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City Symphony Malmö

The spatial politics of non-institutional memory

Erling Björgvinsson and Anders Høg-Hansen

Abstract

City Symphony Malmö was a collaborative documentary that engaged citizens of Malmö in recording short film sequences. The Symphony's video material was also performed at the art and performance center *Inkonst* where electronic musicians improvised to VJ's digital and analogue live mixing of the material. A remediation of the performance was streamed live on the Internet with live footage from the performance. All clips were released under the creative commons license and made available for remixing through The Pirate Bay.

This article explores what it can imply to hand over the means of film production to citizens. The discussion concentrates on participatory and spatially distributed filmmaking and screening of non-institutional memories, produced in the symphony. The analysis merges influence from silent cinema and *Soviet Montage* (Vertov 1929), theories of *public memory* (e.g. Casey 2004, Young 2000, Bodnar 1992), new media Jenkins 2006, Manovich 2000) and *place* (Appadurai 1996, Lefebvre 1991, Harvey 1993). It describes the complexities of creating non-institutional memory and archiving practices and argues that such citizen-driven and non-institutional memories may challenge official history and societal memory production, yet also reproduce typical and iconic images which reveal spatio-material hierarchies. Such complexities demonstrate the value of an analysis of *participation* and *spatio-material* dimensions of *public memory* as unfolded in the article.

Keywords: Co-production, public memory, film, the city, montage, non-institutional

Malmö citizens with movie cameras

City Symphony Malmö was a collaborative documentary conceptualized by Erling Björgvinsson and Richard Topgaard. It was broadcast live on the 4th of May 2009. In advance of the May 2009 live broadcast and remix event the project had engaged 40 citizens of Malmö for six weeks in shooting and uploading a total of sixty short film sequences to the *City Symphony Malmö* social media site and *The Pirate Bay*.

Malmö can in brief be characterised as a changing and now post-industrial harbour city, that after a period of decline in the 1980s and 1990s have undergone a change of revitalisation while it is also marked by segregation and unemployment. The city, the third largest in Sweden, is home to over 170 nationalities and a third of its population is foreign born. The *City Symphony Malmö* project took place at a time where these changes were clearly felt and still are. Most of the film clip sequences depicted well known Malmö sites such as the recently erected icon of the city, the *Turning Torso*, a neo-futurist building opened in 2005, as well as the changing harbour, the old people's park *Folkets Park*, and the multi-ethnic neighbourhood *Möllevången*. However, the many film clips also included other ordinary sites without specific public significance, as well sites that at the time became spaces of political protest and tension, including the Baltic Hall tennis stadium where a tennis match in 2009 had been related to ongoing problems in the Middle East.

The film clips did as such mirror the city's predicaments, its changing heritage, as well as current events of the city, which also was the intention in a project that had a location-specific focus. Malmö citizens and others were invited to make film clips on the topic of Malmö using a video camera or a mobile phone. The films could be at any length and no sound was required. A few themes were suggested; 'Uncomfortable Malmö', 'Beautiful Malmö', and 'Uncensored Malmö'. These were however not compulsory.

The sites for sharing films were created in the advance of the 50 minute performance event at the art and performance center *Inkonst* on 4 May 2009. At the event, electronic musicians Erik Mikael Karlsson and Fredrik Norrgren improvised to VJ's Erik Sandelin and Andreas Kurtzon's digital and analogue live mixing of the video material to an audience of 100 people. A remediation of the performance was streamed on the Internet by Richard Topgaard with live footage from the performance. All clips were released under the creative commons license and made available for remixing through The Pirate Bay.

The live stream film begins with musicians at *Inkonst* creating a haunting and bleak musical atmosphere. Brassy and foghorn-like sounds assist the moving images. A split screen then emerges with the title *City Symphony Malmö* on one side and carousel's at *Folkets Park* on the other. This is followed by a setup scene portraying Malmö entrance points; trains entering Malmö central station and ferries entering and leaving the harbour. These sequences are interspersed with clips from the *Folkets Park* carousels, a storefront mannequin, a doctor's waiting room, and sausage grilling in a public park. Analogue filters and split screens are increasingly used as the film shifts to scenes depicting political protesters in a park and wall graffiti. The film then returns to the harbour, now depicted through a corporate glass wall as seen from an elevator moving slowly up and down, interweaved with shots of costume dressed ballet dancers. Thereafter it jumps back to the city centre portraying sweeping scenes of storefronts, residential facades, meshed with scenes from a dance lesson, traceurs performing daring parkour jumps inside a shopping centre, and ducks jumping at the waterfront. The film ends with a heavily policed political protest at the Baltic Hall and then rounds off with a train tracks shot frantically being covered over by a live ballpoint drawing. It thus mixes the commercial, cultural, entrepreneurial and increasingly a politically tense Malmö interspersed with mundane scenes of everyday life and where old and new sites are in close proximity.

The production build upon the tradition of city symphonies that had cities as their subject matter, documenting daily life, using diverse images, at a specific time in a city. Dziga Vertov's famous *Man with a Movie Camera*¹ had the city as its subject matter and gives the impression of depicting what happens in a city from dusk till dawn. Its focus was the daily life of a Soviet city, but the film was actually using four Soviet cities as shooting locations and filmed over a period of three years. Vertov's film pursued a cinematic language different from literature or theatre, connecting or montaging different realities, often close-up or distorted

¹ Vertov created a range of works between 1924 and 1934 belonging to a movement and working group named *Kino-Eye*. Their goal was to "surprise reality and life". *Kino-Eye* (a next of kin to contemporary 1920s German and French avant-garde as well as the observational mode of later *Cinéma Vérité*) aimed to "play with abstract patterns or image mosaic" as well as "image-symphonic works which with pace and rhythm visualized the pulse of the big city". It throws away established views, literally, about what film should show and how they should be composed. Vertov said himself about *Man With a Movie Camera* that it is about a man with a camera where "life throws him like a leaf from place to place, like a boat leaking on a stormy sea". The idea was that the camera turns towards life, not as in the film factories where life is planned in front of the camera. (Authors translations of quotes, in Jensen, 1970: 252-253)

through new forms of exposure, briefly put. It lacked particular figures or actors driving the story forward in a linear manner. These elements, among many other, made it a path breaking movie at the time. In addition, Vertov's film and other early city symphonies tended to portray the cities as technologically advanced and vibrant.

City portrait films were frequently made during the advent of film² and this was also the case in Sweden and Malmö. Snickars (2001) states that Robert Olsson and Ernst Dittmer recorded over thirty city films in 1907 and 1908 for Svensk Bio alone. *Images from Malmö (Bilder från Malmö*, Svensk Bio, 1908), filmed by Robert Olsson, was screened in Malmö, 11 April 1908. Such city portrait films would often include a meta-scene of the movie theatre itself where the film was shown. Olsson and Dittmer's films followed a template. The first scene depicted the train station, which signalled what city was being portrayed, (since you could read the name of the city on the train station), as well as it introduced a traveller's perspective. The introductory scene was followed by a panoramic sequence from a bird's eye view-perspective from afar. The films would end with portraying locally important sites such as the town hall, churches and city hotels (Snickars 2001). These early film share with *City Symphony Malmö* a mixture of the mundane with well-known iconic images, a merging of the unremarkable with the remarkable, hidden histories and official points of societal remembrance. However, importantly in these films, as with *City Symphony Malmö* a change of perspective, a sort of citizen eye was introduced. These movies, Snickars states, allowed people to see their own town and perhaps even themselves, as it emphasized geographic seeing and introduced attractions of travel and *heterotopia* (after Foucault 1996). Foucault's notion may here capture this imagination of the mundane, hidden or previously untold as a remarkable event in itself, now given cinematic scrutiny and exposure.

The focus of this article is to explore what it can imply to hand over the means of production and co-production to citizens. *City Symphony Malmö* aimed at, as earlier city symphonies, to move away from an anthropocentric and individual perspective – even though that is impossible given the camera eye/I. The focus was thus the layered montage city where the *I* melt into *we*'s and the urban landscape has no less central role than its citizens. As such it wished to enable a spatio-temporal and citizen-engaged depiction and commemoration of the city of Malmö. Central questions that are addressed are: What specific commemorative and archiving forms did the *City Symphony Malmö* take? What form of sites and territories are produced? What form of participation does non-institutional and spatially distributed participation, filmmaking and screening open up to?

Popular and Official Memory

City Symphony Malmö played with the potentials of rewriting and re-representing popular memories of the present³ by exploring how citizens could engage in collaborative and spatially distributed depictions of Malmö. The reason for this was partially because repeated official brandings of Malmö as the creative, sustainable, gentrified and revitalised post-

² Beside *Man with a Movie Camera*, *Manhatta* (Paul Strand and Charles Sheeler, 1921) and *Berlin: Symphony of a Metropolis* (Walter Ruttmann, 1927) are two famous city symphonies.

³ In relation to the work of the *Popular Memory* group, Raphael Samuel (1994) noted the importance of a *people's or social history* not just the history of the scholar historian (1994). History is not the historian's invention, Samuel writes. "It is rather, a social form of knowledge; the work, in any given instance, of a thousand different hands". It is "the ensemble of activities and practices in which ideas of history are embedded or a dialectic of past-present relations are rehearsed" (Samuel, 1994: 8).

industrial city had become one-dimensional and did not acknowledge the diversity of life worlds the city encompassed.

In this sense it engaged in the production of *popular memory* (Johnson et al, 1982).⁴ The Popular memory group addressed a tension between the popular and the official history, which also formed an undercurrent of the arrangement of *City Symphony Malmö*. Bodnar (1992) nuances the dualism that may emerge between the *popular* and a society's *official history*. Bodnar writes how official history mythologized memory and how vernacular memories driven by social and political needs are interwoven as various political perspectives struggle for supremacy of how a particular event should be remembered. *Popular memory* may then to a strong extent rely on dominant schemes and discourses, or even reproduce stereotypes, rather than re-imagine or make visible the untold. This ambiguity was also revealed in *City Symphony Malmö*, which had intended to stimulate a popular citizen heterotopia on the one hand, yet it also attracted a particular artistic segment of Malmö's to participate. Furthermore, the film material revealed a strong presence of already well-known elements and icons of the officially branded Malmö. Keeping in mind this ambiguity of representations and forms, James E. Young (1993 and 2000) poses an alternative to what is established as a community or society's shared and official history, what he calls *collective memory*. His alternative is an accumulated or *collected memory* that may help us to engage further with interwoven popular memory and official history, as noted via Bodnar. Young's term *collected memory*⁵ emphasize the heterogeneous and plural character of memory construction as well as its dependency on commemorative sites where different communities use it at different times across various media. The above discussion leaves us with the following questions: who guides the process of remembering and to what ends as well as to what degree does it open up for appropriations and juxtaposed incompatibilities?

The difference in participatory roles can be considerable. Participating in defining the initial site and materialization of commemoration is for example a more powerful position than a role of revising and appropriating official sites of commemoration (Björgvinsson and Høg Hansen, 2011). Young (2000), however, through his discussion on anti-monuments, specifically when discussing Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz *Monument Against Fascism, War and Violence*, points out how the two artists aimed to create a temporary soundboard where a multitude of voices and perspectives could be heard, rather than creating a seemingly fixed monument that signals the resistance to revision. However, in the case of the Harburg monument and as well *City Symphony Malmö*, artists/academics were initiating the project and creating the framing for intervention.

⁴ The term was coined by the *Popular Memory group*, based at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, at University of Birmingham during the 1970s and early 1980s. The group addressed how citizen can be collectors and archivists and participate in the writing of history and amplification of hidden histories. In their work they were concerned with popular reactions and productions, hidden and counter-histories to threats of cultural domination (Johnson et al, 1982, 228).

⁵ James E. Young researched memorial culture in Germany and elsewhere, particularly in relation to the Holocaust, in *The Texture of Memory* (1993) and *At Memory's Edge* (2000). The plurality of memory practices, varying from one context to another, leads to the notion of *collected memory*. Young mentions *The Holocaust Memorial of Murdered Jews* in Berlin (at the time of Young's writing used here it was only a model) as an example of collected memory at work. In their multiple and varied size, he writes, the "pillars are both individuated and collected: the very idea of "collective memory" is broken down and replaced with collected memories of individuals murdered, the terrible meanings of their deaths now multiplied and not merely unified". Later he continues, "we are not reassured by such memory, not reconciled to the mass murder of millions but now disoriented by it" (Young, 2000: 210-211).

This exploration of *City Symphony Malmö* as a form of *collected memory* that nevertheless is structured by institutional initiation and Malmö branded *collective memory* leads us to extend and relate this discussion with considerations on space and materiality. Edward Casey makes clear that public memory needs to happen somewhere publicly “in a single scene of interaction” (2004, 43). Place is thus an essential substructure and “an active material inducement” (2004, 43) of memory where proximity enables co-presence and discussion. Casey ascribes place some basic active quality when stating that it can actively stimulate memory production. Although he acknowledges the importance of place for collected memory, we want to extend the importance of the generative aspect of making place. Place is not a container that merely stimulates memory production. Generating and upholding places is a central feature when making collected memory and thus to produce memory demands making places for it. Localities, as Appadurai (1996) states, are not only context-driven, but context-generative, which include moments of colonization in the form of relational demarcation of we and them. Given that it is dynamic it also includes mobility as well as the expansion of place. However, such generative forces, produced by local groups or ethnoscares, are constantly under pressure and are policed by nation states that demand compliance and loyalty and adherence to a stable context, rather than generative renegotiation of locality. Similarly, Lefebvre (1991) acknowledges that space produces social relations and vice versa and thus materialises power relations. Furthermore, he argues that spatial domination, through the imposition of ordered principles upon lived space, produces sterile and closed spaces. This he contrasts to communal lived experience of everyday life that resists domination through purposeful appropriation. One way of evoking a sense of permanence and rootedness and thus domination, as Harvey (1993) points out, is through the production of history and heritage where dominant forces try to enforce distinct history through the marketization of heritage sites and areas.

The question of space addresses the materially discursive meaning sites have been given over time, what sites should be ‘saved as’ (i.e. a *lieu* or site of symbolic significance), where shared remembrance should be situated in the public realm, what name it should be given, what socio-material formation it should take, and how and by who the formation should take place, and how the space can, (if at all), be appropriated. *City Symphony Malmö* showed how places were generated and unfolded, how memory and the social relate and are produced collectively.

Media and Memory

Public memory studies with a focus on contemporary media – (be it termed digital, networked, social, collaborative) – have addressed how people produce and consume media and remembering. Garde-Hansen, Hoskins, and Reading (2009) have written how digital memories, although still dealing with the age-old issues of deferral of death and history, have reconfigured our relationship to history, memory, and time where the “organic” and “inorganic”, or the human and non-human, intertwine.

From a material point of view media scholars see digital memories as prosthetic aids and *memobilia* (Reading 2009, 81) with both positive as well as problematic qualities. Garde-Hansen, Hoskins and Reading (2009) argue digital media allow us to externalise and share and thus make public our inner lives. Pinchewski (2009) writes how media technologies, which we form and tell modern memories through, is archival and relies on the materiality of the trace and function as a storehouse for what we cannot remember and foremost accumulates rather than functions as lived memory.

Time, memory and history have perhaps now to a greater extent, with the development of digital media, become spatial and nonlinear, as they are distributed amongst people and communication platforms. Manovich (2001), not directly addressing memory, argues that as the cinema became digital it has seen a return to spatial narration where various places and times co-mingle, more common for example in renaissance paintings, and a move from linear narration dominant during the industrial period. Manovich, focusing on the cinematic expression, discusses how the logic of “spatial montage” became prominent in the digital era (2001). In this we may see a manifestation of Foucault’s *heterotopia* (1967), mentioned early, and also (as Foucault elaborates in the same article) a demonstration of an epoch of *simultaneity* (1967). An epoch of complex networks and intensified and speedy communication over distance. Points are quickly connected and disconnected, the far and the near live side by side (1967, 1). In Manovich’ words, times and places are scattered across the screen “where nothing is potentially forgotten, nothing is erased” (2001, 272). This leads to:

...”a new cinema where synchronic dimension is no longer privileged to the diachronic dimension, space is no longer privileged to time, the simultaneity is no longer privileged to sequence, montage within a shot is no longer privileged to montage in time” (Manovich 2001, 273)

Although Manovich argues that new media and new cinema differs fundamentally from traditional film he states that Vertov’s *The Man With the Movie Camera* is an early prototypical example of a database film, as it breaks with traditional narrative structures through conscious technical decisions, namely the *montage technique* affiliated with another Soviet filmmaker, Eisenstein.⁶ Eisenstein and Vertov in each their ways used montage to create particular rhythms and emotional responses through the use of alternating shots. Vertov believed that this new cinematic language was literally filmic truth, which precisely represented reality, even depicted an improved reality. *Kino-pravda*, as he termed his project, means film truth and the materialist film technique that he developed, he termed *Kino-Glaz* or the *Cine-Eye* (Vertov, 1919). *Kino-Glaz* was not the camera or the narrative strategy, but a technique that stretched across the whole production process; from planning, to filming, cutting footage and constructing montages, which created the effect we are now highly familiar with – the mix of transitions, layer on layer effects, inversions, changes of speed and so forth.

In relation to *City Symphony Malmö* it is worth noticing not only how different forms of montage came to be tested, but how the production of memory cuts across various sites and media. (A detailed textual analysis of frames falls out of the scope of this article). Networked memory production does not happen in a single scene of interaction, as argued by Casey (2004), but across several sites of interaction. It is also worth noticing how film, once localised in theatres, as Burgin writes (2004), is encountered now through advertisement posters in public spaces, newspaper reviews, television, online, memorabilia, and so forth. This is in line with Walker (2004) who argues that networked media does not only deal with bricolage plots where various times and spaces commingle in a single work, but expands the

⁶ *Montage* literally, from French, means ‘assembly’ or ‘editing’. Eisenstein defined Montage as “the collision of two independent shots – shots even opposite to another” (Eisenstein, Film Form, 1949: 4). This rudimentary definition, concerned with how meanings are extracted or assembled from sequences, does not reveal the complexity of his theory (including the five forms of montage). An extensive engagement with *montage* falls out of the scope of this article.

bricolage to include physical spatial dimensions as the work is distributed across physical sites. The *heterotopia* of Foucault, which are places of contravention and instability where several incompatible sites are juxtaposed (Foucault, 1967), is no longer confined to the film, but includes spaces beyond the screen where cinematic images fuse or transition to images in everyday life and vice versa.

Furthermore, our understanding of time and memory is reshaped as the moments of documenting, saving, and remembering has collapsed as our recording devices are directly connected to corporate social media services. This blurs the distinction between present and past and accelerates and speeds up the production of media memories. On the other hand, others have argued that the downside of digital memories is that they result in memory overload that has led to that we are terrorized by historical memories and have lost our ability to imaginatively remember.

Digital media's impact on democratizing media and thus society and their history has been debated. On the one hand, we can see how storing and collecting has become widespread in the era of blogging and so-called social media and not only limited to memory institutions or an affluent elite. A central characteristic of contemporary media memories is that they are peer-produced. However, democratic issues relating to class, ethnicity and ideological standpoints still matter in the digital realm and is not as free and open as many lauded to begin with (Mosco 2004). It also clearly shows how non-institutional memory functions within a convergence culture (Jenkins 2006) where bottom-up processes intertwine with top-down corporate controlled spaces, as Jenkins describes as a central feature of contemporary media.

Spaces of domination in distributed participation

The organisation of productions in *City Symphony Malmö* approached Vertov's initial visions of new documentary practices. This was a film practice that was distributed and that would enable various spaces and temporalities to come together and form argumentative montages that constructed a more truthful reality than more traditional forms of linear documentaries. Hicks (2007) points out how Vertov's *Cine-Eye* movement was modelled after the worker correspondent. The worker correspondent was a brief journalistic movement that tried out a new distributed and participatory ways of organizing the production of news articles. According to Hicks, Vertov's vision encompassed democratizing technology, but more importantly it wished to democratize creativity. This early vision, as Hicks (2007) also states, became a reality in the late twentieth-century where documentary clips, news clips and commentaries around the world are perpetually generated through collective authoring.

With *City Symphony Malmö* the spatialisation of cinematic images not only happened in the editing and screening of the images, but also in the distributed recording, sharing of clips and the performance. The directorial organizing of the production became an essential part of the framing of the mediated memory production. Although it aimed to distribute the participation it still meant that the people behind the project generated, defined and framed the initial sites of the memory production and what Casey (2004) calls the social framework of commemoration. Richard Topgaard and Erling Björgvinsson did this work and the magistrate of the sites was mainly Richard Topgaard.

The initial activities included setting up a social media platform, the formulation of an outreach and recruitment strategy and defining what type of films the producers were aiming

for; thematically and aesthetically. The project was promoted at the arts and performance centre *Inkonst* and its documentary club *Doc Lounge*, as well as at the *School of Art and Communication* (Malmö University) and the media cluster organisation *Media Evolution*. Sites for sharing and archiving were created through the use of the social network service *Ning* (<http://citysymphony.ning>), which at the time was free, and *The Pirate Bay*. These sites were of course in no way neutral, but rather carried with them aesthetic-political and economic entanglements. Ning, although free, was a commercial space and therefore not a public space. The Pirate Bay, instigated by the organisation *Piratbyrå*, was a controversial site viewed by some as fighting for free sharing of knowledge and culture and by others as criminals. The participants therefore were expected to accept and be associated with the amalgam of private and 'pirate' space and the aesthetic, political and economic frames they carried with them.

On the *Ning* community site the thematic and aesthetic frames of the project were also described. As noted in the introduction, the participants were encouraged to make and upload short videos relating to the themes: uncomfortable, beautiful, uncensored, or make up their own theme if they wished. It was made clear that the production built upon the silent film tradition and that the film clips needed to work without any environmental sound or a soundtrack. Incorporating handwritten signs in the recorded scenes was of course possible. What sites to record or what previous recording to share was up to the participants. Sites outside of Malmö were also welcomed. The producers encouraged the participants to impose their active interpretation of the city by selecting what site and event to record as well as how the recording would be done. Their recordings, the producers hoped, would be argumentative and imaginative rather than aiming for an "objective" realistic, neutral point of view. Participants were also encouraged to remix each other's materials. This it was hoped would lead to multiple remixes, rather than a single canonical production. The initial plan was that the ten best remixes would be shown at *Doc Lounge*, in conjunction with the live remix and music improvisation performance, as well as published on a DVD. However, only three remixes were done by one participant who remixed his own clips. The thematic and aesthetic frames thus set clear frames regarding how to participate and aesthetic choices (no sound and so forth), but was more vague and open when it came to what themes and sites should be filmed.

The above activities of choosing and framing the sites by defining how to collaborate, the thematic and aesthetic directions to be followed meant distributing roles and responsibilities, as well as building walls and openings. As both Appadurai (1996) and Lefebvre (1991/1974) argue, spatial production is a central and active materially discursive factor in the production of social relation, sense making, and memory and in the production of domination and in the resistance to domination. Both also argue that there are no places that are neutral, as all places are already laden within meaning and ordering principles. Although the production team wanted to question dominant space production it inevitably created its own dominant space inside existing dominant commercial and pirate spaces. Spatial domination of current and future place making is thus always at play and so is the resistance to domination. The archive without walls, to paraphrase Malraux (1967), is impossible, even though the production did open up collaboration and did not want to create a confined space fully controlled by archival *magistrates* or guardians. Domination in this case is produced within domination. The production team and instigators are thus dominated as well as dominating.

The participants, when interviewed by the producers after the performance, however, found it unproblematic that the work built upon an earlier media text and its constraints, e.g that they were to produce silent film clips. Neither did they find it problematic that the part of the

production was housed at a dedicated and customised *Ning* social network or that the clips were distributed through The Pirate Bay. What some of the participants found problematic was rather that the thematic intentionality as defined the production team was too vague, which they perceived to be subduing, rather than opening up for productive negotiations. Also, only one of the participants remixed his own films uploaded to *Ning*, which partially can be related to that it was a closed and sterile space. It was a space populated by participants that did not know each other and thus had no sense of communal belonging where appropriation could happen that would in turn generate and expand the space. However, where the productions halted the most was not in the building of walls, but in opening up doors and connecting to the citizens of Malmö. To a large degree the participants were cultural workers and academics and territorially only a small portion of the city was depicted in the production, which mirrored the producers network and outreach strategy.

Performing the archive: Malmö's inner horizons and multi-directional memories

Casey's term *inner horizons* (Casey, 2004) can help us to understand perspectives that participating filmmakers, VJs, and musicians produced as citizen curators and archivists. One of these horizons is the city as a reformed and now sustainable place that nevertheless still negotiate a historical working class legacy-horizon with new horizons of commerce, entrepreneurship, new residential areas, and university education. Malmö University is in fact only 18 years old.

A new icon of Malmö, literally performs in the horizon when entering or leaving Malmö. That is the *Turning Torso*, Scandinavia's tallest building, replacing the *Kockums* shipbuilding crane as the symbol of Malmö. A crane that has been missed, mourned and memorialized on t-shirts and underwear. The harbour area and its new icons have been hailed as forward thinking and at the same time criticized for increasing the segregation of the city.

The old and new inner horizons are in the *City Symphony Malmö* clips mirrored, in particular, in a sequence from the harbour area. A long shot done from the inside of a new and large glass building housing IT and media companies captures the old harbour and ferries from a distance. The camera holder moves apparently up and down in an elevator ride, and this vertical panning shot is looped while different analogue filters have been applied. The glass building comes to represent the new horizon rising above the old Malmö. In more details specific visual and sound effects support this feeling; the music becomes more minimalistic with a nod to gamelan music and Steve Reich. Dancing backstage ballet dancers dressed in 18th century costumes are interweaved with the elevator shot. As the gamelan like music becomes darker and brooding, onomatopoeia sounds are introduced such as sneezing and soft humming and harking, which are mirrored in the breathing and puffing electronic sounds as if valves are opened and closed. Now the elevator ride and the ballet dancer sequence are shown mirrored while interspersed with a 360 degree dizzying shot of a dilapidated industrial area where up and rising cultural and media companies reside.

Another type of film clips address the images and horizons of the old harbour city in new moments, are sequences showing ferries entering and leaving the Malmö harbour. One shot is done by a person lying on a grass covered bank of the harbour and includes a close-up of the person's shoe. The camera is still and then a large ferry slowly passes by in a vertical movement. There is still a calmness of the shot; it is a mundane often happening moment in Malmö, a ferry moving slowly. Among other movements are other means of transport, to and from the city. The city was for many years the 'end of Sweden' in the south, train-wise.

Significant for Malmö, from 2000 it became possible to take the train to Copenhagen. Malmö joined something bigger while it also was transforming itself. A particular sequence captures train ride views and tracks on the route near the bridge as well as views while entering the Malmö central station.

Continuing the many horizons of the old Malmö in *City Symphony Malmö*, and to some degree functioning as a central site that other clips and sites circled around is the literal ‘circles’ of *Folkets Park*, where carousels for children came to represent the old city surviving in the new; a site of leisure and stability that has remained. *Folkets Park* is one of the world’s oldest public parks. A place that has come to signify political, working class and pleasure ‘site’ as also recently documented in an online archive revealing lyrics from 100s of old folk songs from the early decades of the 20th century (Høg Hansen & Björgevinnsson, 2015). These mundane enjoyments in public space are not in opposition to political rallies, as it can be read as forms of pleasure politics where citizens are claiming their right to creatively express everyday affect through temporary appropriations of public spaces.

Another inner horizon or thematic hearth portrayed the creative Malmö through images of backstage footage of a theatre group, street musicians, graffiti, and the performance at *Inkonst* itself. This was an image that many creative workers still believed in and spread. Yet other creative workers found it increasingly problematic as it ignored increased segregation and that the “creative class” did not reflect the demography of the city where-of 30 percent living in the city have a migrant background.

Yet another inner horizon dealt with appropriation of urban facades and political protests. Shadows of flag waving protesters in a park, which the VJ tries to trace the outline live on an overhead projector film with a ballpoint. This was followed by a close-up of “Sch” sprayed on a wall, (which is short for Schnauser or police dog or watch dog), as well as the footage of other graffiti work and the sanitation of unwanted graffiti where *Inkonst* can be seen in the background. Specific political controversies of that particular year connected to the tennis tournament *Davis Cup* is portrayed by showing police cars that are lined up at a stadium where the match took place. *The Davis Cup* scenes referred to on-going controversies in the city relating to conflicting views on political conflicts in the Middle East/Israel-Palestine.

A new feel or rhythm and a sense of produced entity emerged in the remixing, visually and musically. But certainly an agonistic one, as Malmö maybe? A new collective picked up from and stitched together as one attempts to glue together a broken vase while finding out that the pieces does not fit properly together. Unseen agents are added to the narrative of the city which now is hardly the well-known development narrative, but a patchwork of moments giving attention to the overlooked: men taking dance classes, broken glass in close up, slow walking, bikes moving, ducks jumping around in the dock area - and not least a traceur doing a daring jump at the *Triangeln* shopping centre. In the remix humorously related to the duck jumps.

The last horizon we want to bring up from the *City Symphony Malmö* archives and remixes, are related to most of those we have mentioned. Horizons of old and new, leisure and politics, new commerce, as well as horizons of the microscope or the overlooked: A head shot of a storefront mannequin and a doctor’s waiting room where a patient is greeted by a doctor is followed by images of sausage grilling. At one point the sequences are layered with a overhead projector film with dotted grids and thereafter repeated as mirrored images generated by a physical mirror. As the music slows down and introduces seagull yells, dog

barking, and cow mooing the clips shift between a windmill factory work in the western harbour and back to sausage grilling in *Folkets Park*.

City Symphony Malmö's horizons, in its totality of contributions, became a catalogue of mundane everyday moments now merged in mixes to the sound of an electronic gloomy score that assisted and over-wrote much of the visual material at the *Inkonst* event. One could argue that the music in some ways contrasted the visual side adding new meaning and in that sense contributed to the *montage*.

To some viewers, interviewed after the performance, the performed remixes had painted an unfair image of Malmö as it went against the self-image of Malmö as being a young, vibrant and creative city; an image also emphasized in the official rhetoric and marketing of Malmö. The shakiness of most clips, due to that they were recorded with handheld devices enhanced the sense of embodied immediacy, at times even a certain nervousness. The performance and the online video stream depicted a Malmö where corporate, creative, and political disagreements co-mingled.

The *City Symphony Malmö* explored how citizens could become part of a public and living memory, *collected* and heterogeneous rather than shaped into a *collective* and homogenous tale (Young, 2000), and furthermore as forms of production and representation that avoided a centralized *archon* and *arkheion/domiciliation* (after Derrida, 1995) or centralized official memory practices. The production team wished to problematize traditional archival concern with 'beginnings' (see, e.g. Derrida's discussion of *commencement*, 1995) Even though it builds upon earlier media texts it saw those commencements as just one of many texts that can be referred to and appropriated *into* newer media texts. Perry Bard's (2009) *A Man with the Movie Camera – A Global Remix* – where people across the globe are encouraged to remake a scene from Vertov's movie, is obsessed with the original text, the commencement, namely Vertov's movie. *A Man With a Movie Camera - A Global Remix* also envisions a global village rather than situated cities.

The *City Symphony Malmö* can be said to refer to multiple originals, promoting a *collected memory*, (inspired by Young), but since we are talking about temporary, public co-productions and sharing, the notion of *multi-directional memory* (after Rothberg, 2009: 3-9), may be a means of capturing *City Symphony Malmö collages* and forms of collaboration. Multi-directional memory is cross-referencing, negotiating, borrowing, and productive – and by this also inevitably indebted to tradition, older media texts, and necessarily temporal and temporary. *Multi-directional memory* pays – in Rothberg's words – attention to multiple pasts into a heterogeneous present. The *multi-directional* is concerned with the individual as well as the collective, and collected. It focuses in Rothberg's cases (2009) with agents and sites and on their interaction with contexts of struggle and contestation. The multi-directional is subject to on-going negotiation (2009, 3) This is of relevance also for our understanding of *City Symphony Malmö*. Our pasts do not fully determine us; the *multi-directional* is always dynamic and may open for new visions. The *multi-directional* is different from *competitive* memory where already established groups compete or struggle in a pre-given public sphere (2009, 5). The *multi-directional* "encourage us to think of malleable discursive space", Rothberg writes (2009, 5). Groups do not just occupy a position; they formulate and reformulate themselves through interactions. Memories are not just owned by groups, "what looks at first like my own property often turns out to be a borrowing or adaptation" (2009, 5). While recognized the play with properties in *City Symphony* video material, one can question issues of negotiation, editing and curatorship and to which extent new and malleable public discursive spaces were created.

Digital rot in corporate storehouses and at The Pirate Bay

Within the public memory studies the notion of the *storehouse*, as argued by Aleida Assmann, has been viewed as a passive form of remembering, a reference memory of accumulation which she names *archive*. This notion she pairs with an oppositional active working memory named *canon*, where aspects are selected and may take the form of the museum or monument (2010, 99). However, *Storehouses* (or the *archive*) can be viewed as far from being *passive* repositories since this ignores their agency and the importance of maintenance work and the considerable effect the lack of maintenance work has. Also, with digital media the function of publishing and archiving has been collapsed. With the production of *City Symphony Malmö* the producers were well aware that the production intertwined on global corporate network technologies and their online sites. Ideologically it was problematic because our shared social and public memories would reside on commercially owned sites.

The store- and distribution -houses used were the community-building site *Ning*, the video sites *Blip.tv* and *YouTube* and *The Pirate Bay* for peer-to-peer distribution. All of these services were initially for free. *Ning* in 2010 changed their term of use and would no longer offer a free version. The producers decided not to migrate the content partly because it would be time-consuming and secondly because it would be impossible to recreate the site-specificity, namely how members presented themselves and their clips. *Blip.tv*, to begin with allowed anyone, and not only those controlling the account, to download the clips. Later on, however, all the video clips were locked and unavailable for download and have now been removed from *Blip.tv*, as we have not been actively using the account. The distribution of the clips and the video from the Doc Lounge performance on *The Pirate Bay* was based on the willingness of people to store and seed the files. Currently and for the past years no one has seeded/shared the files.

The storehouse sites were highly active, rather than mere passive containers of memory, as they carried with them ideological baggage and a commercial perspective that demands that you either pay, migrate or become erased as was the case with *Ning* or locked-in and then erased as was the case with *Blip.tv*. Finding a public space where non-institutional public memory can reside is difficult. Non-institutional memory is more or less doomed to work with temporary appropriations and tactical manoeuvres that are not particularly durable and a typical feature of convergence media (Jenkins 2006). To some degree the producers worked with this as a material condition and a quality in the production. The producers even emphasized, as with the seeding of the clips and the film of the *Inkonst* performance and thus the storage of the films, that it would demand active engagement from the participants. And if not, the archival material would disappear or at least become less accessible. The storehousing in this production was therefore far from neutral and passive where the socio-material infrastructure has considerable agency.

Concluding discussion

Our first points concern issues of interpretation, curatorship, and memory: Firstly, *City Symphony Malmö* invited for re-interpretations of produced or dominant space – as in e.g. in History-representation, tourism, city branding or heritage discourses. The visuals of *City Symphony Malmö* were - as Vertov's portrayal of the everyday life in Soviet cities - an

invitation to capture ephemeral and mundane situations. The project suggested a continuity and fluidity of space. It encouraged new, sketchy and temporal productions of the spatial, making all the fragments and perspectives come together as a public collected memory at the remediation event in May 2009.⁷

Secondly, when it comes to curating, *City Symphony Malmö*, although wishing to avoid canonization, did not disdain from temporary and more permanent curating, editorship or directing. Distributing the filming and keeping the format rules to a minimum diminished the role of the directors. However, when it came to the performance at the arts and performance center *Inkonst* the VJ's became directors of the material, which in turn became re-directed by Richard Topgaard who broadcast live a different version on the Internet that included footage of the VJ's the musicians and the audience at *Inkonst*. The compilation in this case was a highly situated performative materialist technique involving live drawing, analogue filter mixing, and digital live remixing and so forth rather than the computer automated directing of the online re-mix of Vertov's famous film by Perry Bard. In both cases, however, temporary ephemeral canonizations are produced

Thirdly, moving on to memory, the cultural material of *City Symphony Malmö* engages with manifestations of what we could call *living memory*. It reveals an interplay and a tension between seemingly private and public content – citizens in the midst of everyday life, one filming his black shoes, others ducks diving, that were edited together with a row of police cars. This is transferred or attempted to become performed into a *collective* domain in Young's sense (2000), much of the imagery though already well-established collective references or signposts of Malmö: the amusement wheels of *Folkets Park*, the towering *Turning Torso* behind the old industrial Malmö, the often repeated media image of Malmö as a place of tension mirrored in the line of police cars, and so forth.

This raises questions about the use of traces as well as a living *working memory* versus *reference memory* (after A. Assmann, 2010), i.e. the actualization of archives. In the analogue re-mixing of *City Symphony Malmö* it may be argued that personal/social trajectories of memory - (citizens wandering in Malmö) - merge with broader, public and shared impressions and memories of particular places. The montage of seemingly oppositional views or images of Malmö, from touristic to unusual re-readings may capture seeds of *multi-directional* memory, not just as collected pieces, but diverse interpretations in conversation. However, multi-directional memory – although highly heterogeneous – inevitably has its boundaries.

To address the agonistic and plural aspect of collective remembrance, we tried to nuance Casey's distinction of different forms of memory with Young's notion of *collected memories* (2000) – and as well introduced Rothberg's *multidirectional memory* (2009) to address contestation, temporality, ambiguity and conversational re-reading. The argument places itself alongside a concern with the diversity of public memory when going beyond, or rather beneath, official history or dominating narratives. With Young's attention to the plurality of 'gathered pieces' (a collection), but also pieces continuously re-collected and re-shaped

⁷ As a related example of collective and interactive citizen memorialization *Monument Against Fascism, War and Violence* in Harburg (mentioned earlier in the article) just outside Hamburg, were created by artists Jochen and Esther Shalev Gerz in the mid 1980s. It attempted to hand over dominance or interpretations of the material and spatial to the public by inviting citizens to inscribe a gradually lowered grey column. However, they also acknowledged ephemerality and forgetting by letting the column sink into the ground (reversing the usual elevation of memorials) with its multitude of public memory scribble and notes, and in this sense burying the collected and collective memory slowly (Björgvinsson & Høg Hansen, 2011, Young, 2000).

(twisting Rothberg) we are back to a truth construction similar to the montage ideas of *City Symphony Malmö*.

Expanding these conclusions on living memory and multidirectional memory with notions on space and walls, *City Symphony Malmö* had to deal with territorial issues that consist of “permanent” walls and more temporary walls. In the case of *City Symphony Malmö* the theme, Malmö, obviously created territorial restrictions. Most of the footage had been shot in Malmö with the exception of a video game clip. In both cases the performance through music improvisation and VJ-ing the film happened in a given space at a given time making the performance only accessible to those knowing about the event, being able to join that specific event and felt welcome to those places where the performances would take place. A place mainly, at the time, visited by the cultural sphere in Malmö interested in experimental and political art. The same goes for the online site of *City Symphony Malmö*, only those invited and who were enough media savvy to participate could contribute to the production and thus the collected image of Malmö. Memorial practices without walls thus seems to be impossible. It also points at that territorial issues need to be acknowledged and addressed in public memory studies.

The question who can be considered *archivists* is also raised in *City Symphony Malmö*. With *City Symphony Malmö* the producers took the role of artistic directors by defining a framework or platform where collaborative co-creation and to some extent improvisation is enabled. Central aspects of the directorial role is the function of event organizer and outreach strategist. In some sense as we have discussed this is where the shortcomings of *City Symphony Malmö* shine through as it only was able to reach out to Malmö citizens belonging to the cultural and the academic sector of the city. The co-creative walls were quite severe which also showed through in what territories became put on record, mediated and remediated.

Networked media is perhaps not more mutable than other forms of media, but it perhaps opens up more easily for explicit participation from the start, although it seems that someone needs to form the initial direction and create the initial sites of engagement. The participants gave an alternative and varied depiction of Malmö that went against the official one-sided branding images communicated by the municipality and to some degree by many of the citizens themselves. In that sense what was portrayed could be defined as unaccounted perspectives. However, the people that participated can hardly be defined as belonging to the unaccounted voices of Malmö. Neither did the collaboration unite the citizens into a group formation, each one participating on their own and contributing to an online social media site where no discussions or debates were carried out. Neither was the participation or the production directed towards any particular power, but rather spoke mostly to an audience of like-minded. Also, as earlier noted, some people at the performance at *Inkonst* felt the VJing and the improvised dark and moody electronic music gave a too bleak picture of Malmö. Even though the production did not engender a truly engaged subjectification formation or a passionate engagement with difference, it gave “voice” to perspectives that were marginal in the public mediascapes of the city, as it portrayed a more troubled picture of Malmö not acknowledged by the creative workers at large.

On a more general level, *City Symphony Malmö* points at how memory practices intertwined with contemporary networked media is highly spatialised. Perhaps this has always been the case, but memory practices intertwined with networked media clearly brings forth how public memory consists of overlapping, clashing, and juxtaposed simultaneity. The narration of public memory does not consist of a cohesive dramaturgy, but rather dispersed shards that

temporarily are put together into an incomplete mosaic. This dispersion is not only temporal, but also spatial cinematically and beyond (Burgin 2004, Walker 2004). It is made up of complex tangles where different times, spaces, and forms of memory practices connect and intersect. *The City Symphony Malmö* consists of documents and social arrangements of individual social, collective and public memory – and is thus truly multi-directional. These spatial arrangements cut across the social and the material. Arrangements that, whether non-institutional or institutional, inevitably contain power relations that include and exclude simultaneously.

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Figure 1. *Performing City Symphony Malmö at Inkonst*.

Figure 2. *Analogue and digital mixing of City Symphony Malmö*.

Figure 3. *Film stills depicting the high rise Turning Torso, Folkets Park, graffiti, and a theatre group*.

Figure 4. *Film stills clockwise depicting a corporate building, graffiti cleaning, windmill production, and a political protest*.