial Film Consultants (AIFC) in the UK. Like AIFC, the PA Council are described to have specialists that work with an “outsider” and “centralized” perspective on commissions. Rather than contributing with “costly detours” when working on a new film, they are described as having special knowledge and experience that can help create “a good business relation” between the film commissioner and the film producer.

Here, the author makes an argument that “[i]t is not only the director that “makes” a film.” Rather, because emphasis in working on commissioned films should always be put on the script and the steps prior to this, the film consultant had a vital role in getting the most out of envisioning the project. From their centralized position, they could make sure the right specialists became involved in the content and design of the film, including psychologists, sociologists, technicians, educators, information managers, and the company’s own consultants. The film consultant would also be involved in questions of distribution and finding the right audience. All these descriptions pointed to the film consultant from the PA Council as a manager of contacts. However, the article states that this potential of the film consultancy had not yet been fully utilized:

The centrally available film consultant – independent and commercially unbound as an employee within the PA Council's activities – should receive an increasing demand for his services. The meaningfulness of his efforts should be

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proven in the remarkable work result, which can be reported today in the PA council's film department.412

Figure 7: Promoting an idea of PA Council’s central position. Manager of the Film section, Bengt Magnusson, points to the PA Council in the centre of an industrial spiral. “Intendent Bengt Magnusson,” photograph 138/27 by Erwe-Film, Bromma, circa 1961, F2 b 1, F 2 b Filmverksamhetens övriga handlingar, PA Council archives, CFN.

One company who saw fit to acquire these services by the PA Council was LKAB for the film Varför så många tjänstemän (“Why so many office workers?”413, Suecia-Film for LKAB, 1960). Here, the film consultancy by

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413 The word “tjänsteman” may also be translated to white-collar worker, foreman, officer, official or clerk to mention a few translations that connote different meanings. In my understanding of the term when used for this film, it is referring to a more general manager position, not only, e.g., foremen (also translated to arbetsledare in this time), which is a more specific middle-management position in
the PA Council was married with its sociological research on productivity in the mining company LKAB. The film would promote promises of productivity via new approaches to management. To ground this argument, I will introduce the company LKAB and the PA Council’s sociological research collaborations, which were initiated with LKAB moving away from traditions of distant management of blue-collar work.

**Traditions of distant management in LKAB**

In 1736 the iron ore riches of the twin mountains Luossavaara (Northern Sámi: Luossavárri) and Kiirunavaara, located 140 kilometres north of the Artic circle, were pointed out to the Swedish authorities by the Sámi Amund Amundson Mangi.\(^ {414} \) Due to the absence of capital and infrastructure for operating a mine in the area at the time, intensification of activities would not start until the 1890s. By that point, technological developments created opportunities to make mining the phosphorous-rich mountains profitable. Foreign investments pushed towards the construction of railroads connecting Kiruna to the ice-free harbour in Narvik in Norway to the west and to the port city Luleå (Lule Sámi: Luleju) in the east. Luossavaara-Kiirunavaara AB (LKA) was founded in 1890. With threat of foreign ownership of the company looming in 1903, the exporting company Trafikaktiebolaget Grängesberg-Oxelösund (TGO) acquired the majority of shares.\(^ {415} \)

Ulf Eriksson’s PhD thesis on the first hundred years of mining in Kiruna describes in detail the long developments of mining work within LKAB. In addition to developments towards mechanization of the work and later automation as mining moved underground, Eriksson also describes a shift in the workforce towards fewer blue-collar workers and more white-collar employees – a general trend in post-WW2 industry.\(^ {416} \)

For example, in the middle of the 1930s, LKAB had between 150 and 170 employees working in offices. By the end of the 1950s LKAB had around 700. Of these 700, 270 were foremen. Although total production would increase greatly over the decades, the number of blue-collar workers would decline throughout the 1950s and 1960s from around 3,000 workers to around the mining context. Because the wording “white-collar worker” is clunky, I use the term office workers instead.

\(^ {414} \) Gunnar Ahlström, *De mörka bergen. En kronika om de lappländska malmfältens* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1966), Mangi was paid 100 riksdaler for this information and given a life-long promise of tax exemption.

\(^ {415} \) Eriksson, “Gruva och arbetet IV,” 333.

\(^ {416} \) Eriksson, “Gruva och arbetet III,” 174-178. Eriksson bases these numbers on statistics from LKAB and SCB.
700 in 1968. Part of this radical shift in the workforce of the company could be explained by technological advancements, but a large contributing factor was also that white-collar employees now worked on finding ways to optimize productivity through closer management of workers.\textsuperscript{417} Minutes from a management meeting in 1956 stated that:

> The essential thing in today's situation is to via appointing more foremen and engineers seek to obtain more rational working methods and at the same time get more out of the staff.\textsuperscript{418}

Before this closer management of the workplace would come into full effect, Ulf Eriksson describes that there had been a long tradition of having a basic form of piece-rate system of pay (\textit{ackordslön}). This alternative to hourly pay was based on easily measured workloads such as the number of loaded wagons or metres drilled per month.\textsuperscript{419} Although implemented as a form of distant control of work, Eriksson describes it as initially giving the miner some level of autonomy:

> Although associated with coercion, the piece-rate system in reality gave workers quite a broad margin of freedom. Not only did this system, in eliminating or strongly diminishing the need for direct supervision of work, grant much independence to the workers; there was no one interfering in the way the work was carried out, whereby mining very much came to be considered as a free and independent work. Moreover, due to their intimate knowledge of the ever-changing conditions of work […] and the concomitant possibility of “hiding time”, workers had a comparatively large influence in the “setting” of rates.\textsuperscript{420}

During the 1950s the company, as well as the PA Council, became interested in studying this work system for its productivity. This would

\begin{footnotes}
\item[417] Tage Alalehto describes a change in the structure of management from circa 1957 when “production teams” (\textit{produktionslag}) were replaced with “production groups” (\textit{produktionsgrupper}). In production teams the main objective of the manager of a team was to respond to the ongoing production situation in, for example, the need for maintenance, while in the new group system this manager was mainly planning production. Alalehto, “Teknik och konflikt,” 86.
\item[418] Eriksson, “Gruva och arbete III,” 196-197. Eriksson’s source is “Protokoll från planeringssammanträde 14/5 1956, LD”. Original citation: “Det väsentliga i dagens läge är att genom tillsättandet av fler arbetsledare och ingenjörer söka få fram rationellare arbetsmetoder och samtidigt få ut mera av personalen.”
\item[419] Eriksson, “Gruva och arbete IV,” 344-345.
\end{footnotes}
eventually lead to interference with the spaces of autonomy of the blue-collar work system and a film that would explain new productivity rationales.

Studying miners’ work

During the transition from being owned by TGO to becoming a 96 percent state owned company, the PA Council led by consultant Ingemar Erixon performed a sociological study into how well-being at work affects productivity in LKAB.\footnote{Erixon, Trivsel och produktivitet, 15.} Erixon specifically wanted to compare teams in the mines working on the same job: the underground drilling crews (ortdrivare), which at this time were working with air-legged rock drills (knämatare) to drill 2.4 metre holes and fill these with dynamite and ignite them. The teams of two to eight men worked in shifts either from 06.00 to 14.45 or in an afternoon shift from 14.20 to 23.05 and were paid when drilling via a piece-rate system rather than per hour.\footnote{Erixon, Trivsel och produktivitet, 15.}

Two data sets were collected to compare productivity with well-being. Data on productivity was collected through reports on the teams and their productivity based on salary calculations, which among other information presented how many metres had been drilled by a team in a month.\footnote{Erixon, Trivsel och produktivitet, 22.} Erixon admits in his discussion of this data that it was not ideal source material due to the theoretical risks of different interpretations of how such work output was approved by the foremen. Although he does not directly say it, this could, for example, be the case of a foreman performing favouritism to a team or an individual.

The data collected on well-being was done by Erixon himself through interviewing 80 workers in 13 teams on 57 standardized questions ranging from their attitudes to elements of the workplace, what makes a quality foreman, what they prioritize in work, their connection to Kiruna and their colleagues. After comparing the two data sets, Erixon could not make causal links between well-being and productivity, but concludes that both occur together.\footnote{Erixon, Trivsel och produktivitet, 50.} However, he begins the summary of the research by pointing out that the teams have a “strongly developed sense of independence”, and that emotional connections with the foremen were far less important than their

\footnote{Ingemar Erixon, Trivsel och produktivitet (Uppsala: Appelbergs Boktryckeri, 1958). Erixon’s research was overseen by the first Swedish professor in sociology in Uppsala, Torgny Segerstedt.}
ability to be of service to keep production up. Erixon saw the environment as highly competitive with feelings of schadenfreude in one team when another performed less well. Common indicators in the individual that could relate to high productivity included the skill of the worker (rather than physical strength) and their desire to settle down in Kiruna. Erixon therefore suggested that interviewing candidates for positions should include questions surrounding these factors.

In general terms, Erixon’s research argued for a “right person for the job” approach managed by companies themselves. Here the company could get insight into what kind of individuals were adjusted to the work via sociological studies of their current workers. At no point does Erixon question whether the work methods employed by LKAB such as the long shifts and a piece-rate system of pay affects the well-being of the workers. Nor does Erixon reflect on the relation between well-being and the fact that LKAB had problems in hiring personnel for the underground mining work, or that around a fifth of the workforce stayed only temporarily before finding other work. Rather, the logic was to shape the worker towards the system via management. Ulf Eriksson points out from internal document sources that Erixon was hired by LKAB as a personnel manager after this research project to via sociological surveys [...] obtain “basis” for increased production and to contribute to solving the “worrisome labour force problem”.

He continues to point out that until 1966, ten sociological studies were done in LKAB by researchers in industrial sociology (arbetssociologi). In addition to being involved with this research, Erixon would write about the research in the company newspapers SKIP, Malmaren and LKAB-tidningen and write reports back to the PA Council. Most of this work was to better understand well-being in the workplace in relation to major structural changes in the company. In one article writing about these sociological studies in Arbetsgivaren they are described as attempting to address how one can shape workers recruited from Torne Valley (Meänkieli: Meänmaa, meaning “our

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425 Erixon, Trivsel och produktivitet, 57. Original citation: “starkt utvecklad självständighetskänsla”
426 Erixon, Trivsel och produktivitet, 59-60.
land”), a region associated with Sámi and Tornedalian minorities, to “modern” work systems: It is a big problem to get people in the often economically undeveloped environment of the most important recruitment area, the Torne Valley, with its seemingly materially poor but freedom-rich nature economy, to submit to the demands of a modern industry for adaptation to regulated processes. Therefore, for a few years now, [...] extensive sociological investigations have been carried out under the auspices of the PA Council.

From 1956, LKAB also invested in educating their foremen via internally given courses which “emphasized the task of the foreman to actively manage the work.” Less focus was put in hiring foremen for their mining knowledge; instead, testing equipment for hiring made by the PA Council was used to try to find candidates that “were more outgoing and open to the environment” and were believed to have the potential to make most out of the internal training. Tage Alalehto argues that the combined investment into internal supervision training and external consultation created a powerful “knowledge base” around new technology and approaches to work that was difficult for the trade union to challenge. He sees the comparative lack of knowledge in the union at the time as a blindness around its consequences for workers which ultimately served the management.

The vision of productivity behind initiatives to attempt to control the miner’s work could be further demonstrated via film. Here, the PA Council went from working with LKAB in the role as research consultant to acting as film consultants by assisting on the script and in the film’s distribution. In my textual analysis of the film Varför så många tjänstemän? below, I understand this collaboration as producing a film that was less about presenting an answer to why so many white-collar workers were needed in a genuine sense, but

434 Alalehto, “Teknik och konflikt,” 89.
rather as promoting legitimacy for ongoing developments into work systems designed around management of work by presenting it as productive.

Promoting increased management of work: Varför så många tjänstemän? (1960)

Introduced to the PA Council system in June 1961, Varför så många tjänstemän? (“Why so many office workers?”) was described as “[a] film from LKAB, which explains why the number of administrative personnel in relation to the number of workers today is different than a few decades ago”.435 Produced by Suecia-Film and written by the PA Council, the 18-minute film described changes to how mining is managed in the eve of the opening of a new office complex in Kiruna. Designed by architect Hakon Ahlberg, this first high-rise building in the Norrbotten County sought to bring together all administrative units of LKAB under one roof.436

Figure 8: Opening titles of “Why so many office workers?” featuring the new office complex in Kiruna in the background (left) and the end credits of the same film featuring the underground transportation network in Kiruna’s mines (right). No other credits are included in the film.

After the opening credits (Figure 8), the film cuts to a miner on his lunch break in the underground cafeteria reading the job advertisements in a newspaper. Close-ups of various newspapers show that LKAB is hiring new educators, analysts, accountants, and personnel consultants. He and his colleagues – now heard outside the frame – loudly question if it is necessary to hire all these white-collar workers. The film then cuts to an image presenting the exterior of the new office complex in Kiruna while a new, unseen, speaker in voiceover introduces himself to answer this question.

**The administration as a source behind productivity**

To contextualize the question, the following images and voiceover refer to the historical development of the industry in the last decade. As the voiceover mentions that industry has developed more complex tools, we see sped up archival footage from earlier films showing mining labour. Producing sped up film through the concept of Memomotion (memofilmning) had, according to Mats Björkin, become introduced to industrial films in Sweden around 1959 in part to observe complicated working processes that were too long to watch at regular speeds. The effect in this film, however, simulates the common malpractice of screening silent films at too high speeds. With the addition of a ragtime piano score to these images, the footage is made to seem antiquated and removed from contemporary practices, even if usage of some of the tools shown in the footage, such as the spit (spett), had not become outmoded by the 1960s in mining work underground. When the film cuts to regular-speed images of underground machinery showing the “now” of mining, the speaker suggests that “[n]o one longs to return to the old days” when there were few foremen and instead many workers that needed to “toil hard.” As we get close-ups of hydraulic machinery that puts workers out of the frame, the voiceover states that work now is “less tiresome but more profitable.”

Unlike most films commissioned by mining companies at the time, the focus here is not on explaining how the extraction of minerals takes place. Instead, after the demonstration of current machinery in action, the focus shifts

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437 By presenting readable extreme close-ups of job advertisements LKAB had been putting in newspapers such as Dagens Nyheter, the film also in this manner becomes a job advertisement for those seeking office jobs.


439 Original citation: “Ingen längtar väl tillbaka till det gamla” and “slita hårt.”

440 Original citation: “mindre slitsamt men mer lönande.”
to productivity aspects of administration that allow for the machinery to run with the fewest number of interruptions. A montage shows the care put into ordering new machinery: after close-ups of American, German, and Swedish catalogues as well as schematics of a joy loader, we see two men in suits pointing with their pencils at different parts of a catalogue. This is followed by the man sitting behind the desk using the intercom to call for a secretary, who in the next shot is shown to make notes based on what the man at the desk is saying. What he says is inaudible. Instead, the voiceover points out that companies can consult other companies for advice on what equipment would be suitable for what tasks. The last scene of this sequence shows, according to the narrator, workers testing new machinery before it is put into use.

This sequence is juxtaposed with a scene of a man dressed in an ordinary hat and winter coat going directly to a store to get a new saw. He tests the saw by bending it in his hands and tapping the metal part with his knuckles. We do not hear their conversation; instead the narrator suggests that “[t]o get the best, you probably need more sophisticated purchasing methods than this.”441 The more autonomous act of the worker going into a store to decide themselves on the correct tool for the job is portrayed in this perspective as not ideal, suggesting it is better to use a network of consultants to perform this kind of task.

The film also promotes refining other elements of work. In a scene back underground in the mines, we see a young man working an air-legged rock drill (Figure 9, top). He pauses his work when the narrator introduces a “methods study man” who starts to talk with this miner before he notes something down on a form (Figure 9, bottom). The voiceover explains that the methods study men can, through studying how workers do their work, help develop uniform and effective work methods. That this officer is visibly older than the miner gives the impression of this monitoring as a form of tutoring. Uniform methods, it is argued – as the film shows a group of young trainees being taught – is important in training new workers and finding the right positions for them. What is left out here is that all workers regardless of experience would be required to follow these methods.

441 Original citation: “För att få tag i det som är best, krävs det nog mer raffinerade inköpsmetoder än det här.”
Figure 9: A young miner with an air-legged rock drill pauses his work when a “methods study man” (more commonly known as a time studies officer) comes over to check on his work. From Varför så många tjänstämän?

Advocating the measurement of work: MTM and UMS

The “methods studies” were more commonly referred to as “time studies” or – when referring to the specific approach that took hold in Sweden – Methods Time Measurement (Metod-Tid-Mätning, MTM). Based on Taylorist quantitative approaches to studying how work can be made more efficient and productive through finding standardized methods, MTM was

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initially tried out in Sweden by the truck manufacturer AB Volvo in 1949.\textsuperscript{443} Originally developed at the Westinghouse Brake and Signal Corporation in the US in the 1940s, the first course on MTM in Sweden was offered in 1951 through Marshall Plan funds.\textsuperscript{444}

At Volvo, MTM meant moving from craft-based, flexible production of trucks where workers were paid based on a collective piece-rate system (\textit{grupp-ackord}) to standardizing all tasks in a production line and adjusting salary to individual performance.\textsuperscript{445} While not becoming nationalized across all Swedish industry, MTM got another foothold in Sweden around 1955 when the Swedish Metalworkers’ Union (Verkstadsföreningen och Metall) came to a central agreement to introduce MTM to this method of working, in part due to its success at Volvo.\textsuperscript{446} In 1956, a Swedish MTM association was established (Svenska MTM-föreningen) to develop this work research technique and promote its development.\textsuperscript{447} Its secretary, engineer Lars-Erik Fahlin, performed a pilot study the same year for the PA Council on how time could be most accurately measured in MTM, which included filming work operations.\textsuperscript{448} Work tasks were filmed in order to study efficient working methods in detail, but it is unclear how extensive these activities were in Sweden.\textsuperscript{449} Apart from this research project, most of the research on MTM looks to have been done outside of the PA Council, as the Council was most occupied with psychological tests and sociological studies. In their

\textsuperscript{444} Harold B. Maynard, G. J. Stegemerten and John L. Schwab, 4\textsuperscript{th} ed. \textit{MTM-boken} (Stockholm: Förlags AB Affärsekonomi, 1960), 8.
\textsuperscript{446} Isidorsson, “Striden om tiden,” 261; Glimstedt, “Creative Cross-Fertilization,” 187. Both authors do, however, mention that there was much resistance to MTM in Volvo, including a wildcat strike in 1952 about its implementation. The success in terms of productivity was, however, drastic. As mentioned by Glimstedt, “[a]ssembly times dropped from about 21.5 hours to about 17 hours in the assembly of the PV 444 [car model], driving down costs by 15 per cent between 1954 and 1956. In engine production, man-hours per unit fell from 25 hours to 9 hours during the same period.”
\textsuperscript{447} “Svenska MTM-föreningen,” \textit{Teknisk Tidskrift} 86, no.10 (March 6, 1956): 210.
\textsuperscript{448} \textit{Arbetsvetenskaplig forskning}, 104.
\textsuperscript{449} The Memomotion concept described by Mats Björkin may have been a tool towards MTM research.
consultation role, however, they communicated the new developments of the technology and its potential implementation, as in the LKAB film.

*Varför så många tjänstemän?* was made around a time when the company was developing a new MTM-like piece-rate system. Unlike the old system where productivity was only measured by the output, MTM-based methods were designed to measure each work task in detail to find ideal ways to do a job. A foreman’s job was then in part to monitor how, for example, miners did their jobs through observing work tasks. While this monitoring aimed to find better work routines, it also added a more coercive presence of management into what had been spaces where miners had set their own standards for work operations. Tactics such as slowing the pace of work to prevent rate-cutting were made trickier in the presence of an observant work study officer.

In 1962, two years after the first screenings of the film at the new office complex, LKAB would incorporate a version of MTM called Universal Maintenance Standards (*Standardtider för underhållsarbeten*, UMS).\(^{450}\) In LKAB, this system would be operated with time units (Target Transfer Unit, TTU) each equivalent to 3.6 seconds. Ulf Eriksson mentions an example of going rates according to protocol for replacing a broken drill underground. This task in total was estimated to consist of 1735 TTUs with 60 steps, including, among others, 20 minor body moments each costing 20 TTUs, disassembling two bolt nuts by two TTUs and putting on and removing gloves at three TTUs.\(^{451}\)

This system, among other names, would be called “Ultra-Modern Slavery” by workers.\(^{452}\) Those in charge of measuring new work units by timing the workers at their tasks were not uncommonly called “bread thieves”, because it was believed that their goal of optimization through standardization of each work task would ultimately lead to less pay per “work”.\(^{453}\) Tage

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Alalehto argues that the Swedish Miner’s Union (Svenska Gruvindustriarbetareförbundet) at the time saw these new approaches as an unwelcome financial necessity, but they were used to negotiate for longer vacations, lower pension age and shorter working weeks. While the system was controversial at the time and its abolition later became one of the demands in the LKAB strike in 1969–70, in 1960 this film presented an argument for the value of a system such as UMS as it was being developed.

**Satisfactions of consultancy**

Although the film is by no means a traditional process film where we see the processing of minerals to some end product, the “methods study man” scene and other sequences in the film share a similar function to what Salomé Aguilera Skvirsky has called “concomitant satisfaction” – we as observers (unlike the worker in the workplace) get to see how all tasks are executed in a logistical way towards a result. Such pleasures allow the spectator to employ a “managerial gaze”. By following the process rather than an individual worker, we are not experiencing the monotony of the individual worker’s work, made more monotonous through a MTM-system. In the LKAB context, we may see a connection between establishing this satisfaction and the introduction of the MTM-based system, UMS. But this is also more generally about contentment in work management and in industry designed

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454 Alalehto, “Teknik och konflikt,” 87-88. Alalehto mentions, for example, that LKAB at the time had a liquidity crisis in the Malmberget mines which had led to the freezing of new hires for 1.5 years from 1959. The trade union argued that the push these unpopular approaches to efficiency should lead to 4 weeks of vacation per year, a lowering to 36 hours weekly working hours and the lowering of pension age to 60 for those that had worked more than 20 years underground. LKAB accepted the vacation motion and rejected the other two.


around consultancy. It is in this sense that the film most clearly promotes both the work of the PA Council and the management approach of LKAB.

An example of such satisfaction in consultancy is a sequence focusing on the white-collar aspects of the process to replace a broken part of an engine in one of the trucks below ground. In other words, the film traces the system that exists in the company for replacing the broken item, here understood as part of the office system, and not a practical how-to of replacing the part in the engine. The replacement of the old part begins in the film with a foreman, after inspecting a truck, calling from underground to a secretary in the new office (Figure 10, top left). We hear the foreman on the phone saying, while holding a bolt, “Can I get a 61129 to quarter 60? Account 312220.” This is unfamiliar, coded language to the audience but gives the impression of a detailed ordering system. We then cut to a secretary on the other end of the call noting down on a form (Figure 10, top right) – which we see in close-up in the next shot – while we hear her saying “…1-23, RV TA 420”. The next shot shows her sending this form in a capsule through a pneumatic tube delivery system installed in this office (Figure 10, row 2, left).
The film then cuts to a man on a kick scooter in a warehouse, stopping to check a form in his left hand next to a column of stacked shelves (Figure 10, row 2, right), and picking out two items. When he picks up the second item, a short metal bolt, we get an extreme close-up with this item in his hand (Figure 10, row 3, left), before a dissolve to a blueprint design of this bolt on a drafting table in an office (Figure 10, row 3, right). A camera pan left shows
that three men in the same room in suits sit looking at bolts and paperwork around a desk (Figure 10, bottom).

It is suggested that these three men have done much consultation work to find the right bolt type for the work. The voiceover announces that “[t]he smaller the number of existing types [of bolts], the easier it is to find spare parts, and the faster the truck can start up again.” As we return to the shelves in the warehouse, we see another man putting new bolts on the shelves. We have come full circle in the organized system of white-collar work: we see an ordering system with elements designed specifically for the task it is intended for, delivered in a speedy manner (but not sped-up for comedic or distancing effect). We get the impression that it will not take long before the foreman gets the bolt he needs for his worker group’s truck. The film presents that this is possible ultimately thanks to the consultants who have decided on a bolt type, even if we never see the manual labour of replacing the part in the engine.

Along with other sequences later in the film on the rationalization of transport and new working practices, this scene promotes conceptual reasons for why there are (or should be) so many white-collar workers in a mining company in the 1960s. While the consultation that has led to standardization is presented as efficient, the images tell a story of each task passing through several sections – each with a person shown to do a specific task. It is therefore a decidedly less metaphorical approach to showing “good work” compared to earlier films by Economic Information. The satisfaction of such a scene is perhaps not an impression of craftsmanship but rather of operating design and its efficiency and capacity. Through this sequence we can imagine that once a consultation “blueprint” is finished, this process can be repeated dozens – perhaps even hundreds – of times per day. However, this system requires precisely defined and limited labour roles.

The operation is presented with such ease that there is a notion of each task involving close to zero labour. While the film is not clocking the time of each movement as with MTM or UMS, we get the sense that standardization in processes and specialization of tasks would ultimately make work easier, while at the same time keeping the machines running and thereby productivity high. A weak link in this chain, such as a broken bolt, could halt operations for much longer without this system conceived through consultation work. As the film presents the computing power of new office machinery at the end of the film, there is a notion of white-collar work as

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457 Original citation: “Ju mindre antal typer det finns, desto lättare hittar man reservdelar, och desto snabbare kan trucken komma igång igen.”
459 Skvirsky, The Process Genre, 118.
working at the speed of computing power, working as its extension. In the final moments of the film, we return to the miners from the opening sequence, who are still complaining about this new hiring strategy as they are about to return to work. We get the sense that the work of the white-collar personnel is underappreciated and less visible to them. Having just observed what the employees above ground are doing while the miners have been on a break, there is a suspicion in the air that the work of the latter could be further imbued into this standardization work.

Positioning film as conceptual aid to management

Within LKAB, the film *Varför så många tjänstemän?* played a role in the inauguration of the new office complex in Kiruna, which coincided with the yearly event “Mine day” (*Gruvans dag*). For the inauguration, employees of LKAB and their partners were given the opportunity to tour the new building, including the chance to see the new film, which was mentioned in the personnel magazine *LKAB-Tidningen*:

All employees and not least their wives had the opportunity to inspect the new office and it also seemed as if the vast majority took the opportunity to see how the office employees work. An instructive exhibition had been arranged on several floors and the film “Why so many office workers” attracted considerable interest, even though it did not provide an answer to the question. Everyone had to try to find out their own answer after seeing the film and the exhibition."

Via the PA Council the film was given extended relevancy and agency beyond this inauguration where the film might have not been completely

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460 This is close to one of Ira Plein’s observations of worker representations in interwar Luxembourg where the worker’s body could be represented as part of the industry organism. She argues that worker representations were diverse to suit a variety of economic, political, and social agendas. Ira Plein, “Machines, Masses, and Metaphors: The Visual Making of Industrial Work(ers) in Interwar Luxembourg,” in *Fabricating Modern Societies: Education, Bodies and Minds in the Age of Steel*, ed. Karin Priem and Frederik Herman (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2019), 35-57.


462 Swedish translation: “Alla anställda vid förvaltningen och inte minst deras fruar hade möjlighet att ta det nya kontoret i besiktning och det verkade också som om de allra flesta tog tillfället i akt att se hur tjänstemännen arbetar. En instruktiv
In both cataloguing and film screening contexts, the PA Council attempted to make this and other films more legible within work contexts.

**Roadmaps of film use in catalogues**

A promotional pamphlet from 1961 described that the PA Council chose films...

… of value to Swedish business. Many of the films chosen provide concrete instructions, advice or rules for different situations, others provide realistic basis for debate and discussion about current problems. What the selected films have in common is that they seek to convey messages and ideas and, in this way, contribute to rationalizing administration, streamlining education, and increasing production and sales.

These promises of how film could serve as aids in Swedish business had a readership of managers in mind more so than blue-collar workers – who after all did not have the authority to acquire films for the company without the involvement of management. It was management personnel that the concept of film as an aid primarily had to address. Film catalogues by the PA Council noticeably focus on possible audiences and describe occasions of use. Introduced in their film catalogues in 1961, *Varför så många tjänstemän?* was...

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I have found no traces that the film was shown in cinemas or in other events arranged by LKAB. It is, however, possible that the film was screened by LKAB to new personnel after the inauguration of the office complex.


It is likely, however, that the Work Councils discussed what aids to acquire from the PA Council film catalogues.
described as an “information film for all personnel in a company”. The film catalogues, which replaced the loose-leaf system in 1960, placed films and other media into categories including “economy”, “business administration”, “personnel matters”, “marketing”, “company presentation” and “vocational training”. These kinds of categories mirrored sections in companies from upper management to sales. The LKAB film was placed in the category “production – rationalization” in the subcategory “automation – mechanization”. In combination with the description of the film as informational for all personnel, the PA Council was directing the film to be used in the context of informing about rationalization more generally, not just by LKAB, and not only in a mining context. The only other title in this subcategory for the 1961 catalogue is the film Strassen der Vernunft (1957), which was commissioned by Volkswagenwerk GmBH and presented the automation of car manufacturing. While they were produced by very different industries, both films were presented by the PA Council as informative on the more general themes of automation and mechanization. Titling the Swedish version of this German film as Automation furthermore directed the relevance of the film towards a specific approach to work.

Included in the catalogues were also figures referred to as “compilation of areas of use”, where the reader of the catalogue could take a quick glance at the recommended uses of various audiovisual media titles. This kind of mapping of the audiovisual aids landscape directed the customer towards the specific aiding purposes of specific titles. Figure 11 presents an excerpt of such mapping for those instances when it was desired to use audiovisual aids as a case (praktikfall) – for example, to present a filmed roleplay work situation and discuss various solutions afterwards. Other compilation figures presented aids for “rationalization work” or “work safety”, for example. This tool, which was directed towards managers taking on a pedagogical or instructional role within a company, promised some efficiency for the customer to find relevant aids.

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Figure 11: Excerpt of “compilation of areas of use” figure from the 1960 PA Council film catalogue presenting a schematic of where films and other audiovisual media are recommended to be used for case approaches. Titles of audiovisual aids are presented alphabetically along the x-axis with reference to the page number for the title in the catalogue, with subject areas presented down the y-axis. Black dots mark aids that “are directly within the subject”, while empty circles mark when a title “touch on the subject”. Media recommended for case methods in 1960 were dominated by a filmstrip technology with sound called the “stillfilm” in Swedish. From “Filmen i näringslivets tjänst: Förteckning över filmer, stillfilmer, bildband, planscher m.m. i PA-rådets filmdistribution,” PA-council film catalogue October 1960, PA-distribution – samling av trycksaker, KB, III.

Putting films in various contexts of use: film days

The position of a film within specific categories was, however, not necessarily stable. In the case of screening events of audiovisual media from the PA Council’s catalogue in 1961, Varför så många tjänstemän? was placed in a section on “Personnel issues – Work Management”, which included two other films and four filmstrips. These screening events (referred to as “film days”) from 1960 gave the PA Council an opportunity to experiment in methods of promoting titles as aids. In neither the film days programme nor

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in catalogues was it mentioned that the film’s script had been written by the PA Council.

Beginning as a film festival in 1958, the PA Council film days provide a window into the shifting priorities of how film was promoted as an aid for work matters. For the establishment of this form of outreach, the PA Council followed initiatives springing out from the British Documentary Film Movement such as the Scientific Film Association (SFA) in the UK. The first Festival of Films in the Service of Industry held in Harrogate from 8–12 October 1957, which was initiated by the SFA and organized by the Association of Specialized Film Producers (ASFP), was a direct inspiration to the PA Council’s own festival established the year after. The term “film days” would replace the term film festival after the first edition of Filmen i näringslivets tjänst (“Films in the service of industry”) on 3–5 December, 1958.

For the first festival, around 50 films were screened in loosely defined sections of advertising films, educational films, research films, and PR films. Some of the films in the programme had been screened in Harrogate, including Swedish productions such as Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags AB’s commissioned film Kaldo (Sten Dahlgren Produktion, 1957) on the Kaldo converter process of refining iron into steel. In addition to film screenings, there were – as there had been in Harrogate – debates on the possibilities of film, how to make films cheaper, how to distribute films, how to use film for research, and how to sell and educate with films. Some of these debates were recorded and featured a mix of PA Council staff, heads of information departments at industrial companies, advertising agencies, pedagogical experts, and film directors or producers. A discussion on the language of

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468 The Scientific Film Association was set up by Edgar Anstey (1908-1987) and Sir Arthur Elton (1906-1973, founder President), both of whom had been apprentices under John Grierson and his Film Unit of the Empire Marketing Board in 1930. Both became leading figures in the industrial film scene in the UK. Anstey would organize Shell’s Film Unit and become Films Officer for the British Transport Commission, while Arthur Elton together with John Grierson (1898-1972), J.P.R. Golightly and Stuart Legg (1910-1988) founded the Film Centre in 1938, a consultancy firm for advising film sponsors, supervising production and promoting documentary film.


470 “Filmen i näringslivets tjänst, program, Stockholm 3-5 december 1958,” 1958 film festival program, F 2 b 1, F 2 b Filmverksamhetens övriga handlingar, PA Council archives, CFN.

471 I have found no tapes of these recordings.
film was programmed on the last day between Bertil Lauritzen of Svensk Filmindustri and director Gösta Werner.

These programmed discussions were unique for the 1958 festival, as future events would rely less on the external consultancies on film that, for example, film producers could provide. Rebranded as film days from 1960 (there was no festival in 1959), the programmes would gradually become designed to put films into specific themes surrounding work. This demonstrates a shift in the promotion of film consultancy that these film days would perform. With outsider filmmakers and pedagogical voices relegated from a clear stage presence in the programme, more emphasis was put on films addressing specific work themes. The programmes of the 1960s onwards did not organize films and screenings into “types” such as PR films, educational films, or advertising, which resembled award categories at industrial film festivals. Instead, as we see in the programme for the 1962 film days, the films were put into themes such as work management, ergonomics, healthcare, worker protection, conference management, marketing, and rationalization of production (Figure 12). Here, emphasis was less on whether the approach was, for example, primarily documentary or instructional. For example, in the 1962 film days programme, the British Petroleum-commissioned film Giuseppina (1960), winner of the Academy Award for best short subject documentary, was put into the programme under “Marketing” and described as a film “[…] on the application of the concept of service” (Figure 12). The other films and a filmstrip in this section were training films.

Figure 12: Programme for the film days “Films in the Service of Industry” held in January and February 1962 in Stockholm, Malmö, Gothenburg and Sundsvall. Each entry in the programme was designated with its number in the PA Council’s catalogue (beginning with PAF followed by numbers if film, PAS if filmstrip). Films framed in a yellow border were special screenings outside given categories. “film 62: PA-rådets filmvisningar,” film programme for film days January and February, 1961, SAF-arkivet: Inbjudan och program Filmdagarna 1961-64 1966-69, F 2 a filmdagar, PA council archives, CFN.

With the rebranding to film days, the curation of films was made to address personnel involved in these questions in their organisations. A goal with these film days, according to the 1962 programme, was to give personnel responsible for different branches of education and information activities within companies and institutions...
an opportunity to see and assess the usefulness of [audio-visual] aids in the program.473

While the films had already been previewed, approved, and made into Swedish versions together with engineers, the film days were a way to preview the films to a larger – but specialized – audience of potential customers including educators and managers. As Figure 12 above shows for the 1962 programme, it was divided into industrial organizational functions that could be considered isolated problem areas for specific labour roles: the first grouping of films under the term “Work management” presented a filmstrip on secretarial work, a film on how to communicate new ideas in the office landscape, and a film on the work of the head of a department. This mini-programme then provided different perspectives on white-collar work that office management personnel should keep in mind.

Promotion of film as an aid was also done through the PA Council’s research section. For example, the PA Council published a compendium in 1966 to “complement lectures in industrial psychology and management at the KTH Royal Institute of Technology”.474 For the lesson on “Management in practice”, the compendium mentions how the film *Hur man bemöter invändningar* (*Overcoming Objections*) gave six lessons that are useful to know to not be paralyzed in certain settings where one might face opposition to your ideas.475 Beyond presenting its Swedish title, it is not mentioned that the film was distributed by the PA Council nor that it had been produced by the Dartnell Corporation in 1953 as part of a salesperson training package.

These examples of promotion via the PA Council emphasize that film did not necessarily have to be directly representational to be presented as a form of aid. It was not only the employees of a mining company that, according to the PA Council, could be interested in a film commissioned by LKAB. Rather, it was all companies, because it gave insight into aspects of work productivity beyond the concrete company activities the camera captured indexically. In other words, the PA Council provided a platform on which commissioned films were given added conceptual weight. Indeed, not focusing on visually representing the company and its industrial processes,

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473 “film 62: PA-rådets filmvisningar”. Original citation: “Avsikten med dessa visningar är att ge personal som ansvarar för olika grenar av utbildnings- och informationsverksamhet inom företag och institutioner tillfälle att se och bedöma användbarheten av hjälpmedel i programmet.”


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locations, and employees at all could have benefits to the commissioners. For example, such films could present undesirable aspects without pointing a finger from or towards the company directly. Freed for real-life contexts but with realistic foundations, such films could be particularly suggestive when dealing with concepts such as the role of the manager and their authority. A mining company that sought to commission this form of audiovisual aids was Grängesbergsbolaget.

**Aiding management: *En chef utvecklar medarbetare* (1965)**

Grängesbergsbolaget, or Trafikaktiebolaget Grängesberg-Oxelösund (TGO), had by the 1960s become a dominant international conglomerate consisting of shipping, railway operations, ironworks, and mining. In a summary of Grängesberg’s economic rise after the sale of LKAB in the mid-1950s and fall in the late 1970s, Göran Bergström and Tom Petersson point out that the company made large investments in mining during the 1950s and 1960s as iron ore prices were high. In addition to investing in their mines in Grängesberg – and acquiring mines in Guldsmedshyttan – the Stråssa mines in the Västmanland province were reopened, having been inactive since 1923. The largest mining investment however, around SEK 100 million, were in mining operations in Nimba County, Liberia. Nikolas Glover has argued that these operations as part of the larger LAMCO conglomerate (Liberian American-Swedish Minerals Company) were initially framed in Swedish media as an adventure in modernization and expanding the Swedish national economy. The role of Sweden in foreign markets was at this time depoliticized, as it had been during World War 2 when Swedish mining companies had been exporting iron ore to Germany. The impact of decolonization and television would, however, in the 1960s require companies such as Grängesbergsbolaget to show an international aspect to their social responsibility.

After the television programme *Svart vecka i Nimba* (“Dark week in Nimba”) aired on October 2, 1966, executives in Grängesbergsbolaget

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476 Railway operations were under the sister company TGOJ.
aimed to publicly legitimize their activities abroad. Initially, this was done through discrediting the report as biased and full of factual errors.\textsuperscript{481} Swedish industries in Africa would later employ several defensive and offensive public relations strategies, including Grängesberg’s invitation to Swedish union representatives in December 1966 to tour and “study the working and living conditions” in Liberia.\textsuperscript{482}

In the heat of this international PR challenge, a trio of films on management commissioned by Grängesbergsbolaget were distributed via the PA Council: \textit{En chefs arbetsdag} (“A manager’s working day”), \textit{En chef planerar} (Planning the day’s work) and finally the extant film \textit{En chef utvecklar medarbetare} (“A manager develops employees”). The three films had scripts credited to the former PA Council film consultant Gunnar Lindwall, who since 1960 had been employed by Grängesbergsbolaget as an operations manager.\textsuperscript{483} According to the 1972 film days, which would have a “cavalcade” screening the most popular films per year since the early years of the PA Council, the second film in the trio had become the most requested film in 1966 with an estimated audience that year of 48,400.\textsuperscript{484}

The hunger for this film reflects a strong general interest in better understanding management in the 1960s. In the introduction to the publication “The industrial foreman” (\textit{Arbetsledaren i industrin}) in 1963, the managing director of the PA Council Rolf Lahnhagen writes of a lack of knowledge about middle management:

> Even though a series of investigations have been carried out, not least in recent years, essential questions relating to the

\textsuperscript{481} The CEO of Grängesbergsbolaget Erland Waldenström produced a report on the programme with a list of 29 inaccuracies, referring to the voiceover commentary. Among the gravest accusations presented by the voiceover was that LAMCO had paid soldiers to break up the strike, which Waldenström rejected. In their response to Waldenström’s points, Sveriges Radio TV did not consider the programme to be particularly problematic. The 29 points and Sveriges Radio TV’s Ivar Ivre’s responses are presented in Torsten Thurén, \textit{Medier i blåsväder: Den svenska radion och televisionen som samhällsbevarare och samhällskritiker} (Värnamo: Stiftelsen Etermedierna i Sverige, 1997): 196-203. An interesting connection here is that Ivre himself had produced industrial reportage for television in the 1950s (see Chapter 3). Two contemporary perspectives about the Swedish mining activities in Liberia from opposite sides of the debate are Torsten Gårdlund, \textit{Lamco i Liberia} (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1967), which largely aligns with LAMCO’s own yet is critical to the living conditions for workers, and Ylva Holmsen and Johan Mannerheim, \textit{Lamco:s Liberia} (Stockholm: Unga filosofer, 1968).

\textsuperscript{482} Glover, “Between Order and Justice,” 429.

\textsuperscript{483} “Planerare,” \textit{Arbetet}, February 27 1965, 6.

\textsuperscript{484} “film 72: PA-rådets filmvisningar,” film programme for film days in April, 1972, SAF-arkivet: Inbjudan och program Filmdagarna 1970-73, F 2 a filmdagar, PA council archives, CFN.
recruitment of the foreman, his training and position in the company have been quite unknown. Therefore, a systematic mapping of the foreman’s current situation has been considered desirable.  

Focusing on management in terms of supervision of production, the book argues that there should be more research into desirable qualities of the manager in general and finding best practices of training and recruiting these persons. For these questions, the PA Council became particularly interested in industrial psychology rather than sociology as an approach. Publications by the PA Council in the following years reference a range of trends in industrial psychology. But rather than focusing on developing theory further, the Council used existing theories to develop practical strategies towards finding the right manager and putting them in the right place.

Although industry was encouraged to research good management practices too, doing so could also be seen as a potential threat to current management. To use Sverre Lysgaard’s phrasing, the “insatiable” drive towards efficiency of the “technological/economic system” prioritized pursuing potential human ability over protecting the current value of the individual. The relative freedom of the manager compared to the worker puts no limit to their potential contribution to the system, yet at the same time they cannot work in opposition to this unforgiving system as their representative. Lysgaard therefore states that the manager can only be legitimized as part of the company. Professionalization of work management could in theory be particularly threatening if fully claimed by the sociologists and psychologists of the PA Council, who while collaborating with industry were also trying to pursue the issue scientifically. Commissioning one’s own filmic aid on the matter of management may not only have been a way to promote best practices for industry in general and find the right talents in training, but also to protect against radical change.

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486 E.g., the psychological measurement studies undertaken by Edwin Ernest Ghiselli and C.W. Brown, the categorization of manager personalities including the work by Harold Leavitt, but also researchers going against the idea of the use in looking for key managerial traits and instead sees good management as situational, including Ralph Stogdill and others from the Ohio State Leadership Studies movement.

487 Lysgaard, Arbeiderkollektivet, 145. Original terms in Norwegian: “umettelig” and “teknisk/økonomiske system”.

488 Lysgaard, Arbeiderkollektivet, 150-151.

489 Lysgaard, Arbeiderkollektivet, 151.
Regarding the latter point, Ramón Reichert makes a distinction between the work-study film and films on management: the former looked at optimizing the worker and their physical work, while the latter focused “on establishing and stabilizing its functional contexts.”

Although all three films present case studies (praktikfall) to support discussion about leadership and management planning, they were not screened together during the film days, meaning that one did not need to have seen the other two directly ahead of the third film. *En chef utvecklar medarbetare.* While the trilogy likely was used together for seminars or courses on management, the films may also have been used separately, given that they were loaned and sold separately and dealt with specific questions regarding leadership and planning. The first film dealt with how the manager should plan their own and their employees’ work efforts. The second film discussed delegating available time and the costs of changing plans. The third (and available) film deals more directly with the role of management, what is expected of a manager, and when to give more responsibilities to the staff you are managing.

This third film was directed by Egil Holmsen, who in addition to having a lengthy acting career also directed several fiction films in the 1950s about relations between youth and crime. Less known is his extensive work with commissioned films, which includes among others a number of Housewives’ Films (husmorsfilmer) and films for the AMF. Unlike the films we have focused on so far, the people shown in the film are actors, albeit uncredited, including Sven Ardenstam, Sven Holmberg, and Gösta Krantz.

Much of the film is shot in studio spaces (possibly Suecia-Film’s) by the veteran cinematographer Bengt Westfeldt.

**Emphasizing individuality in the manager**

The film “A manager develops employees” begins with intertitles explaining that the film is to be shown after the audience has gone through specifying questions (*Figure 13*, top). What these questions were is unclear, as no teaching aids are extant for this film.

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492 I have not been able to recognize the other actors in the film. Thanks to Filmarkivet.se for pointing out these names in the metadata on the film.
The film then introduces its fictional characters in a fictional setting – there is no direct reference to Grängesbergsbolaget. We first see Felix Boberg, manager of a new facility department, in a meeting with a company doctor. He sits impatiently while the doctor (played by Sven Holmberg) tells him that his recurring stomach problems are a sign of stress and that he will recommend him for a proper examination for three weeks with a psychologist. The doctor adds that it would be good for “his men” to manage themselves more in the absence of his assistance.

The next scene takes place in a psychologist’s office after three weeks of treatment. As Boberg and the psychologist sit down for cigarettes, Boberg states that he thinks he is ready to head back to work like before. The psychologist interjects that he could certainly do this, but that he would be back for more treatment soon then. To avoid this, he suggests Boberg to take
more time off as part of his daily routine, suggesting playing golf to clear his mind.

At the golf course, we get Boberg’s internal monologue – in part parroting what the doctor told him about trying to ignore more trivial issues, avoiding getting irritated and trying to concentrate. At a golf hole starting near a coastal backdrop, after hearing the doctor’s and psychologist’s advice again as voiceover, Boberg tells himself to

Trust others. Give more responsibilities. Grant powers. Perhaps I, Felix Boberg, have been a bottleneck. But there will be a change in that.493

Back at the office, the rejuvenated Boberg, manager of the construction department, puts these democratic ideas from the psychologist into practice. Two men – earlier shown to be working on the factory floor – come to his office with a problem, stating that they need him to solve the issue. Boberg tells these men to figure out the problem for themselves after having an internal monologue not related to the workers’ issue (Figure 14). The exchange between Boberg and one of the workers (the other is silent) plays out as follows:

**Worker:** Listen to this. We talked to the entrepreneur about the new [mine] shaft. And this requires an immediate solution.

**Boberg:** [internal monologue via voiceover] *Ignore trivial matters…*

**Worker:** It is you who must decide this. We have never been exposed to this before; we do not know what it is about.

**Boberg:** [internal monologue] *Do not get annoyed…*

**Worker:** And we should not be taking responsibility for the solution that the company wants. Right?

**Boberg:** [internal monologue] *Concentrate…*

**Worker:** Are you with us? Do you understand what we are talking about here? It is probably best that you come with us and decide there.

Boberg: I think it would be much more useful for you to figure out how to solve this yourself.

Figure 14: Scene between Boberg and two workers (the furthest right played by actor Gösta Krantz) who want him to make a decision in a mine shaft construction problem in “A manager develops employees”. Bottom: Repeated image of Boberg that establishes that throughout most of this conversation Boberg is not paying attention, instead stuck in his internal monologue.

Although the scene could be read as Boberg giving his men autonomy to solve the issues, the acting and dialogue lines suggest that Boberg is showing neglect as a manager. The men leave visibly frustrated, accurately pointing out outside the door to Boberg’s office that he had not been listening to them. Although there is a possibility that the discussion points raised ahead of screenings asked the audience to read benefits into Boberg’s methods here, the more likely goal is to use this scene to point out problems in them. Boberg has not been listening, nor has he according to the film managed the situation well. He had perhaps been listening too much at the psychologist, turning his words into a personal mantra. The immediate negative response displayed by the actors playing the workers suggests that Boberg’s approach is a bad one: Boberg has not done enough either in taking charge of the problem by deciding, nor is he – to bring the title of the film in – doing much to further develop the employees answering to him.

Another situation that presents a lack of leadership leading to frustration is a dialogue between Boberg’s boss Lindgren (played by Sten Ardenstam) and Larsson, a middle manager who has been working in the same position for the last 14 years. Lindgren suggests that Larsson needs to manage some of the senior staff in moving into new roles in the company’s computer facility (dataanläggningen). Larsson is hesitant and shows his indecisiveness when he then asks Boberg to look over his plans, before returning to Larsson to discuss the matter again. Visibly annoyed by this, Lindgren first shouts at a secretary before composing himself to have another discussion with Larsson, which he cuts short. After the meeting, Lindgren takes a deep breath as he looks outside at the street below where three children are playing next to two circles drawn on the pavement. One of the children instructs the other two to stand inside these circles, saying that they should do this because he said so. Observing this with a smile, Lindgren states that he has seen manager potential (chefsämne), and that this boy “at least won’t become a Larsson.” The scene with the kids becomes a welcome break from the discomfort of the awkward and lacking leadership seen before.

Contrary to these cases of lack of leadership is another character, the work study manager Berg. The first scene with Berg shows his dissatisfaction in being tasked with making the old company facilities become more productive and keep costs low despite operating in their final years before the new facilities, managed by Boberg, are to take over production. His boss, Lindgren, sees Berg is unmotivated and behind on work and puts him on a self-study course on how to better plan his own work. Lindgren gets the idea that Berg, to learn more about these aspects, should teach others about it. We then see Berg hold an internal course for personnel in the planning sector in the company (Figure 15).

495 Original citation: “ja nå’n Larsson blir han i alla fall inte.”

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Berg uses this opportunity to challenge these employees on their own planning. Berg then tells them to work in study groups on a question about how one can save costs by better planning one’s own work. We later hear that this course has been effective, and that in working with this course Berg has found ways to make the old facilities more efficient. Having put Berg up to this, Lindgren should get some credit. However, Berg’s story ends in a bittersweet way from Lindgren’s perspective. After being asked to manage the old facilities, Berg had during this time been looking for another position within the company. Towards the end of the film, he is offered a promotion in a different sector. Has Lindgren lost a good manager here? Should he have put Berg in Boberg’s position? Should Boberg perhaps have fewer responsibilities?
Although these examples open questions about how managers can develop co-workers, they are also to some degree closed from certain readings. The Boberg case presents frustration from two workers on his hand-off approach. Since these are the only representations of blue-collar workers in the film, we do not get alternative voices on Boberg’s suggestion here of them managing this themselves as a positive solution. The office workers from the planning department in Berg’s course, on the other hand, are shown as eager and capable to manage themselves and reflect on their own work. It is key here not only that these white-collar workers are shown as more flexible, but also that Berg has steered them to develop in a specific direction. Lindgren, in putting Berg on this mission, has also in a way helped to develop him. At the same time, we may raise the question of whether Lindgren should manage Larsson differently.

Through the way the cases in the film are shown, we are again invited to think along the “right person for the right job” approach. Unlike how Varför så många tjänstemän? presents blue-collar work, however, we are not presented with an operational design that develops and optimizes manager-humans. Instead, we are invited to look closely at the individual, their personalities, and actions. We get to see various manager personalities through actors who are given character names, and our task when watching the film is to identify with and analyse them individually. In this sense the viewer’s gaze becomes psychological rather than operational and sociological. No solution is promoted for best practices, instead to situational readings of management. In this approach there is an argument that management cannot be designed around optimization in the same way as the miner underground. Current management systems may therefore work as well as new ones; what matters more is the individual moulding of the Bergs and Bobergs.

In this chapter I have explored mutual connections between post-WW2 productivity drives, films commissioned by mining companies on management and the film consultancy of the PA Council. Through the PA Council directly working on commissions and more generally developing film as an aid, the industry-commissioner could be assisted in communicating new management approaches seeking to address productivity. Although the PA Council described themselves as an independent information and research consultation agency under SAF, their platform of research and film consultancy was largely made into a powerful toolkit for employers who were both their clients and research objects. With mutual interests to industry in how to approach questions of productivity, the PA Council as a film consultancy did little to empower employees without managerial roles. Discussing the dearth of films addressing actual worker issues, including low salaries and monotony, Per Ekelund in the Malmö worker movement’s newspaper Arbetet summarized the promotional nature of the PA Council for
industry as an effective “Potemkin scenery” for work politics in Sweden.\textsuperscript{496} The film aid promoted by the PA Council disguised complex challenges to worker autonomy brought on by emphasizing productivity in industry. Instead, individual traits of managers were emphasized, while blue-collar work was promoted as optimizable via standardized systems operated by management.

\textsuperscript{496} Per Ekelund, “Svårt rekrytera. Film ska locka,” \textit{Arbetet}, April 3 1969, 9.
Chapter 3: Corporate by proxy? Mining in Sápmi on early Swedish Television

Through the Parliament (*Riksdagen*) it was decided in 1956 to officially introduce television in Sweden as a single-channel public service monopoly paid for through TV licences rather than a commercial variant, thereby formally barring direct advertisements from Swedish television.\(^{497}\) In September the same year, AB Radiotjänst started broadcasting regularly, from 23 October 1957 as Radio Sweden (Sveriges Radio, SR).\(^{498}\) From December 1961, SR’s television signals could be received in all counties in the country.\(^{499}\)

As SR expanded its broadcast range from south to north, it was negotiating how a public service monopoly should relate its programming to the corporate world. Unlike Denmark, Sweden had not had a tradition of public service documentary production organized via the state; instead, almost all productions were commissioned by individual companies and institutions.


\(^{498}\) Since 1979 as “Sweden’s Television” (Sveriges Television, SVT).

In one way or another. How should public service television relate to commissioned films about industry, and should their own productions provide a different view?

In this chapter, I investigate negotiations surrounding how industry was featured on early Swedish public service television, which is unexplored in previous research. A key finding is that television took a lenient approach to broadcasting commissioned films despite an advertising ban, which I connect to a weakly defined paternal concept of public service, an unwillingness to address problems of hidden advertising, and the difficulty of filling airtime.

Ideals about film as public service content in SR were weakly defined outside of the in-house production in the Documentary Film Section, which was focused on free expression and education on the arts. Because approaches to non-fiction content were not exclusive to this section, doors were open for broadcasting industry-commisioned films and TV productions that mirrored their approach. In relation to the mining context, I argue that toleration towards subtler forms of corporate communication allowed television to become a vehicle for their public relations regarding land use in Sápmi.

Looking at two case studies, I place specific focus on rented and produced educational programmes on the mining industry from 1957–60 that imposed invisibility on the existence of industrial exploitation in Sápmi. In 500

the first example, the LKAB-commissioned film Lapplands järnberg (“Lapland’s iron mountains”, Artfilm, 1957), broadcast on Radio Sweden in 1957, the Sámi are put out of the economic equation. Several smaller contextualizing examples follow to discuss this imposed invisibility as connected to industry educational contexts, rather than as a doctrine engineered by Radio Sweden.

Then, in relation to the final example — a TV production on the Boliden mining company where references to Sápmi are entirely absent — I suggest that the educational approach aimed towards children presents enticing images of property as a restricted corporate space through a focus on gold mining. Despite not being commissioned by Boliden, this film shows that companies opening the door to television producers could at this time result in films that were versatile enough for wider distribution.

Early Swedish Television and its broadcasting context

From the start of regular broadcasting in 1956, Swedish public television had to balance finite resources while aiming for public service in a broad sense. After the reorganization of AB Radiotjänst in 1957, the ownership of Radio Sweden until 1966 was split 40/40/20 between social movements (folkrörelser, meaning in this case work unions, church and agriculture associations), the press, and industry (here: näringsliv). The long-term organisation and direction of Swedish public television would be decided by Parliament. Additionally, the government had the right to designate the president and half of the chairpersons in the company, which gave them a majority. Through the Radio Council (Radionämnden), the government had an indirect say in the design of programmes by monitoring if they related to directions set in Parliament. A national discourse around Mats Rohdin based on the extensive cataloging project Samisk audiovisuell samling: filmer och TV-program i arkiv och på webb is forthcoming.

Wirén, Kampen om TV, 109; Margareta Borg, “Skol-TV - traditioner, visioner och former : en studie av skol-TV:s förutsättningar, framväxt och utveckling under 1960-talet,” (Ph. D diss., Centre for Languages and Literature, Lund University, 2006), 39. Between 1966-1993, the ownership would become a 60/20/20 split. The precursor AB Radiotjänst was founded in 1924 and had been owned by the press and representatives from the radio industry.


television became dominant, which made television less interesting to advertisers working primarily with regional markets.\footnote{Björkin, Post-war Industrial Media Culture in Sweden, 41.}

Because television became associated with the formation of identities, its conceptualization has, as Christina Adamou and colleagues have suggested, become vulnerable to political control.\footnote{Christina Adamou, with Isabelle Gaillard, and Dana Mustata, “Institutionalising European Television: The Shaping of European Television Institutions and Infrastructures,” in A European Television History, ed. Jonathan Bignell and Andreas Fickers (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008), 98.} The desired direction for Swedish television from the Parliament, which was also voiced by key players such as Minister of Communications Sven Andersson, was that it should be part of the people’s education (folkbildning), promote culture and mirror society.\footnote{Djerf-Pierre categorizes Swedish news broadcasting in the early 1950s as taking on the role of a teacher in society. As Johan Östling, Anton Jansson and Ragni Svensson Stringberg have recently pointed out, these ideals – more present prior to the 1960s in the television discourse – were connected to an older, hierarchical tradition of cultural service that can be linked back to the popular science “peasant lectures” in Sweden from the late 1890s.\footnote{The SR white paper Televisionen i undervisningens tjänst (“Television in service of education”) pointed to early concerns about television as potentially harmful to traditional institutions of learning. To solve these problems, the report suggested that television should be used in similar ways to established media such as books, radio and film.} The SR white paper Televisionen i undervisningens tjänst (“Television in service of education”) pointed to early concerns about television as potentially harmful to traditional institutions of learning.\footnote{Televisionen i undervisningens tjänst: utredning av sakkunniga tillkallade av Sveriges Radio, Stockholm: Sveriges Radio, 1959.} To solve these problems, the report suggested that television should be used in similar ways to established media such as books, radio and film.\footnote{One example of using the established medium of film in television were television newsreels, see Peter Dahlén, “Från SF-journalen till Aktuellt – en studie av TV-journalen 1955 till 1958,” in Svensk television: en mediehistoria ed. Anna Edin and Per Vesterlund (Lund: Mediehistoriskt arkiv, 2008), 31-61.}

Yet Swedish television from early on was never strictly a medium for learning. Instead, the limited programming per week (nine hours in 1956–57, 20 hours in 1959) became a testing ground for broadcasting live programmes and films. Jérôme Bourdon has argued that public service television in Europe has, despite its cultural and educational ideals, always been “haunted” by the demand for the popular, including game shows, stars, and American serials.\footnote{Jérôme Bourdon, “Old and new ghosts: Public service television and the popular – a history,” European Journal of Cultural Studies 7, no. 3 (August 2004): 283-286.} Earlier research on Swedish broadcasting has pointed out that these types of
programmes were a major part of the early years of television. We may also add sports to this category, as the 1958 FIFA World Cup hosted across Sweden was considered by SR as a major boon to television’s early popularity. It may not have been a coincidence that weeks before this event, three permanent television transmitters were put in operation in Gothenburg, Malmö and Norrköping – all three being cities that would host matches. Before May 1958, television was broadcast via a single permanent transmitter in Nacka, east of Stockholm, and via a temporary transmitter in Gothenburg. In a report on the development of TV ownership from 1956 to 1965, Gunnar Törnqvist estimates that until May 1958 the single transmitter in Nacka had the potential to reach circa 500,000 households. By the end of 1957, fewer than 100,000 TV licences had been sold, but in 1958 alone more than 150,000 new licences were added. By 1962 the building of transmitters across the country had raised the potential households for reception to 2.7 million, circa 95 percent of all Swedish households.

The growing popularity of television did not, however, mean that SR turned fully into a haunted house of what Bourdon calls popular programming, although entertainment programmes were given much airtime. Production of documentary films was from the first year a pillar of their public service. In 1956, SR’s film group worked on the evening news programme TV-Journalen.

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512 E.g., Thorslund, “Do You Have a TV?,” 32-164; Björkin, Post-war Industrial Media Culture in Sweden, 33-68.
514 Törnqvist, TV-ägandets utveckling i Sverige, 49. These transmitters were in operation from May 23rd, 1958. 53 transmitters had been installed across Sweden by July 1962.
515 “Svensk TV är ett,” Sveriges Radio Årsbok 1 (1957): 56. The article mentions that the Stockholm and Gothenburg transmitters had broadcast circa 500 and 300 hours that year respectively. The Gothenburg transmitter was operated by Chalmers University of Technology which had performed television test broadcasts since 1955.
516 Törnqvist, TV-ägandets, 53. This number does not account for the potential households through the Gothenburg transmitter.
517 Törnqvist, TV-ägandets, 24-25. Largest years of growth of licences were in 1959 and 1960 with circa 350,000 and 440,000 new licences respectively.
518 In one statistic on broadcasts from July 28, 1957, to June 30, 1958, for instance, Håkan Unsgaard calculates that 14.5 percent of all live programming was “Entertainment”, which had the largest share of all live programmes. Håkan Unsgaard, “Televisionen och dess publik,” Sveriges Radio Årsbok 2 (1958): 137. It is not given, however, that these popular programme types were the only popular ones. See Thorslund, “Do you have TV?” 78-125 for a detailed analysis of SR’s programming between 1956-1959.
(1955–1958), documentary production, the film archive, and film rentals. Rented films were often broadcast in the early years of limited production and consisted of a substantial number of films, children’s programmes, and documentaries.

The group working on documentary production would gradually become a separate section of Radio Sweden known as the Documentary Film Section (Dokumentärfilmsektionen). It was headed by documentary filmmaker Lennart Ehrenborg, although he worked closely with the Culture Section (Kulturavdelningen) in the production of programmes. The former section would be particularly focused on developing film as a free art form for television, including amateur and experimental films. Malin Wahlberg and David Rynell Åhlén have written about the effort put into using television in this period for education about “high culture”. In the early years, the films produced about art in the Documentary Film Section would have a narrator guiding the viewer through the works of art. From the 1960s, however, art documentaries on television would take the perspective of “a personal encounter with the artist and the art world in relation to politics”.

In other productions of Radio Sweden, the personal encounter, albeit via filmed interviews, was from the start a mode of audiovisual expression, often combined with a narrator in segments without an interview.

520 “Dokumentärfilmsektionen,” 1.
522 Wahlberg, “Art film in prime time,” 241-258; David Rynell Åhlén, Samtida konst på bästa sändningstid: Konst i svensk television 1956-1969 (Lund: Mediehistoriskt arkiv, 2016). Relevant also to this context is Petra Werner’s research into the educational aesthetic in Swedish television, see Petra Werner, Ett medialt museum: Lärandets estetik i svensk television 1956-1969 (Höör: Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, 2016).
523 Wahlberg, “Art film in prime time,” 252
Confusingly, the Documentary Film Section was not the only producer of documentaries, and it is difficult to determine the distinction within SR between the production of documentaries versus more journalistic reportage. Leif Furhammar argues that the early workers on “TV documentaries” in Swedish Television as a whole were shaped by four communication traditions: newspapers, cinema, radio and the aforementioned people’s education tradition. With three of these traditions conventionally limited to the written or spoken word, it is perhaps no surprise, then, that Furhammar describes the early years of TV documentary as a time when “the image [was] the servant of the words”.

The production activities of the Documentary Film Section made films and programmes that expressed the educational and cultural public service ideals of SR in particular ways. This may give the impression of an exclusive commitment by SR to the free documentary as a basis for educational public service and a rejection of commercial interests. However, by looking at their other programming and production activities, this idea of a firm approach by SR to public service content stands on shakier ground. I relate this to Bourdon’s argument of the ideal of public service as consisting of conceptual weaknesses. He mentions three weaknesses: what this ideal consists of was often not clearly stated; public service was not a widely popular aim for television; and what was deemed public service content was uncertain. In the following paragraphs I will explore this latter point with regard to educational content, arguing that what contributed to a weak notion of what public service content should be like for SR was a lack of options for filling programming beyond commissioned films – and subsequent practices of “not-seeing” commissioner strategies for their films.

Industry programming and not-seeing practices

On 22 May, 1957, a discussion was held in the Parliament about financing strategies for the expansion of television reach via new transmitters. The dilemma raised was that there was a desire to speed up the process to allow more households to access television, but because public service television was funded via licences this would lead to higher costs for

526 Furhammar, Med TV i verkligheten, 20-38.
527 Furhammar, Med TV i verkligheten, 26.
528 Bourdon, “Old and new ghosts,” 285-286. Not widely popular does not necessarily mean disliked in Bourdon’s argument; rather, it is about its ideals as less attractive overall to the populace than, for example, game shows and US Western TV series. At the same time these attractions were not necessarily beloved by all.
the user. Although commercial television had been rejected the year before, several speakers argued that this did not mean that SR as a public television service could not consider the option of broadcasting limited advertisements to keep licence fees down.\textsuperscript{530} Ultimately, this motion was rejected in favour of the existing licence model.

The motion illustrates, however, that the launch of public service television did not necessarily close the door completely to commercial interests. Indeed, one argument was that temporarily allowing advertising would improve television’s public service capacities by more quickly widening access. It also illustrates the connection between licence fees and SR’s budget. There were, therefore, incentives for lower programming costs in order to not increase licence fees. If SR were to produce all content for the given airtime themselves, this would raise licence fees.\textsuperscript{531} Higher fees might not be justified if the quality of programmes did not frequently meet an expected standard. Acquiring films for broadcasting, including feature films, series, and documentaries, was a low-risk approach to guarantee a professional filmmaking standard and lower programming costs.

With this in mind, inexpensive deals took precedence over vigilance regarding rental films’ origins and intentions in educational programming.\textsuperscript{532} Kit Hughes has shown that commissioned films in large numbers functioned as “fillers” on US commercial television in the early years, “provid[ing] a critical resource that supported the development of broadcasting infrastructure”.\textsuperscript{533} In Swedish public service television, commissioned films may have served a similar resource function due to the lack of alternatives.\textsuperscript{534} As Leif Furhammar notes, Sweden had not developed a tradition of public service documentaries, unlike their neighbours Denmark, to use as a

\textsuperscript{530} Riksdagens protokoll första kammaren 21-22 maj 1957, nr. 19, 11.
\textsuperscript{531} A discussion around costs of making a programme from idea to broadcast is offered by Lars Frithiof, “TV-produktionens ekonomi,” in Massmedieekonomi, ed. Lars Furhoff, Sven Gerentz, Sven Tollin, Lars Frithiof, Erik Westerberg, and Olof Ljunggren (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1972), 64-77. One calculation example puts the sum of producing a reportage programme in the 1970s at around 14,500 SEK (120,000 SEK in January 2023 money, SCB).
\textsuperscript{532} As Tove Thorslund and others have noted, import of US television shows for entertainment frequent from early on.
\textsuperscript{534} Commissioned film as fillers also had a function during test broadcasts. During television tests in Gothenburg in December 1955, Hans Unsgaard of Radiotjänst reached out to AMF, Artfilm, Svenska Esso and Svenska Shell for films they could order for the broadcast. E.g., Letter from Radiotjänst to AB Svenska Shell, December 22,1955, Korr. H. Unsgaard 1955, Ela1 chefskorrespondens allmän 1955-57, Dokumentärfilmsektionen (TVKF), SR/D.
foundation for their television activities. Films about industry could also make up for a lack of expertise on such matters among journalists in SR. It was therefore difficult for SR to be too picky when externally sourcing educational films to be broadcast.

It is challenging to map the full extent of the use of commissioned films as filler on SR as neither yearbook nor programming schedules consistently mention the origins of externally acquired films or original titles. In his study of US propaganda in SR programming via the United States Information Service (USIS), Mikael Nilsson claims with reasonable certainty that SR broadcast a number of USIS films in the 1950s. Among USIS’s goals were to promote the legitimacy of the US in taking a leading position in international affairs. Overtly political films may have been more difficult to place for USIS in SR, but films deemed educational faced few such challenges – including films on US geography. Nilsson does not discuss in depth the potential reasons for SR to broadcast USIS films, but it seems more likely that this played out as a trade-off of content versus origins, rather than SR having particular allegiances to USIS.

Another challenge with these rental practices is tracing what SR did with the films once they were acquired. Nilsson does not discuss what edits, if any, SR made to the USIS films. Gunnar Dahlander of the Radio Council describes editing practices of foreign rental films at SR in 1959 as largely consisting of either recording a new voiceover or adding subtitles in Swedish,

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536 Björn Fjæstad and Kjell Nowak, Massmedia och företagen (Stockholm: Studieförbundet Näringliv och Samhälle, 1972), 22. This publication focuses squarely on news reporting but offers via anonymous interviews insight into early 1970s zeitgeist on company and media perspectives on television broadcasting.


540 USIS had, however, carefully selected films to suit the Swedish market. As Nilsson notes when discussing USIS films in its distribution in Stockholm: “Certain films, however, were considered too propagandistic for a Swedish audience and were thus not screened. Others, on the other hand, had been so carefully edited that they carried basically no message at all, and were thus not screened for that reason.” Nilsson, The Battle for Hearts and Minds, 177.
the former often mixed with music and atmospheric sounds.\textsuperscript{541} Although we cannot rule out that these edits changed the approaches of the films from their original foreign texts, it is notable that there is no mention here of editing the image. This may in part be due to the fact that the film copies were rented rather than bought. However, because of the lack of non-commissioned material available, some acquisition of commissioned films could be done with the intention to “fill in” their own productions with added images. In her analysis of SR’s daytime school television broadcasting, which was launched in February 1961, Margareta Borg mentions several examples of programmes being made with footage from films commissioned by companies such as Pan American Airways and Shell.\textsuperscript{542}

**Leniency towards commissioned films**

Beyond the rental of foreign commissioned films, SR was also occasionally home to films from companies working in the Swedish consumer market. Despite a prohibition on advertising, SR arguably practised a light touch approach to editing these programmes before broadcasting. Support for this reading can be seen in how these programmes were responded to in newspapers. *Svenska Dagbladet*’s journalist Tage Ekstedt, writing under the pseudonym “Chevalier & Co”, suggested a tolerant attitude by SR to indirect advertising in commissioned films, mentioning having repeatedly “criticized television for more or less involuntarily smuggled advertising” before mentioning a recent occurrence:

But the damage was done again, when it came to continued advertising for Scandinavian Airlines’ Japan flight and what was eaten and drunk during the journey. It’s not as rowanberry sour as it sounds, but merely ironic – the[ir] exhibition draws a full house every day without all the TV advertising.\textsuperscript{543}


\textsuperscript{542}Borg, “Skol-TV,” 143-144. Borg does not discuss the freedom SR had of using material from these films.

Allowing such films on television could, on the one hand, be considered schedule “fillers” of some cultural and educational value (e.g., as providing information about Japan). On the other hand, their inclusion contributed to confusion regarding public service television as an advertising-free medium. To borrow two “As” of Thomas Elsaesser’s concept of the “three As”, via SR’s broadcast it could be difficult for audiences to tell the occasion (Anlass) of the broadcasting of the programme or the use it was put to (Addressat).  

This uncertainty around advertising became a recurring theme that SR saw a need to address. Rather than arguing for more vigilance in looking for and removing hidden advertisements in rentals and their own productions, the reasoning became further rooted in only preventing direct advertisement. In 1957, SR made plans for producing a three-part series of programmes on Swedish industries. Before the first programme was aired, producer Ivar Ivre wrote in SR’s radio and television magazine Röster i Radio-TV about the “conceptual confusion” regarding advertising:

The reason I bring up this question is because Radiotjänst-TV will do several industrial reports in the spring without trying to hide from the viewers which companies they are about. The purpose of these programs is to shed light on some interesting and current labour market issues. [...] To give them life and ground them in reality, we have chosen to capture them in companies where the parties tackled these issues unconditionally and successfully. Anyone who wants to call this advertising may do so. If so, this further highlights the prevailing conceptual confusion regarding advertising and news delivery in radio and television.

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545 The first programme Motsättningarna till trots... (“Despite the contradictions”) was about collaboration in the workplace at the ceramic manufacturer Gustavsbergs porslinsfabrik. The second programme’s theme was on industrial psychiatry at Sandvikens Jernverk (Att skona nerver och muskler, “To spare nerves and muscles”). The final programme was titled Koppla av med konst (“Relax with art”) and reported from the chocolate manufacturer Marabou. I have not been able to find copies of these programmes. “För år 1957,” List of broadcast programmes in 1957 by the Culture Section, 1957-1969 TVK, D 1 1 Register över sända program 1956-69, C33 Kulturredaktionen (TVK). TV 0, SR/D. 1957 also saw the first programmes of the series Tekniskt magasin (“Technical magazine”, 1957-1987) hosted for thirty years by Erik Bergsten. He had been manager of Svensk Filmindustri’s newsreel SF-journalen from 1953-54. Abrahamsson, I allmänhetens tjänst, 118-119.
Ivar Ivre argued that television should have the same freedom as the press to show images that clearly display company logos and names. What he was responding to was the question of whether visibly presenting company names and brands could be part of public service programming. In 1959, the programme series *Konsumentrutan* ("The Consumer Corner", 1959–1961), attempted to mix the two under the premise of providing information about products on the market for audiences to make rational decisions.\(^547\) That neither this kind of programme nor Ivre’s was considered direct advertising was supported by SR’s interpretation of rules regarding advertising in a letter to the Radio Council:

> The stipulation simply prohibits the sale of programme time. The stipulation only prohibits commercial advertising – not other advertising. [...] Commercial advertising – as opposed to publicity for public benefit purposes or the like – refers to actions that directly invite the purchase of goods or the use of services from individual, for-profit companies.\(^548\)

With this interpretation, SR considered films commissioned by industry as acceptable for television as long as they had an “informational character”.\(^549\) Tasked with monitoring whether the content of SR’s programmes adhered to broadcasting regulations, the Radio Council stated in a letter to the Ministry of Communications that they agreed with these interpretations, in part because of the practical difficulty for the Council in pointing out all traces of hidden advertisements in any moving image, for


\(^549\) “PM om reklamfrågan i Sveriges Radio,” 8. Original citation: “informativ karaktär”.

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example. Similarly, editing films to remove these traces could become an endless task.

Both the Radio Council and SR thereby opted for not looking closely into the problems of subtler forms of advertisement, intervening primarily in cases of hard selling. That this stance was at all possible on non-commercial television speaks to the strong belief of commissioned films as often including information that could be considered trustworthy and objective, and thereby contributing to public service.

What was not addressed in this question of permissible corporate content was whether public service television was any different from a commissioned variant in what was not shown. For example, did Ivre’s second programme on industrial psychology at Sandvikens Jernverk show aspects of this theme that the company itself would not show, had they commissioned an educational film about this themselves? Given the premise of showing successful solutions to labour market issues this seems unlikely. There could also be reasons for a commissioner to not push for more direct advertising in such a programme, as we have seen in Chapter 1. It is therefore not given that a commissioned film about the same theme would be substantially different in its approach, allowing rented commissioned films to pass as a public service television production. In the US commercial broadcasting context, Cynthia Meyers describes a number of sentiments against too much sponsorship by the US advertising industry, including the potential danger of alienation of the viewer due to over-commercialism.\(^{551}\) Granting too much freedom to advertisers could undermine the idea of television companies exercising appropriate editorial control. If this was believed not to be the case, the added value of being featured on television had less weight.

In the Swedish public service context, concerns regarding what advertising meant in television had to do with the notion of editorial control being experienced as vague by its critics. This vague quality could be prominent with commissioned films and in-house productions being similar in their approach in what was shown and not shown. This editorial concern could in part be combatted by stating the purpose of a programme’s newsworthiness or its educational and informational value, as Ivre does in the quote above. Sticking to this practice could, however, affect the ability to see corporate contexts in programmes beyond the educational angle presented. As Björn Fjæstad and Kjell Nowak write about news reporting on industry in

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Sweden in the early 1970s, companies had not by this point got used to being objects of surveillance, nor had mass media much training in this way of looking at them.\textsuperscript{552} Contributing to this lack of training in television was its resource-dependency on commissioned films.

In the case studies below, I suggest that SR’s leniency in allowing subtle corporate messaging let television become a vehicle for exploitative and one-sided interpretations of land ownership that benefited mining companies in Sápmi. I will first analyse a commissioned film rented by SR that through its alignment with desired forms of public service content framed extractive land use as legitimate by virtue of its supposed historical precedence.

\textbf{“A Swedish Klondykehood”: \textit{Lapplands järnberg} and its framing of economic history in Sápmi}

Broadcast on Swedish television on Monday November 25, 1957, at 20.45 in the evening, \textit{Lapplands järnberg} is a 27-minute film commissioned by LKAB chronicling the history of Swedish mining from the sixteenth century to today. At the time, the broadcast could only be received south of Sápmi near Stockholm, yet this was a considerable reach in an ever-narrowing market for general release in cinemas for short films where the pre-feature film programme was gradually disappearing. The producers Artfilm, also known as Nordemar Artfilm, had close connections with SR’s Documentary Film Section through Lennart Ehrenborg, who had worked for them from 1948 to 1955.\textsuperscript{553} The film, although only mentioned by its title, is nonetheless clearly stated as an externally acquired short film rather than as an in-house production in Radio Sweden’s yearbook.\textsuperscript{554} In addition to producing commissioned films, Artfilm also distributed children films and films from artists including Jan Troell and Peter Weiss.\textsuperscript{555}

\textsuperscript{552} Fjæstad and Nowak, \textit{Massmedia och företagen}, 22.
\textsuperscript{555} A catalogue from 1962 shows for example that Artfilm distributed 9 films commissioned by SAS, 5 of which they had produced. Also available for rental are 23 travel films by Caltex (3 of which were produced by Artfilm) and 13 films commissioned by Vattenfall. “ART:s filmer,” film catalogue, 1962, Artfilm AB – samling av trycksaker, Vardagstryck, KB.
A chronicling educational approach

According to the opening title cards, the film is based on “authentic image material from the 16th century until our time”. The selection of materials by the Swedish duo Olle Hellbom and Kerstin Ekman, both credited as directors in these opening titles, features re-photographed copies of a variety of image-based artwork in a loose sense, including engravings, drawings, paintings, photography and film. Lapplands järnberg was among the first – together with films on the Swedish monarchs Gustav II Adolph and Gustav III – in a new initiative launched by Hellbom in 1956, which Artfilm promoted as the “[c]hronicle film – a new film form” in one pamphlet.

Although searching in digital collections of daily Swedish newspapers at the National Library reveals that the term “chronicle film” (krönikefilm) had been used before, it was in Artfilm’s conception a film form made possible largely through their optical printer technology. Leif Furhammar describes this film form as “based on still images, documents and remains, [that] tried bringing to life events and eras from the past of Swedish history.” Artfilm had through Olle Nordemar acquired an Acme-Dunn optical printer in the US in 1945 that was moved to Artfilm’s studios in 1947.
They were possibly the first production company in Europe to do so.561 This technology was used most famously to salvage water-damaged film rolls from the Kon-Tiki expedition for use in the feature documentary film Kon-Tiki (1950).562 This was made possible through the separated nature of re-photography in the optical printer: here, one or more “projected” film strips are re-photographed by a camera one frame at a time.563 As John Powers points out, in this re-photography process the original image

[...] can be sped up, slowed down, reframed, alternately lit and colored, or composited with other images in complex ways. In conjunction with techniques like painting, dyeing, or bleaching the film, the printer becomes capable of qualitatively transforming the image.564

Rather than simply copying images, this printing technology was used by Artfilm for creative interpretation of this source material. In promoting chronicle film as a new film form, Artfilm stated that they could make “dead pictures come alive”.565 What they meant by this was that the technology allowed for more or different “living” pictures than camera footage of, for example, a painting: the added step of re-photography of a projected image of a painting allowed adding complexity in camera movements, the layering of images, and adding visual effects. In one promotional pamphlet directed towards schools, the chronicle films were described as “a living image production in the service of history teaching”.566 Still, the technology had its limits in making things come alive: in a promotional pamphlet from 1956, it

562 Kon-Tiki was not considered a “krönikefilm” by Artfilm because the designation was restricted to history lesson films dealing with long historical developments.
563 A clarification of the “projection” in the optical printer is found in John Powers, “A DIY Come-On: A History of Optical Printing in Avant-Garde Cinema,” Cinema Journal, 57, no. 4 (Summer 2018): 75: “Although commonly referred to as a “projector,” the original film isn’t projected in the ordinary sense; it is more accurate to think of the projector as a light box over which film advances at regular intervals.”
566 “Sveriges historia i krönikefilm,” promotional pamphlet, 1958, Artfilm AB – samling av trycksaker, Vardagstryck, KB. The film Lapplands järnberg is not promoted in this pamphlet. The pamphlet states that scripts for films are worked on in collaboration with Ernst Söderlund, professor in economic history at Stockholm University, and Sven A. Nilsson, professor in history at Uppsala University. It is unknown if they also worked on Lapplands järnberg. Original translation: “en levande bildframställning i historieundervisningens tjänst”
is said that they “could not make people move” in a still image through this method, but they could “let the smoke billow from the chimney of a photo of an old steamship”. In other words, the technology made one less dependent on original film stock for creating illusions of movement; at the same time, it was another method of editing and layering film. The damaged Kon-Tiki footage, for example, could be stabilized, re-edited, and inserted with other image material to make a stable and less fragmented documentary film.

Associations to Sápmi as wilderness

The opening title cards in the extant version of *Lapplands järnberg* analysed here, which matches the length of the programme that was broadcast, states that this film directed by Olle Hellbom and Kerstin Ekman is a “chronicle film” (Figure 16). The first sequence from a film camera, starting with a tilt upwards from a small stream – to slowly reveal a tundra landscape and a mountain range – is one of few non-archival images we see in the film. This and following shots are, however, important for understanding the narrative framing presented: a vast landscape still largely remote and untouched, despite the mining in the region presented at the end of the film.

*Figure 16: The first four opening title cards of an extant copy of Lapplands järnberg (1957) from Kiruna city archive. In the background, an iron ore body. Although the three surviving copies of the film I have seen have identical title cards, it is not certain if these were part of the television broadcast. As the Artfilm archives, which is part of the Svensk Filmin industri archives, are not open to researchers, some of the production context is unavailable. With our knowledge that it was commonplace to edit films for various screening contexts, we should consider the possibility that the film as an LKAB commission may have been hidden from the broadcast.*

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⁵⁶⁷ “Krönikefilm – en ny filmform, 6. Original citation: ”Vi kan inte få människor att gå och röra sig [...] Men å andra sidan kan vi exempelvis låta röken bolma ur skorstenen på ett foto av ett gammalt ångfartyg”
The voiceover points out, as the opening tilt shot rests on the view of a mountain range (Figure 17), that here “the seven kilometres long Kiruna iron ore straw lays exposed to daylight”\(^{568}\). The condition of the film copy available makes it unclear whether we are seeing a mined section of the Luossavaara mountain in this shot, yet the composition – as with many industry-commissioned films before and since – frames the point of interest with lush vegetation in the foreground, in this case the mineable iron ore body on the mountain. Arguably, the wording “straw” too is suggesting the vastness of the landscape: even a seven-kilometre iron ore body is described as a straw in this vastness, with this description leaving unclear the width of these riches and the space needed to extract them.

![Image](image_url)

**Figure 17:** Tundra landscape, vegetation and the Luossavaara mountain range in the end of the opening shot in Lapplands järnberg (1957).

The voiceover proceeds to say that up until a few generations ago, Lapland has been “an impassable and deterrent wasteland” and that for centuries only the Sámi had been crossing this landscape.\(^{569}\) As Eva Silvén points out in her book on Sámi cultural heritage, *Friktion*, terms such as wasteland and wilderness have been used to legitimize exploitation and permanent settlement in Sápmi, but also rhetorically to create excitement for audiences, although Sápmi is arguably a cultural and economic landscape rather than a “wild” one.\(^{570}\) The suggestion of these spaces as natural elides the Sámi cultural practice of “tracelessness” in nature.\(^{571}\)

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\(^{568}\) Original citation: “[...] går Kirunamalmens sju kilometer långa strå i dagen.”

\(^{569}\) Original citation: “en oframkomlig och avskräckande ödemark.”


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Selection of and within artwork imagery

These references to wilderness are accompanied by artwork by Sámi artist Nils Nilsson Skum (1872–1951), whose paintings and drawings of reindeer, reindeer herding and traditional Sámi life likely were known to many viewers and had been presented at the 1937 Paris International Expo. However, Nilsson Skum’s name is never mentioned. After mentioning that the reindeer at this time had been eating the moss that covered one of the largest contiguous ore deposits, the film transitions to the story of the conquest of Lapland before iron ore was found, and then the findings of ore which led to the establishment of Kiruna town.

Although the image material references these histories, it is not used chronologically in terms of when they were made – instead being used anachronistically by mixing the old with more recent work – as well as mixing types of artworks. For example, Nilsson Skum’s artworks are directly followed by a closeup of “Lappia” and the surrounding geography in a copy of *Carta marina* (Map of the Sea), first made by Swedish cartographer Olaus Magnus in Rome from 1523–1537. With no reference in the voiceover to the artists of the works shown (apart from the photographer Borg Mesch towards the end of the film), when they were made, and the location of the artwork we are seeing, these re-photographed images are to a large degree released from their authorial, contemporary or historical context. In theory, this allows the image copies of artwork from different time periods to wash over the viewer via their aesthetics and allows a different autonomy in how to read them, and their sequences, alongside the voiceover. On the other hand, the sequences of images are arranged to follow a general narrative of the voiceover and music thematically, even if the original works may not actually speak to each other in unison. Additionally, we are not always presented with the entire artwork, but with sections of the artwork given a specific focus, obscuring the original authors and historical context even further. What is presented are limited creative interpretations of original works rather than educational commentary about the artwork.

A case in point is the way the film uses extreme close-ups of details in images of artwork to focus on specific moments in them. As the voiceover narrates the development of iron ore mining in Dalarna in central Sweden as establishing the country as an empire, the optical lens capturing the image of

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572 For a link to the whole map, see “Carta Marina,” Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, February 24, 2021, accessed February 3, 2023, https://ub.uu.se/hitta-i-vara-samlingar/verk-och-samlingar-i-urval/carta-marina/. With the cut from a pencil drawing by Nils Nilsson Skum to this map, we are led to believe that the film is establishing his drawings as representative for the centuries before the first conquests of Sápmi, despite having been made much later.
the artwork focuses in on the illustrations within it of heavy labour by both men and women in or near the mines. It is here we become most aware of the optical lens technology, as visual effects by Gösta Bjurman, such as smoke from furnaces and detonations in the mines, have been added in. In the grand view of the original artwork, these living scenes of labour only make up a small portion of the whole.

Similarly, much of the earliest artwork referenced focuses exclusively on the Sámi representations (or coded as such) in them, such as a copperplate engraving of old Luleå by Eric Dahlbergh as part of the collection Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna, published 1660–1716 (Figure 18, top). As explained by historian Lars Elenius in a book on the multicultural world heritage of the old town in Luleå, Dahlbergh made the engravings based on templates by Gustaw Läw’s sketches but the two had different “urban visions”. While Läw toned down the “Sámi” representation in the drawing of the old coastal town Luleå to a single Sámi with a reindeer, Dahlbergh took creative freedom to have the foreground in the engraving teeming with them, which to Elenius made the engraving more “exotic” to a foreign audience. Here, we can see snow tracks from sleds (ackjor) pulled by reindeer leading out of the city, indicating that these Sámi have just been in town (Figure 18, top). In addition to this, there is the representation of a hunter in leather clothing (bottom left), and a differently dressed person possibly inspecting a reindeer to their right. Elenius suggests that this may be a representation of a birkarl – a name for a member of an unofficial organization who controlled and taxed Sámi trade in Sápmi between the thirteenth and the seventeenth centuries. What we see is an economic system in which the Sámi play an active role in the city’s economy rather than existing remote from it.

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573 Identifying this work and others was done through perusing digital collections such as Digitalt Museum (digitaltmuseum.se) and experimenting with Google Search. This, in addition to the ability to see the film again and again, is a privilege that was not offered to the film’s historical audience. It therefore is likely that the audience at the time was not made aware of the origins of the artwork, or the selective representation of artworks performed by the creators of the film.

574 Lars Elenius, Mötens mellan olika folk: det mångkulturella världsrvet i Gammelstad (Luleå: Gammelstad Visitor Centre, 2019), 84.

575 Elenius, Mötens mellan olika folk, 85-86. It should be noted, as Elenius does, that Dahlbergh did not include Sámi in his engravings of new Luleå. These were not shown in the film. Dahlbergh’s rhetoric with the engravings of new Luleå in mind are thereby not too different from the image of the new city as not including Sámi. This being said, Dahlbergh refers to a level of Sámi presence in the historic economy that is absent from the film.

576 Elenius, Mötens mellan olika folk, 86.
Figure 18: Top: Scan of Eric Dahlbergh’s copperplate engraving of old Luleå as part of the collection Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna, published 1660–1716. Following the snow tracks it becomes clear that some Sámi are shown in this moment have just left the city. Bottom: Images from Lapplands järnberg showing details of Dahlbergh’s engraving used on separate occasions: the left as a still image and the right as part of a pan to the right of the engraving. The entire engraving is not shown in the film, nor is Dahlbergh’s name mentioned.

In Lapplands järnberg only the Sámi representations by Dahlbergh are what we see of Dahlbergh’s vision of old Luleå – indeed, images of Luleå are entirely absent from this film (Figure 18, bottom images). Lars Elenius points out that compared to Läw’s drawing, Dahlbergh’s engraving strengthened the presence of Sámi in the old part of town. By leaving the town out of the presentation of the engraving on the film, however, this context of Sámi as having been part of old Luleå and thereby as also a coastal or urban minority risks being missed. It is not made clear from the images in the film that the landscape is coastal and that several of the Sámi shown are traversing a snowy meadow outside of a town rather than in a remote landscape.
Isolating Sámi from historical and industrial context

Yet while this focus in the film forefronts the Sámi even further than Dahlbergh did as part of the history, the creative treatment is arguably an isolating focus on the Sámi that singles them out from the historical city and coastal life. This isolating treatment is carried over to the orchestral soundtrack by composer Charles Redland, which mostly features an ensemble of trumpets, violins, clarinets, oboes, cymbals, drums, and trombones. During moments where we see what appears to be Sámi artwork, the music regularly changes distinctly to emphasize this by playing a melody on the piccolo – an instrument not used elsewhere in the film. Throughout much of the film, “Sámi” are shown and “heard” in isolation rather than connected to modernity in Sápmi in relation to mining. Although there is reference to Sámi transporting minerals with reindeer before train tracks were built, it is not explained that much of this was forced nor that it negatively affected reindeer herding, although this had been described in the 1920s.577 Valdemar Lindholm and Karin Stenberg write that Sámi who refused to use their reindeer for this transport were whipped, sometimes to their deaths, or dragged underwater until they complied.578 The film also does not reference Sámi involvement in prospecting that, for example, helped the Swedish-German Abraham Momma (later Reenstierna) – shown in the film through the famous 1671 painting by David Klöcker Ehrenstrahl – finance and operate Kengis Bruk, the northernmost ironworks in the world at the time near Torne river.

As we move closer to the present, when the voiceover delves into the establishment of Kiruna and LKAB in the late nineteenth century, the film reproduces elements of othering from original texts in sound and image. One striking example is when the film recounts some experiences of the members of the Parliament (riksdagsledamot, often riksdagsmän in historical sources) visiting the towns Malmberget (Meänkieli: Malmivaara, Lule Sámi: Málmmavárre) and Kiruna in the summer of 1890, half a year before LKAB was founded.579 Here the voiceover cites a poem by an unidentified member as several caricatures that had been drawn on this trip are shown. As the voiceover cites a part of the poem saying, “Here is a good time to praise you, the beauties that Lapland has to show”, we see caricatures of men, women and

children drawn with narrow eyes and long unkept hair (Figure 19). The caricatures of several of the men are depicted wearing similar top hats and tailcoats to the members of the Parliament from the south over what appears to be their traditional dress (gákti).

![Caricatures from the members of the Parliament’s visit to Malmberget in 1890 in Lapplands järnberg (1957).]

These caricatures were made during a time when the Swedish state designed laws and policies favouring segregation between Sámi and Swedes. As I mentioned in the mining history section of the Introduction, the Reindeer Grazing Acts of 1886 and 1896 limited traditional Sámi economic activities to usufruct rights of land rather than ownership.

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580 Original citation: “Här passar bra att få Eder på prisa, de skönheter lappmarken har att uppvisa.”
581 The gákti, as it is called in Northern Sámi, is a traditional Sámi dress worn both for festivities and in the everyday. On the gákti as a conveyor of traditional Sámi knowledge, see, e.g., Sigga Marja-Magga, “Gákti on the Pulse of Time: The double perspective of the traditional Sámi dress,” in *The Sámi World*, ed. Sanna Valkonen, Áile Aikio, Saara Alakorva, and Sigga-Marja Magga (London: Routledge, 2022), 39-52.
Rönnbäck have described how this “racial regime of ownership” at the time was developed through fighting for national ownership of the mines when faced with foreign investors as well as through the racist maxim of “Sámi should remain Sámi”.583

Through such legislation Sámi were made into a minor actor of economic development in Sápmi that, for example, the mining companies deemed as owning the land could easily disregard. Despite often being majorly affected by industrial expansion, Sámi were treated as outsiders in questions of economic development. This is an aspect that the film did not seek to address directly, even though mining could be part of Sámi life as employees of mining companies.584 In an article in the largely Swedish-language Sámi news magazine Samefolket Egen Tidning (The Sámi People’s Newspaper, from 1960 Samefolket, or The Sámi People) in 1958, Anna-Helena Sarri writes about working in the mines as sometimes the only alternative for many Sámi (men) once herding of reindeer became unfeasible due to industrial expansion:

For a person who has learned to love the open expanses, it must be terrible for example to earn a living in a dark mine. This is usually the only way out for him, when he can no longer make a living from reindeer husbandry.585

That images of miners later in the film do not point out if we see Sámi – nor is it mentioned at any point whether Sámi work in the mines – may speak to complex contexts of invisibility. We do not know, for example, if the invisibility of Sámi in this context was chosen, forced or down to ignorance.586

584 In this sense there is a different dynamic at play than, for example, foreign companies and their public relations via film. In Rudmer Canjels’s work on Shell’s Nigerian film unit, films were in part produced with Nigerians, and particularly Nigerian elites, as a primary target, promoting the notion of Shell as part of their economic planning. Rudmer Canjels, The Dynamics of Celluloid on the Road to Independence: Unilever and Shell in Nigeria (Hilversum: Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision, 2017).
586 For example, while the gákti could be worn by Sámi for hunting and reindeer herding, wearing it doing mining work may have not been possible (e.g., for discriminatory or safety reasons) or desired by those men (e.g., in desiring to not stand out, or desiring not to use it in this context). In theory, in several films of the
For some, including some Sámi, ideas of Sámi identity may not have been aligned with working in the mines, hence a desire to avoid these references. In any case, these complicated negotiations of Sámi visibility are unspoken and unseen in the film. This contributes to an invisibility of the complicated politics of visibility itself. The selection of the caricatures+, for instance, do not give the impression of nuance regarding Sámi representation and visibility; rather, the selection of this material shows a disposition towards looking for distinctions between Sámi and members of the Parliament.

Relevant to the aversion of identifying Sámi as miners in the film is the question of whether LKAB avoided hiring Sámi under its first managing director Hjalmar Lundbohm, who was influenced by and partook in the “Sámi should remain Sámi” maxim. Curt Persson finds no evidence that there was an official statement by LKAB against hiring Sámi or Tornedalians during Lundbohm’s leadership. At the same time, he finds no clear evidence of Sámi employment in company records. But while this may suggest a strong informal enforcement of avoiding Sámi from working in the mines, it can also be understood as a sign pointing towards the institutionalization of Sámi invisibility. This point is more compatible with an earlier study by Andrea Amft on the living conditions of Sámi in the twentieth century, which recounts via anonymous interviews that Sámi men no longer able to work as reindeer herders were commonly hired by Swedish State Railways (Statens Järnvägar, SJ) to work on railroads and by LKAB to work in the mines from the 1930s. The lack of traces of Sámi identity in employee records, then, may not be evidence of a lack of Sámi workers, but a beneficial strategy towards invisibility for a mining company in hiding how their land use forcibly moved Sámi families away from self-sufficiency via fishing or reindeer herding, for example. At the same time, obscuring these complex contexts contributed to identifying Sámi life as distinct from modernity, avoiding implications of considering it as heterogeneous.

Among the sporadic references to Hjalmar Lundbohm in the film, there is no indication of his complicated relations to the Sámi. In one artwork

\[\text{time we may be seeing Sámi miners without this being pointed out, especially if these aspects are downplayed by any agency or circumstance.}\]


Persson, *På disponentens tid*, 78.


Regarding the situation for women, Amft writes: “the women continued to be responsible for the housework, often in combination with household animal care.” Original citation: “[…] kvinnorna fortsatte att ansvara för hushållsarbset, ofta i kombination med husdjurskötsel.”
represented, he is seen as conversing with a person drawn with Sámi attire outside the fence surrounding his estate while the voiceover refers to him as the “uncrowned king of Lapland” (Figure 20).\(^{590}\)

**Figure 20:** Unidentified artwork in Lapplands järnberg from circa 1900–1920.\(^{591}\) The drawing of the person to the right, presented as a head taller than the person to the left, is of managing director of LKAB Hjalmar Lundbohm. I have been unable to identify the person drawn in the middle, who is drawn with a Sámi coat made of reindeer fur (beaska). It is unclear if this is meant to represent a specific person. In the background at a distance, we can identify Lundbohm’s estate (Hjalmar Lundbohmsgården) in Kiruna and its surrounding fence, seen from a northwest angle.

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\(^{590}\) Original citation: “Gruvdisponenten Hjalmar Lundbohm, Lapplands ukrönte kung”

\(^{591}\) The estimate is based on information about the estate shown, which went through four building stages. While I have not able to assess whether this is a drawing of the estate at its later stages in 1905 and 1909, it is not earlier than 1900. From the first part of the building was raised in 1890 to 1898, it was used in part as an office by the mining company; later it became Lundholm’s private estate. Lundbohm left Kiruna in 1920, so it is therefore less likely that this artwork was made later. For a detailed report on the estate, see *Dokumentation av Hjalmar Lundbohmsgården, Kiruna* (Luleå: Norrbottens museum, 2012), accessed March 30, 2023, https://kiruna.se/download/18.507b23f4174b7c14e238c6d/1600844465848/Hjalmar\%20Lundbohmsg%C3%A5rd.pdf
By removing the historical and contemporary plurality of Sámi life, the selective framing of artworks and inclusion of othering caricatures in *Lapplands järnberg* plays into segregation rather than offering an alternative and more complex interpretation of Sámi and mining in Sápmi. Although the material, such as Dahlbergh’s engravings, may be used to present a more complex economic history of Sápmi, it is a path not taken – nor required for the film to be broadcast on public service television. As the film leaves the caricatures behind, the voiceover notes that “[i]t was far from any modern model society that met the raised eyes of the members of the Parliament in Malmberget.” 592 This line sets up the rest of the film’s chronicling of the development of mining and Kiruna from the late 1890s until today.

What is also largely left behind in this transition is the type of artwork shown: this part almost exclusively uses photographs and film material of various and occasionally unknown origin. Through montage, scans of photographs by the Swedish photographer Borg Mesch and other uncredited photographers highlight the development of living quarters in the shantytown that would become a city, as well as developments to mining, the train network, and the work environment for the Swedish settlers from the south (Figure 21, left). The voiceover describes the early years as “a Swedish Klondykehood” and that the “iron made the people strong in the art of building and in the art of destruction”. 593 This last point refers to the use of iron for warfare – although not specifying LKAB’s role as an iron ore supplier during the First and Second World Wars. Although Borg Mesch also took many photographs of Sámi – and photographs simulating Sámi – these are omitted from the film. Snippets of moving images – the earliest possibly from the 1910s 595 – show the scale of mining and the manual labour that was part of it.

Original citation: ”Det var långt ifrån något modern mönstersamhälle som mötte riksdagsmännens hevane blickar i Malmberget.” Malmberget (Lule Sámi: Målmmaváre) is a mining town 100 kilometres south of Kiruna.

Original citations: “et svenskt Klondykehood” and “Järnet gjorde människan ståkt, både i konsten att bygga – och i konsten att förstöra”.


These moving images may have been from 1913, when ore mining in the region was filmed for LKAB and Pathé. See Marina Dahlquist, “A Journey on the World’s Most Northernly Railway: The Renaming and Remaking of Swedish Industrial Films,” in *Provenance and Early Cinema*, ed. Joanne Bernardi, Paolo Cherchi Usai, Tami Williams and Joshua Yumibe (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2020), 228.
It is only these industrial images that are moving, and most of them were from earlier films directed by mining engineer Torsten Fahlman and commissioned by LKAB in the 1950s, including Kirunamalm (1952), Gällivaremalm (1953) and Malmseppning Narvik (1954) (Figure 21, right). 596 This is, however, not stated in the film by the voiceover.

Figure 21: Archival photo and film in the latter part of Lapplands järnberg. Left: Scan of photography number 897 by Borg Mesch with children of settlers posed for the camera, year unknown. Right: The final shot of the film used in the earlier Malmseppning Narvik (1954) with the Malmbanan railroad in the foreground and the U-shaped valley Čuonjávággi in the background. This motif would be repeated for Ferrum (1964) – see Figure 29 in Chapter 4.

A possible specific (but not stated) occasion for the broadcasting of the film on television was that mere two months prior LKAB had become 96 percent state owned. Beyond potentially working as public service programming in terms of history education, it could provide information about what was now of increased national interest. What made the film particularly suited to television was the focus on broader modernization developments in relation to Sweden rather than, for example, an account of one pioneer, Hjalmar Lundbohm. While there are examples presented in the film of Sámi contexts in the national developments before 1890, they are much less pronounced when the images of settlers in Kiruna appear. Still today, the Sámi

596 In his role as mining engineer, Vilhelm Torsten Fahlman (1884-1967) held positions in Järnkontorets utredningskommitté and Svenska Metallarbetareförbundet. These three films were produced by AB Svensk Kulturfilm. AB Svensk Kulturfilm was established in 1945 with cinematographer Harry Jonasson as the manager, taking over for Svensk Kulturtjänst (established 1937). “Kulturtjänst blir Kulturfilm,” Arbetaren, September 26, 1945, 7.
are not considered as part of the “pioneers” of Kiruna or Swedish society, nor its social or economic development. *Lapplands järnberg* instead contributed to the idea of Sápmi as Northern Sweden, made valuable through industrial activity, rather as a place with any existing cultural or economic value. The voiceover that accompanies the final shot of iron ore being transported in front of the valley Čuonjavágg (Figure 21, right) frames mining in Sápmi as a national interest for “modern Swedes” – labelled as distinct from Sámi:

For modern Swedes, Lapland is not only the land of tourists, the midnight sun, the Sami and the mountain ranges. Economically and socially, it is at the centre of our interests. The Lapland iron ore mountains are today one of the essential foundations for our country's economy.

By mentioning the mountains rather than the company as important to Sweden’s economy, the film becomes less directly about the company LKAB. Apart from the initial title cards, the film does not directly mention the company in relation to its depiction of recent history. It may have been intentional by LKAB to not overtly promote the film as “their” film, but instead let the film work as a “promotor” – a form of commissioned film popularized by the GPO Film Unit and famously used by Shell in which the only direct reference to the commissioner in the film text is in the opening and/or closing titles. I have found no mention of the film in LKAB’s own corporate newsletters nor in local newspapers or in *Samefolkets Egen Tidning*, possibly in part because the broadcast was unavailable in the north at the time. A single review of the film in the newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* the day after the broadcast praised the visual quality as far above the “dull reportages commonly called art films” but did not mention it as a film for or by the mining company.

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597 Overud, “Memory-Making in Kiruna,” 113. In this article, Overud refers to a picture by Borg Mesch of “Kiruna’s firstborn”, also included in this film, as an example of a singular focus on the colonizers as pioneers that continues to this day, with this photograph also being presented as part of a memorial park in Kiruna.

598 Original citation: “För moderna svenskar är lappland inte bara turistlandet, midnattssolens- lapparnas- och fjällviddernas land. Ekonomisk och socialt står det i centrum för vårt intresse. De lappländska järnbergen utgör i dag en av de väsentliga grundvallarna för vårt lands ekonomi.”


600 *Samefolkets Egen Tidning* would occasionally write short reviews of new films and television programmes featuring Sámi or on Sápmi. Previous research has not explored these writings. For this work I have looked at all issues from 1945-1965.

601 “TV,” *Dagens Nyheter*, November 26, 1957, 19. It is worth mentioning that the reviewer credits the artistry of the film to Hellbom only, and Ekman’s name is not
Beyond television, the film *Lapplands järnberg* is designated in extant copies of Artfilm’s catalogues from 1958–1964 as a chronicle film, with no categorization in terms of possible audiences. With Svensk Filmin dustri’s acquirement of Artfilm AB in 1966, the film would be featured in Svensk Filmin dustri’s 16mm film catalogues in 1969–70 and 1972–73 as a film for youth in the years 4–6 (mellanstadiet) and years 7–9 (högstadiet) of primary school under categories such as “History” and “Our time”. LKAB was not mentioned as a commissioner in Artfilm’s or SF’s catalogues. In PA Council catalogues, the film was presented as an LKAB film — for instance, in a special catalogue for PR films in 1961. In the regular catalogue for 1965, the film was described as an “information film for all personnel groups”. Meanwhile, the film was about LKAB, the references to using authentic material, the focus on artwork, and the national history framing presented enough reasons to not consider it as an advertisement, but instead as an educational or informational text. This was also all that was really demanded for the film to be used as content for public service television. It did not need, for example, to make visible the controversies regarding the economic
situation of the Sámi in regard to these developments. Public service television could therefore be a vehicle for the idea that programmes on industry did not need to speak of these matters.

Commissioned films and spatial frictions

That films could offer a threat to Sámi economic activity by being used as proxies for corporate intentions was apparent to Gustav Park, a Sámi priest and the chief editor of *Samefolkets Egen Tidning*. In a short note on a new film by the state hydropower company Vattenfall in 1958, Park criticized Sámi agreeing to join the production:

> It is unfortunate that quite a few Sámi have been persuaded to appear in this propaganda film, which seeks to glorify water regulations, even though these pose a frightening threat to the Sámi as a reindeer herding people in their ancestral land.\(^607\)

In often voiceless roles in such films, Sámi had limited agency when represented beyond what the corporate commissioner found relevant. Non-cooperation or other forms of friction could be edited out and made invisible in the final text. In his research into Vattenfall’s films in the 1950s, Fabian Zimmer points out that Sámi contexts were made invisible in the films beyond marking a contrast to the modernity of hydropower expansion.\(^608\) While films occasionally addressed sacrifices made by settlers due to the “inevitable” need for hydropower expansion, the films were silent on sacrifices in a Sámi context.\(^609\) When documentary filmmaker Stig Wesslén contacted Vattenfall to make a film on historical changes to reindeer husbandry, this was personally rejected by their director-general Erik Grafström.\(^610\)

A single incident discovered in my research from the internal memos of the shooting of long and short versions of the promotional film *Kiruna* (1960) by Nordisk Tonefilm for Kiruna city in 1959 points to frictions during production, a perspective that is almost invisible in most cases when only the filmic text survives. For one of the days of shooting, there were plans to shoot


\(^{608}\) Zimmer, *Hydroelektrische Projektionen*, 323.


\(^{610}\) Zimmer, *Hydroelektrische Projektionen*, 323.
a scene in Lannavaara church in Vittangi (Northern Sámi: Vazáš) “capturing some beautiful Sami faces” with Sámi taking part in a church service. The diary entry presents this attempt to film Sámi as a messy situation:

The Sami spokesman refused us to film the church service. There was a compromise so that we could film after the service. The priest promised to help us with the relocation of the Sami, but he failed. We talked to several Sami, but then they left the church. We thought then that we film it as it is. When we lit the headlights, almost everyone left the church (When we lit the lights, a Sami picked up an 8mm film camera and filmed). We took 20 metres of film because we had everything lined up. However, there will probably be no joy with the pictures, since only a couple of Sami (who have not had time to leave the church) joined the picture. We finished at 14.00 and started packing and loading the truck.

The reason for the initial refusal to allow the Sámi to be filmed in this setting, as well as the situation that unfolded, is unknown. Although they are not sourced from an indigenous perspective, notes on spatial frictions in film productions such as these are rare in the archives. Their absence thereby leaves out perspectives on these filmed spaces as contested, but also shows how these aspects can be made invisible.

While this production situation is not visible in the final film, the long version of the film *Kiruna* (1960) confronts the presence of Sámi in Kiruna and the workplace in more direct ways than *Lapplands järnberg*. The film begins with a scene in which a tourist couple visiting Kiruna starts talking with the pensioned miner, “Johan Lundgren” (played by Swedish actor Harry "Staden. En film om Kiruna stad. (Korta versionen). Script II 18 s Ex. 1,” script for the film *Kiruna*, Manussamlingen, SFI/B, 16. Original full citation in Swedish: “154-156 I Lannavaara kyrka följer vi en lapphögtid och fångar några vackra sameansikten.”

612 “Inspelningsrapport Tisdagen 6/1 1959 film nr K-177 / K-181,” film production diary, 2 Övriga inkomna handlingar [1959-1965], E - inkomna handlingar, Nordisk Tonefilm archive, ARBARK, 1. Original citation: “Samernas talesman nekade oss att filma Gudstjänsten. Det blev kompromiss så att vi skulle få filma efter gudstjänsten. Prästen lovade att hjälpa oss med omplacering av Samerna, med det lyckades han ej med. Vi talade med flera samer, men då lämnade dessa kyrkan. Vi tänkte att Då filmar vi det som det är. Då vi tände strålkastarna lämnade så gott som varje sam kyrkan (Då vi tänds ljuset tog en Sam upp en 8mm filmkamera och filme). Vi tog 20m film eftersom vi hade allt uppställt. Med det blir förmodligen ingen glädje med bilderna, eftersom endast ett par samer (som ej hunnit ut or kyrkan) blev med i bilden. Vi avslutade kl. 1400 och började packa ihop och lasta lastbilen.” It is not clear if the person filming on 8mm was using their own camera or not.

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Ahlin), about Kiruna’s history. The miner goes on to talk about Kiruna’s history from around 1900 to today, including details of the mining operations, but also mentions that reindeer herding contributes 10 million Swedish kronor to the “national property”.613 The husband in the tourist couple asks (with a Sámi person nearby, later named Jonas) “if the Sami are a problem”, to which the old miner responds: “Problem? Not particularly. But you should maybe know the background. They were here first!”614 Johan the miner goes on to narrate Sámi history while we see images of Sámi villages and reindeer, with the focus particularly on early religious practices. After Johan mentions that more Sámi have settled down in Kiruna in recent years, there are five shots mentioned in the script as “Sámi in Kiruna in normal environments – normally dressed Sámi waves down a train that stops – some miners with Sámi traits – a cab driver.”615 That the film is addressed towards non-Sámi and particularly tourists becomes obvious when towards the end of this section, Johan speaks the following lines:

Society tries as much as possible to make it easier for the Sámi to maintain their old culture and identity. You must understand that they are ordinary people and not exhibition objects. So should you greet them, just show them the same consideration that you would like to be greeted with yourself, then you are always welcome.616

This is followed with Johan asking “our Sámi” (Jonas) – as we see Jonas in close-up with the others in the frame – if this statement is correct, upon which Jonas answers “Yeah!”617 Although he gets the last word on this matter, this is Jonas’s only word in the film, as the rest of the film continues

with the miner Johan speaking about the city’s development and what you can do in Kiruna as a tourist. While making visible more aspects of Sámi presence than the industry-commissioned films, *Kiruna* does not challenge their view. Nordisk Tonefilm and director Gunnar Höglund would after this production secure a long-term contract with LKAB to produce several films promoting their mining endeavours in the north (including *Ferrum*, see Chapter 4).

**Following debates: non-commissioned programmes on Sápmi in SR**

Returning to the public service television context, we should be careful not to assume that SR generally intended to enforce invisibility on challenges in Sápmi or that they otherwise had a particular agenda regarding Sámi. Central to the understanding of both the leniency towards the inclusion of commissioned films and approaches in their own productions is, to paraphrase Jérôme Bourdon, that television has followed these debates rather than leading them.\(^{618}\)

Indeed, in their own productions outside of direct industry contexts, we see more of a hint of broader interest in Sápmi contexts. Between 1958–59, Håkan Unsgaard\(^{619}\) made a longer series of eight programmes for television with a wider scope on Sápmi topics, which were referred to as the “Norrland reportages” internally, referring to the northernmost lands of Sweden.\(^{620}\) The first programme, which aired on August 18\(^t\), 1958, *Folkefest*


\(^{619}\) Håkan Unsgaard (1922-1991) was the manager of Radiotjänst’s Norrland department from 1950-1954 and was between 1959-1968 manager of regional programming in SR and manager of SVT1 between 1968-1979.

vid Akkas fot (“People’s festival at the foot of Akka”\textsuperscript{621}), on the Sámi church weekend in Vaisaluokta (Lule Sámi: Vájsálúokta), presents an alternative view on the corporate use of space in Sápmi to \textit{Lapplands järnberg} and \textit{Kiruna}. In Unsgaard’s reportage, several scenes of a church service with Sámi and tourists are shown.\textsuperscript{622} An interview with poet and woodworker Paulus Utsi about the church weekend momentarily goes into the recent large damming projects by Vattenfall in the region. We learn that a closer telephone connection has been offered to the Sámi here, who are 50 kilometres from the nearest phone. When Unsgaard asks as a rhetorical question if this is a repayment by Vattenfall for the loss of the reindeer pastures due to the damming, Utsi confirms that it is, and adds with a sense of sarcasm that with the topographical change that has put larger areas under water, “One has to almost prepare oneself as on the ocean” when crossing these changed landscapes by boat.\textsuperscript{623}

Yet although some frictions are depicted and some critique of Swedish economic activity in Sápmi can be found in these programmes, they are few and were made almost invisible in the sense that the programme was not set to address the topic of industry. SR at this time did not rent films more didactic in their critique of the presence of industry in Sápmi, such as Ragnar Kihlstedt’s \textit{Den heliga älven} (“The holy river”, 1957) on the destruction of Sápmi landscapes due to damming – a film that Vattenfall found “grossly misleading”.\textsuperscript{624} No larger point was made about economic consequences for Sámi in the ongoing contestation with industry in educational programmes;
indeed, the interview with Utsi in the programme ends on his remark on the new “oceans” in Sápmi without further elaboration.

But from 1960 we can see how discussion programmes were handled differently from those with an educational or informational mode. In the debate programme Brännpunkten on November 24, 1960, Vattenfall’s damming of Lule river was discussed with a focus on its consequences for the environment and Sámi reindeer herders. As access to Swedish television broadcasting was made possible in all of Sápmi in 1961, it may be argued that programming reflected that people living there were now among television audiences. When it came to documentary programmes on television, Lars Thomasson wrote in Samefolks Egen Tidning of a set of Christmas and New Year programmes in December 1962 on Sápmi as a possible turning point, stating:

the[se] TV films will certainly form an epoch in their genre, and in doing so they have done the Sámi a great service. For the future, they have made all kinds of “documentary films” about the Sámi impossible, which do not want to deal with social or economic issues or get to the bottom of how democracy works for the Sámi.

The programmes in question were Renskötarna I (“The reindeer herders I”), produced by Eric Forsgren and Per-Åke Blidegård and broadcast on Christmas Eve at 21.05 and again on 27 December at 14.00, and Renskötarna II (“The reindeer herders II”), about futures for reindeer herding, which was broadcast on 1 January 1963 at 19.35 and again on 3 January at 14.20. This producer duo, who would become known as pioneers of television


626 Discussants were director general of Statens Vattenfallsverk Erik Grafström, reindeer herder Nils Erik Nilsson Kruljok, zoologist Kai-Curry Lindahl, Halvar Sellin and SR’s Lars Boberg. “Axplock ur TV-kalendern,” Sveriges Radio Årsbok 5 (1961): 250. Samefolks Egen Tidning’s notice regarding the programme mentions that Kruljok had made strong arguments for the Sámi perspective, and that Lennart Wallmark and Niklaus Kuhmuhnen of the Sámi folk high school (Lule Sámi: Sámij áhpadusguovdásj) also were part of the program. “Samefolket har erfarit…,” Samefolks Egen Tidning, no. 1 (1961): 3.

reporting in the northernmost regions of Sweden, had two years earlier made a film presenting the Boliden mines analysed below. A more radical approach in programmes on industry was still some years away, although the early 1960s had begun environmentally conscious programming on Swedish television. Programmes that provided information on industry in the early 1960s were instead often of benefit to industry not just in its economic education, as seen in Lapplands järnberg, but also, as in the film Guldgrävare, in hooking people in to partake in this narrow idea of the economy.

Inaccessible adventures: Corporate hooks in Guldgrävare (1960)

Guldgrävare (“Gold diggers”) is a 28-minute TV film on mining at the Boliden company in the Västerbotten province that was first broadcast Thursday November 10, 1960 at 18.00 and shown again the same year on 22 November. For both occasions it was broadcast, the film was presented in TV schedules under the description “For girls and boys.” Starring the film is “Kalle” (Ulf Bergqvist), a nine-year-old boy from Boliden who won the television appearance in an essay contest with nine other children. In the local social democratic regional newspaper, Västerbottens Folkblad, the TV film was given considerable attention as an event prior to and after the first broadcast. Ulf was described as “television’s Rasmus”, likely referring to the recurring character from Astrid Lindgren’s children’s books. Connected to this association is the newspaper’s description of this boy’s trip and television appearance as its own adventure.

The film follows “Kalle’s” day trip to Boliden AB, a copper and iron mining company which operated several large mines northwest of Skellefteå (Ume Sámi: Syöldate, Southern Sámi: Skillehte), most prominently the

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629 The 1960 TV-film Guldgrävare should not be confused with a reportage with the same name first sent July 18, 1963, produced by Bertil Hedlund and photographer Olle Hallberg on gold-digging in rivers in Northern Finland. Television programme schedules in daily newspapers from 1963-1966 confuse the two in their descriptions.
630 Original citation: “För flickor och pojkar”. Because women were not allowed to work in mines underground at this time, the programme offered a rare glimpse for girls into a space they would be prohibited to enter even as adults.
Renström mine (from 1952) and the Boliden mine (from 1926 to 1967), the latter at the time Europe’s largest gold mine.632 The gist of the reportage and the tour is that Kalle’s winning essay on gold-digging does not accurately portray how one usually mines for gold in industry today. As we see images of gold diggers during the summer in Lemmenjoki (Northern Sámi: Leammijohka) in Northern Finland, the voiceover narrator states that:

Kalle is one of the many who believe that gold is dug up by bearded men with broad hats and a feverish look – much like it was done in the Wild West back in the day.633

These traditional methods of finding gold in the rivers are described before we see the meagre result, a man holding a single piece of gold smaller than his fingernails, and another man trying to assess whether a tiny piece of rock in his fingers contains gold by holding it towards the sunlight. As we see a scene of Kalle at his desk writing his essay on this form of gold digging, the voiceover comments that this is not how it works “when large quantities of the magical metal are sought out”.634 Images of prospecting from an airplane are followed by images of Kalle’s car ride to the Renström mine. They pass by a town, constructed at an “incredible speed” due to the mining activity according to the commentary, as well as the world’s longest cableway.635

Although it is focused particularly on Kalle’s perspective from the point when he arrives to the Renström mine, the film gives a systematic explanation of the entire process of gold mining from drilling into the mountain wall to refinement into gold. More than just a reportage on the company, then, it becomes an example of what Salomé Aguilera Skvirsky calls the process genre, here with the added excitement of seeing Kalle react to being in this environment. Some of the excitement in the film is connected to the statement that he is the only child who has ever been allowed to enter these underground mines and refinery due to the dangers involved. That he is not yet suited for this environment is emphasized in a scene in the dressing

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632 In 1968, Boliden opened the Aitik copper mine in Gällivare (Northern Sámi: Jiellevárrri or Váhčir, Lule Sámi: Jiellevárre or Váhtjer, Meänkíeli: Jellivaara), now the largest open pit in Scandinavia. Most of Boliden’s activities have been in the so-called “Skelleftefältet” 150-200 kilometres west of Skellefteälven (Pite Sámi: Seldutiedno, Ume Sámi: Syöldateiednuo) where 26 mines have been opened, 5 currently in operation.

633 Original citation: “Kalle tillhör de många som tror att guld grävs fram av skäggiga farbröder med breda hattar och febrig blick – ungefär som det gick till i vilda västen för i tiden.”

634 Original citation: “Men så här går det faktiskt inte till när dom stora mängderna av den magiska metallen letas fram.” The speaker puts emphasis on the word “stora” (large).

635 The Kristineberg-Boliden cableway was a 96 km long and transported ore concentrate (slig) from the Kristineberg mine to Boliden from 1943-1987.
The framing of getting access into these spaces that were usually unavailable to non-workers hooks viewers into watching the film. The camerawork highlights the specific privilege of entering into these corporate spaces, most blatantly in a scene showing Kalle and his guide entering a restricted space and the following closeup of the sign reading “Unauthorized access not allowed” (Figure 22, top and middle). Scenes of restriction are here juxtaposed with scenes showing a child in this environment that present an accommodating working environment. The space is not shown as inhospitable and the company gets to present their hospitality, despite being an inconvenient location for filming. Kalle had earned his right to be here by winning a competition. Although Kalle is too young now, the distance between him as a child and future worker is shortened by the ease communicated by scenes of work where machines do much of the heavy lifting (compared to the gold digging initially shown, featuring only old men). Occasionally, the reportage even shows Kalle test some machinery (Figure 22, bottom). The “hook” of the child in the mine to draw curiosity to the programme is here made useful to educate viewers about what goes on in a large, national industry likely popularly associated with old-fashioned methods and danger.
Figure 22: Screencaps from Guldgrävare (1960). Top: Kalle and his adult guide entering a restricted corporate space, made clear by a close-up of the sign to the left saying, “Unauthorized access not allowed”. Middle: Close-up of the sign. Bottom: Kalle tests pneumatic levers in the Renström mine.
At the same time, the film also emphasises corporate spaces that even the special guest Kalle cannot enter. At the gold refinery section, a man transporting a tray of gold bars closes the door behind him as he enters the “gold room” to store them, leaving Kalle outside to look in through the barred door (Figure 23). This “gold room” becomes associated with great value as we see, from Kalle’s perspective, a man shovelling silver and gold sand while the speaker mentions that the room right now contains gold and silver worth 1.5 million Swedish kronor (circa 20 million SEK in 2023 money). Access to working with gold at the Boliden corporation is explained as being restricted to only a few workers.

![Figure 23: Kalle watches behind a barred entrance the process for making gold sand in the gold room (left). Right: close-up of gold sand in a pan. From Guldgrävare (1960).](image)

In a curious scene towards the end of the film that resembles a game show segment, Kalle appears to get a chance to become rich quickly by bringing a gold bar home if he can lift it from a table with only his hands. When he fails, the narrator explains that it is not possible with the way the gold bar was lying down because of its slippery coating. While Kalle was kept at a distance from the room with the gold dust that could have been grabbed with ease, he is trusted around the gold bar due to its placement and design that makes it unmovable. By design, through restrictions or not, the gold stays in the corporate space.

It is difficult to know the degree to which the company played a part in the making of the reportage beyond allowing the reporters and Kalle within these restricted corporate spaces. As with Lapplands järnberg, no correspondence about the production has been found, adding to the allure about corporate authorship on television as being particularly diffuse. Going on the sources I have accessed (the film text, programme, and catalogue entries), it appears that the film was particularly targeted towards children. A
catalogue entry in the PA Council film catalogue in 1961 describes the film as useful for promoting industry, particularly towards children choosing what profession to pursue (Figure 24). In this aspect, the restricted corporate spaces as presented in the reportage become attractions in the sense of being attached to privilege and close to rare and valuable minerals.

Figure 24: Entry for Guldgrävare in the 1961 PA Council film catalogue. Under “Use” (Användning) the entry says “TV-report that for young people (e.g., in a career choice situation) replaces study visits and provide a link to the subjects of industry-geography and chemistry.” “Industry-geography” was a version of the geography subject of the ninth and final year of school for students in the 1950s and 1960s that chose 9y, “vocational preparation” (yrkesförberedande) rather than 9g “high school preparation” (gymnasieförberedande) or 9a “general line” (allmän linje).  

Paradoxically, this entry in the PA Council catalogue notes that the film can replace school visits, which if done in practice further emphasizes this hook of inaccessible adventures inside industry. The focus on gold might have provided another hook to attract children or young adults to work for a company like Boliden, which in terms of volume was mostly occupied with mining other minerals – or at least to consider it as an interesting workplace. It is perhaps not surprising, then, that the film was labelled as a PR film on Boliden in a PA Council catalogue devoted to PR films in October 1961.

In addition to Guldgrävare, two other SR productions about mining companies are mentioned in the catalogue, labelled as PR films on

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Grängesberg. The title *Den stora valsen*™ (broadcast in 1961) presents the new rolling mills in the Oxelösund steelworks, and *Vad får man för en halv miljard?* (“What do you get for half a billion?”) was produced by SR’s Culture Section and aired on August 8, 1960.™ The latter programme addresses what Grängesberg has invested in Sweden after they sold their shares in LKAB in 1957, including CEO Erland Waldenström facing the camera in a four-minute monologue that summarizes investments. In the anonymous commentary track that focuses on the developments in the industrial town Oxelösund, it is stated that “[n]ow is the time for the second industrial revolution”.™ After showing psychological testing practices to roughly sort (*grovsållning*) workers into jobs, the film cites a recent survey by the PA Council where it is stated that 90 percent are satisfied with their work.

If we think of the TV film *Guldgrävare* as beneficial to a corporate conception of mining, this sense of attraction offered by the film through its focus on gold becomes relevant to the idea of a restricted Sápmi. No Sámi contexts are featured in the film, nor are Boliden’s mines presented as located in Sápmi. Rather than presenting corporate spaces in Sápmi as hindering other land use, the film explains that companies such as Boliden are centres of value-making. Unlike the gold-digging in rivers further north, these corporate spaces are concentrated and amassed wealth. This speaks to the need for the restriction of space: when gold is a measurement of value, the corporate space that amasses it becomes the most valuable of all, even if it becomes an exclusionary one that cannot coexist with other economic activities that are made invisible.

The restricted access to the mine and gold was looked on with fascination and as a rare opportunity, both within the text and in the local newspaper *Västerbottens Folkblad*. This in turn provided a hook for selling television sets, at least in the minds of local retail companies attempting to frame the programme as one not to miss. On the day after the first airing of the program, the television retailing company Varuhuset ran an advertisement in *Västerbottens Folkblad* featuring Kalle in a hardhat posing with a Lumona television, with the slogan “worth its weight in gold” (Figure 25). The broadcast of the TV film had happened less than two months after the local transmitter in Skellefteå, 30 kilometres southeast of Boliden, was put into use.™

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638 The Swedish title can mean both “the great roller” and “the great waltz”.
640 Original citation: “Nu är det alltså dags för den andra industriella revolutionen”
641 Törnqvist, *TV-ägandets utveckling i Sverige*, 49. The Skellefteå transmitter was the 36th transmitter put into operation from August 22, 1960.
Figure 25: Advertisement for “Lumona TV” by Varuhuset in Västerbottens Folkblad 11 November 1960, 7. Next to Kalle in a suit and hardhat posing in front of the television with an image of him in the film is the slogan “Worth its weight in gold...”. The text under the television says: “Kalle the gold-digger” aka Ulf Bergkvist, Boliden, thought it was great fun to see himself and his friends on TV last night. Even the other programmes, such as Lassie’s Adventures, Måndagsposten, and all sports, Ulf considers “all good” and he is very happy that his parents chose LUMONA TV - Ulf thinks it is worth its weight in gold.” The bottom of the ad includes phone numbers to Varuhuset’s stores in Skellefteå, Boliden, and Burträsk.
There was therefore also a local hook to the programme that retailers and SR alike, one selling televisions and the other TV licences, could benefit from. SR would also sell the programme itself to Danish television and it was among film titles sold through what was called the “Copy service” (Kopietjänsten), introduced in 1960. This smaller distribution service in SR sold film copies of their productions with the stipulation that they would not be used commercially or shown publicly with admission prices.

What was presented in both Guldgrävare and Lapplands järnberg were restricted views on mining in Sápmi and who was involved. In Guldgrävare, mining as a restrictive economic activity was rationalized through the focus on gold via presenting a boy in the mine. Essentially, this presented a similar view to Lapplands järnberg in its limitation put on who mining in Sápmi concerned. The boy Ulf could potentially grow up to become involved in mining once his head was big enough to fit the helmet, while there was no indication of Sápmi as part of the future of mining. What had been intended as educational programmes about industry on public service television could be extracted for corporate means – such as presenting their land use in Sápmi as having historical precedent, or in promoting mining as a career path to young boys through its employee-restricted adventures. Early Swedish public service television may not have directly advertised for the mining industry per their definition, but subtler approaches could be mutually beneficial.

643 “Förlagets verksamhet,” Sveriges Radio Årsbok 5 (1961): 213-218. One copy was sold of Guldgrävare between 1st July 1960 to 1st July 1961, likely the copy to Danish television. Other film copies sold in relation to the mining industry were “Film om Oxelösund” (4 copies) and “Invigning av LKAB” (“Inauguration of LKAB”, 2 copies). Most likely, the Oxelösund film is one of the two films mentioned in this chapter. I do not know what the LKAB film is, but in terms of the timeline it would be possible that it was a SR-produced programme on opening of the new LKAB office in Kiruna in 1960.
644 “Förlagets verksamhet,” 213.
Chapter 4: A poverty of artistic experimentation amid abundant instrumental wealth

In the previous chapters, I have described how individual films commissioned by mining companies were made to fit institutions via being treated as informative and educational rather than as direct advertisements. They could be seen as instruments of reasoning – for example, that by being explanatory they could provide information about mining or explain the logic behind new approaches to management. They could also be reasonable in terms of working as inexpensive television content.

There were, however, not a great many different reasons behind mining that commissioned films expressed – it boiled down to the profit motive and translating this motive into explanations of how companies perform civic and social roles. In this respect, mining was no different than other industries. Coupled with a habitual matter-of-fact style to the voiceover that explained images, there was an air of sameness to the detachment of these productions, which contributes to the difficulty of identifying specific films today.

On the one hand, this sameness in approach could provide comfort and familiarity, in the sense that it attempted to prove a “lawfulness of the universe” emphasized through repetition. In this, films could be an instrumental part of learning about industry as part of the world. To paraphrase Elizabeth Wiatr, explanatory sound and image could through repetition rein in boundless capitalism to something concretely visual and conceivable. For example, the mining process from mountain wall to steel could be shown as following thermodynamic laws and given a standard narrative structure – which via voiceover made sense out of work systems and their machines. On the other hand, there was the lingering question of whether these formulaic approaches to films as factual could become stale. Towards the end of Chapter 1, I mentioned how some discourse in newspapers pointed to complaints from filmmakers in the 1950s about commissioners being afraid to try something new.


This chapter begins by contextualizing these criticisms made by filmmakers and film critics about commissioned film as it continued into the 1960s, when sticking to traditions was described as a potential communication problem because it risked boring audiences. Support for these concerns was evident at festivals devoted to showing industry-commissioned films, where avoiding redundancy could work to a film’s favour in terms of awards. These factors pushed towards an increased emphasis on originality in the instrumentality of commissioned films.

I analyse these critiques by film critics and filmmakers in relation to the broader context of the desire to improve financial conditions for more artistically liberated short film production in Sweden. Here, I refer to what Per Vesterlund calls the “taste-neutral support system” of film subsidy by the Swedish state in the 1950s. Limited largely to a subsidy for theatrical feature films, this system did not financially incentivize films that freed themselves from commercial or instrumental leanings, because it would require the state to make necessarily subjective assessments of quality. Because the state did not earmark subsidies for short film production or filmmaking without specific conditions more generally before 1972, working with commissioners was often the only alternative for filmmakers in this format. Given commissioners’ penchant for following traditions, the short film medium in Sweden had little room for experimentation.

While I argue that there was a stability of instrumental sameness in commissioned films in the timeframe of the thesis, there were some examples of Swedish commissioners breaking away from the mould – albeit only temporarily – in the early 1960s. In a case study of LKAB in the years 1960–1964 I read the company as performing experimentation with media forms that were informed by current information media habits. This included testing self-produced live television for internal information soon after public service television had been made available in Northern Sweden. The consideration of media habits carried over to the commission of a film programme produced by Nordisk Tonefilm, where film titles were proposed with different communication goals. As part of the larger film commission, Ferrum (1964) – intended for cinema distribution in Sweden and abroad – would stand out in its experimental cinematography and sound work and would be highly successful in the industrial film award circuit.

Ferrum would also be used as vehicle for discussions around the future of short film in Sweden, launching the film and LKAB into unfamiliar discourses. Crucially, the film was distributed soon after the establishment of the Swedish Film Institute and the implementation of a new film policy oriented around quality assessment (kvalitetsorienterad stöd). Although this

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new policy focused on artistic quality, it would become criticized for not improving the situation for short film production in Sweden. Here, *Ferrum* was used as part of an argument against earmarked subsidies for short films prior to or during production by SFI’s director Harry Schein. Having positioned the film as a flagship for SFI’s new and “fair” direction of funding films based on their artistic quality, the rejection of *Ferrum* for the Oberhausen Short Film Festival – defined as a space for short films of artistic freedom – was treated harshly by the SFI with a six-year long boycott.

This turn of events – which made Swedish access to the festival for other contributions more difficult – was symptomatic of the unstable situation for free short film production. That commissions did not provide stability long-term for artistic experimentation is exemplified by the short-lived nature of LKAB’s media communication experiment. After *Ferrum*, their commissions would return to old habits and redundancy, including the cost-saving approach of re-using film footage produced during the shooting of *Ferrum* in the film *Malm i rörelse* (*Ore on the move*, 1969). I conclude that although LKAB invested in other art forms, they did not see themselves as a patron of film as art. Instead, future films were commissioned to meet long-established instrumental media habits and expectations that have been described in previous chapters. In this sense, following traditions remained the most versatile option for commissioners with their films.

**Redundancy as a problem, experimentation as a solution**

My discussion of the experienced sameness of industry-commissioned films begins in Sweden’s neighbour country to the west, Norway. In 1950 Knut Hald, chief executive of the Federation of Norwegian Industries (Norges Industriforbund), reached out to Georg Brochmann, a popular science journalist employed after WW2 by the Norwegian Shipowners' Association (Norsk Rederforbund) about whether it was feasible to produce a “general industrial film” that showed the big name industries of Norway.648 In a five-page letter that Brochmann wrote as a response, he laid out the status of industrial film at the time, which he saw as standing at a crossroads between keeping to tradition or giving experimentation a go. To follow tradition was to continue along the same well-trodden tracks of

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process-focused industrial films explained with a voiceover, a type of film that he describes as follows:

The term **industrial film** seems to have become quite strongly attached to meaning a kind of continuous display of (moving) images from one or another industry, accompanied by a spoken lecture with some elements of music. As different as these films may be, thanks to the fact that they deal with industries of a very different nature, there is no denying that they have all become rather indifferent variations of the same basic theme. For professionals and especially technically minded, they will always be of interest, for the larger public, the terms "industrial film" is beginning to become synonymous with first-rate boredom.

Following this familiar approach would, according to Brochmann, produce a “fully sound result that will meet all reasonable expectations”. As described in Chapter 1, the “spoken lecture” format had several advantages for production: the commentary text worked as a record of what the film would literally say, which could be worked on in detail between the commissioner and the scriptwriter. Keeping to the same structures as previous films also allowed for easier use of archival images, requiring fewer new metres of film to be produced.

Motivated to change up the spoken lecture format, Brochmann stressed that there was an opportunity here for the Federation of Norwegian Industries to “create a milestone in the development, a new standard”. The problem was not the content per se, but the delivery and lack of imagination. This new path, he argues, meant creating a film with

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650 Letter from Georg Brochmann to Knut Hald, Oslo, November 20 1950, 1. Original citation in Norwegian: “[…] et fullt forsvarlig resultat som vil oppfylle alle rimelige forventninger […]”

651 Letter from Georg Brochmann to Knut Hald, Oslo, November 20 1950, 1. Original citation in Norwegian: “[…] skape en film som danner en milepæl i utviklingen, en ny standard […]”
action, suspense and develop towards a climax as a good feature film, but be such that when people leave the show they know a lot more about Norwegian industry, its prerequisites, methods, results and economic significance than if they had sat half asleep and listened to a never so excellent “lecture with slides”.  

Brochmann’s argument for the need to reinvent films about industry can be seen in many places in the historical sources, although often reduced to a sentence or two regarding redundancy. In Sweden, where nearly all non-fiction films were commissioned, this cry for originality was certainly not an exception. As early as in 1928, John Magnus Ragnar Larson Ring (alias Lasse Ring), director of the film production company Hasse W. Tullbergs Filmin industri, described the industrial films of the time as “cheap” and “plain recordings” of industry, for which he saw as having “nowadays no or little significance from the point of view of advertising or propaganda”. It should be noted that in both these examples, Brochmann and Ring had personal motivations for their statements. Brochmann tried to steer a potential commissioner towards commissioning a film that he would like to work on. In Ring’s case he was selling the idea of a new type of film which he calls the “technical film” (teknisk film) – a promise of a film approach that could show industrial processes more pedagogically – for which an unfavourable description of “industrifilm” could be beneficial.

Despite these biases, the arguments made can be seen as a serious accusation about the potential for failed communication through redundancy. In other words, it is a question of film as an instrument not working as it should if filmmakers stuck to their habits. If audiences were falling asleep watching films about factories, it could speak to a greater issue of not establishing contact, of audiences not becoming informed. In the influential book *Overload and Boredom*, sociologist Orrin Edgar Klapp writes of redundancy.

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652 Letter from Georg Brochmann to Knut Hald, Oslo, November 20 1950, 4. Original citation in Norwegian: “En slik film må ha handling, spenning og utvikle seg mot et klimaks som en god spillefilm, men være slik at når folk forlater forestillingen vet de uhyre meget mer om norsk industri, dens forutsetninger, metoder, resultater og økonomiske betydning enn om de hadde sittet halvsovende og hørt på et aldri så fortreffelig «foredrag med lysbilder.»


654 With Brochmann’s passing in 1952, it is unclear if he was involved in a film for Norges Industriforbund. I have only found one film commissioned by them in this time, *Norwegian Enterprise* from 1953 directed by Sigval Maartmann-Moe.
as flirting with banality. Klapp treats banalization in society as a loss of information that:

comes from trying to say more by mere repetition or enlargement, and while saying nothing new, leaving out variety and authentic information, filtering gritty reality into an experience that seems bland, sterile, shallow or insipid. The simplest way to banalize something is to multiply it endlessly.

While this sameness could be beneficial to a film commissioner by leaving out realities that were not advantageous to the intended messages they felt worth repeating, it risked becoming boring and banal to the viewer. For Klapp, boredom is connected to lack of meaning, and therefore becomes a social problem of detachment. Writing about film, Heide Schlüpmann connects the notion of boredom to position the viewer towards “critique[ing] of the production logic of modern bourgeois society”. Instead of being enthralled with the ingenuity of watching industrial processes, a bored audience who had seen it many times before could pull it apart and question its rationale. Following these points, a company that only commissioned films to explain the company in a similar fashion to hundreds of other films in circulation could risk shirking a potential contribution of purpose to society.

Some commentators pointed to the heavy use of voiceover as a limiting factor. In an article referenced in the introduction of this thesis, museum manager Torsten Althin argued that the commentary-based film could only address the concrete aspects of industry – thereby not getting the most out of the potential of images to visualize the more abstract aspects of economic relations. It was this latter point that the general audience sorely lacked knowledge about, according to Althin. Sir Arthur Elton, one of the key figures of the British documentary film movement and at the time head of the Shell Film Unit, wrote in 1957 of word and music straightjacketing the form of the films, not allowing “inner harmony” to spring out from the often-excellent cinematography. This would render the commentary “empty” and

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655 Klapp, Overload and Boredom, 53-54.
656 Klapp, Overload and Boredom, 54-55.
657 Naturally, some viewers were more inclined to find elements to appreciate in what may be considered “boring” films for general audiences, such as film societies and amateur film clubs. The focus on redundancy here also does not mean that the films were not skillfully made.
660 Sir Arthur Elton, “Films and Industrial Public Relations,” in The Film and Industry: Twelve papers specially written for delegates to the Festival of Films in
the music “reverberating”, and hence would not fully function as communication.  

Film festivals as catalysts against sameness

Elton’s paper was one of 12 papers written specially for delegates as background material for discussions sessions at the Festival of Films in the Service of Industry in 1957, a major film festival devoted to industry-commissioned films in Harrogate, England, that featured over 300 participants.  

Published in paperback form, the papers give fascinating insights into the status of film for industry in terms of public relations, sales, vocational recruitment, training and instruction, safety, productivity questions, and the status of the distribution of such films in Great Britain at the time. A recurring theme across these papers is that they point to tendencies in the mass of current industry-commissioned films. In this sense, their contributors repeatedly faced the issue of redundancy and pointing out what it meant. For example, in a paper about vocational guidance films, Edgar Anstey spoke of a tendency of the films to work with coy selling approaches that “over-dramatise (if not glamorise)” industry without speaking to points of direct interest such as salaries. With this repeated indirect approach, Anstey argues, the “crucial appeal” of industry is not directly addressed.

Audiences at festivals for industry-commissioned films could face redundancy in an intensified way. By screening hundreds of films over a couple of days, boredom crept in through watching them, making audiences aware of repeating patterns and questioning the efficiency of this repetition in the current media landscape. Reports from these festivals could be harsh on this point. For the International Industrial Film Festival in Rouen in 1965, the Norwegian Trade Council (Norges Utenrikshandel) sent their colleague Gunnar Jerman to write a report on the festival, which was published in the trade magazine Norges Industri. Beyond describing the numerous Norwegian

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662 The Harrogate festival was possibly the first major one in Europe, but festivals devoted to industrial film had already been in operation in the US, according to earlier volumes of the trade paper Business Screen, which can be found online at archive.org.
and Swedish contributions as “regrettably weak”. Jerman explains that the problem of quality – at least in terms of originality – was international:

In general, there is a need for a little humour and humanity in the films. It must be possible to get away from dry, mediocre, copied information film where even words must be told what the pictures should say. The audience is becoming more and more picky.

In the festival environment of intensified and unvaried media consumption, they were put into a film market logic which exposed common instrumental approaches as oversaturated. Awards at such events therefore often went to those films that stood out from this mould – rather than a technically well-made film following old habits, for instance. Writing about the festival held in Rouen five years earlier, Brian Jacobson mentions that experienced industrial film producer Fred Jeannot accused the festival of being overtaken by cinéastes. The “quiet competence” of the traditional low-cost 16mm films risked being ignored for awards when in competition with commissions for which a filmmaker were given freer terms for production, which could win elsewhere according to Jeannot. With these films being exposed to this competition, they were not protected from assessments of quality in a more general and commercial film market. Competition could skew the notion of what was understood as good quality in these films away from economical modesty in production, and towards films that could be attractive in an intensified media consumption environment.

This competitive element was, of course, one of the attractive attributes for both commissioners and producers of these film festivals. It became a platform to test films in an international context, providing some idea about whether the film (and the industry presented) translated well

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668 Jacobson, “Corporate Authorship,” 158.
abroad. In this sense it was also a test of whether a commissioned film had a finger on the pulse. In Marjike de Valck’s influential book on film festivals, she states that they present “excellent opportunities for attaching quality markers to a production”, more so if they take home prizes. Although industrial film festivals were of a lower prestige for most compared to other relevant ones for these films such as the Edinburgh Film Festival, those in the know recognised that these competitions could also be hard in their own right. Being marked as a winner could possibly give the film and the commissioner a boost of goodwill.

Although not given much attention in the daily press, within the industry-commissioned film circles these awards carried some weight and attraction. The PA Council would occasionally state in their film days programmes if a film had won a competition and would in its early years present a curated programme of award-winners from abroad. This spoke to another benefit of going to the festival: seeing other companies and their commissions, which may have been of interest to acquire for their own use, to be enjoyed on their own merit, or to be seen as inspiration for future films. In addition to the films themselves, the festival space was a prime networking opportunity for those involved in this business.

The existence of the competition and the benefits of attending a festival could be incentives for commissioners to be more ambitious with their films. This could get them to align more with film market thinking in terms of using film for communication. From the perspective of an established film producer such as Svensk Filmin industri or Nordisk Tonefilm, the dynamic of facing the competition of other films was always present in their costliest productions – feature films. The success of a feature film was often measured in number of tickets sold in cinemas and its reception measured in comparison to other films, which could make or break careers. Because commissioned films were not measured by box office revenue, however, it was not of prime importance to entertain their audience. The price of admission was already pre-paid for, for example as part of, cinema screening pre-film (förfilm or the less respectful term fyllnadsfilm, “fill-in films”) programmes. According to filmmaker and critic Karel Reisz, who attended an industrial film festival in Brighton in 1972, this spoke to the “smugness” of many commissioned films: “The audience hasn’t paid and doesn’t have to be grabbed.”

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669 In this sense getting a feeling for what Mats Björkin has deemed the “double translation problem” of such films. Björkin, “Postwar Industrial Media,” 84.
670 Marjike de Valck, *Film Festivals: From European Geopolitics to Global Cinephilia* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007), 99.
Commissions as a funding alternative for experimentation in context

The arguments and incentives for breaking with traditional formulas could be persuasive to a commissioner if they explained the risks of redundancy in connection to communication, rather than making claims about redundancy not being commercially viable. Flipping or throwing away the usual script could then be an argument for the film to work better instrumentally. Although a film producer would be paid for commissions, the commission situation itself could be an opportunity for experimentation if an understanding of its virtues could be explained to the commissioner.

Helpful for this argument was that the term “quality film” (kvalitetsfilm) in the Swedish context was used broadly from film policies to film discussions by the Labour Movement. Per Vesterlund therefore describes the term kvalitetsfilm as a “plastic designation” where all films not belonging to the commercial sphere could fit in. It had often little to do with the film itself, instead focusing on thematic focus, political tendency and production aspects, such as film partaking in democratic processes. The industrial film festivals and critiques of the sameness of current films shifted the weight of the discussion on quality towards the need to break with habits. Experimentation could then be argued to be a means to achieve such priorities in terms of quality. The term quality film here suggested that there were many mediocre films around to be consumed, and there was therefore a point in trying to rise above them.

While still having financial and thematic boundaries, industrial commissions could with this approach potentially be a place for filmmakers and film production companies to experiment artistically with sound, image, and editing. Experimentation could then be paid for and happen from within a financial alternative to commercial feature filmmaking. While the final

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674 The notion of the experimental filmmaker within institutions, rather than squarely autonomous outsiders, is discussed in detail in Lars Diurlin’s PhD thesis on Peter Kylberg. Diurlin argues here for a case of an experimental filmmaker within industry. In this case his films were largely produced within either Svensk Filmindustri or the Swedish Film Institute, the latter also giving artistic grants. Lars Diurlin, Filmreformens första avantgardist: experimentfilmaren Peter Kylberg (Lund: Mediehistoriskt arkiv, 2017), 20-34.
version the commissioner agreed to could sometimes tone down some of this experimentation, earlier versions could have an audience at film clubs.\textsuperscript{675}

Commissioners including private companies and social movements were a dominant financial source for non-commercial filmmaking in Sweden because there was no such nationally organized film production as there was in the neighbouring country Denmark. For the production of short films, commissioned projects were often the only alternative, as government policies did little to address them specifically with funding.\textsuperscript{676} Getting to work on commissioned film could be a challenge for inexperienced filmmakers due to risk aversion.\textsuperscript{677}

It was not until 1951 that a governmental subsidy programme for film was introduced, described in the Swedish government official report (Statens offentliga utredningar, SOU) \textit{Statligt stöd åt svensk filmproduktion} as repayment of 20 percent of the state tax on Swedish feature film productions.\textsuperscript{678} This sought to alleviate the unpopular entertainment tax (nöjesskatten) on cinemas first introduced in 1919, which due to harder taxation rules introduced in 1948 had led to production companies shutting down in protest in 1951.\textsuperscript{679}

\textsuperscript{675} In \textit{A History of Swedish Experimental Film Culture}, the authors bring up the example of Emil Heilborn visiting the Stockholm film club with “experimental versions of what were to become commercials or information films for Swedish industry. […] He frequently experimented with light and montage; devices that had to be downplayed in the final edits prepared for another circuit than the one of the cinephiles.” Lars Gustaf Andersson, John Sundholm, and Astrid Söderbergh Widding, \textit{A History of Swedish Experimental Film Culture: From Early Animation to Video Art} (Stockholm: Mediehistoriskt Arkiv, 2010), 54.

\textsuperscript{676} Although finances were always a problem, independent initiatives were established to allow for artistically experimental short film production, including The Independent Film Group (Svensk Experimentfilm Studio, SEFS) in 1950. Initially, the group worked in the 8mm format in part due to its lower costs. Andersson, Sundholm and Söderbergh Widding, \textit{A History of Swedish Experimental Film Culture}, 69-70.

\textsuperscript{677} Annika [Annika Holm], “Unga regissörer och ekonomiskt stöd är vad svensk kortfilm bäst behöver,” \textit{Dagens Nyheter}, April 2, 1962, 20.


\textsuperscript{679} This protest called “the film stop” (filmstoppet) led to film companies shutting down productions of feature films from January 1, 1951, until the early fall the same year. An exemption was given to \textit{Hon dansade en sommar} (One Summer of
In this first subsidy structure introduced the same year, specific funding (or tax repayment) for experimental and short films was not considered.\textsuperscript{680} Part of the argument was that the basis for decisions about funding should not be left up to the assessment of quality, which was seen as too subjective and could harm the autonomy of film workers.\textsuperscript{681} Interestingly, the dominance of short films being financed through commissions put all short films at a disadvantage here: while the SOU mentions that many documentary and artistic short films could be deserving of funding, it was not considered ideal that they “often include advertising and commissioned elements.”\textsuperscript{682} The “borderline cases” that might still qualify for financial support would need to be assessed by a committee, which was at this moment an undesired decision model.\textsuperscript{683}

Specific funding for artistic filmmaking would become available once decisions on funding were assessed by committees evaluating quality in what was to become the Swedish film reform in 1963.\textsuperscript{684} With this put into motion, the Swedish Film Institute (SFI) was established and the entertainment tax removed. The short-lived State Film Prize Committee (Statens Filmpremiärämnd, 1960–1963) was replaced by SFI’s own award grant for quality films from 1964. Although this new foundation was a marriage between the state and film professionals, it too would be criticized for a limited focus on short film production, as we will come back to. Here, fingers were often pointed at the head of the Swedish Film Institute, Harry Schein, who in his earlier writings had criticized earlier systems for their dismissal of this film form.\textsuperscript{685} This new funding opportunity rested on

\textit{Happiness}, Nordisk Tonefilm, 1951). They were, however, open for production of commissioned films during this shutdown, which was mentioned in the daily newspapers. See, e.g., Zack [Christer Topelius], “Filmglimtar,” \textit{Svenska Dagbladet}, December 3, 1950, 10, which mentions that Svensk Filmindustri will be producing around 15 commissioned films during shutdown, and Lasse Klefält, “Nöjesfronten,” \textit{Expressen}, February 23, 1951, 9, which mentions a Sandrews production for Telegrafstyrelsen among the films having been produced during the film stop.

\textsuperscript{680} Vesterlund, “Vägen till filmavtalet,” 56.
\textsuperscript{682} \textit{SOU 1951: 1 Statligt stöd åt svensk filmproduktion}, 43. Original citation: “[…] ingår dock ofta reklam- och beställningsinslag.”
\textsuperscript{683} \textit{SOU 1951: 1 Statligt stöd åt svensk filmproduktion}, 43.
\textsuperscript{684} For contextualization of the initial establishment of a film policy focused on providing funding through artistic quality, which happened through the establishment of the State Film Prize Committee (Statens filmpremierämnd) in 1960, see Diurlin, “For the support of artistically superior films”, 156-172.
\textsuperscript{685} Vesterlund, “Vägen till filmavtalet,” 46.
preconceived notions of quality, later criticized as exclusively bourgeois by the organization Filmcentrum in 1968.\footnote{Blomgren, *Statens och filmen*, 72. This bourgeois notions of quality could, however, be starkly different from the values of an industry commissioner – for example, in their interest in film as a playground for the film auteur.}

Another option for filmmakers was the Film Section in television, where filmmakers including Lars Lennart Forsberg, Berndt Klyvare, Eric M. Nilsson and Jan Troell had room to experiment in both shorter and longer formats within its own conception of public relations.\footnote{Malin Wahlberg, “Från Rembrandt till Electronics – konstfilmen i tidig svensk television,” in *Berättande i olika medier*, ed. Leif Dahlberg and Pelle Snickars (Stockholm: Mediehistoriskt arkiv, 2008), 229.} Outside of television, it was arguably not before Filmverkstan (“The film workshop”) was established by SFI and Radio Sweden in 1973 after revisions to the film policy in 1972 that resources were made available for unconditional film experimentation.\footnote{Lars Gustaf Andersson and John Sundholm, *Hellre fri än filmare: Filmverkstan och den fria filmen* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2014), 65. Within its unconditional terms was that there was no requirement for the film to end up successful or finished. According to the authors, there were few attempts from SR or SFI as financiers to steer management of Filmverkstan as they lost interest in the project, which gave it autonomy.}

Beyond television and funding from SFI, however, those that wanted to make a living as a short film filmmaker often had to turn to commissions. Here, shaping the conditions of commissioners to one’s own interests was key to fight against redundancy. An opportunity for this would appear in the early 1960s with LKAB as they were experimenting with various media for communication.

**A media experiment in LKAB in the early 1960s**

During the 1950s, LKAB had commissioned five films via the production company Svensk Kulturfilm and *Lapplands järnberg* through Artfilm.\footnote{The Svensk Kulturfilm productions were *Kirunamalm* (1952), *Gällivaremalm* (1953), *Malmesperning Luleå* (1953), *Malmesperning Narvik* (1954) and *Lapplandsmalm* (1957). Films commissioned by Grängesbergsbolaget prior to 1957 also greatly featured LKAB operations, including the 73 minutes long *Malm* (1955) produced in 1953 by Svensk Filmindustri with Nils Jerring as its director.} Extant copies of the Svensk Kulturfilm productions were all directed by mining engineer Vilhelm Torsten Fahlman with cinematography by Harry Jonasson. These presented the mining operations in great technical
detail but with seemingly little variety in terms of approach. I have found few archival traces from these productions. However, in both film texts and other material the productions seem exclusively focused for specialized education and instruction rather intended as information for a general public. Beyond this approach, the 16mm format of all films and the length of several made them unsuitable for cinema distribution as pre-films, for which I have found no traces.  

The films occasionally become filmed lectures when the unseen narrator (possibly Fahlman himself) uses a pointing stick or a pencil to direct the attention of the viewer while maps and figures seen within the film frame are explained (Figure 26). For the distribution of the film *Lapplandsmalm* (1957), Svensk Kulturfilm produced a four-page booklet that explained different mining methods with images from animated figures shown in the film, with the final page giving explanation for 22 specialized mining terms.  

![Figure 26: Directing the attention of the viewer with a pointing stick in Kirunamalm (1952, left) and with a pencil in Gällivaremal (1953, right).](image)

That these films did not display variety in terms of how they addressed audiences may be partly explained by the fact that LKAB at this time was part of the larger Grängesbergsbolaget corporate group. It is conceivable that LKAB’s communication needs and directives at this time were shaped towards specialization by being one of several branches of the larger corporation.

Following the sale of Grängesbergsbolaget’s shares of LKAB to the state, the company’s communication strategies diversified. One example of

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690 Digital copies from LKAB of the two longest films, *Kirunamalm* (1952) and *Gällivaremal* (1953) are 79 and 55 minutes long respectively. To my knowledge, Svensk Kulturfilm did not produce or distribute 35mm films. I have found no traces of these films being distributed outside Svensk Kulturfilm.

691 “Lapplandsmalm. Film nr L 1240,” booklet for the film, undated, AB Svensk Kulturfilm – samling av trycksaker, Vardagstryck, KB.
this was establishing three employee newsletters around the same time: *LKAB-Tidningen* (starting in 1957) was a general magazine for all employees; *Malmaren* (launched in 1958) was for employees in their harbour facilities in Luleå and mines in Malmberget; and *SKIP* (from 1959) for employees in Kiruna and the shipping port Narvik. At the same time, the company expanded the number of personnel working in the information section (for instance, these magazines had different editing teams). Among these were two hires in 1959 to be involved with future audiovisual media experiments: Carl-Erik Linné, who had previously been a “theatreinterested journalist” and editor in *Helsingborgs Dagblad*, and Sven-Eric Brunnsjö, since 1947 an employee in the Swedish State Railways’ press office (SJ:s Presstjänst).

While sharing tendencies towards tradition such as using explanatory voiceovers, the films already discussed in earlier chapters produced around this time after the state acquisition were different in terms of theme. *Lapplands järnberg* provided an historical overview of mining in Sweden, while *Varför så många tjänstemän?* described the rationalization behind the company’s organization. Shortly after the release of the latter film, LKAB initiated several projects to diversify audiovisual communication further, one through a large commission of films with Nordisk Tonefilm, and another through experimentation with television production.

### Television tests

The television experiment in January 1962 was the first trial of the concept of informational industrial television in a Swedish company. An existing closed circuit television system (CCTV) used to monitor various gates and storerooms in and around the Kiruna mine was rewired into a system

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692 “På nya poster,” *Svenska Dagbladet*, September 11, 1969, 27. Linné worked in LKAB’s information department until December 15th, 1969, a week after the wild strike in LKAB had started, but the end date of his employment had been set earlier.


694 Omar, “Lokal TV ses under jorden. Radio kunde ej döda tidning,” *Svenska Dagbladet*, March 2, 1962, 19. There has been very little research done on industrial television, reflected in the lack of clarity in what is meant by the term. Trade papers, for example, speak often of a closed-circuit television system exclusively for monitoring (e.g., as a safety precaution), but of interest is also the use of television for internal broadcasting. A recent and seminal contribution to research on industrial television on this aspect is Kit Hughes’s *Television at Work*. In the US, the initiation of industrial television started in the late 1940s. Kit Hughes, *Television at Work: Industrial Media and American Labor* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 65.
which could broadcast live from a studio in a barracks to 20 cafeterias (gruvrestauranter) above and below ground. The intention according to the employee magazine SKIP was to test ways to “create more effective information towards employees”. The editor of LKAB-Tidningen, Göran Littke, was cited in Svenska Dagbladet as saying that they were “terrified of company propaganda” in this broadcast – it had to be “objective” to not be a failure. Carl-Erik Linné, who became the producer of the test programme, was cited in the same article suggesting that television could possibly be a cost-saving approach in terms of training:

> We have 3,800 employees here and 35 of them are constantly on [training] courses. The education budget is SEK 1.5 million. Perhaps television can cut that amount down.

The test programme became a mix of educational and informational segments and featured LKAB personnel that had no previous experience with television. The personnel magazine SKIP gave the following summary of the first live programme:

> The test programme began with taped music. A short presentation of the programme was presented by our TV hostess Gun Bergendahl. A reading of notices was followed by an interview with biotechnologist Torsten Olson about the fitness competition. Education manager Helge Fjällborg talked about education – a programme item that proved that a possible TV installation will be very useful especially for educational activities. The chairman of the proposal committee, Hans Zdolsek, gave some views on the competition “Vardagavis” and the programme was concluded.

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699 The security service company Securitas provided some professional assistance. See Bengt Dahlström, “Intern TV. En orientering om komponenter för specialtelevision (STV), dess systemuppbyggnad och produktionsteknik, och dess tillämpning i utbildnings- och informationsabrtet, samt förslag till STV-system för LKAB,” Informationscentralen – Kiruna, Maj 1967,” LKAB archives in Kiruna, 6. 232
by the construction manager Ture Asplund, who gave an account of future construction works.700

Going by these descriptions alone (no recording of the programme has been found), the information segments match those one found in employee magazines.701 Here, there is a sense of trialling different media to see which one worked best. This looks in part to have been about looking for potential replacements to the personnel magazines – to find a more effective and popular media form that could make it redundant. Experiments with “mining radio” (gruvradio) over the telephone network the year before in the Malmberget mines had initially led to shutting down the personnel magazine *Malmaren*.702 However, as noted in the newspaper *Norrskensflamman*, there were plans to reintroduce the employee magazine because radio alone was not deemed sufficient. The radio programme had to be complemented with the personnel magazine which provided more in-depth explanation and gave “fuller reports and pictures.”703 In Malmberget, the mining radio would be complemented with the “new” employee magazine *SKIP/Malmaren* in 1964.704 Experimenting with television in these mines was considered unfeasible because of the vast distances which led to too high cabling costs.705

The articles quoted above suggest that experimentation with both radio and television as internal information media was motivated from LKAB’s side in part by budgetary concerns and in part by curiosity about what different media could do, looking for the most effective solution. But what

701 It is unlikely that any recording beyond the taped music exist as the live broadcast did not use film. Dahlström, “Intern TV,” 6.
702 Omar, “Lokal TV ses under jorden,” 19. LKAB is working to restoring extant recordings of the mining radio.
703 “TV-premiär under jord,” 1. Original citation: “[…] fylligare reportage och bilder.”
704 *SKIP/Malmaren* was a personnel magazine for workers in Kiruna and Malmberget, replacing the separate magazines *SKIP* and the dormant *Malmaren*.
also becomes apparent is that the mining company kept an eye on developments in Swedish media habits as a potential source for more effective communication. The month before the television experiment, on 21 December 1961, the transmitter for Sveriges Radio’s television in Kiruna had been put in operation.\footnote{Törnqvist, \textit{TV-ägandets utveckling i Sverige}, 49.} The excitement for public service television, which Kiruna and other cities in Northern Sweden had waited for since the late 1950s, could have led to increased interest in LKAB’s television experiment.\footnote{There may have been a particular point in offering a television substitute in the evenings in the mines. Because Sveriges Radio’s programmes were normally broadcast in evening hours, public service television was largely unavailable for workers on the afternoon shift underground from 1420 to 2305.}

Beyond what may have been a couple of test programmes in 1962, however, the television experiment was shut down later the same year in part because of costs, uncertainty regarding its effectiveness for information, and the lack of know-how about such systems.\footnote{Dahlström, “Intern TV,”, 6.} Information manager Bengt Dahlström produced a report for the company in 1967 to again consider industrial television for internal information, arguing that by this point the company had acquired the expertise to produce the programmes, with some personnel having attended a course in television production held by Sveriges Radio-TV in December 1966.\footnote{Dahlström, “Intern TV,” 8-9.} Making such television had also become cheaper and there was more literature on what made for successful systems.\footnote{Dahlström, “Intern TV,” 8-9.} After this report, however, there is no indication of further experimentation having taken place with television in LKAB’s personnel magazines until at least the year 1975.\footnote{Kiruna was, however, a site for early attempts at cable television in 1974-75, a project that was referred to as Kabelvisionen Kiruna. Behind this initiative was Kiruna municipality, Sveriges Radio and “The committee for the continued operation of radio and television within the educational system” (Kommittén för den fortsatta verksamheten med radio och television inom utbildningsväsendet, TRU II). Reception studies undertaken as part of the project found that a majority found this media alternative as having done the best coverage of a LKAB conflict in March 1974. \textit{Kabelvision Kiruna – försök med en ny kanal}, Utbildningsdepartementet, Ds U no. 8 1975, 33.}

\footnotetext[706]{Törnqvist, \textit{TV-ägandets utveckling i Sverige}, 49.} 
\footnotetext[707]{There may have been a particular point in offering a television substitute in the evenings in the mines. Because Sveriges Radio’s programmes were normally broadcast in evening hours, public service television was largely unavailable for workers on the afternoon shift underground from 1420 to 2305.} 
\footnotetext[708]{Dahlström, “Intern TV,”, 6.} 
\footnotetext[709]{Dahlström, “Intern TV,” 8-9.} 
\footnotetext[710]{Dahlström, “Intern TV,” 8-9.} 
\footnotetext[711]{Kiruna was, however, a site for early attempts at cable television in 1974-75, a project that was referred to as Kabelvisionen Kiruna. Behind this initiative was Kiruna municipality, Sveriges Radio and “The committee for the continued operation of radio and television within the educational system” (Kommittén för den fortsatta verksamheten med radio och television inom utbildningsväsendet, TRU II). Reception studies undertaken as part of the project found that a majority found this media alternative as having done the best coverage of a LKAB conflict in March 1974. \textit{Kabelvision Kiruna – försök med en ny kanal}, Utbildningsdepartementet, Ds U no. 8 1975, 33.}
An ambitious film programme

In the commissioned film sector there was a similar interest in specialization and considering current media habits. For this medium, Sven-Eric Brunnsjö was the main contact person in LKAB. A film production company that became interested in working with LKAB was Nordisk Tonefilm. Being financed by the workers’ organization Folkets Hus Riksorganisation put expectations on Nordisk Tonefilm to show non-partisan responsibility in serving public needs via their film productions. In 1955, they were accused by journalist and later TV producer Staffan Tjerneld of being “led by certain ideological lines”, making inappropriate films neither serving the public nor being in tune with modern rationalization. The cinematic release that spurred these accusations was Männen i mörker (Men in the dark, Arne Mattsson, 1955), a feature film about an accident in a Swedish mine. The film was renounced by the Miners’ Trade Union for its dated and negative depiction of a miner’s work. Nordisk Tonefilm’s interest in securing commissions with LKAB may therefore have been partly about repairing a reputation in addition to its financial benefits.

An undated proposal called “Film programme for LKAB” (“Filmprogram för LKAB”), which was written by director Gunnar Höglund at Nordisk Tonefilm, suggested seven different productions shot on Agfacolor with different approaches to information. The lengthiest title in the proposal was Det väger tungt (“It weighs heavily”, 1964), described as a “company film” (företagsfilm) of 25–30-minute length intended to give a view of the total operations. It was to be shown for Swedish and foreign visitors to the

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715 “Filmförslag för LKAB,” Synopsis of film package from Gunnar Höglund Filmproduktions AB, Volym 3, Gunnar Höglunds arkiv, SFI/B, 2. After working in the film unit as part of military service (as an editor of instructional films), Höglund won an award for best script at age 21 in 1944 for a film about Postsparbanken (the Royal Post Office’s savings bank). He then made dozens of commercials for Kinocentralen and moved to study scriptwriting and production design at the University of Southern California in 1946-7. In the years that followed, he directed several films commissioned by industries and interest groups, including tourist films about Kiruna city mentioned in Chapter 3, as well as being involved in the production of “housewives’ films” (husmorsfilm). In addition, he directed two feature length films, Uppdrag i Korea (Assignment in Korea, 1951) financed by United Nations Japan and the AB Anglofilm comedy Suss gott (“Sleep Well”, 1956), neither of which his role in the production were received well by the press.
company as well as associations, schools, and own employees. A film on the establishment of a new mine in Svappavaara southeast of Kiruna of 20–25 minutes was described as a “documentary”. Four films referred to as “administration films” (förvaltningsfilmer) of circa 15 minutes each intended to go in-depth on the four sites Kiruna, Malmberget, Narvik, and Luleå and “the company’s relation to these places and society and the communities and people’s relationship to the company.” The shortest film, set specifically to 13.5 minutes at this early stage, was the title Ferrum, the intentions of which were described in the proposal in the following way:

Generally informative and goodwill building. Primarily intended for screening in Swedish cinemas and on foreign TV, secondarily to other foreign screenings.

Based on these seven proposed productions, it was also suggested in Höglund’s proposal to produce instructional films for new employees from the footage in these new films, as well as creating a catalogued image archive based on segments of films. No traces have been found of these activities, but these likely common practices are often hard to identify in extant sources. Of the seven specified film suggestions, I have found copies of four titles, all produced by Nordisk Tonefilm.

The final 0.5 million SEK order (circa 6 million SEK in 2023 money) was the largest of its kind in Sweden according to the socialist newspaper Norrskensflamman. Most likely the idea of the Svapparavaara film was abandoned early on because there are no films that share similarities with its concept, which revolved around the coming-of-age story of a local boy growing up to become a worker in the mine. There are also no traces of specific “administration films” on Malmberget and Luleå. There was, however, one longer film produced that combined material about administration in Kiruna and Narvik, titled Förvaltningarna Kiruna-Narvik.

716 “Filmförslag för LKAB,” 3.
718 “Filmförslag för LKAB,” 15. Original citation: “Allmänt informativ och goodwill-skapande. Avser i första hand visning på svensk biograf och i utländsk TV, i andra annan utländsk visning.”
720 SJ commissioned a film on the construction of the railroad tracks from Kiruna to Svappavaara (Svappavarabanan) circa 1965, see “Kiruna – Svappavaara,” Svensk Filmdatabas, accessed May 2, 2022, https://www.svenskfilmdatabas.se/sv/item/?type=film&itemid=87045. It is possible that there was less of a desire for this coming-of-age film given that Swedish television had produced a television film about mining from a boy’s eyes in 1960 (see discussion of Guldgrävare in Chapter 3).
(“The administrations Kiruna-Narvik”, 1967). This puts it as a later production than the other three extant films, *Det väger tungt*, *Ferrum* and *Fjellheisen* (both produced in 1963–64). Of these, *Fjellheisen* (“The mountain cable car”) is a film that does not match any proposed film in Höglund’s proposal. According to the *LKAB-Tidningen*, the film was an initiative by LKAB’s CEO Arne S. Lundberg and was produced as a “tourist film” (*turistfilm*) on the city of Narvik in Norway to be gifted to the city administration. As such, the film focuses more on the sights and leisure activities available in Narvik, although it also presented it as an industrial town.

While *Det väger tungt* was referred to as the “main film” in LKAB’s employee magazines, its distribution was limited largely to spaces outside cinemas, after initial special screenings together with *Ferrum* and *Fjellheisen* in Kiruna, Luleå and Stockholm. Both *Ferrum* and *Fjellheisen* were intended for cinema and possibly television distribution. After its initial cinema run in Stockholm in sometime between December to February 1964, further distribution of *Fjellheisen* was left up to the Narvik city council. *Fjellheisen* was repeatedly praised in the local newspapers, *Fremover* and *Ofotens Tidende*, and was screened in a cinema programme in Narvik between February and April 1964 together with a restored film on Narvik that was initially produced as part of the 50-year anniversary of the city in 1951. Beyond this locally sourced response, the film has left no traces in digitally scanned newspapers in Norway and Sweden that might present evidence for any greater engagement with the film.

*Ferrum* stands out in this respect. It was frequently mentioned in Swedish newspapers in connection to competing in industrial film festivals,

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721 A digital copy of this film from LKAB in Kiruna has the length of 23 minutes, but there may have been other versions.
722 “Ferrum och Fjellheisen färdiga,” *LKAB-Tidningen* 7, no. 3 (1963): 30. That the film was a gift to Narvik was mentioned in Swedish newspapers and in Narvik’s local newspapers *Fremover* and *Ofotens Tidende*, see, e.g., “Narvik-foreningen i Oslo er meget aktiv,” *Fremover*, February 3, 1964, 2.
724 These films were also later screened together “non-stop” for the celebration of LKAB’s 75th year anniversary in Kiruna and Malmberget in 1965. See: “Program för LKABs 75-årsjubileum 8. - 12. September 1965,” *SKIP/Malmaren* 2, no. 10 (1965): 6-7. In 1965 *Ferrum* was screened as a part of the exhibition “Malm i norr” (“Ore in the North”) hosted by LKAB at the Technical Museum (Tekniska Museet). “Malm i norr – en landsdels förvandling,” *Aftonbladet*, September 18 1965, 28.
726 One article in *Fremover* described *Fjellheisen* as a film “one can watch ten times and not get tired of”. “Hjerteaksjonen 1964 starter i kveld,” *Fremover*, February 18, 1964, 8. Original citation: “[…] man kan se den ti ganger uten å bli lei.”
but also because it became involved in the debate around the situation for short films in Sweden. In the analysis of this film below, I first describe how the text differed from other productions and was treated differently from them by critics. As it was collecting awards, it became described as among the best short films in Sweden. On the one hand, praising commissioned films could encourage commissioners to experiment more. On the other hand, the success of the film was to be used as an argument that film policies did not need to earmark subsidies for short film production.

**Ferrum (1964) and its critical response**

*Ferrum* is a 14½-minute short film shot on 35mm Agfacolor. It features the underground mining process from drilling underground in the Kiirunavaara mountain to the ore separation process and the transport of ore via the Iron Ore Line (*Malmbanan*) to the shipping port in Narvik, Norway. Unlike other productions, *Ferrum* lacked an accompanying voiceover guiding us through the images – a trait shared with, for example, Gösta Werner’s *Tåget* (“The Train”, 1948), which was produced for SJ. While early scripts suggested that some short commentary should be included in part to create new associations to the images, the final version relies fully on the score composed by the experimental artist Karl-Erik Welin, as no recorded sound from the environment was used either. The images in the final film also broke with conventions, rarely giving a clear overview of processes, but instead often editing together extreme close-ups of machinery in quick succession.

![Opening image of Ferrum (1964)](image)

*Figure 27: Opening image of Ferrum (1964), showing the LKAB logo and an extreme close-up of bubbling dark mud. Screencap from Filmarkivet.se*

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727 “Filmförslag för LKAB,” 15. Sounds were, however, recorded and used for the later film *Malm i rörelse* (1969).
*Ferrum* opens on an extreme close-up of a bubbling “blue-black mud bath”\(^{728}\) (Figure 27) as low tones from a piano are gradually joined by the lighter sounds of a flute, followed by a violin. Superimposed images in the mud follow with a variety of samples of rocks and minerals in different colours, associating the dark goo with a richness that was not obvious from our initial encounter. In a sudden move underscored with a dramatic turn in the use of the three instruments on the soundtrack, the film then cuts to close-ups of colourful solid rock walls baked in sunlight before the camera pans right and zooms in even further onto what appears to be a patch of iron ore. After the music crescendos, we move below ground again, reintroduced to the low piano tones of the opening as the camera moves from an extreme close-up of a mountainous ceiling underground to reveal three miners walking towards the camera below. As if from the point of view of the iron ore body, we see in successive shots silhouettes of miners heading towards us from left, right and centre, faces obscured (Figure 28, top).

![Figure 28: Screencaps of Ferrum. A miner facing the camera, identifiable as such only from the light of their helmet (top), close-up of drilling machine (bottom).](image)

\(^{728}\) “Ferrum Script II 16x Ex. 1 FD,” Script for the film *Ferrum*, Manussamlingen, SFI/B, 4.
Through repeated tilts of the camera to scan the rock walls, *Ferrum* shows a curiosity about what is often be considered a barren landscape. This curiosity is also expanded to the machinery as alien but impressive examples of engineering. The lack of establishing shots, replaced with frequent extreme close-ups, lets us encounter rocks and extraction head on, while the score in its intensity, loudness and screeching nature adds to the violence of machine-driven extraction.

As the film moves on from a detonation in the mine to the collection, transport and sorting of rocks, new machinery is introduced as the setting gradually becomes a busy underground factory. With workers seemingly removed entirely from this process, the rocks go through a series of transformations, becoming ever smaller units, until they are small pellets. Low tones from the piano and screeching sounds of the violin are gradually replaced with lighter piano tones as the mining process goes further away from the extraction zone and closer towards the surface. Around the nine-minute mark, the film moves above ground, following filled train wagons on The Iron Ore Line (*Malmbanan*) on the way to the port of Narvik (*Figure 29*). As soon as we get above ground, the claustrophobic and noisy images and sounds of the underground are replaced with a series of establishing landscape shots, and the flute returns – now playing harmoniously. While the iron ore it depicts are constantly on the move in the frame – alluring to a company that is also constantly moving – each landscape shot is also extended in terms of duration.

*Figure 29*: View of train wagons on the Iron Ore Line in Ferrum. In the background the U-shaped valley Čuonjåvággí is seen.
*Ferrum* largely conceals the workers from us through most of the runtime, instead focusing on the environments and sharp contrasts established above and below ground. These contrasts are not only made in terms of light and darkness, but also between the traditionally picturesque and unfamiliar aesthetics through conventional and unconventional framing and the use of harmonious and abrasive sounds. Once the workers are introduced through a montage, the film establishes a new perspective beyond this dichotomy. Instead of faceless silhouettes as we have seen before underground, we now get close-ups of people in different roles in the company as the sounds of an organ replace the other instruments on the soundtrack (Figure 30).

![Miner in profile in Ferrum.](image)

Composer Karl-Erik Welin was cited in *Dagens Nyheter* as describing the use of the organ in the following way:

> When the human comes into the picture, I used the organ, which emphasizes solidarity – cooperation. Like other people, a worker becomes sentimental when he talks about his job and the organ with its connection to church service is probably the most moving instrument we have.\(^{729}\)

Writings about the film referred to it as a commentary on the development of human versus machine in modern life. Because the film returns to the worker in this way towards the end, film critic Björn Nordström in *Stockholms-Tidningen* suggested that it celebrates the human as a victor:

> When, finally, the human comes into the picture, they get the role of rescuer and liberator. It is stated with relief that, it is the human, after all, who – from one’s control panel – directs and masters the powerful forces and mechanical marvels that were previously set in motion. This is – if you want to draw a not too distant parallel – the situation of mankind today: man has mastered the liberated forces of matter so far…

With the film not approaching the image through an explanatory voiceover, it is left open to interpretation whether what is experienced through the film is all positive. For example, through the juxtaposition of the machinic violence below ground with the landscapes above sets up a contradiction between appreciating the fruits of one’s extractive labour in a landscape enjoyed for its untouched appearance. Furthermore, this violence presented below ground may be read as a close to inhuman work environment dominated by loud machinery. In an interview for the company newspaper *LKAB-tidningen*, Gunnar Höglund states that he invested most in this film among those he commissioned, which he “from an artistic point of view wanted to perceive ore mining and everything that is associated with it.” In praising the film’s artistic merit, the Swedish press largely saw it as a result of the freedom Höglund and Welin were given. In agreement with other reviews, film critic Mauritz Edström summarized the film’s qualities as follows:

> in his latest film *Ferrum*, Gunnar Höglund has been working freely without having to consider commissioner suggestions. And here you can see how this freedom at best pays off. *Ferrum* has become one of the finest short films in Sweden in recent years. It is a piece of documentary poetry, in skilful colour photography by Kalle Bergholm, a fantasy about mining in the Lapland ore fields. […] The music by Karl-Erik Welin is worth a separate chapter. It is in some ways illustrative, but Welin has approached the piece with a fantasy

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731 “Ferrum och Fjellheisen färdiga,” 30.
and feeling for the interaction with the images that convinces us that Swedish film has an asset to take advantage of here.\textsuperscript{732}

Believing in the quality of the film, Nordisk Tonefilm and LKAB representatives had agreed to send it to film festivals abroad before its distribution in Sweden.\textsuperscript{733} For international industrial film festivals, The PA Council was the national institution tasked with officially nominating films.\textsuperscript{734} LKAB took on the role of distributing copies abroad for \textit{Ferrum}\textsuperscript{735} and played a part in marketing\textsuperscript{736} from its offices in Stockholm, while Nordisk Tonefilm acted as sales agents.

Of particular interest for both Nordisk Tonefilm and LKAB was the Edinburgh film festival, where \textit{Ferrum} had been nominated to take part by the organizers together with \textit{X:et} (Nordisk Tonefilm for Konstfrämjandet, 1963) and \textit{Atomer till vardags} (“Atoms in everyday life”, Nordisk Tonefilm for Vattenfall, 1963).\textsuperscript{737} The manager of Nordisk Tonefilm’s short film section, Fred Terselius, wrote of this festival to an unknown recipient as being particularly prestigious compared to others because it was not exclusively about commissioned films or the avant-garde.\textsuperscript{738} Terselius describes \textit{Ferrum} here as “one of the best films the short film department has ever produced.”

\begin{enumerate}

\item \textsuperscript{733} “Ferrum och Fjellheisen färdiga,” 30.

\item \textsuperscript{734} See for example: “Fourth international labour and industrial film triennial,” letter from Sven Hallonstén, PA-Rådet, to Stora Kopperbergs Bergslags AB, Falun, July 31 1963, 818, Koncernfunktion Informations arkiv, ARDA.

\item \textsuperscript{735} Mentioned in B Norström, ”Svensk kortfilm i dag,” \textit{Filmrutan}, no. 1 (1965): 11. Nordisk Tonefilm made the film copies on demand from LKAB which they then distributed. A report from Helsinki mentions that LKAB had ordered 35 copies of the film in September 1964 alone, six to be distributed within Finland. From “Rapport från besöket i Helsingfors, 4-5 september”, travel report by Fred Terselius to Nordisk Tonefilm, September 7, 1964, 2 – Övriga inkomna handlingar [1959-1965], Nordisk Tonefilm archives, ARBARK.

\item \textsuperscript{736} LKAB marketed the film by distributing 4-page booklets in English, German, and French, giving a description of it and the mining activities of the company. From LKAB fastighets AB - samling av trycksaker, Vardagstryck, KB.

\item \textsuperscript{737} “PM angående filmfestivalen i Edinburgh den 16-30 augusti 1964,” Memo by Fred Terselius, July 28, 1964, 2, 1 – Arkivexemplar av utgående handlingar, Nordisk Tonefilm, ARBARK, 1.

\item \textsuperscript{738} “PM angående filmfestivalen,” 2.
\end{enumerate}
but notes with disappointment that the film only had won honorary awards at film festivals in Antwerp, Leipzig and San Francisco so far.\footnote{PM angående filmfestivalen,” 2. Original citation: “[…] en av de bästa filmerna som kortfilmsavdelningen någonsin producerat […]” In 1965, the film would win more honors in Rio de Janeiro and Salerno.} The only first prize had been in Stockholm, where it won a new award (Guldklappan) arranged by the Swedish Public Relations Association (Sveriges Public Relationsförening, SPR) for the best public relations film, for which it had competed against 25 other entries.\footnote{“Ferrum” vann “Årets PR-film,” Svenska Dagbladet, April 3, 1964, 11.}

One reason behind what Terselius calls a lack of understanding of the film abroad was that the film was sent on its own without people with it to promote it. For the Edinburgh festival, then, Terselius saw it as important to send representatives who could be present, in part to distribute brochures and image material.\footnote{“PM angående filmfestivalen,” 2.} Here, he mentions that beyond awards one objective for being present at the festival was to sell Ferrum as a pre-film to a British distribution company, and to do as much advance advertising as possible for two feature films in the making by the directors of two of the films nominated.\footnote{The two directors in question were Gunnar Höglund, who was working on the feature film Kungsleden (My Love and I, 1965), and Per Gunvall, director of Atomer till vardags, whose next feature film was Flygplan saknas (“Airplane missing”, 1965).} The former objective to reach cinema distribution, Terselius notes, was of importance to LKAB as the UK was its second largest customer after Germany, where the film had already been sold and labelled by censors as “culturally valuable”.\footnote{“PM angående filmfestivalen,” 2.} The other countries that at this point had shown interest in the film for cinema distribution were Finland, Norway and Portugal. Terselius mentions that LKAB had paid for their efforts to promote the film in Germany and expected them to do the same in the UK.

Given that the mining company took charge of distributing film copies, they seem to have been protective over where and how the film was shown. Although foreign television had initially been proposed for the film, it is unclear if it ever happened due to LKAB’s demand for the film to be shown in colour. After interest was expressed for the film to be shown on Hungarian television, Nordisk Tonefilm wrote that it was deemed important by LKAB that the film should not be shown in black and white, as this would lessen the film’s value.\footnote{In several letters in 1964, the television department at Hungarofilm showed interest in the film after having seen it at the 1963 International Leipzig Documentary and Short Film Week. In a letter to Hungarofilm dated March 11, 1964, P.G. Lindén offers a final rejection, writing about LKAB: “They do not want to show the film in TV}
broadcasting in colour. I have found no traces of evidence that the film was shown there.\textsuperscript{745}

\textbf{Ferrum in the short film policy discourse}

A segment of \textit{Ferrum} was, however, shown in black and white on Swedish television on November 29, 1963 on \textit{Filmkrönikan}\textsuperscript{746} – a monthly programme on film that since earlier that year had been led by film critic Nils-Petter Sundgren.\textsuperscript{747} Here and well into the mid-1960s \textit{Ferrum} became part of the contemporary discourse on Swedish short film policy. The theme of this programme was presenting new Swedish short films. I have not been able to find a recording of the programme to better understand the context of showing \textit{Ferrum} here. Kaj Nohrborg in \textit{Expressen} mentions that the programme focused on new films by four male filmmakers: Gunnar Höglund behind \textit{Ferrum}, Claes Fellbom’s \textit{Olé} (1963), Tony Forsberg’s \textit{Ungar} (“Kids”, 1963) and Rune Ericson’s \textit{Olle Olsson-Hagalund} (1963).\textsuperscript{748}

In a book chapter on \textit{Filmkrönikan}, Per Vesterlund described it as occasionally resembling a mouthpiece for Swedish film politics at the time, in part because Harry Schein, chief of SFI, was invited to share his thoughts on the situation for Swedish film on air.\textsuperscript{749} In the programme in which parts of \textit{Ferrum} was shown, two of the films talked about had already received financial support from Statens Filmprämienämnd (\textit{Olé} and \textit{Ungar}), and \textit{Ferrum} was as already mentioned an award-winner abroad. \textit{Ferrum} would

\begin{center}
anywhere as long as there is not color-television. They are of the opinion that this film will lose considerably in value by being screened in black/white.” From “Re: The short FERRUM,” Letter from P.G. Lindén to Hungarofilm, March 11, 1964, 36 – Utländsk korrespondens, E – Inkomna handlingar, Nordisk Tonefilm archive, ARBARK.\textsuperscript{745} A clipping from a Finnish newspaper notes, however, that \textit{Fjellheisen} had been shown on the BBC three times by the time of writing in November 1969 for 18 million viewers. BBC had begun regular colour broadcasting in 1969, but it is uncertain if \textit{Fjellheisen} was shown in colour. Jorma Etto, “Kalotin kulmilta. Tapahtuu rajan takana,” \textit{Lapin Kansa}, November 4, 1969.\textsuperscript{746} Kaj Nohrborg, “I kväll presenterar TV ny svensk kortfilm,” \textit{Expressen}, November 29, 1963, 36. \textit{Filmkrönikan} was later known as \textit{Filmkrönikan}.\textsuperscript{747} Vesterlund, “Filmkrönikan – filmkritik i ljud och bild,” 113. Prior hosts to the programme which began in 1956 were Arne Weise and Gunnar Oldin. Nils-Petter Sundgren would host the programme until 1991.\textsuperscript{747} Nohrborg, “I kväll presenterar TV,” 36. It is mentioned in this piece that Rune Ericson was currently making films for Standard Oil, it is unknown if this was referred to in the program.\textsuperscript{748} Vesterlund, “Filmkrönikan – filmkritik i ljud och bild,” 124.
\end{center}
also receive 41,000 SEK from SFI in the inaugural round of quality grants (kvalitetsbidrag) the year after.\footnote{See, e.g., “Bergman, Hjelm, Thulin fick 1964 års Guldbaggar. Två milj i kvalitetsbidrag,” \textit{Arbetet}, September 26, 1964, 9.} This selection of awards winners in the programme is perhaps not too surprising, as \textit{Filmkrönika} had an interest at the time in film quality in terms of awards, with yearly reports by Sundgren from the film festivals in Cannes and Venice.\footnote{Vesterlund, “Filmkrönika – filmkritik i ljud och bild,” 121.}

Although it was in some sense promotional for the LKAB film, we do not know if the programme itself used it as part of a statement on Swedish short films at the time. But indirectly this programme was perhaps the first occasion for which \textit{Ferrum} became used for this purpose. Writing about the television programme in \textit{Arbetet}, an anonymous author (no pseudonym given) uses the opportunity to write their own status report on the Swedish short film.\footnote{“TV-krönikan i kväll handlar om svensk kortfilm,” \textit{Arbetet}, November 29, 1963, 14.} Here, the film companies’ own limited short film production is described as investing in an “undeniably dangerous and relatively unfilmable genre” with only Olle Hellbom’s films as a highlight, the rest largely described as lacking “boldness or innovation”.\footnote{“TV-krönikan i kväll handlar om svensk kortfilm,” 14. Original citations: “[...] som onekligen är en farlig och relativt ofilmisk genre.” and “[...] djärvhet eller nyskapande.”} A sad factor, the author claims, is that most of the talented short film filmmakers are tied to commissioned film, where they are rarely given freedom. Two exceptions presented are \textit{Ferrum} and Per Gunvall’s \textit{Massor av massor} (Nordisk Tonefilm for Vattenfall, 1963), which to the author prove that it is “from commissioned films that the light comes.”\footnote{“TV-krönikan i kväll handlar om svensk kortfilm,” 14. Original citation: “[...] från beställningsfilmerna som ljuset kommer.”}

Negativity around the Swedish short film situation was far from new. In Arbetarnas Bildningsförbund’s (the Workers’ Educational Association, ABF) trade paper, \textit{Fönstret}, film critic Gunnar Oldin blamed cinemas in large part for the problem for treating film in pre-film programmes “by the metre” \textit{(metervara)}.\footnote{Gunnar Oldin, “Vart tog kortfilmen vägen?,” \textit{Fönstret}, no. 6 (1960): 152.} Because the pre-film programme was not part of the financial support model around luxury taxing, cinemas according to Oldin had no reason to emphasize the independence and quality of short films over length and convenience. This meant that an independently produced short film was treated no differently than a commissioned film – they could be both reduced to metres of film. Oldin, however, saw no hope for the future in the status of the latter, describing Vattenfall’s newest film \textit{Store Lule Älv} (“Store Lule
river”, Svensk Filmindustri, 1960) as hardly the “baptismal water for a new Swedish film art”.756

Oldin’s critique was a systemic one with roots in film financing systems and saw no solution through commissions for short films. Articles mentioning Ferrum and other commissioned films such as Massor av massor, however, presented possibilities of quality through commissions and thereby possible signs of health in the current system. Film critic Björn Norström’s article on the status quo of the Swedish short film in the magazine Filmrutan is a case in point. Both films were analysed as texts demonstrating the directors’ artistic elbow room in these commissions. In the communist-socialist newspaper Norrskensflamman, one article mentioned Ferrum as an example of how Nordisk Tonefilm had been recently successful with short films internationally. Beyond potentially being beneficial for the commissioner in portraying a willingness to let filmmakers take charge, these angles could also give the impression of a short film situation in Sweden where experimentation was readily available.

For the new Swedish Film Institute (founded in 1963), Ferrum was considered an example of how to promote the health and quality of Swedish film abroad. A month after having received the award grant by SFI, Ferrum was featured on a film tour arranged by the institute in Vienna and the German cities Berlin, Frankfurt, Hamburg, and Munich. Among other films included were the SJ-commissioned film Täget (1946) and the feature film classics Terje Vigen (A Man There Was, Svenska Biografteatern, 1917), Herr Arnes pengar (Sir Arne’s Treasure, Svenska Biografteatern, 1919), Swedenhielms (Svensk Filmindustri, 1935), and Fröken Julie (Miss Julie, Sandrew-Produktion, 1951). The goal, according to two anonymous newspaper articles published in Arbetet and Svenska Dagbladet, was to combat “vulgar propaganda against Swedish film that has amounted to almost grotesque proportions” in the two countries. Ferrum was through SFI’s high


760 “Svensk filmvecka skall motverka vulgarpropaganda,” 10. Original citation: “[...] vulgarpropaganda mot svensk film som fått nästan groteska proportioner i Tyskland och Österrike.” It is unclear what the sources are referring to here, as Swedish film had some current success in Germany. Ferrum had at this point possibly been rejected at the Short Film Festival in Oberhausen held February 3-8, 1964, but the festival had shown Curt Strömblad’s film Ung nu (1964) which received an honorary award. Additionally, Ferrum as already mentioned had by this point secured distribution in Germany.
estimation given additional opportunities to be seen abroad, placed in a context as one of the finest Sweden had to offer.

An argument towards not subsidizing short film production

_Ferrum_ was also referred to in support of an argument by SFI’s Harry Schein that the system of quality assessment was working when the new film policy of 1963 was criticized for making the situation worse for Swedish short film. In November 1964, director Curt Strömblad at Nordisk Tonefilm asked for renewed discussion about the situation for the free short film in the new film climate. In January 1965, Mauritz Edström argued for the need for higher award grants, suggesting that current rates were lower than what had been given by Statens Filmpremiärnämnd. He also suggested that there was a need for a reform to cinema distribution that financially rewarded screening of Swedish short films, as Oldin had suggested in 1960. Schein’s article, which featured a large image from _Ferrum_, responded to these claims by rejecting the claim that the situation had become worse with the new policy, calling it a “mythology.” In his view, the new award grant system was more generous to the films that really deserved it. Here, he makes the argument that, at this moment, the best short films were commissioned:

All four films that received the highest quality grants were commissioned films, financed by LKAB (_Ferrum_), Sparfrämjandet (_Johan Ekberg_), Rädda Barnen (_Trakom_) and television (_Kamrater_). It is reasonable to assume that a free short film production can produce better artistic results than a commissioned film. Anyone who wants to engage in free short film production and has the artistic prerequisites to do so should therefore be able to feel fairly secure with the current awarding system.

761 Curt Strömblad, “Kortfilmen, hr Schein!,” _Expressen_, November 18, 1964, 5.
762 Mauritz Edström, “Svensk kortfilm på mellanhand,” _Dagens Nyheter_, January 3, 1965, 4. Edström were among the members of SFI’s initial production grant jury, together with Harry Schein (president of the jury), Bengt Idestam-Almqvist, Lasse Bergström, Stig Björkman, Jan Olof Olsson, and Jurgen Schildt. Andersson and Sundholm, _Hellre fri än filmare_, 66.
764 Schein, “Kortfilmsmytologi,” 3. Original citation: “Alla de fyra filmer som erhöll de högsta kvalitetsbidragen var beställningsfilmer, finansierade av LKAB (Ferrum), Sparfrämjandet (Johan Ekberg), Rädda Barnen (Trakom) och TV (Kamrater). Det är rimligt att anta att en fri kortfilmproduktion kan ge bättre konstnärliga resultat än beställningsfilm. Den som vill ägna sig åt fri kortfilmsproduktion och även har de
In other words, Harry Schein believed the system was fair in awarding the best films (by jury assessment) regardless of other financial backing, and that the free short film production just had to get better. Here, there is an assumption by Schein that independent productions should be willing to gamble on getting the grants, as they should win with ease in competition with commissions. By this logic, there was no need to award subsidies to artists prior to production.

Strengthening this argument for commissioned films currently being better was Edström’s article, which mentioned that *Ferrum* had been one of the few highlights in Swedish short film production in recent years. Where they disagreed was that Edström believed that more financial help was needed to ensure better films, while Schein believed that current award grants were generous enough as an incentive – the more noncommittal stance. In neither there is an argument for financial support before and during a production of the free short film, which made these projects more risky properties than productions backed by commissioner.

**Threatening a “fair” system? The Oberhausen affair**

It is clear at this point that Schein and the SFI believed in an economy of films around awards as a fair system for promoting quality productions. *Ferrum*, while not needing the funds due to its backing by a mining company, had become a flagship of quality via this new film policy. This acquired role may help explain SFI’s (Schein’s) strong reaction to the film being rejected for the Short Film Festival in Oberhausen in 1965 – a festival devoted to the artistically free short film.\(^{765}\)

This rejection was described in the Swedish press as being due to the run the film had already had by this time in international festivals.\(^{766}\) Soon, from May 24, 1965, to be exact, the film would also be shown in regular cinema programmes as a pre-film in Stockholm before the feature drama *One Potato, Two Potato* (Bawalco Picture Company, 1964).\(^{767}\) According to news coverage at the time, *Ferrum* had also been rejected the year previously, but...
there are no traces of a statement from Oberhausen regarding this. John Sundholm writes that the rejection of the film in 1965 led to SFI responding with a boycott of the festival lasting six years, which ended with the festival management apologizing for earlier decisions and the treatment of *Ferrum* specifically.

Although Oberhausen sought to acquire Swedish short films outside SFI’s involvement for future festivals during this boycott, the international opportunities for Swedish short films became endangered. According to Schein, SFI could not permit a festival nomination jury to decide which Swedish films to be shown. As the Oberhausen management would not cede to demands of guarantees that their nominated films should be screened as a rule, according to *Dagens Nyheter* SFI removed their official presence and two other accepted nominations, stating:

> As an official institution, we cannot allow ourselves to participate with bad films in foreign film festivals, even if the management of such festivals has poor taste.

The decision to boycott was heavily criticized, particularly in *Svenska Dagbladet* by an anonymous writer suggesting that these actions by Schein put Swedish film’s reputation in peril, and suggesting that he should leave his position. For SFI, this case was in part about legitimizing their short film politics based on taste. As one of the more renowned short film festivals devoted to artistic expression, Oberhausen choosing different films than those SFI had awarded financially could undermine the new quality assessment system. That *Ferrum* was in the middle of this is on the one hand coincidental,

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769 Sundholm, “Stuck on Ferrum.”. Sundholm mentions that Schein had an incentive to end the boycott through allowing Oberhausen to become a potential stage for SFI’s new film school.
770 Sundholm, “Stuck on Ferrum.”.
771 As mentioned earlier, however, a nomination jury had selected this and other films for the Edinburgh Film Festival in 1964. According to one news report of Schein’s meeting with the press on February 9, 1965, Schein was quoted as saying that he did not know that the film had been selected there. “Retad herr Schein läxar upp kritiker,” *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfartstidning*, February 10, 1965, 9.
but on the other it presents how commissioned films were part of flawed arguments against further support for artistic short films.

Of course, a major reason for a film such as Ferrum happening in the first place was that LKAB at that moment, amid their own media experimentation, allowed for an unconventional film. This was not a stable alternative foundation to grant funds to develop short films in artistically. In the case of LKAB there is no indication that the company saw themselves as a long-term patron of artistic expression on film. In the final section of the chapter below, I describe LKAB as returning exclusively to instrumental approaches.

Back to instrumental habits

In an obituary for Gunnar Höglund in 1984, Ferrum was mentioned as one of his greatest achievements as a filmmaker. Although not a verified story, the text mentions a screening of the film for the Coal and Steel Union's board in Strasbourg recalled by the then CEO of LKAB, Arne S. Lundberg. He had apparently said that “the film had not been cheap, but worth every penny because it was the first time the chairman of the union had spoken to him” to tell him that they had made a beautiful film.

Although possibly allowing for a rare, momentary bond through the film’s aesthetics, the positive experiences with Ferrum ultimately did not convince the company to spend as much on film going forward nor to emphasize further unconventional films. Between 1965 and 1979, when I find the last extant production made on analogue film, there was not a repeat of a package of films being commissioned. Instead, singular films are spread out in time, each with a traditional informational character with voiceover explaining the images.

776 According to what is preserved in the LKAB film collection in Kiruna, as well as Kiruna city archive, the last analog LKAB-commissioned film was Gruva i Kiruna (“The mine in Kiruna,” 1979), a co-production between “The committee for television and radio in the education” (Kommittén för television och radio i utbildningen, TRU) and LKAB that was a new version of the earlier instructional film Skivrasbrytning, allmän del (“Sub-level caving, general part”).
One such case was *Malm i rörelse (Ore on the move, 1969)*, a film that was not part of the original film package proposed in the early 1960s but ended up also being made with Nordisk Tonefilm in its last year of business.\textsuperscript{777} Indicative of a more common approach to commissioned film, it features recorded sounds from the mines, a combination of establishing shots and close-ups giving us an overview of processes, and a male voiceover adding facts and describing the rationale of systems.

\textbf{Figure 31: Top:} Alternate angles of a workstation. Closeup in *Ferrum* (left) and a previously unseen establishing shot in *Malm i rörelse* (right). \textit{Bottom:} Same shot, different framing in *Ferrum* (left) and *Malm i rörelse* (right). Colour differences may be due to different levels of fading in the film stock used for digital transfer.

An interesting cost-saving aspect of this film is that it uses Agfacolor film material shot in the early 1960s. Here, both segments that made it into the film *Ferrum* and film metres left out but shot at the same time are included (\textbf{Figure 31}). Despite sharing image material with *Ferrum*, which made it less aesthetically distinct, the film would win an honorary award in the SPR’s Guldklappan awards in 1970.\textsuperscript{778} A notable change in the selection of film

\textsuperscript{777} It is uncertain how much of the film had been made by the mid-1960s. This could be a case of a film delayed for distribution, or it may have been made in the late 1960s. After a decade of negative financial developments, Nordisk Tonefilm was sold to Omega Film AB in 1969.

\textsuperscript{778} Staffan Teste, ed., *Guldklappan 40 år: Jubileumsskrift* (Stockholm: Sveriges informationsförening, 2003), 29. Four other films received honorary awards, the
metres in the new film is an abundance of establishing shots, while low-angle shots and extreme close-ups prominent in Ferrum are kept to a minimum. The musical score is also gone.

Why return to this old formula? Previous research into Swedish commissioned films has pointed out how commissioned films often show signs of referring to stylistic approaches that audiences were familiar with from their contemporary everyday media habits. But I will argue that there also existed a more instrumental media habit steeped in tradition, where there were expectations put on commissioned films being clearly informative. In an analysis of the film Göteborg (1973), which was commissioned by the city of Gothenburg, Erik Florin Persson points out that an informative voice-over was an expectation in screening environments such as the classroom. Although its lack of voice-over removed the need for making different language versions of the film, Göteborg received mixed responses, with negative responses complaining that this lack made what they deemed an otherwise good film a bit pointless.

Similar sentiments of disappointment about the film not following traditional standards can be found with Ferrum. In an interview with composer Karl-Erik Welin, he mentions how his unique approach of not having heard the sounds of the mines before composing the score was met with negativity by the workers. A review by Per-Olov Zennström in the communist newspaper Arbetar-Tidningen in Gothenburg compared Ferrum with the more conventional Det väger tungt, favouring the latter as they were shown together for a special screening in Stockholm:

[Ferrum] depicts ore in motion and largely follows the same course as Det väger tungt, but Höglund has saved the most beautiful images and the most original angles for this one. However, one makes the reflection that when the ore in

winner was Reflections of life (Cinag Filmproduktion for Victor Hasselblad AB, 1969).


Florin Persson, Filmen i stadens tjänst, 193-195.

Florin Persson, Filmen i stadens tjänst, 194.

“Annorlunda samarbete Cullberg-Welin,” Dagens Nyheter, March 12, 1969, 14. Welin describes that he had not been to the mines and had only seen a silent version of the film before composing the score and musical sound effects. He thereby made “onomatopoetic” sounds based on what he imagined it should sound like.
motion is viewed in this way from an aesthetic point of view, the film has lost the meaning that was in *Det väger tungt*. The play of shapes, colours and movements has been refined but when detached from the [mining] production it has become less engaging than the documentary recording that illustrated the rational meaning of the operation.\(^{783}\)

*Ferrum* may have failed to work in a screening situation where it followed a more traditionally informative film on the same subject. With an unconventional film, one needed to consider carefully whether it fit in the usual screening contexts. In the PA Council catalogues focusing on conceptualizing film as an aid to industry and increased productivity, the description of the film under the section “Use” noted *Ferrum* as an “[i]nformation film about iron production.”\(^{784}\) This, unlike a majority of the films in the catalogue, notably does not say anything about potential audiences. On the same page, LKAB’s earlier film *Lapplands järnberg* is described as “An information film for all personnel groups.”\(^{785}\) It is not surprising, then, that the description of *Ferrum* under the section “Content” adds the condition that “[i]t should be seen less as a descriptive industrial film than as an independent work of art.”\(^{786}\)

While no single film could please everyone, departure from tradition could become lost in translation when and where there was an expectation to be educational or informative. As we have seen in Chapter 1, this expectation was in part driven by commissioners themselves in their fear of films unintentionally becoming direct advertising. These expectations were also key

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\(^{783}\) Z. [Per-Olov Zennström], “Filmer om malm i rörelse,” *Arbetar-Tidningen* [Gothenburg], April 11, 1964, 3. Artist and art-critic Zennström was during this time editor of the culture section of the Marxist newspaper *Ny Dag*. His own art was largely drawings made with charcoal. Original citation: “Den skildrar malm i rörelse och följer i stort sett samma förlopp som *Det väger tungt*, men till denna har Höglund sparat de vackraste bilderna och de mest originella vinklarna. Man gör emellertid reflexionen att när malmen i rörelse på detta sätt betraktats ur estetisk synvinkel har filmen förlorat den mening som fanns i *Det väger tungt*. Formernas, färernas och rörelsernas spel har raffinerats men når det löseryckts från produktionen har det blivit mindre engagerande än den dokumentariska inspelning som åskådliggjorde driftens rationella innebörd.”

\(^{784}\) “Filmen i näringslivets tjänst: Förteckning över filmer, stillfilmer, bildband, planscher m.m. i PA-rådets filmdistribution.” PA-council film catalogue, 1965, 181. Original citation: “Informationsfilm om järnframställning.”

\(^{785}\) “Filmen i näringslivets tjänst,” 181. Original citation: “En informationsfilm för alla personalgrupper.”

\(^{786}\) “Filmen i näringslivets tjänst,” 181. Original citation: “Den skall ses mindre som en beskrivande industrifilm än som ett fristående konstverk.”
to films broadcast on television and to be used as aid in issues of management and productivity.

*Ferrum* was the only LKAB film with an experimental approach and without voiceover, but it had not been commissioned in isolation, which negated these risks. Being produced together with *Det väger tungt* meant that *Ferrum* did not carry the lone burden of following expectations to be informative in a traditional way. At the same time, this asked the question of what this film added in terms of value. To recall and rephrase a question brought up by information managers in Chapter 1, if one only budgeted for one film, would the traditional or experimental approach be the most versatile? The voices that expressed boredom with the sameness of commissioned films were the ones loudest in newspapers, especially in articles film critics and filmmakers, but this arguably came with certain screening contexts of film festivals and cinemas most clearly in mind. Whether this translated to the situations where commissioned films were expected to perform as informational or screening habits in the classroom or the workplace was less certain.

This uncertainty is key to our understanding of the problem of the commissioned film as a financial alternative for artistic short film production. While film professionals desired more elbow room for creativity in commissions, this could clash with a dominant notion that film should be clear in its communication to be versatile. In the case of LKAB, it is evident that film was treated as less relevant as a free art form in the long term than sculpture and painting, for example.787 From early on, LKAB had through CEO Hjalmar Lundbohm worked on bringing modern art to the new community in Kiruna for their “spiritual needs”.788 This included art exhibitions in 1904 and 1905 to allow a local community with limited opportunity to visit Sweden’s museums in the south of the country to become acquainted with it.789 Art was also commissioned by Lundbohm to portray the

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787 At least in terms of financing their own commissions. It is hard to trace Swedish companies and their financial contributions to other productions, such as feature films. In a report found in Nordisk Tonefilm’s archive, it is stated that LKAB agreed to help finance their film version of *Nils Holgerssons underbara resa* (*Adventures of Nils Holgersson*, 1962), together with the airline company SAS and the vehicle manufacturer SAAB. The latter would agree to finance in return for hidden advertisement in the film. See “Rapport över sammanträde på Nordisk Tonefilm den 18 juli 1962,”, meeting protocol, unsigned, undated, 1 – 1955-1966, A – Protokoll, Nordisk Tonefilm archive, ARBARK, 2.


technological developments in Kiruna for foreign audiences, including the 1900 Paris Exposition.790

Post-WW2 interest in these arts is exemplified by the commission of a large mosaic by Pierre Olofsson from 1952–56, and turning their new office building in 1960 into a “treasure-house” of the arts, according to the description of one television programme.791 Olofsson was of a new generation of artists committed to creating concrete art in public spaces in post-war Sweden, among a generation that Linda Fagerström argues positioned themselves as “engineer-artists”, which fit with the Social Democrat government’s notion of promoting art as instrumental to “building a modern, socialist society”.792 There was no requirement that these artforms had to follow traditional approaches in order to communicate clearly. In 1961, LKAB started an art association (LKAB:s konstförening) for its interested employees to increase their “knowledge and understanding of art”, which is still active today.793 Together with the Kiruna city council, LKAB financed a Picasso exhibition in Kiruna town hall in 1965.794

Even though LKAB’s commission Ferrum had been critically acclaimed as a form of art, there were still expectations for it to also work as an instrument for information. Fancying a Swedish industrial commissioner as a patron of the film arts at most led to occasional experimentation. In this chapter, I have investigated commissioned film as a space to financially support short film artistic filmmaking in Sweden in the 1960s, when the idea of “quality film” beyond film as an instrument gained traction. While pointing to artistic commissioned films was beneficial for the idea of funding films by grant awards by SFI, it hid the fact that the desire for such films by commissioners was sporadic at best. Commissioned films could afford to stick to traditions, as there was a foundation of using films instrumentally where they fit in, despite complaints elsewhere by film professionals that they were redundant. While film critics and festivals championed texts such as Ferrum

794 Kiruna stadshus del 1, 62.
that avoided a strictly factual approach, this did not radically turn commissions away from traditions that had been institutionalized as versatile. *Ferrum* therefore paradoxically became an award-winning creative spark that could not even ignite a long-term ambition to replace formulaic approaches by the company that financed it.
Concluding remarks

In this thesis I have explored how commissioned films were extracted for institutional use. Specifically, I have examined how films commissioned by mining companies were ascribed as educational content, as aids to productivity, and as legitimate contributions to short film as an artform in postwar Sweden. The thesis thereby contributes to previous research on commissioned films through specifically focusing on their versatility for institutions beyond the commissioning body. Here, the methodological approach is in conversation with the field of useful cinema studies and seeks to expand its focus on film as part of broader organizational behaviour. By shifting emphasis from what a film did for a commissioning body to exploring what was versatile about these films, attention is directed towards how films were institutionally viable outside of direct company reach.

The analysis of the broader institutional utility of commissioned films builds on Vinzenz Hediger and Patrick Vonderau’s notion that industry-commissioned films frequently attempt to come across as other film forms, such as the documentary or educational film. But rather than suggesting this as a parasitic behaviour, I argue that this form of passing was also encouraged by other institutions that found it beneficial for their own purposes. In such attempts to come across as other types of films, there were challenges that needed to be addressed, such as what approaches to the texts were deemed versatile. As explored in this research, this was a central factor for films relinquishing distinct experimentation and instead leaning towards known formulas and traditions. This contests the notion of industry-commissioned film, or so-called industrial film, as a distinct type of film. In postwar Sweden, where few industrial companies (and none of the mining companies) produced and distributed their own films, becoming types of film that external institutions found useful became conditional for their existence.

The specific focus on mining in the case studies provides a window into how corporate texts have been approved and found useful institutionally. Here, the thesis reveals a broad openness to using corporate texts by treating them as tools for or towards audiences, despite their often-restricted aesthetics and limited views of work environments and land use in Sápmi. The Swedish postwar non-fiction hegemony described in earlier research was therefore inclusive to a strong corporate presence beyond that of film production companies through the domination of commissioned films.
Methodologically speaking, focusing the lens on what was versatile encourages researchers to explore beyond corporate archives to answer questions regarding how their film’s use was broadly negotiated. In addition to analysing material in the archives, digital databases, trade papers, and histories of mining companies and their traces of film activity, the thesis also investigated such material for a diverse range of intermediaries that encountered commissioned films. This includes the archives of the television company Radio Sweden, which have not previously been researched with commissioned films in mind. In the case of exploring the archives of the PA Council, the thesis offers new knowledge into how film consultancy for industry took shape in the 1950s. Included here are also initial findings on how Sweden was connected to the postwar film activities of the OEEC. At the same time, via exploring corporate archives the thesis presents an understanding of film use by Swedish mining companies, which has been unexplored in previous research. By describing the organization and activities of the information departments in the companies LKAB and Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags AB in greater detail, the thesis offers a view into companies as media actors, which adds depth to historical research on mining and industry in general. By analysing two films on mining in a Sápmi economic context, the thesis describes how the exploitative and racially discriminate interpretations of land ownership that the mining activities originally rested upon at the turn of the twentieth century were carried on in non-fiction films in postwar Sweden.

This work also expands on previous research into the conditions for commissioned films in the Swedish postwar context. One contribution here is in reviewing the logics behind how commissioners themselves addressed how film could reach audiences at the production stage. Chapter 1 contextualizes how the purpose of films for commissioners changed in postwar Sweden as a more democratic connection between society and industry was introduced. Building on Mats Björkin’s previous research into film becoming a more personal contact medium for industry in postwar Sweden, I argue that these closer connections to society came with a set of new challenges regarding costs. In theory, adhering to more personal contact could mean needing to diversify film commissions to various audience groups, which could be costly both in terms of production costs and work hours. Given that companies in Sweden rarely hired designated film officers, instead keeping jack-of-all-trades media information managers to work on film, there was strong incentive to commission films that could be used broadly to reduce working hours spent on the film medium specifically. Adhering to traditional forms, rather than experimentation, was seen as an approach to address costs.

The push towards traditional forms is also seen in the context of the political environment of the time. Following a brief but charged political debate in the mid-1940s regarding Sweden’s macroeconomic strategy, the
Rehn-Meidner approach to Keynesian economics put the national labour organization LO and the Swedish Employers’ Confederation, among others, in closer collaboration around similar goals for increased productivity. The coinciding decades long economic boom and its non-partisan environment presented less of a need for film to work as a campaign tool for industry. Indeed, as I show in a case study of a film project between 1948–1954 that aimed to present the Stora Kopparberg Bergslags mining company for a broad variety of audiences, two successive information managers were particularly wary of the text coming across as advertising for the company. Artistic techniques that could – according to these managers – lean away from the film being perceived as a factual documentary, such as a boastful commentary track or using actors, were rejected. In part, this hesitation towards advertising was rooted in wanting the film to pass as a film about Swedish industry, which would allow for the Swedish Institute to assist distribution and Swedish ambassadors in European countries to raise the profile of screenings by attending. With these international contact opportunities in mind, the mining company was willing to spend money on expensive options that were not seen as interfering with the factual aspects of the film text, such as colour film and special screenings with cocktail parties.

The thesis also traces institutional developments in the 1950s and 1960s towards considering film by industry as assisting industrial production itself. Chapter 2 explores how commissioned films were deemed versatile in the context of the nonpartisan productivity drive through the film consultancy offered by the PA Council. The chapter expands on previous research on this organization established by the Swedish Employers’ Confederation, here described in part as a knowledge bank for Swedish industry into American and European developments in productivity. I place specific focus on how the PA Council’s consultancy efforts helped shape film as a tool for company management of productivity. A striking example of such collaboration promoting new management strategies is a film commissioned by the mining company LKAB, and co-written by the PA Council, that sought to legitimize their interference with the autonomy of blue-collar work. Here, top-down management in the form of consultancy and operational designs were presented as a mutually beneficial way forward for industry. Having established commissioned films as tools for productivity opened these films to non-traditional approaches to representing industry. As seen in the example of a film commissioned by Grängesbergsbolaget, the established notion of commissioned film as an aid to other industries via the PA Council gave them an opportunity to push for looking at issues of upper and middle management individualistically. In other words, this film defended these sections of industry from the ghost of the rationalization of management work itself.

Commissioned films coming across as institutionally viable was not just carefully constructed but also partly about circumstances and
convenience. For instance, in my discussion of early Swedish public service television in Chapter 3 there was not a doctrine of presenting industrial activities in Sápmi in one way only. Rather, the inclusion of commissioned films as part of programming was a convenient way to fill schedules when other alternatives were difficult due to few available resources. This was possible due to the vague conceptualization by Radio Sweden of what advertising and public service meant in practice. Additionally, doors were open to commissioned films and TV reportage from industry because neither Radio Sweden nor the Radio council desired to confront issues of hidden advertisement due to the practical difficulties of avoiding it and removing it from moving images.

A film such as *Lapplands järnberg* (commissioned by LKAB) became convenient public service content for television as a film with both a historical and an artistic approach, aligning with paternalistic ideas held by broadcasters at the time about educating the viewer on these topics. Seen in a colonial mining context, however, the film promotes a long-existing doctrine of ignoring Sámi as part of the economic equation. In my case study of a film produced by television on the Boliden mining company, I show how the restriction of access to Sápmi land through mining is tied to value-making and presented as an attraction. In both broadcasting and their own productions, then, early Swedish television was an opportunity for free PR for mining companies in Sápmi.

For these three chapters, versatility is synonymous with film being attributed as an instrument for society in informing, instructing, and educating the public about industry. Yet for a vocal segment of the trade press and newspaper milieu, including filmmakers and film critics, this blending-in became bland because it stuck to traditional recipes. The fourth chapter begins with these criticisms of the traditional ways of making films, including the use of voiceover that explains what the images are showing. I argue that these critiques were motivated in part by the desire for filmmakers to have more artistic license in these commissions. Here, I demonstrate that the roots of this debate lay in the lack of financial incentives and safety nets for unconditional short film production. Given these circumstances, there was motivation to highlight the potential of corporations as commissioners of freer short films. An opportunity to emphasize this point came through the artistically experimental film *Ferrum*, made during a larger media experiment by LKAB in the early 1960s. Through being critically acclaimed and award-winning, the film also provided opportunities for the mining company to enter new spaces as a national cultural asset. Soon, the film was taken under the wings of the new Swedish Film Institute to promote the ambitious intentions of a new film policy founded on assessing film quality based on taste. This new film policy sought to portray retroactive grants awarded by their jury as the fairest form of subsidy, using *Ferrum* to argue that the problem was that other films simply
did not reach this level of quality. However, commissions were not a stable home for artistic experimentation because uncertainty about where they were best used made them less versatile. Nor did commissioners see themselves as patrons of film as an art form. These aspects, combined with the always present incentive for cost cutting, promoted repetition and sticking to traditions as a viable strategy, as can be seen in the later film *Ore on the move*.

Taken together, these chapters present different perspectives on how the passing of commissioned films as art, documentary, educational television content, and as aids to productivity was in part due to moving with the shifting institutional conceptualizations of film use. The opportunism described was not only practised by mining companies as commissioners, but also filmmakers, consultancies, and other institutions who manoeuvred these films towards their own interests. Attempting to take opportunities that presented themselves did not always succeed when there was disagreement regarding their viability, as seen with the suggestion by a film producer to add actors to the Stora film, for instance. In the context of film having been established via a consultancy as an aid to productivity, however, a film could feature actors to rationalize the idea of individuality being a key trait of managers.

These cases present the difficulties and challenges of attributing intent and design of films solely to one actor (e.g., the commissioner). Rather than being developed in isolation, commissioned films are used and produced in reaction to institutional circumstances. By looking at and for the opportunities that came along the way, and describing them, we may be able to better understand the always moving conceptual boundaries that commissioned films navigate within and around. Because industry-commissioned films became versatile, research into them is key to understanding when forms of corporate audiovisual communications pass as something else.

**Suggestions for future research**

Much of commissioned film history remains unexplored. One obvious entry point for further research in a Swedish context is to explore the archives and films of other industries, not just to compare film activities in, for example, the forestry industry, tools manufacturing, or construction work, but because this approach will likely uncover more material and contexts that help us understand the positions of commissioned film in relation to institutions and society. Do we see similar patterns of alignment and blending in with corporations commissioning films about products for the private consumer? What were the circumstances like for films by foreign companies with offices in Sweden, such as Svenska Shell of the Royal Dutch Shell corporation? All the films I found commissioned by mining companies were produced and
directed by men, but do different perspectives emerge when looking at the 
industry-commissioned films involving women? Recent cataloguing efforts 
make clear that there were several films commissioned by other companies 
operating in Sápmi within the timeframe of the thesis, including the Swedish 
State Railways (Statens Järnvägar) and Vattenfall to mention two. Future 
research into these films may provide more knowledge about production 
circumstances and the ways films were viable as part of industrial colonialism.

In addressing these questions, it is also interesting both to look further 
ahead and further back. This can, for example, be framed around changes in 
the dominance of film formats. It is likely, for example, that what was deemed 
versatile in industry-commissioned films changed in Sweden when 
productions largely move to video in the late 1970s, or with the introduction 
of commercial television in the 1980s. Likewise, we may ask what affordances 
and opportunities existed prior to or in the early days of sound or the 16mm 
format becoming a standard. The 8mm format is notably absent in the 
commissions by mining companies at this time, but further research is needed 
to understand eventual opportunities taken with the 8mm format and what it 
was used for in an industrial context. Other audiovisual media are also of 
interest, such as the commissioned filmstrips, a widely used format in industry 
that remains to be researched. In using this format particularly, a question 
becomes when the moving image was and was not a priority, given the interest 
in cutting costs. Another medium of interest is a broader exploration of 
industrial television and the industrial in television, perhaps particularly in the 
context of the Nordic Film and Television Society (Nordiska Film och TV- 
unionen) given that Finland had begun commercial television broadcasts in 
1956. It could also be beneficial to look at the practices of industrial 
photography in relation to these audiovisual forms.

Looking further ahead could also mean looking for evidence of the 
past in the present. Although in many senses ephemeral media barely known 
to exist are largely hidden in archives, attics and storerooms, there are cases 
in which companies today find versatility in their archived images, either by 
creating (and occasionally curating) digital channels or in new productions. 
Commissioned film has perhaps always been partly about reusing and looking 
inward into what has been preserved. That some industry-commissioned films 
find new life on DVD compilations, as uploads on YouTube, or becoming part 
of feature films and documentary films, complicates the notion of these films 
being orphaned.

In terms of methodological approaches, it would be valuable for any 
future research into the versatile uses of commissioned films to follow the 
trajectory of film copies (both analogue and digital), which may add more to 
the knowledge of agency, praxis, and position of such films in society, but 
also occasions and settings for which films were used. We do not, for example, 
know much about how long many of the films were in circulation and how
frequently they moved. A related unexplored methodological approach of interest is in terms of searching archives with a focus on economic circumstances: for example, what the price of film stock, laws regarding tax exemption, and development of technical standards (for example regarding sound-on-film technology for 16mm) meant for the opportunities of production and distribution of industry-commissioned film. Because film production agencies were, like the commissioning bodies, often joint-stock companies, it would be of interest, albeit challenging, to explore these films in relation to the market realities of both producers and commissioners as shareholders.

Although this thesis is not a study of screening situations and the reception of films per se, it has featured reviews and articles in several newspapers and trade papers about the films. Here, my approach has largely been to look for mentions of specific films via the selection of specific dates or keywords. The reception of films in this period is difficult to access beyond such published sources, but it would be valuable to look specifically for writings on industry-commissioned films in general over a longer time-period in, for example, engineering or labour movement trade papers. This may help us further understand the persistence of an instrumental habit to the films and the strict conceptualization of documentary and advertising seen in one commissioner.

In working on this thesis, I have come across several institutions involved with industry-commissioned films where their film activities are poorly understood. Here, there is an opportunity to add further transnational contexts of viability to what often becomes research founded in a national system. In addition to OEEC-partners in other countries, via so-called productivity centres, it would be valuable to investigate the film activities of OEEC’s central hub FIES, particularly to understand the international politics around making alternative versions of films and what commissioned films were deemed to serve member countries’ interests. This work could build on previous research undertaken on the Marshall films in Europe. Another international aspect poorly understood is industrial film festivals or film festivals where “industrial films” were present. Seen through a Swedish lens, the Edinburgh Film Festival looks particularly promising as a case study, in part to trace whether the competitive element of the festival translated to messages taken back home regarding how films with an international audience in mind should be made in the future.
Svensk sammanfattning

Denna studie undersöker hur filmer beställda av svenska gruvbolag gjordes användbara för olika institutionella sammanhang under perioden 1945-1965. Genom fyra fallstudier som kombinerar arkivforskning med textanalys, utforskas utvalda filmexempel och hur de samspelet med institutionella konceptualiseringar av reklam, arbetsledning, public service television och film som konstform.

I avhandlingen argumenteras för att en central aspekt av filmernas spridda användningsområden kom från omständigheter som gjorde det möjligt för beställningsfilmer att fungera som mer än reklam för företaget. Istället fungerade de i sammanhan som åberopade opartiska pedagogiska och informativa hjälpmedel, och i enstaka fall som exempel på filmkonst. Denna flytande tillhörighet och uppdragsform möjliggjordes av olika aktörer och mellanhänder. Genom att separera filmerna från det ursprungliga uppdraget från beställaren behandlades de som instrumentella – och ibland konstnärligt värdefulla – texter om gruvdrift i relation till arbetsledning, men även kring kontexter runt Sápmi. Även om detta ibland var ett resultat av en nedtoning av industrins röst, något som gjordes genom direkt samarbete mellan beställaren och en mellanhand, uppmuntrades det också genom den praxis som räckte för hur reklam skulle användas och hur svensk kortfilmsproduktion skulle finansieras.

I avhandlingen analyseras de utmaningar som fanns i de produktionsoch distributionssystem filmerna ingick i; hur och av vem gruvdrift kommunikerades; och slutligen även själva filmernas estetik. Snarare än att se detta som ett resultat av enbart en beställare eller filmproducentens taktiska val, hävdas det att både filmerna i sig och användningen av dem till stor del format av och tillsammans med olika aktörer och mellanhänder. Genom att flytta tyngdpunkten i analysen från vad en film gjorde för en beställare till att utforska filmernas mångsidiga användningsområde och format, riktas uppmärksamheten mot hur filmer blev användbara institutionellt utanför företagets direkta räckvidd. Avhandlingen vidareutvecklar därmed tidigare forskning om useful cinema – studiet av filmmediets olika funktioner för organisationer – genom att betona att konceptualiseringar kring användning av film var brett förhandlade. Detta utmanar argumentet att så kallade industrifilmer och deras användning var perifera inslag i samhället, även om den här typen av filmer sedan har glömts bort både inom forskning och institutionella sammanhang.

att hitta ett värde i att skydda autonomin i gruvarbetarnas traditionella arbete. I den andra fallstudien om filmen *En chef utvecklar medarbetare* (Suecia-Film för Grängesbergsbolaget, 1965) studeras hur filmen uppmanar till diskussion om kvalitet i ledarskap som ett mått på individuell karaktär – som fungerade som skydd mot idén att standardisera detta arbete i produktivitetssträvan.


Abbreviations

* = abbreviations by the author

ABF  Arbetarnas Bildningsförbund (the Workers’ Educational Association)
AIFC Advertising and Industrial Film Consultants
AMF  Armé-, Marin- och Flygfilm (“Army, Navy and Air Force Film”)
AMS  Arbetsmarknadsstyrelsen (“the Swedish Employment Agency”)
ARBARK Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och bibliotek (Swedish Labour Movement’s Archives and Library)
ARDA* Arkivcentrum Dalarna
ASFP  Association of Specialized Film Producers
CEIF  Council of European Industrial Federations
CFN  Centrum för Näringslivshistoria (Centre for Business History)
EI  Ekonomisk Information (“Economic Information”)
EPA European Productivity Agency
FB/A* Fagersta Bruks archive
FHR  Folkets-hus-föreningarnas riksorganisation (“National Association of The People’s House Associations”)
FIES Film Information and Exchange Service
GPO General Post Office
ISIC The International Standard Industrial Classification of All Economic Activities
IUI  Industriens Utredningsinstitut (Industrial Institute for Economic and Social Research)
KB  Kungliga biblioteket (National Library of Sweden)
KK/A* Kiruna municipality archive
LAMCO Liberian American Swedish Mining Company
LKAB Luossavaara-Kiirunavaara Aktiebolag
LKAB/KA* Luossavaara-Kiirunavaara Aktiebolag’s Kiruna archive
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LO</td>
<td>Landsorganisationen (the Swedish Trade Union Confederation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MTM</td>
<td>Metod-Tid-Mätning (Methods-Time-Measurement)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSA</td>
<td>Mutual Security Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>NARA</td>
<td>US National Archives, Maryland</td>
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<tr>
<td>OCR</td>
<td>Optical Character Recognition</td>
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<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OEEC</td>
<td>Organisation for European Economic Co-operation</td>
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<tr>
<td>PA Council</td>
<td>Personaladministrativa Rådet (the Personnel Administration Council)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RA/S</td>
<td>Riksarkivet og Statsarkivet i Oslo (The National Archives of Norway)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAF</td>
<td>Svenska Arbetsgivareföreningen (Swedish Employers’ Confederation)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SCB</td>
<td>Statistiska centralbyrån (Central Bureau of Statistics in Sweden)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SEFS</td>
<td>Svensk Experimentfilm Studio (The Independent Film Group)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SF</td>
<td>Svensk Filmin industri</td>
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<tr>
<td>SFA</td>
<td>Scientific Film Association</td>
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<td>SFI</td>
<td>Svenska Filminstitutet (The Swedish Film Institute)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Svenska Filminstitutets bibliotek (the Swedish Film Institute Library)</td>
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<td>SFI/F*</td>
<td>Filmarkivet.se</td>
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<td>SI</td>
<td>Svenska institutet (Swedish Institute)</td>
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<td>SIS</td>
<td>Statens informationsstyrelse (National Board of Information)</td>
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<td>SJ</td>
<td>Statens Järnvägar (Swedish State Railways)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SMDB</td>
<td>Svensk mediedatabas (Swedish Media Database)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOU</td>
<td>Statens officiella utredningar (“Swedish Government Official Reports”)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SPR</td>
<td>Sveriges Public Relationsförening (“the Swedish Public Relations Association”)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SR</td>
<td>Sveriges Radio (Radio Sweden)</td>
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272
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>SR/D*</td>
<td>Dokumentarkivet, Sveriges Radio (&quot;the Document Archive, Radio Sweden&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSR</td>
<td>Svenska Samernas Riksförbund (National Association for Swedish Sami)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SVT</td>
<td>Sveriges Television (&quot;Sweden’s Television&quot;)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SvTF</td>
<td>Svenska Teknologföreningen (&quot;Swedish Technologists’ Confederation&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TCO</td>
<td>Tjänstemännens Centralorganisation (Swedish Confederation of Professional Employees)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TGO</td>
<td>Trafik AB Grängesberg-Oxelösund</td>
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<tr>
<td>TRU</td>
<td>Kommittén för television och radio i utbildningen (&quot;The committee for television and radio in the educational system&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRU II</td>
<td>Kommittén för den fortsatta verksamheten med radio och television inom utbildningsväsendet (&quot;The committee for the continued operation of radio and television within the educational system&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UMS</td>
<td>Universal Maintenance Standards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USIS</td>
<td>United States Information Service</td>
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Bibliography

Selected filmography
Filmography of films discussed in the chapters. For a list of all films referenced, see “Films and television programmes” below. Presented chronologically.

*Bergslagsbygd - En bildrapsodi till Martin Nordkvists svit 'Stålets och malmens rike' (1948)*

English title (trans.): “The Bergslagen countryside - A pictorial rhapsody to Martin Nordkvist’s cantata ‘The Kingdom of Steel and Ore’”
Production title: Kino 237
Commissioner: Fagersta AB
Production company: AB Kinocentralen
Distribution: AB Kinocentralen
Director: Eric Johnson
Manuscript: Eric Johnson and Rune Lindström
Director of photography: Walter Boberg
Narrator: Rune Lindström
Music: Martin Nordkvist
Music arrangement: Eduard Hladisch
Technical advisor: Eric Edmark [Fagersta AB’s advertising manager]
Censorship number: 73568
Swedish cinema premiere: October 25th, 1948, as pre-film to *Hammarforsens brus* (AB Kungsfilm, 1948).
Film copies: Fagersta AB archives (GR08-00822, 21 mins), SMDB (incomplete, 19 mins).

*Kirunamalm (1952)*

English title (trans.): “Kiruna ore”
Commissioner: LKAB
Production company: AB Svensk Kulturfilm
Distribution: AB Svensk Kulturfilm
Director: Torsten Fahlman
Manuscript: Torsten Fahlman
Director of photography: Harry Jonasson
Censorship number: 81579
Film copies: LKAB Kiruna archives (79 mins).
**Gällivaremalm (1953)**

- **English title (trans.):** “Gällivare ore”
- **Commissioner:** LKAB
- **Production company:** AB Svensk Kulturfilm
- **Distribution:** AB Svensk Kulturfilm
- **Director:** Torsten Fahlman
- **Director of photography:** Harry Jonasson
- **Censorship number:** 82476
- **Film copies:** LKAB Kiruna archives (55 mins), SMDB (55 mins).

**Malmskeppning Luleå (1953)**

- **English title (trans.):** “Ore transport Luleå”
- **Commissioner:** LKAB
- **Production company:** AB Svensk Kulturfilm
- **Director:** Torsten Fahlman
- **Manuscript:** Torsten Fahlman
- **Director of photography:** Harry Jonasson
- **Censorship number:** 82475
- **Film copies:** SMDB (23 mins).

**En svensk storindustri (1954)**

- **English title:** *Story of Stora*
- **Spanish title:** *La Historia de Stora: 700 años de actividad industrial*
- **Commissioner:** Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags AB
- **Produktion company:** Svensk Filmindustri
- **Distribution:** Svensk Filmindustri, PA Council (PAF 401)
- **Director:** Gösta Werner
- **Manuscript:** Gösta Werner
- **Commentary versioning:** Burnett Anderson (English), J. M. P. Casanovas (Spanish)
- **Director of photography:** Sten Dahlgren
- **Narrator:** Gunnar Sjöberg (Swedish version), Michael Redgrave (English version), Ruiz Medina (Spanish version)
- **Music arrangement:** Erland von Koch
- **Censorship number:** 84205
- **Swedish cinema premiere:** May 7th, 1954, as pre-film to *Hobson’s Choice* (London Films Productions, 1954).
- **Film copies:** Arkivcentrum Dalarna (51 min), SMDB (51 min).
**Malmskeppning Narvik (1954)**

English title (trans.): “Ore transport Narvik”
Commissioner: LKAB
Production company: AB Svensk Kulturfilm
Director: Torsten Fahlman
Manuscript: Torsten Fahlman
Director of photography: Harry Jonasson
Censorship number: 83713
Film copies: LKAB Kiruna archives (34 mins), SMDB (33 mins).

**Lapplands järnberg (1957)**

English title (trans.): “Lapland’s iron mountains”
Commissioner: LKAB
Produktion company: Artfilm
Distribution: Artfilm, Svensk Filmindustri, PA Council (PAF 519)
Director: Olle Hellbom and Kertin Ekman
Director of photography: Stig Hallgren
Music: Charles Redland
Visual effects: Gösta Bjurman
Film copies: Kiruna city archives (27 mins), SMDB (27 mins).

**Lapplandsmalm (1957)**

English title (trans.): “Lapland ore”
Commissioner: LKAB
Production company: AB Svensk Kulturfilm
Distribution: AB Svensk Kulturfilm
Director: Torsten Fahlman
Manuscript: Torsten Fahlman
Director of photography: Harry Jonasson
Censorship number: 89475
Film copies: SMDB (36 mins).

**Guldgrävare (1960)**

English title (trans.): “Gold diggers”
Production company: Sveriges Radio-TV
Distribution: PA Council (PAF 886), Sveriges Radio-TV
Producers: Eric Forsgren and Per-Åke Blidegård
Television premiere: November 10th, 1960, at 1800.
Film copies: SMDB (28 mins).
**Varför så många tjänstemän? (1960)**

English title (trans.): “Why so many office workers?”
Commissioner: LKAB
Production company: Suecia-Film
Distribution: PA Council (PAF 660)
Manuscript: PA Council
Film copies: LKAB archives in Kiruna (13 min)

**Ferrum (1964)**

Commissioner: LKAB
Production company: Nordisk Tonefilm
Distribution: LKAB, Nordisk Tonefilm, PA Council (PAF 1126)
Director: Gunnar Höglund
Director of photography: Kalle Bergholm
Music: Karl-Erik Welin
Censorship number: 101134
Film copies: LKAB archives in Kiruna (14 min), Filmarkivet.se (14 min), SMDB (14 min).

**En chef utvecklar medarbetare (1965)**

English title (trans.): “A manager develops employees”
Commissioner: Grängesbergsbolaget
Production company: Suecia-Film
Distribution: PA Council
Director: Egil Holmsen
Manuscript: Gunnar Lindwall and Egil Holmsen
Director of photography: Bengt Westfelt
Production manager: Arne Kings
Actors: Sven Ardenstam, Sven Holmberg, Gösta Krantz
Film copies: Filmarkivet.se (19 min)

**Malm i rörelse (1969)**

English title: *Ore on the move*
Commissioner: LKAB
Production company: Nordisk Tonefilm
Director: Gunnar Höglund
Director of photography: Kalle Bergholm
Film copies: LKAB archives in Kiruna (21 min), SMDB (23 min).

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Archival material

This includes only material cited in the thesis and not all archives and archival volumes explored. Information of archival sources of films and television programmes is provided in a separate section below.

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A – Protokoll
  1 – Protokoll
   1 – 1955-1966

B – Utgående handlingar
  1 – Arkivexemplar av utgående handlingar
    2

E – Inkomna handlingar
  1 – Svensk korrespondens
    18 – Svensk korrespondens [1964]
  2 – Utländsk korrespondens
    36 – Utländsk korrespondens [1964]

5 – Övriga inkomna handlingar
  2 – Övriga inkomna handlingar [1959-1965]
    “Inspelningsrapport Tisdagen 6/1 1959 film nr K-177 / K-181.” Film production diary.
    “Rapport från besöket i Helsingfors, 4-5 september”,
    Travel report by Fred Terselius to Nordisk Tonefilm, September 7, 1964.
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Copy of letter from Christian Tenow to Gösta Werner, Stockholm, November 7, 1952, sent to Sven Rydberg, Falun, November 7, 1952.

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Letter from Sven Rydberg to Christian Tenow, July 15, 1952.


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“Betr. Filmmanuskript av Gösta Werner,” Copy of letter sent by Alvar Silow, Uppsala, to Sven Rydberg, Falun, June 1, 1953.

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“Fortegnelse over personer som vi foreslår innbudt til Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags demonstrasjonsfilm i Oslo ca. 17 januar
1955,” Memo from Keddell & Bommen A/S to Stora Kopparberg, undated,

“P.M. rörande Bergslagets underrättelseväsen och propagandaorganisation,” Memo by Alvar Silow, December 1922.
“Protokoll fört vid sammanträde med Reklamträffen i Stockholm tisdagen den 25 maj 1948 kl. 11.00 på L M Ericssons Försäljningsbolags lokal, Södra Kungstornet.” Meeting minutes signed by Helge Smedinger.


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[Undated and unsigned script for internal presentation of a new film in 197Y]
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AB Svensk Filmindustri (CFN/8334:1)

B – Utgående handlingar
B 2 Utgående tryck
B 2 c Filmkataloger 16 mm
16 mm catalogues 1969-70, 1972-73

Personaladministrativa Rådet (CFN/8183:1)

D – Liggare och register
D 2 Förteckningar och register över filmer
D 2 a Kartotek över filmtitlar
"Huvudkort 1-1600"
D 2 b Filmkataloger
"Filmen i näringslivets tjänst. Supplement till PA-rådets
filmkatalog November 1961," PA Council film catalogue,
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"Filmen i näringslivets tjänst: Förteckning över filmer,
stillfilmer, bildband, planscher m.m. i PA-rådets

E – Inkommande handlingar, korrespondens
E 3 Korrespondens – Filmverksamheten
Korrespondens Norsk Produktivitetsinstitutt 1956-1963
“Audio-visuelt materiale: butikkcentra.” Letter from Inga
Millar, Norsk Produktivitetsinstitutt, to Bengt
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Personaladministrativa rådet, September 25, 1959.
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October to 20th November (approx.),” November 12,
1954.
“Delays in returning films on loan.” Letter from Bengt
Magnusson, The Swedish Council for Personnel
Administration, to Mr. John Seabourne, Film Information
and Exchange Service, February 27, 1959.
“Översikt över uppgifter betr. visuella hjälpmedel,”
undated memo signed by “BM” (Bengt Magnusson).
F – Handlingar ordnade efter ämne
F 2 Filmverksamhetens handlingar
  F 2 a Filmdagar
     F 2 a 5
       PAF 783 Stålet och Amerika
          Pamphlet: “Nyheter i PA rådets filmdistribution: Stålet och Amerika”
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          with handwritten edits by Kennet Nilsson, LKAB, designation “24.90.60”.

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  Inbjudan – Program Filmdagarna 1961
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     Film program for film days in Stockholm March 13-14, 1961.
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     “film 62: PA-rådets filmvisningar.”
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  Inbjudan – Program Filmdagarna 1972
     “film 72: PA-rådets filmvisningar.”
     Film program for film days in April, 1972.

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  F 2 b 1
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     “Intendent Bengt Magnusson.”
     Photograph 138/27 by Erwe-Film, Bromma, circa 1961.

F 2 d
  F 2 d 1
    Filmavdelningen ca 1958-1965 Med nyhetsbrevet
    “Nyheter i PA-rådets filmdistribution,”
    newsletter June 1961
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B – Utgående handlingar

B 1 a Remissyttranden 1910-1949

92 [2223-2230]


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**A39 Radionämndens arkiv**

A1A

Volym 5 Radionämnden och dess arbetsutskott. Protokoll. 1958-59


“Filmverksamheten inom TV.” Memorandum by Gunnar Dahlander, June 1959.

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**C31 Dokumentärfilmsektionen (TVKF)**

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D1

D 1 1 Register över sända program 1955-69

“200 filmer ur TV:s filmarkiv.” list of films by Lennart Ehrenborg, April 1, 1960

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E 1 a

E 1 a 1 Chefskorrespondens, allmän, 1955-1957

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91 – Dia-serier, bildband, SECO 1958. 1961-1965
“Bildband/Diaserier.” Letter from G. Puls
October 23, 1964.

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– Kiruna, Maj 1967.” Internal report on feasibility of
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“Lapplandsmalm. Film nr L 1240.” Booklet for film, undated.
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Booklets in English, German and French on the film Ferrum.
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“Filmen i näringslivets tjänst: Förteckning över filmer, stillfilmer, bildband, planscher m.m. i PA-rådets filmdistribution.” PA-council film catalogue, October 1960.

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   E 2 Korrespondens
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D – Sakarkiv
   Db – Sakarkiv II
      Dbc – 3. Finanser, rettsvesen, handel
          Dbcf – 3.6. Reklame, presse, propaganda
          L1185
              Letter from Georg Brochmann to Knut Hald, Oslo, November 20 1950.
              Letter from Knut Hald, Norges Industriforbund, to Georg Brochmann, Oslo, October 19 1950.

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”Filmförslag för LKAB.” Synopsis of film package from Gunnar Höglund Filmproduktions AB.
Volym 6
“Föredrag reklamföreningen 15/5 1956.”

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In chronological order. Abbreviation for archive noted when I have accessed the title in an archive. An asterisk (*) indicates that I have not found film copies. dir., is a short form for “directed by”. For television programmes I use prod., for “produced by”.

SF-Journalen (Svensk Filmindustri, 1914-1965).
Terje Vigen, dir., Victor Sjöström (A Man There Was, Svenska Biografteatern, 1917).
Herr Arnes pengar, dir., Mauritz Stiller (Sir Arne’s Treasure, Svenska Biografteatern, 1919).
Sverige och Svenska industriar (Sweden and Swedish industries, AB Tullberg Film, 1920) [SFI/F].
Tillverkning av kopparsulfat, dir., Sven Nilsson (“Manufacturing of copper sulphate”, Svennilssonfilm for Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags AB, 1931) [ARDA].
Swedenhielm, dir., Gustaf Molander (Svensk Filmindustri, 1935).
Fagersta: Stålets och arbetets stad, dir., Rune Lindström (“Fagersta – the city of steel and work”, Svensk Filmindustri for Fagersta AB, 1943) [FB/A].
Stål bygger stad, dir., Rune Lindström (“Steel builds the city”, Svensk Filmindustri for Fagersta AB, 1943) [FB/A].
En kluven värld, dir., Arne Sucksdorff (A Divided World, Svensk Filmindustri, 1944) [SFI/F].
Gamla tunnplåtverket i Domnarvet, dir., Sven Nilsson (“The old sheet metal works in Domnarvet”, Svennilssonfilm for Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags AB, 1944) [ARDA].
Elements of Hardening (U.S. Office of Education, 1945).*
Midvinterblot, dir., Gösta Werner (The Sacrifice, 1945) [SFI/F].
Äldre tillverkning av ädelmetal, dir., Sven Nilsson (“Older methods of producing noble metals”, Svennilssonfilm for Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags AB, 1945) [ARDA].
Tåget, dir., Gösta Werner (“The train”, AB Kinocentralen for Statens Järnvägar, 1948) [SFI/F].
Saga om ljuset, dir., Gösta Werner (“The tale of the light”, AB Kinocentralen for Kooperativa Förbundet (Luma), 1949) [SMDB].

Kon-Tiki, dir., Olle Nordemar (Artfilm, 1950).

Ett hörn i norr, dir., Arne Sucksdorff (Living Stream, Svensk Filmindustri for Marshallorganisationen, 1951) [SMDB].

Fröken Julie, dir., Alf Sjöberg (Miss Julie, Sandrew-Produktion, 1951).

Hon dansade en sommar, dir., Arne Mattsson (One Summer of Happiness, Nordisk Tonefilm, 1951).

Uppdrag i Korea, dir., Gunnar Höglund (Assignment in Korea, Sirena Film, 1951).

Kirunamalm, dir., Torsten Fahlman ("Kiruna ore", AB Svensk Kulturfilm for LKAB, 1952) [LKAB/KA].

Vi som går tobaksvägen, dir., Rune Lindström ("We who go the tobacco route", for Svenska Tobaksmonopolet, 1952).*

Gällivaremalm, dir., Torsten Fahlman ("Gällivare ore", AB Svensk Kulturfilm for LKAB, 1953) [LKAB/KA, SMDB].

Malmskeppning Luleå, dir., Torsten Fahlman ("Ore transport Luleå", AB Svensk Kulturfilm for LKAB, 1953) [SMDB].

Norwegian Enterprise, dir., Sigval Maartmann-Moe (for Norges Industriforbund, 1953).*

Overcoming Objections (Borden & Busse for the Dartnell Corporation, 1953).*

En svensk storindustri, dir., Gösta Werner (Story of Stora, Svensk Filmindustri for Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags AB, 1954) [ARDA, SMDB].


Malmskeppning Narvik, dir., Torsten Fahlman ("Ore transport Narvik", AB Svensk Kulturfilm for LKAB, 1954) [LKAB/KA, SMDB].

Stålets värmebehandling I: 1. Grunderna för härdning (Elements of Hardening, Suecia-Film, 1954) [AMF].

Landsfiskalens lappmuseum, prod., Håkan Unsgaard ("The Sámi museum of the landfiskal", Sveriges Radio, March 2, 1955) [SMDB].


Männerna i mörker, dir., Arne Mattsson (Men in the Dark, Nordisk Tonefilm, 1955).

Production 5118 (Wilding Picture Productions for The Champion Paper and Fibre Co, 1955).*


Gustav II Adolf, dirs., Kerstin Ekman and Olle Hellbom (Artfilm, 1956) [SMDB].

Gustav III och hans tid, dirs., Olle Hellbom and Kerstin Ekman ("Gustav III and his time", Artfilm, 1956) [SMDB].

Suss gott, dir., Gunnar Höglund ("Sleep Well ", AB Anglofilm and Sirena Film, 1956).

Sveriges järnvägar, dir., Olle Hellbom ("The railroads of Sweden", Artfilm for Statens Järnvägar, 1956) [SMDB].
Att skona nerver och muskler, prod., Ivar Ivre (“To spare nerves and muscles”, Sveriges Radio, May 15, 1957).*

Den heliga älven, dir., Ragnar Kihlstedt (“The holy river”, 1957) [SFI/F].

Kaldo, dir., Sten Dahlgren (Sten Dahlgren Produktion for Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags AB, 1957) [ARDA].

Koppla av med konst, prod., Ivar Ivre (“Relax with art”, Sveriges Radio, June 4, 1957).*

Lapplandsmalm, dir., Torsten Fahlman (AB Svensk Kulturfilm for LKAB, 1957) [SMDB].

Lapplands järnberg, dir., Kerstin Ekman and Olle Hellbom (“Lapland’s iron mountains”, Artfilm for LKAB, 1957) [KK/A, SMDB].

Motsättningarna till trots..., prod., Ivar Ivre (“Despite the contradictions”, Sveriges Radio, April 25, 1957).*


Aktuellt (Sveriges Radio, 1958-).

Domspredikan och nådaförkunnelse, prod., Håkan Unsgaard (“Sermon and proclamation of grace”, Sveriges Radio, November 22, 1958) [SMDB].

Folkefest vid Akkas föt, prod., Håkan Unsgaard (“People’s festival at the foot of Akkå”, Sveriges Radio, August 18, 1958) [SMDB].

Ingenting ovanligt, dir., Peter Weiss (Masterfilm AB for Försäkringsbolagens upplysningsstjänst, 1958) [SFI/F].

Land of Liberty, dir., Gösta Werner (Svensk Filmindustri for LAMCO, 1958) [SMDB].

Schwechater, dir., Peter Kubelka (for Schwechater Bier, 1958).

Samer i sommarviste, prod., Håkan Unsgaard (“Sámi in a summer stay”, Sveriges Radio, October 19, 1958).*

Sveriges nordligaste gård, prod., Håkan Unsgaard (“Sweden’s northernmost farm”, Sveriges Radio, December 25, 1958) [SMDB].

Till nytta och förnöjelse, prod., Håkan Unsgaard (“For benefit and enjoyment”, Sveriges Radio, September 14, 1958) [SMDB].

Den starka älven, dir. Ivan Christoferson (“The strong river”, Svensk Filmindustri for Vattenfall, 1959) [SMDB].


Skogen, myren och älven, prod., Håkan Unsgaard (“The forest, the bog and the river”, Sveriges Radio, May 10, 1959) [SMDB].

Staden, slätt och älven, prod., Håkan Unsgaard (“The city, the plains and the river,” Sveriges Radio, March 27, 1959).*

Brämpunkten 24-11-1960, prod., Lars Boberg (Sveriges Radio, November 24, 1960) [SMDB].


Kiruna, dir., Gunnar Höglund (Nordisk Tonefilm for Kiruna municipality, 1960) [KK/A].

Produktion 5118 (Suecia-Film for the PA Council, 1960).*

Store Lule Älv (“Store Lule river”, Svensk Filmindustri for Vattenfall, 1960).*

Vad får man för en halv miljard?, prod., Olle Lindgren (“What do you get for half a billion?”, Sveriges Radio, August 8, 1960) [SMDB].

Varför så många tjänstemän? (“Why so many office workers?”, Suecia-Film for LKAB, 1960) [LKAB/A].

Den stora valsan (“The great roller”, Sveriges Radio, 1961).*

Konstapropå: Konst ovan Polcirkeln (“Art apropos: art above the Artic cicle”, Sveriges Radio, March 4, 1962) [SMDB].


Stress, dir., Egil Holmsen (Centralfilm for AMF, 1962).*


Guldgrävare, prods. Bertil Hedlund and Olle Hallberg (“Gold diggers”, Sveriges Radio, July 18, 1963) [SMDB].

Massor av massor, dir., Per Gunvall (Nordisk Tonefilm for Vattenfall, 1963) [SMDB].

Olé, dir., Claes Fellbom (1963) [SMDB].

Olle Olsson-Haglund, dir., Rune Ericson (Sandrews, 1963) [SFI/F].

Rensköttarna II, prods., Eric Forsgren and Per-Åke Blidegård (“The reindeer herders II”, Sveriges Radio, January 1, 1963) [SMDB].

Ungar, dir., Tony Forsberg (“Kids”, Europa film, 1963) [SMDB].


Det väger tungt, dir., Gunnar Höglund (“It weighs heavily”, Nordisk Tonefilm for LKAB, 1964) [KK/A].

Ferrum, dir., Gunnar Höglund (Nordisk Tonefilm for LKAB, 1964) [LKAB/KA, KK/A, SFI/F, SMDB].

Fjellheisen, dir., Gunnar Höglund (“The mountain cable car”, Nordisk Tonefilm for LKAB, 1964) [KK/A].

Johan Ekberg, dir., Jan Troell (AB Filmkontakt, Svensk Filmindustri and Sandrews for Sparfrämjandet, 1964) [SMDB].

Kamrater, dir., Berndt Klyvare (“Friends”, for Sveriges Radio, 1964) [SMDB].


En chefs arbetsdag (“A manager’s working day”, Suecia-Film for Grängesbergsbolaget, 1965).*
En chef planerar (Planning the day’s work, Suecia-Film for Grängesbergsbolaget, 1965).*

En chef utvecklar medarbetare, dir., Egil Holmsen (“A manager develops employees”, Suecia-Film for Grängesbergsbolaget, 1965) [SFI/F].


Kiruna – Svappavaara (for Statens Järnvägar, 1965).*

Kungsleden, dir., Gunnar Höglund (My Love and I, Nordisk Tonefilm, 1965).

Steel and America, dir., Les Clark (Walt Disney Productions for American Iron and Steel Institute, 1965).

Svart vecka i Nimba, dirs., Roland Hjelte, Ingrid Dahlberg and Lars Hjelm (“Dark week in Nimba”, 1966) [SMDB].

Nimba, dir., Gösta Werner (Svensk Filmindustri for LAMCO, 1966) [SMDB].


Malm i rörelse, dir., Gunnar Höglund (Ore on the move, Nordisk Tonefilm for LKAB, 1969) [LKAB/KA, SMDB].

Att lära eller icke lära, dir., Egil Holmsen (“To learn or not to learn”, Europa Film for Flygvapnet, 196Y).*

Armésoldat, dir., Egil Holmsen (“Army soldier”, för AMF, 1970).*

Göteborg (“Gothenburg”, Viafilm for Stadskansliets informationsavdelning, Göteborgs kommun, 1973) [SFI/F].

Gruvan i Kiruna (“The mine in Kiruna,” LKAB and TRU, 1979) [LKAB/KA].

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This study investigates how films commissioned by Swedish mining companies were employed for institutional use between 1945 and 1965. A central aspect of what gave these films their versatility stems from circumstances that allowed commissioned texts to pass as non-partisan audiovisual aids, as educational and informative instruments and as occasional examples of film art through intermediaries. In detaching texts from the biases of commissioning bodies, these films were treated as instrumental – and occasionally artistically valuable – texts on mining, in relation to work management and Sápmi contexts. Because these commissioned films blended in with established institutions, rather than offering a radical voice in society, they became sources for knowledge about how and which forms of audiovisual communication on industry were regarded as broadly viable. This study contributes new knowledge on the broader environment of Swedish film, including its use by industry, its role in early public service television, and the conditions for existence of short film production in relation to subsidy policies.