Addressing "non suitable" films in school

A Case study on *Flickan, mamman och demonerna* and the film pedagogic conditions

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Abstract

The idea of what is suitable for children depends on the understandings and expectations of what childhood is and should contain. While "suitable" films have been praised for their obvious pedagogic function, "non-suitable" films (such as popular and violent films) have also managed to emerge into the film pedagogic context with varying arguments, e.g. that film education should reflect the reality of the youth or that children will see the films anyway and need guidance.

This thesis explores a contemporary Swedish example of a contested children's film that was produced for school cinema but classified as harmful for children under the age of fifteen by the Swedish Media Council. By situating the case in relation to film pedagogic history and aspects from the use of violent films in the 1980's, the study shows how the film pedagogic discourse can be influenced by an anxiety concerning the "child's best". The study enhances the significant role of "enthusiastic teachers" and the importance of considering the current film pedagogic conditions.

Keywords

Film pedagogy, Childhood discourses, Discourse analysis, Children's film, The Swedish Media Council
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1. Introduction

Film has been used in education ever since the early 20th century. As expressed by Marina Dahlquist, the pedagogic potential of film was often presented as the *raison d'être* of the medium during this time, due to the new form of pleasurable learning that could be provided in school. Aspects of fostering and dissemination of public information were enhanced as the advantages of film, as opposed to the fear of its negative impact on youth.¹

Throughout the decades, the film pedagogic practice has changed whereas film today is used more as a starting point for reflection rather than instruction.² From historically aiming to exclude non suitable content (such as violence, sex, drugs etc) based on their negative impact, school cinema has come to include all kinds of films with reliance to the pedagogic context. The understanding of what is suitable for children is thus in constant flux which I will elaborate further in this thesis. Nevertheless, even if the film pedagogic practice has changed, there are still fostering aspects in focus when film is used in education today. Malena Janson has suggested that contemporary film pedagogy attempts to foster pupils in democracy considering the topics that are repeatedly emphasized in the tutorials provided by the Swedish Film Institute.³ Aspects concerning the aesthetic experience of the child spectator are generally less addressed in school, where film is used either as a pedagogical tool for learning about other subjects of the curricula, or for the education of media specific aspects of film. In some cases, film pedagogy has been used specifically as a means of trying to control the experience of the young spectator. One argument for the inclusion of popular film in education during the 1960's was that "kids will see it anyway", therefore it should be done under the supervision of school.⁴ In that aspect, film pedagogy provided a framework that

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³ Malena Janson, "Fostran" in *Film och andra rörliga bilder: en introduktion*, ed. Anu Koivunen, (Stockholm: Raster, 2008), 139.; The film tutorials are provided by The Swedish Film Institute to films that are suggested as school cinema. The material is intended to support the teacher or pedagogue in the pedagogic discussions with the pupils after the screening of a film. The tutorials are found on the institute’s webpage. http://www.filminstitutet.se/sv/fa-kunskap-om-film/filmiskolan/filmhandledningar/
placed the experience of "non suitable" content in a suitable context. In relation to this, David Buckingham has described the risk of creating a "sophisticated spectator", who answers according to the teacher's expectations by distancing themselves from what they felt when watching a film. However, there have been attempts to emphasize the importance of the spectator's experience of film in the pedagogic practice as well. The uprising trend with aesthetic learning processes should address these aspects according to Jonathan Rozenkrantz and Marta Mund, who criticize the film tutorials for focusing mainly on the story of the film in favour of addressing what the spectator felt.

In this thesis I will explore a contemporary case concerning the Swedish children's film Flickan, mamman och demonerna (The Girl, the Mother and the Demons, Suzanne Osten, 2016) that I have found particularly interesting in relation to the film pedagogic discourse in Sweden. The case highlights ideas on what is considered suitable for children as well as the conditions for addressing challenging films in school today. The film, about a young girl and her schizophrenic mother, became one of the most debated films in Sweden in 2016 and highlighted the fact that there are different understandings concerning what a child spectator should be allowed to see. The Swedish Media Council contested the 11-year age recommendation set by the distributors, due to the potentially scary representations of the mother's illness, and changed the age rating to 15 years. After an intense debate followed by a trial, the administrative court reduced the age classification back to 11-years. The film has since then been available as school cinema to children in primary school. Nevertheless, as Osten herself has described, the debate has scared teachers and parents away from the film due to "three frightened workers at the newly established Media Council". Even if the

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5 David Buckingham, Media education: literacy, learning and contemporary culture, (Malden, Mass: Polity, 2003), 46.
7 The Media Council was established in 2011 by the Swedish Parliament. The Council's mission derived from the Censorship Agency (Statens Biografbyrå) that was active 1911-2010 as well as the Council on Media Violence (Våldsskildringsrådet/Rådet mot skadliga våldsskildringar) that was active 1990-2010. When censorship was abolished in Sweden, the Media Council became responsible for the age rating of films for public screening. https://www.statensmedierad.se/omstatensmedierad/uppdragochorganisation.826.html
8 School cinema is organised on local level by cinema theatres, distributors and schools in the municipality (with support from the Swedish Film Institute). The age ratings provided by The Media Council concern public screenings and not institutional screenings, schools thus have the mandate to determine the suitability of films in the end. More info http://www.filminstitutet.se/sv/fa-kunskap-om-film/filmiskolan/om-att-boka-skolbio/
9 Suzanne Osten, "Suzanne Osten replikerar om Flickan, mamman och demonerna", Point of View, no. 7 02/2017, "Och tre rädda vuxna på det nybildade mediarådet".
intention of the film production was to address topics on mental illness within the context of school cinema, it has rarely been screened as such. The film has however become part of an information campaign by the Swedish Association for Schizophrenia. As I will put forward in this thesis, there have been other examples where contested films have been included in the film pedagogic context, such as popular films during the 1960's and violent films during the 1980's. In these cases, film pedagogy became a method to handle "challenging" subjects. However, the case with *Flickan, mamman och demonerna* has shown that there might still be certain limits to what is considered suitable to address with young audiences.

1.1. Methodological reflections and Purpose
In order to grasp how different factors, such as the understanding of a child's development and perception, can affect what is considered suitable film for children, I will approach this case interdisciplinary by connecting Cinema and Media studies with aspects from Child and Youth studies. One of the main sources for my analysis is *A Childhood Psychology - Young Children in Changing Times* by Dion Sommer that describe how research on children's development has created two childhood conceptions: the *fragile* child and the *competent* child, and how the adult concern for "the child's best" often is coloured by anxiety. I also refer to research done by David Buckingham who has studied aspects on childhood and media, emphasizing that media education has been frequently applied as a "solution to a problem". Malena Janson's previous research on how childhood discourses has influenced the production of children's film in Sweden, has also been of great inspiration for this thesis.

It is crucial to understand the concept of childhood discourses when studying how film is used in elementary school, as well as the aspects of suitability. David Buckingham has emphasized the importance of studying school media in order to understand the expectations and messages that children face by the institution through the media producers, and not only praise the

10 Ibid.


pedagogic use of media technology.\textsuperscript{13} Based on this, the film pedagogic tutorials that are provided to films are interesting to study as they address aspects to be discussed with the pupils (I will describe the concept of the tutorials in section 3.1) . Furthermore, when analyzing childhood discourses in education media, Anne-Li Lindgren has suggested a critical perspective that highlights the relationship between the child and adult. She writes:

Conceptions of children as innocent or competent should, [...] be understood in relation to each other. What is most important is to consider in what type of activity, place or context children appear as either the former or the latter - or both. [...] One important question to ask is: In which situations are children expected to manage on their own and when are they not? [...] What is the role of the adult as well as the child?\textsuperscript{14}

In my analysis I will approach the following questions: What were the arguments concerning suitability in the debate about \textit{Flickan, mamman och demonerna}? What aspects of the film were mainly considered non suitable for children and how were these responded to? How is the child character represented in the film? One main interest has been to explore how these aspects are addressed in the film pedagogic material provided by the Swedish Film Institute. What kind of framework does the tutorial set up for the film? Is the experience of the spectator addressed? The purpose of this research is to explore understandings of childhood in a contemporary case concerning film pedagogy and children's culture, and explore how a challenging film, contested as suitable, is suggested to be discussed with its target group. As an overall purpose I aim to situate the case with \textit{Flickan mamman och demonerna} in the scope of a film pedagogic tradition in Sweden and to highlight the preconditions of film pedagogy in school today.


\textsuperscript{14} Anne-Li Lindgren, “Utbildningsmedier, kulturperspektiv och ett kritiskt barnperspektiv” in \textit{LOCUS} 3-4/2011, 20. ”Föreställningar om barn som oskyldiga eller kompetenta bör, [...] förstås i relation till varandra. Det viktigaste är att se i vilken typ av aktiviteter, platser eller sammanhang barn framställs som det ena eller det andra – eller båda. [...] En viktig fråga att ställa är: I vilka aktiviteter och situationer förväntas barn klara sig på egen hand och när gör de det inte? [...] Vad är vuxnas roller och vad är barnens?”; All following translations in this thesis will be done by myself.
1.1.2. Thesis outline

The following chapter will introduce the theoretical framework concerning childhood research and different understandings of childhood, focusing on Dion Sommer's writings. I will also include sections on children's culture for an understanding of its discourses. The concept of children's culture will be defined according to Flemming Mouritsen's division of the term. Furthermore, I will address how childhood has been depicted in film in order to position the representation of the child in Osten's film. In chapter three I will address the historical perspective and describe the alliance between film and school along with the changing arguments for film pedagogy. To approach how ideas of what is suitable can fluctuate, I have chosen to describe the use of violent films in education during the 1980's. Even though this genre was contested and debated, some pedagogues managed to turn attention to the possibilities of addressing such films in school. The case with violent films is thus a fruitful example of how the non-suited is made suitable through the film pedagogic framework. This section is crucial in order to contextualise and place *Flickan, mamman och demonerna* in a film pedagogic tradition. I will compare certain elements between the two debates in the final part of the thesis.

The debate concerning *Flickan, mamman och demonerna* will be described in chapter four, with a selection of representative arguments presented by the Media Council as well as reviewers from different Swedish newspapers and magazines (*Dagens Nyheter*, *Svenska Dagbladet*, *Expressen* and *Point of View*). Suzanne Osten's artistry and perspectives on childhood will also be addressed in order to understand the director's ambition with the film. The arguments expressed concerning the film will be analysed in relation to childhood discourses. When analysing the tutorial I will particularly search for the aspects that were considered non-suited to explore how these are treated.

1.1.3. Demarcation

In contemporary research on children's culture, Gunilla Halldén and others have advocated for the importance of highlighting the difference between a *child perspective* and a *child's perspective*. The latter depends on the child's own statements, whereas a child perspective can be broadly used to imply adult ambitions to understand the situation and conditions of
children and childhood. Apart from a radio interview with children who have seen *Flickan, mamman och demonerna*, this research will not contain other statements from children. Comparing a child's perception of a film with the tutorial or an adult's review, would however be an interesting topic for further research.

With "child" and "children" the legal definition refers to the ages between 0-18 years. The age group considered in this thesis refers to elementary school pupils (mainly ages between 10-15).

Since this case study concerns a Swedish context, the history of film education will refer to the development in Sweden. The section on violent films will also deal with Swedish examples, even if similar discourses have occurred in other countries. Most of the literature referred to is in Swedish. Whenever I have translated a Swedish writer, the original quotation has been inserted in the footnote.

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2. Previous research and theoretical framework

Many are the ideas and opinions about what is suitable for children. The meaning of childhood, has likewise had different connotations throughout history, shifting from images of the evil child that was born with "Adamic original sin", to images of the innocent child and the "innocent childhood". The idea that childhood is a social construction is nowadays a widely accepted statement among researchers. The idea emphasizes that childhood is a product of time and context, thus constructed by social circumstances. According to Dion Sommer: "All children grow up in a sphere of praxis, with rather determined and non-coincidental demands on them. On many levels in society (from the near to the distant) there are thoughts about what children are and what one wishes them to become".

2.1. A new paradigm in childhood research

New approaches in the field of childhood psychology separate research done prior to the 1960's with research post 1970's. With Freud as one of the advocates of a mother-centred approach, the old paradigm focused on an infant's early development in close relation to the mother. Characteristic of this paradigm was to emphasize the child as fragile and sensitive to external factors. A child's development was considered to be a determined course of which the foundation was set early in the infant's life. Research focused on discrepancies in the developments, such as perversions or trauma, and normally sought explanations in the child's early relation to the mother or the closest family. By the mid 1970's researchers (such as R. C

18 Dion Sommer, Barndomspsykologi - utveckling i en förändrad värld, (Malmö; Liber, 2016), 55. "Alla barn växer upp i en praxissfär, där det ställs ganska bestämda och icke-tillfälliga krav på dem. På många nivåer i samhället (från det nära till det avlägsna) har man tankar om vad barn är och vad man önskar att de ska bli."
19 Ibid., 29
Pianta, R.D Parke and D. Stern among others) criticised the mother-centred approach and emphasized the importance of the child's *multi-personal* relations. New research focused less on discrepancies in developments and more on the broader circumstances of the child's social world. The idea of a "fragile child" was also questioned and modulated. The new paradigm focused less on the child's weaknesses and more on its strengths and capabilities. Instead of fragility, the concept of *Resilience* was introduced to describe the child's development in relation to outer factors. A child's development was thus compared to a resilient material that could react to outer factors without necessarily being damaged. The two paradigms in childhood research highlight two different ways of describing the child: the child as fragile and the child as competent. These two approaches represent different childhood discourses that fluctuate in society and determine decisions, attitudes and conceptions about what is suitable for children.

Sommer stresses the importance of not polarizing the two different childhood understandings. To address the agency of children should not imply a negligence towards the fragile aspects of the child's development. A second edition to his book was executed in order to highlight the simultaneous existence of the two perspectives. A child is to be recognized for its competence as well as its dependence.

### 2.2. Children and culture

In the early 20th century, the Swedish pedagogue and philosopher Ellen Key argued for the important role of culture for the development of the child. Art was supposed to awaken the aesthetic joy which in its own turn had fostering functions. In *Barnets århundrade* (i.e. The century of the child) published in 1900, Key emphasized the idea of an aesthetic upbringing. She mainly addressed the importance of children's books and that reading developed the child's language and understanding. This period was characteristic of its expansive focus on children's culture. Dance and movement, inspired by Isadora Duncan, was considered to activate the child's artistic awareness. Alice Tegnér had also become a popular writer of

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20 Ibid., 29, 34-39.
21 Helander, "Barnets rätt till konst och kultur", 190.
22 Sommer, 12, 41-42.
rhythmic chants. The cultural heritage from this period is present in preschools even today.\textsuperscript{23} A few decades later, in the 1940's, the social role of children's culture was emphasized even more (with Alva Myrdal as one influential expert on pedagogy and upbringing). Fostering aspects were enhanced since children were considered to represent the future of society.\textsuperscript{24} 

According to the \textit{Convention of the Rights of the Child} established by United Nations, children have a right to participate and experience cultural expressions.\textsuperscript{25} The school curricula also include aesthetic education for all age groups. Very few would contest the importance of aesthetic expressions in the child's life. Based on ideas of the British psychoanalyst Donald W. Winnicott, artistic experiences can also be considered to have a transitional function for the child in order to relate to the outer world.\textsuperscript{26} Nevertheless, children depend on their guardians who have the power of defining what type of culture is considered suitable for them. According to Karin Helander, adults have an \textit{interpretative prerogative} on children's culture that remains even if the idea of what is suitable changes or expands. It is adults that produce, review, finance and select the productions that are considered suitable.\textsuperscript{27} Flemming Mouritsen has divided the term children's culture in three categories: cultural work produced by adults for children (pedagogic, artistic, commercial etc), cultural work produced by adults together with children (such as workshops, ensembles etc), and cultural work produced by children (children's own jingles, drawings, play etc).\textsuperscript{28} Whenever children consume art or film that is not produced particularly for children can thus become an anomaly based on this division. Nevertheless, the phenomenon is not uncommon. Many films and fictive characters have become popular among children even if they were never intended for them. The definition of children's culture is thus a subject to frequent debate and redefinitions.\textsuperscript{29} 

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{23}Karin Helander, "Hundra år av småbarnskonst", in \textit{För de allra små! Om att uppleva böcker, teater, konst, film och musik}, ed. Margareta Sörenson, (Stockholm: Rabén och Sjögren, 2001), 142, 144.
  \item \textsuperscript{24}Malena Janson, "Bio för barnens bästa? Svensk barnfilm som fostran och fritidsnöje under 60 år", (Ph. D. Diss, Department of Cinema Studies, Stockholm University, 2007), 50.
  \item \textsuperscript{26}Ann-Sofie Bárány, "Babydrama – Teater och psykoanalys i livslustens tjänst" in \textit{Barn(s)kultur – Nytta eller nöje? Om barn, estetik och pedagogik}, ed. Ann Banér, (s. 35-50), (Stockholm: Stockholms Universitet, 2008). 36.
  \item \textsuperscript{27}Karin Helander, "Introduktion", in \textit{LOCUS}, 3-4/2011, 4.
  \item \textsuperscript{28}Flemming Mouritsen, "Child culture - play culture", in \textit{Childhood and Children's Culture}, ed. F.Mouritsen & J. Qvortrup (Denmark: University Press of Southern, 2002), 16
  \item \textsuperscript{29}Helander, "Introduktion", 4.
\end{itemize}
qualify as children's culture. The Media Council however contested the suitability for the young target group, which makes the case an interesting example of the clashes between definitions and ideas concerning children's culture.

2.2.1. Children and digital culture
While traditional cultural expressions (such as music, painting, dancing) has an undramatic position in childhood discourses, the position of media and digital technology is still under construction. The omnipresence of digital technology in children's lives have introduced the concept of Digital childhoods. The Swedish Media Council conducts yearly investigations on the media behaviour of children and youth. In the report from 2017 one can read that the use of media among the age group of 0-8 years, more than three hours a day, has increased with over 200% the last ten years, and 400% among the age group 9-12 years. The Council's previous categorisation of a "high consumer" is not relevant anymore since it has become the average behaviour. Meanwhile, the concern among parents has increased: "The tendency is thus that parents in a wider range want to protect their children from different forms of media content". Among the content that parents worry most about was horror, pornography and sexual violence. When replying to the question about what children had actually been frightened or sad about, the reply was content that showed children or animal suffer.

The child's right to protection is established in one of the paragraphs (§3) in the Child Convention. The same paragraph also state that decisions concerning children must consider "what is best for the child". Given the statements on children's rights to participate in the cultural landscape, which needless to say also include digital culture, the room for interpretation on what is suitable still remain, creating a constant negotiation between the aspects of protection and participation.

The new research paradigm mentioned in previous sections, has introduced two conceptions: the child as a being and the child as a becoming. The former approaches the child in its own

30 Buckingham, Beyond technology: children's learning in the age of digital culture, 45, 75.
32 Ibid., 43. “Tendensen är således att föräldrar i ökad utsträckning vill skydda sina barn mot olika former av medieinnehåll.”
33 Ibid., 43.
right not considering its future adulthood, while the latter refers to its development and becoming of adult. According to Karin Helander, both of these conceptions are represented in contemporary Swedish culture policy for children, where the child is described both as a creative actor as well as a learning agent. "Children's participation in the cultural sphere is considered important from a social perspective, the young generation must be able to meet tomorrow's challenges and expectations. The child is of national interest and is considered to be a carrier of the future". In this context, the digital childhood is in harmony with the digital future as it may prepare them for the challenges to come. The expectations on the future adulthood has however been coloured with more concern. According to Dion Sommer there is a "cultural anxiety on behalf of children" that is shown in how adults worry for the wellbeing of the child even though children in Scandinavia have a higher living standard than ever. He interprets the anxiety to result partly from a rapidly changing society causing stress about the future. As we do not know what to prepare our children for, we react with concern.

One of the Media Council's core missions is to provide information to schools and students on media- and information literacy (MIL). As described on their web page: "The Swedish Media Council is a government agency whose primary task is to promote the empowering of minors as conscious media users and to protect them from harmful media influences." Following Helander's line, film pedagogy and MIL can be considered to promote both aspects of being and becoming, as well as participation and protection. Aiming to meet the child in the context as a media user (or film spectator), ascribes the child as a participant being since it is their experience that is in focus. Yet consequently, providing frameworks for understanding and tools for navigation in the media landscape enhances the child's becoming and need for protection and guidance. Harmful content can be considered negative if it threatens a preferred outcome. The Media Council's mission thus: "to promote the empowering of minors as conscious media users and to protect them from harmful media influences" implicitly

35 Gunilla Halldén, "Barndomsbegreppet som tidsspegel", in Barnets familjer ur barnkulturella perspektiv, ed. Anne Banér, (Stockholm: Centrum för barnkulturforskning vid Stockholms universitet, 2010), 57.
express how the child should be empowered both for its present being as a conscious media user, as well as its becoming in the future (protected from bad influences).

According to Anne-Li Lindgren, it is however not enough merely to recognize when the child is considered competent or fragile. The most interesting is to note in which circumstances this becomes relevant and how the adult relates to the child. Lindgren's own research has shown how images of children were used in campaigns to implement school film as education material in the 1920's and onwards. These campaigns were intended to promote audio-visual media as an alternative to other traditional learning material, by using images and statements by children expressing the efficiency of learning through film. Given this example, Lindgren stresses the importance of recognizing when images of children, yet presented with agency and competence, are used on behalf of the adult agenda. The opposite phenomena can nevertheless also be addressed: What is the adult position when a child is depicted as fragile? The doubleness of the child's characteristics is interesting in the light of media's doubleness, such as the positive effects on learning juxtaposed to its bad influence. Buckingham has described how digital technology can distort the power structure between generations considering the young generation's advantages of mastering new technology. "To some extent, the view of the child at risk stems from adults' sense of exclusion from children's digital culture." In a cynical way, presenting the child as fragile could be discarded as a result of panic by the adult's loss of control. I will return to this later in the thesis. What can be concluded at this point however is that children are recognized as participants of the media landscape, and that adults have embraced it partly. To what extent the adult concerns deal with harmful content, loss of control, fear of new technology etc. is left to be discussed.

### 2.3. Representations of children in film

So far I have described different ways of emphasizing childhood characteristics based on psychological research and philosophical concepts that has emerged, such as aesthetic upbringing and being/becoming. According to Dion Sommer there is an interpretative filter through which we look at children. This filter consists of both professional knowledge in

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40 Buckingham, *Beyond technology: children's learning in the age of digital culture*, 31.; Dahlquist, 44.
fields as psychology and pedagogy as well as our own memories and experiences of childhood. Understanding childhood is thus always a matter of interpretation through filters of different childhood conceptions. With this in mind, it is interesting to consider how children have been depicted in film, both intended for children and intended for adults, since these representations can show what we project into the meaning of childhood. Considering that children are represented differently throughout history - as well as in films intended for children as compared to films intended for adults - highlight the element of construction behind the concept of childhood.

In *Childhood and Cinema*, Vicky Lebeau has described how children were depicted as spectacles in the early days. Lumiére brothers made "Repas de Bébé" in 1895 which showed one of the brothers feeding his baby, followed by similar films on babies performing everyday activities. "A pretty little fat baby boy is seated in a high chair" was how Edison advertised the film *Cry Baby* in 1905. Embracing the fascination for the child's gestures and behaviour through moving images, the "child picture" became one of the first commercially successful genres by the end of the 1890's to the early 1900's according to Lebeau. Besides depicting children as spectacle, the child as subject and symbol also emerged during the 1900's, especially in the suites of the second world war were the image of the child was associated with hope for the future, as in *Rome, Open City* (Roberto Rossellini, 1945).

In *The Child in Film: Tears, Fears and Fairy Tales*, Karen Lury has studied the representations of children in films that were not intended for child audiences (such as horror films and war film). Her purpose has been to understand different appearances of how children act in adult worlds (not in a version adjusted for kids or made "child friendly"). Her approach embraces childhood through the sense of otherness. As she explains in the introduction: "The inspiration for my investigation and selection of films was the sense that the child and childhood, and indeed children themselves, occupy a situation in which they are "other": other to the supposedly rational, civilised, "grown up" human animal that is the adult". One chapter describes a subgenre designated "Dirty little white girls" with films as *Lolita* (Stanley Kubrick, 1962) and *Taxi Driver* (Martin Scorsese, 1976) where the

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42 Sommer 83-84.
44 Ibid., 22-26, 37, 142.
relationship between a white girl and an adult male character is the theme. As implied by the chapter name, Lury aims to emphasize the "racial and frequently racist" aspects of these films: "Whilst the little girl's whiteness and all it signifies - including but not limited to purity and innocence - is determined and supposedly threatened by the darkness that surrounds it".  

Innocence is a trait that reappears in films both for children and for adults. According to Malena Janson, the image of the child as "innocent and sweet" has become the most common portrayal in children's film. Characters deviating from this ideal has either been punished or reversed within the outline of the plot. "We simply don't want to see evil kids on film. We prefer them to be like Emil, Pippi and Madicken: noisy, dashing, lively but deep down inside good as gold with hearts pounding for the weak." Janson has studied how the production of children's film, that emerged during the mid 1940's in Sweden, has developed in relation to fluctuating childhood discourses. The first film that was considered to be specifically produced for children was Barnen från Frostmofjället (Rolf Husberg, 1945). In line with the fostering and nationalistic traditions of the 1940's, the film depicts a group of brave siblings that rescues themselves from their remote home after their mother has passed away. The film was embraced as a splendid example of good role models for children and future citizens of the nation. The 1950's sought to idealise childhood and the depiction of it. No disturbing topics or complicated stories were considered suitable during this era, which Janson refers to as "The Bullerby Discoure" after the popular film adaption of Astrid Lindgren's novel Alla vi barn i Bullerbyn (Olle Hellbom, 1960). During the 1970's, a more nuanced perspective on children's emotional life emerged. Janson exemplifies this decade with Elvis! Elvis! (Kay Pollack, 1977) were the main character, Elvis, has existential thoughts about life and death, which had not been a common trait in child characters previously. It also shows a less authoritarian attitude towards the parent as Elvis dares to oppose his mother. Janson's quotation above was written in her article about Ruben Östlund's debated film Play (2011) where a group of boys harass and rob another group of boys, by giving the impression

46 Ibid., 57-58.
48 Malena Janson, "Bio för barnens bästa? Svensk barnfilm som fostran och fritidsnöje under 60 år", (Ph. D. Diss, Department of Cinema Studies, Stockholm University, 2007), 35, 42, 50.
49 Ibid., 84.
50 Ibid., 94-95.
of "playing a game". Another Swedish film that depicts violent play is *Krig* (Goran Kapetanovic, 2017) where children turn their neighbourhood into a "war zone" with violent and threatening situations. The scenario starts when the main character, Malte, is forced to go out and "make some friends", instead of indulging into his hobby alone at home, which also illustrate how the adult's expectations on the child can clash with "reality". Both of these films are interesting contemporary examples that depict aspects of children that differ from an idealized childhood discourse, which is also the case with *Flickan, mamman och demonerna*. Both *Play* and *Krig* were however classified for an 11 year old audience by The Media Council. This clearly shows a certain tolerance from the Council concerning themes that deviate from the merely innocent, making the case around Osten's film even more interesting to analyze.

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51 Age ratings on films are available on The Media Council’s web page, https://statensmedierad.se/aldersgranserforfilm/sokifilmregistret
3. Film in school - history and arguments

Film pedagogy, or the relationship between school and cinema, has a long tradition in Sweden. Ever since critical voices in the beginning of 1900's expressed concerns over the negative impact on society's youth, teachers and representatives from the Education agency calmed down the concerns. Their argument ensured that it was not the medium of film that was harmful, but its immoral content. With suitable content however, film could become an effective tool with fostering functions. During this first decade schools in Stockholm started to organize excursions to cinema theatres.\textsuperscript{52} Marina Dahlquist describes the period from the spring of 1908 to winter 1911 as an intense era of "controversy as well as pedagogic initiatives".\textsuperscript{53} One of the leading debaters that blamed the increased violence among youth on cinema, was the teacher Marie Louise Gagner who's effort contributed to the establishment of a Censorship Agency (Statens biografbyrå) where she herself became an employee. Adhering to ideas about the pedagogic potential of the medium, professor Frans von Schéele suggested that a specific cinema theatre should be devoted to school screenings controlled by pedagogues. \textit{Brunkebergsteatern} in Stockholm would soon turn into the cinema theatre that specified on journal and educative films. On the repertoire for the first school cinema screening in 1908, the program consisted of sequences showing industrial images, as well as Swedish nature and African animals.\textsuperscript{54}

In \textit{Skolfilmsens historia och förutsättningar} written in 1938 (i.e The history of School film and its conditions), Gustav Berg who at the time was head of the Censorship Agency, has explained the emergence of school film along with the development of the cinema repertoire: "Those of us who were there during that time still vividly remember that the programmes were compiled of mostly \textit{documentary} films and remained that way during the first episode of film history".\textsuperscript{55} Berg then explains how cinema theatres started to include more films intended

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{52} Janson, \textit{Bio för barnens bästa? Svensk barnfilm som fostran och fritidsnöje under 60 år}, 29.
\item \textsuperscript{53} Dahlquist, 46.
\item \textsuperscript{54} Dahlquist, 42-43, 46.
\item \textsuperscript{55} Gustaf Berg, \textit{Skolfilmsens historia och förutsättningar i aktuell svensk belysning}, (Stockholm: Zetterlund & Thelander, 1938), 6. "Var och en, som var med på den tiden, erinrar sig ännu livligt, att programmen voro sammansatta till betydande del av \textit{dokumentära} filmer och förblevo så under första sketet av filmsens historia."; Berg uses the word documentary meaning a film that depicts a happening or a course of events.
\end{itemize}
for amusement which marginalized the role of documentary films to filling the gaps in the repertoire. Schools were thus dependent on the effort of cinema owners to provide information about when suitable films would be screened. As a solution to this inefficiency, the leading film company Svensk filmin industri started to compile the "suitable" films in order to supply schools. In 1921 they announced their historical establishment of a department devoted to school film.  

56 The content of the films were about different subjects from geography, health care, nature sciences etc.  

57 Jan Olsson has described how the emergence of cinema in public life was deeply connected to issues concerning censorship. He addresses the understanding of censorship in a broader sense however that is not limited to the mere practice of the Censorship Agency, but also how other components sought to regulate cinema's public position: "Censorship thus contains a "game" of conflicting interests between the industry, authorities, press, audience and groups of interest, that can be read in a social praxis and different types of discourses concerning the cinemas."  

58 This aspect is relevant to consider in this thesis. Censorship was abolished in Sweden in 2011, but regulating factors surrounding cinema and film pedagogy are nevertheless present, which the coming case study will show.

In the 1920's schools were encouraged to buy their own projectors and screen films by themselves. Films were mostly used during science lessons, with non-fiction films about birds, flowers or insects in Biology etc. The arguments behind the use of these films were that they could:

> visualize processes in nature, such as seasonal changes, growth in plants, insect processes, pollination, and adaptation of plants to different light during the day.
> The new medium made it possible to observe "the hitherto unseen," "revealing the secrets of nature" and what was "hidden for our eyes."  

59 Even if some debaters argued for the use of aesthetic effects in educative films, school films were originally made for mere educative purposes with minor focus on aesthetical

56 Ibid., 8.
57 Dahlquist, 46.
59 Lindgren, Sparrman, Eriksson Barajas, 152-153.
dimensions. This however changed during the period of 1970-2000 as various content, such as television programmes and popular film, also appear in the assortments of school film. According to Martin Karlsson, who has studied the use of history in school film during this period, it was the emergence of feature films about historical characters such as *Gandhi* (Richard Attenborough, 1982), *The Last Emperor* (Bernardo Bertolucci, 1987) and *Shindler's list* (Steven Spielberg, 1993) that paved the way for the inclusion of feature films in the school film assortment. Karlsson also observes a new tolerance towards the *recreation* of the past rather than a *reproduction* of it during the end of the 1990's.61

In the research project *From instruction to reflection*, Anne-Li Lindgren, Katarina Eriksson Barajas and Anna Sparrman exemplify a similar shift in the film pedagogic practice. Film in education is no longer used for its mere instructive qualities, but rather as an opening to further discussion with the students. This approach enhance how film and media can be used in education for diverse subjects in school which, according to the researchers, should be equally important as media education.62 There are thus two approaches for the use of film in school, learning *with* and learning *about*. While media education refers to the study of particular media such as film literacy, media in education focuses mainly on its use as material for leaning other subjects in the curricula. David Buckingham stresses the importance of differing between these two concepts. Using film as an educative tool is not the same as teaching film literacy.63

Both of the approaches above are however equally consistent in the Swedish curricula. The concept of film literacy was introduced in the Swedish curricula in 1962. Even if film had already been used in education for decades, this curricula amplified the medium as particularly relevant for Swedish language studies in the means of understanding the story and its coherence.64 Since then, the role of film in school has been described differently throughout the years. Some curricula (Lpo94, Lgr00) have amplified the aesthetic qualities, emphasizing the function of film as inspiration for the student's artistic and creative

60 Karlsson, 102.
61 Ibid., 59, 287-288.
62 Lindgren, Sparrman, Eriksson Barajas, 151-152.
understanding. Other curricula (Lgr80 and Lgr11) have focused on media and film literacy, amplifying the importance of developing students' critical understanding. Characteristic of Lpo94 was the concept of "expanded text" that was mentioned for the first time. With expanded text, the curricula aimed to broaden the concept of reading referring not only to written text but also images and other media. Another characteristic change concerns the curricula from 2011 stating that film and media should no longer be reduced to a specific subject, but integrated in all learning processes. For example, the study of how existential questions are portrayed in popular culture is mentioned as one aspect of religious studies, and the study of how music is used in film is likewise an aspect of musical studies.

Below I will briefly go through how film and media has been included in the different curricula (from 1962, which is the first curricula for the Swedish elementary school, to 2011) for the purpose of recognizing tendencies in the film pedagogic discourse. Many aspects of the use of film are repeated in the different curricula, such as the importance of both practical as analytical skills, yet with different emphasis.

- **Lgr62**: Film, or "the language of moving images" is mentioned as an aspect of Swedish language studies. *Filmkunskap* is introduced.
- **Lgr69**: Enhances the use of Film, TV and other media in education. Students should understand the relationship between representation and reality.
- **Lgr80**: Students should understand how media function and learn to use images for communicative purposes. Students should work with film, photography and video mainly in Arts class and understand their language.
- **Lpo94**: Aesthetic dimensions of film and media are enhanced. The students' creative and technical knowledge is amplified. The concept of "expanded text" is introduced.
- **Lgr2000**: Film is mentioned both as source of knowledge and a creative expression. The school has a responsibility to offer students a variety of creative expressions.

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67 Danielsson, 30-33.
• **Lgr11**: Film and media literacy should be integrated in all learning processes and not limited to any specific subject.\(^{69}\)

• **Lgr17**: The curriculum has again been revised in 2017 with additional aspects about digitalization and digital knowledge.\(^{70}\)

According to Carsten Ljunggren, the Swedish curricula have developed gradually in relation to social and media developments.\(^{71}\) He has studied how media and democracy has been addressed in the curricula between 1962 and 1994 and also connected the results to Governmental commission reports that had been published in close relation either prior or after each revision. One such example is The Film Investigation (*Filmutredningen*) that was commissioned in 1968 and finalized in two parts, 1970 and 1972. According to Ljungren, this investigation has inspired the goals both in Lgr80 and Lgr94, but is mostly connected to Lgr69 that was established during the investigation. The purpose of the investigation was, among others, to overview the situation of short films in relation to television, and the situation of film education in schools.\(^{72}\)

In the film policy agreement from 2000, The Swedish Film Institute received a new mission called "Film i skolan" (*Film in School*) in order to strengthen the possibilities of film education. One goal was also to enhance the status of film as an art form as well as attracting students to cinema theatres. Together with The School Agency (*Skolverket*), The Film Institute published a document in 2001 signed by both directors of the institutions (Åse Kleveland SFI, and Mats Ekholm, *Skolverket*). The purpose of the book was to inform about


\(^{69}\) Klas Viklund, "Nya kursplaner och ämnesplaner utmanar och utvecklar skolans arbete med medier", *Datorm i Utbildning*, no. 6-2011.


\(^{71}\) Carsten Ljunggren, "Medborgarpubliken och det offentliga rummet: om utbildning, medier och demokrati", (Ph. D. Diss., Education Studies, Uppsala University,1996), 14.

\(^{72}\) Ljunggren 150-153. The results concerning film education was summarized in four main goals about what film education should consist of: **cognitive goals**, **emotional goals**, **aesthetic goals**, and **social goals**. The **cognitive goals** imply that students should gain knowledge of manuscript writing and be able to tell a story through different perspectives, as well as understanding the decisions behind selection and representation. This goal becomes characteristic of Lgr80 according to Ljungren, where film, photography and video is presented as an important media for students to understand and work with, more than previously. The **emotional goals** address that film education should allow students to develop their emotional life through the understanding of other people's situation, something that Carsten Ljungren means is enhanced in Lgr69. Both the cognitive and emotional goals emphasize a discursive orientation aiming to increase the students' awareness of social contexts. This kind of orientation is however not emphasized in the **aesthetic goal** that is purely devoted to the student's technical and creative skills, which will become a characteristic trait of Lgr94 twenty years later. The last main goal in the Film Investigation is summarised as the **social goals** that enhance the global perspectives of film education, more flexible work methods as well as students' influence on the content.
the importance and possibilities of film in education as well as to strengthen the growing interest in film pedagogy. Film in school is still one of The Film Institute's most committed missions.

The shift towards including media in all subjects as in Lgr11 is aligned with another trend in the theories of learning, which is aesthetic learning processes. The idea approaches learning in close relation to aesthetic expressions, either by experiencing or by the student's own creativity. It also implies that aesthetic expressions should be integrated in all subjects of the curricula and not limited to the aesthetic ones. In *The Wow Factor: Global research compendium of the impact of arts in education*, Anne Bamford has studied the variety of aesthetic learning phenomena in different cultures and also described the beneficial outcomes of arts in education. "The arts directly contribute to positive self-perceptions and identity, vital to effective educational achievement and the pursuit of lifelong learning" Some of Bamford's main conclusions are that the benefits highly depend on the quality of the education. Bamford also enhances the equal importance of learning about the arts as well as learning through the arts. The quality of the education is something that I will return to in coming sections about the situation of film pedagogy today as well as its challenges.

Film literacy is included in the concept of Media- and Information Literacy (MIL) which has been emphasized as a democratic necessity by UNESCO. Film pedagogy, which is the method of achieving film literacy, is usually divided in three steps when practised in school: *se, samtala, skapa* i.e it starts with looking at films, followed by discussing the films, and lastly, creating film. The creative part is considered to be an important aspect of achieving literacy since it enables the understanding of the language of film. All of these aspects have been mentioned in the curricula with different emphasis throughout the years. Given the concept of MIL, film pedagogy thus receives an updated argument for its necessity that encourages critical aspects of spectatorship and media consumerism. David Buckingham still

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73 Blom and Viklund, 38.
76 Bamford, 139.
wants to address the limiting aspects it might emphasize on the pupil. School pupils have a clear understanding on what is expected from them as critical consumers and often sense what the teachers' expected replies are. This can create an ambition to appear as a "sophisticated viewer, who is able to see through the illusions". Showing critical analysis instead of emotional engagement can also become an expression of self-control and social status.

3.1. Tutorials and film pedagogic material

The Swedish Film Institute provides study guides to films that are shown in schools. The material is available for free and intended to support the educator, either the teacher or the film pedagogue, in the discussions with the pupils. The tutorials are often structured according to topics concerning the film followed by suggested questions and practices. Students are often suggested to interact or expand the film by "imagining what if" or relating the film to something in their own life.

According to Malena Janson, the tutorials, irrespective of film, often address areas such as democracy, identity and the individual's responsibility for the outcome of events. In the essay Fostran she reflects upon the fostering aspects of the tutorials. Even if film pedagogy is not fostering in the explicit way as it used to be, there is still an ambition to direct the discussion in order to reach specific conclusions on democracy, human rights etc. The repetitive topics indicate the direction of the fostering discourses. Janson also describes how certain topics are avoided in the tutorials, perhaps due to lack of knowledge by its writer or of consideration to the teacher, making the level of conversation manageable for the class room discussion.

Following Janson's analysis, Heta Mulari has addressed the aspect on how study guides can be theorized and understood in terms of upbringing. In her doctor's thesis New Feminism, Gender Equality and Neoliberalism in Swedish Girl Films 1995-2006 she has examined Swedish films with girl characters (thus introducing the new concept "Swedish Girl Film")

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78 Buckingham, Media education: literacy, learning and contemporary, 46.
79 Ibid., 45-46.
80 For examples on tutorials, see The Swedish Film Institute's webpage, http://www.filminstitutet.se/sv/fakunskap-om-film/filmiskolan/filmhandledningar/
81 Janson, "Fostran", in ed. Koivunen, 139-141.
and placed them in a broader social context. Part of her analysis has focused on pedagogic material provided by the Swedish Film Institute as well as public debates concerning topics presented in the films, such as prostitution in relation to *Lilja 4 ever* (Lukas Moodysson, 2002) What Mulari has spotted in her research is a film pedagogic practice that emphasizes the trajectory of connecting film to society: "Little attention, on the other hand, is devoted to filmmaking practices, filmic styles or expressive codes."  

In these educational framings, Swedish girl films were not explicitly perceived as fictive youth films following certain established filmic codes - as part of the media 'establishing and affirming existing norms and values'. Instead, the films in question were rather straightforwardly used as a window onto the contemporary society and a starting point for discussion on themes such as gender equality, bullying and harassment.  

In this sense it is thus learning *through* film that is in focus, while the media specific aspects of learning *about* is absent. Similar aspects have been addressed by Jonathan Rozenkrantz and Marta Mund in an essay on aesthetic learning processes. The authors criticise the tutorials for being much too focused on the story and posing questions that diminish the film itself. The concept of "the expanded text" that was introduced in Lpo94 has thus, according to the authors, reduced all media to a text that can be read on same premises as written literature. The text-oriented approach to film has roots in the 1960's which is also when cinema studies was institutionalised in Sweden. While not contesting this dimension of film, the authors emphasize that there are other aspects of understanding film, such as approaching embodied experiences of spectatorship.  

We suggest that every tutorial should treat film as just film, and not fear to pose more complex question about how (the) film works. Only then will the student sharpen its medium specific analytic skills, which ought to be the most important advantages of

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84 Ibid., 125.
85 Mund and Rozenkrantz, 412-413.
using film in education. Limiting the questions to what the film is about blurs the fact that a film operates on different ways than for example the book.\textsuperscript{86}

The absence of addressing media specific aspects in the tutorial has thus been noted by above mentioned researchers.\textsuperscript{87} To understand this tendency one should also consider the general purpose of the tutorials. School cinema is used in close connection to the curricula, hence mainly with the interest of addressing other subjects than the medium of film itself. Based on this, the tutorial is often relevant if it provides guidelines for the learning through film. However, as argued by Rozenkrantz and Mund, if film pedagogy is to be considered as an aesthetic learning process, the focus needs to be directed towards the experience of the spectator and his/her critical reflection concerning this experience, which they also find support for in the curricula: "that school should promote the pupil's critical thinking is almost a cliché".\textsuperscript{88} The approach introduced by the authors is inspired by the French philosopher Jacques Ranciere and his radical ideas on learning that questions the power dynamic between teacher and student, as well as the attitude towards the student as an unknowing receiver of knowledge in this relationship. With Ranciere's approach, the student and likewise the spectator, is considered to be an active participant in their own experience which is also why experience needs to be addressed in a learning process. We learn from what and how we experience and not by a teacher transferring knowledge unto us.\textsuperscript{89}

When Buckingham stresses the importance of learning about in favour of through, he has a different approach that considers the ideological aspects. He writes: "questions about who controls communications media, and about how those media represent the world - have been marginalized in favour of a superficial infatuation with technology for its own sake."\textsuperscript{90} Presented above, these are two aspects that argue for the importance of learning about the medium (one focuses on the spectator and the other on the producer) and not only using it as "a starting point for discussion on themes" or as replacement for other education material.

\textsuperscript{86} Ibid., 412. "Vi menar att varje handledning bör behandla var film som just en film, och inte rädas att ställa mer komplexa frågor om hur film(en) fungerar. Först då kan eleven börja vässa sin mediespecifika analysförmåga, vilket torde var en av de viktigaste förtjänsterna med att använda film i undervisning. Att begränsa frågorna till vad filmen handlar om skymmer det faktum att filmen berättar på andra sätt än till exempel boken."

\textsuperscript{87} It is relevant to note that the authors have studied a limited amount of tutorials and that the statements are based on these cases.

\textsuperscript{88} Mund and Rozenkrantz, 425. "att skolan bör främja elevers kritiska tänkande är närmast en klyscha".

\textsuperscript{89} Mund and Rozenkrantz, 406-407.

\textsuperscript{90} Buckingham, Beyond technology: children's learning in the age of digital culture, viii.
With the new curricula that integrates MIL in all subjects, one can argue for the importance of media specific aspects in the tutorials as well. The concept of experience and emotional engagement does not have to be opposed to critical spectatorship, but can be intertwined as suggested by Mund and Rozenkrantz, by focusing on experience in relation to media specific aspects, aiming to understand how these are connected. The "sophisticated viewer" described by Buckingham would consequently reach another dimension by allowing the pleasure of viewing as well.

3.2. Film in school today or Challenges

Times have changed since Sweden first introduced the idea of school cinema and school film. The technical conditions for showing films have changed as well as attitudes towards what kind of content should be included. In January 2017 The Swedish Government introduced a new governmental film policy of which one goal is that: "Children and youth have good knowledge about film and moving images and are given opportunity to their own creating". This goal however only repeats the ambition that has been brought up in the curricula throughout the years, as well as in earlier writings.

What the latest statistics on School cinema showed, was a general decline in attendance. There can be many factors that affect these numbers. Some studies have concluded that there often is a lack of knowledge among the school management about film pedagogy, which means that the film pedagogic practice often depends upon the effort of enthusiastic teachers. While collecting data for the research project *From Instruction to reflection*, Anna Sparrman and Katarina E. Barajas noticed the stress among teachers: "The impression of the school as an overburdened workplace increased in the contact with teachers". When teachers


92 Svenska filminstitutet, *Skolbio i Sverige 2011. En kartläggning av verksamheten med Skolbio i Sveriges 290 kommuner genomförd av Svenska Filminstitutet,* ; Between 2011 and 2017 there was no statistics conducted by the Film Institute, however during this period some municipalities continued their local coverage on School cinema frequency and reported a continuous decline in attendance. To follow up the development, The Film Institute has again started to keep School cinema statistics, see *Filminstitutets Skolbiorapport 2017*.


94 Eriksson and Sparrman, 79. "Bilden av skolan som överbelastad arbetsplats växte sig stark i kontakten med lärare".
were asked if they wanted to participate in the study, a frequent primary concern was if it would demand much time from their daily tasks. In a more recent report published by The Swedish Film Institute in 2017, similar conclusions can be read. Kompisskoleprojektet (i.e. The fellow school project) followed five different school classes in Sweden through 4th, 5th and 6th grade as they conducted film pedagogic work as an integrated part of the ordinary education. The evaluation of the project highlighted the positive outcomes concerning student's language skills, participation, solidarity in the classroom, and improvement in film literacy. Among the challenges, lack of time, lack of knowledge, a constrained budget, and lack of interest among the school management are mentioned. The authors of the report clarify that these challenges have nothing to do with film pedagogy itself, but rather with the school circumstances.

Why these challenges when media and film literacy have been part of the curricula for so long? Returning to Carsten Ljungren's conclusion that curricula develops side by side with society, Helena Danielsson claims that curricula is not always representative for how the situation is or will be practised in reality. Goals presented as new in the curricula might already have been practised for a long time, or not be mentioned at all. Teachers that participated in Danielsson's study expressed how the curricula was finally "catching up" with reality with the increased focus on film and media, as they had worked with school cinema and film production with pupils long before its emphasis in the curricula. This statement is also addresses by David Buckingham who adheres that media education is included in the curriculum in order to stay attuned to young people's media intense reality. The point of bringing this up is to show that there are evident discrepancies between the directorial documents and practices in reality. The gaps and relations are however interesting to consider as they highlight the fluctuations in the film pedagogic discourse (i.e. what is written in the curricula is acknowledged on a political level and what is practiced in reality describes trends, possibilities, realistic limitations etc.). The role of enthusiastic teachers or film pedagogues is not be neglected since their effort can precede the curricula.

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95 Ibid., 79.
96 Rapport från Kompisskoleprojektet, 9, 12.
97 Ibid., 28-34.
98 Danielsson, 185.
99 Buckingham, Media education: literacy, learning and contemporary culture, 5.
3.3. Approaching the "non-suitable" films

The arguments for why film should be used in education has varied with time. As mentioned in the previous chapter, it started with the instructive qualities of the medium that were enhanced as particularly useful for learning about the course of events in nature. As media developments flourished and became a larger part of children and young people's everyday life, the importance of media literacy was lifted as an important argument to handle the new media landscape. Aesthetic learning processes, mentioned above, is another motive for the use of film in education.

In this chapter I will address the issue of what is considered suitable in relation to films used in education. The pedagogic potential ascribed to film was in the beginning based on the reliance of suitable content. The aspect of what is suitable has however been modulated throughout the years which has opened for the inclusion of different types of films in education. Below I will describe some arguments behind including media as well as popular and violent film in education.

3.3.1. Death of childhood - Restoration of control

In After the death of Childhood: Growing up in the age of electronic media, David Buckingham describes a common concern for the changing nature of childhood due to increased media exposure. The common argument claims that children are deprived of their childhood since they are introduced to adult topics, such as sex, drugs and violence much too early. Buckingham has named the book with a touch of irony to imply the ongoing discussions about the conditions of childhood:

The claim that childhood has been lost has been one of the most popular laments of the closing years of the twentieth century [...] Of course, the figure of the child has always been the focus of adult fears, desires and fantasies. Yet in recent years, debates about childhood have become invested with a growing sense of anxiety. [...] We no longer seem to know where childhood can be found.

100 Ibid., 5.
102 Ibid., 3
With digital technology, children and youth have become media consumers beyond the control of their parents and guardians. Buckingham explains how this phenomena has been perceived in two different ways: Some consider it to blur the boundaries between children and adults, since children have access to previously "forbidden" material. Others consider it to reinforce the gap between generations, as well as shifting the power structure to the benefit of the younger generation being more in control of the new technology and its content.  

The fear of "adult topics" mentioned above is reminiscent to the early concerns of cinema's impact. As already mentioned, the school presented a solution to this "problem" by establishing a pedagogic context wherein to handle the media. Buckingham addresses a similar aspect in the shaping of media education today. While some argue that media education is important since it reflects the reality of youth's surroundings, others stress the importance of media education due to the supposedly harmful effects of media that needs to be dealt with and controlled. With this perspective, Buckingham states that media education becomes a "solution to a problem" instead of an aspect or reflection of modern life.

According to Malena Janson, the 1940's in Sweden can be described as the "golden days of moral panic" concerning the decadent youth. The dedicated practice with school cinema initiated a few decades earlier, had indeed not managed to prevent the young audience from attending ordinary cinema repertoires. Articles in several magazines lamented over the decadence and criticised the bad influence of film and media. As a reaction to this debate, the Government ordered an investigation on how to solve the decadency ("Ungdomen och nöjeslivet SOU1945:22"). Several suggestions were proposed: To increase the quality of children's film and produce films particularly intended for child audiences was one suggestion. To have experts (e.g child psychologist) review all films and decide which were suitable for children was another. Thirdly, to inform in schools that films should not be seen as mere amusement but put in a greater social context. Film fosterage (Filmfostran) became a concept intended to create a "cultural responsibility" among youth. Popular culture and feature film have gradually become included in the school curricula after a long disadvantage in comparison with fine arts such as literature and classic theatre. In Sweden, some debaters in

\[103\] Ibid., 5.

\[104\] Buckingham, Media education: literacy, learning and contemporary culture, 5-6, 11.


\[106\] Ibid, 33.
pedagogical magazines during the 1960's tried to highlight the importance of including young people's preferences. The lecturer Sune Askander advocated for this. His argument was that children would be "exposed" to these films anyway, and therefore it was important for schools to include them in education under the supervision of a teacher in order to teach students critical understanding. This discourse is also part of the broader aspect of children's culture. Considering Flemming Mouritsen's categorization of the term children's culture, "adult topics" in films produced by adults for adults would not fall into any of the three categories of children's culture. Buckingham however, advocates for an equal treatment of all media in media education. Exclusion of popular culture or other forms of media texts would only institutionalize a social judgement. Instead of lamenting over the "adult topics" or the death of childhood, Buckingham claims that adults need to show interest in children's and young people's conditions in the media landscape, recognize their competence as well as were guidance is needed. "We need to begin by trying to discover what young people actually do know; and we need to recognize that there may be a great deal they still need to learn." The finishing line in After the death of childhood is the following: "We must have the courage to prepare them to deal with it, to understand it, and to become active participants in their own right."

The loss of control seem to be one main concern for adults as it redefines their position in relation to the child. New tendencies might conflict with previous assumptions which causes panic and re-evaluations. The approach presented by David Buckingham suggests not to panic over the loss of control, but rather to embrace it and fit it into an institutionalised pedagogic context. With this attitude, media education and film pedagogy approaches the relationship between adult and youth in a way that doesn't distort the power structure between generations. It opens up to more inclusive and equal relationship that is less authoritarian as it acknowledges the competence of the young and respects the selections of their texts, whether they are previously considered suitable or not. In the end it is still the adult that is in charge over the preferred outcome by setting the framework for the education. Returning to

108 Buckingham, Media education: literacy, learning and contemporary culture, 4.
109 Buckingham, After the death of childhood: growing up in the age of electronic media, 193.
110 Buckingham, Media education: literacy, learning and contemporary culture, 176.
111 Buckingham, After the death of childhood: growing up in the age of electronic media, 207.
Buckingham's quotes above, there is a clear *we* and *them* whereas "we", the adults, set the standards yet with a more humble tone towards "them", the younger ones.

### 3.3.2. The battle against violence in film and media

Video violence was actively debated in the 1980's in Sweden as a result of an epic episode of the television show *Studio S*, which led to an increased negative attitude towards film again, mainly video, and an attitude towards the child as something that needed to be protected from its destructive content. The VHS had been launched in Sweden in the late 1970's and was mainly used by schools during the first years. When *Studio S* broadcasted the episode "Who needs video?" it was thus a relatively new medium that was discussed. The topic of the episode was to "inform" about violent horror films that were available for children through this new medium. The episode showed interviews with children who claimed to have seen *The Texas Chainsaw Massacre* (Tobe Hooper, 1974) and combined the interviews with brutal scenes from the film. According to Malena Janson: "The one hour episode is a prolonged warning towards the Swedish citizens about the new medium, which claims to be harmful to children".112 Ironically, the sales for video machines increased enormously after the show as well as the movie rental of *The Texas Chainsaw Massacre*. But what also happened, was the backlash in the attitude towards film as a medium in relation to children. Some schools stopped using film in education on the demand of their student's parents. The panic also affected children's film production. After a period of challenging children's films made during the 1970's, films for kids in the 1980's focused more on "harmless" topics again, aligned with "The Bullerby Discourse" that was characteristic of the 1960's according to Malena Janson.113 A Council on Media Violence (*Våldskildringsrådet*) was established in 1990 as a reaction to the debate, with a mission to combat harmful depictions of violence and increase knowledge within the field.114

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113 Ibid., 135-137 (Bullerby refers to the filmic adaption of the Astrid Lindgren novel directed by Olle Hellbom in 1960 *The Children of Bullerby Village*. The film was remade in 1986 as *The Children from Noisy Village* by director Lasse Hallström.)

Research on how violence in media affect the spectator has been conducted since the 1920's, mainly in the US. The results of the different studies has varied through time, but most researchers now seem to agree that there is no major evident connection between violence in media and actual violence in society. The main factor behind violence and aggression in society is rather connected to different social matters. A Swedish governmental report from 1969 already concluded the need to nuance the previously considered harmful aspects of cinema based on new research. Scary or chocking effects in film cannot be considered harmful for the child according to the report, since their possible impact on the child's wellbeing is but temporary. Våldsskildringsrådet conducted regular studies and reports on the topic of media's impact on youth. When Swedish politicians were asked about the importance of media education in one of their studies from 1997, some parties emphasized its importance by referring to the increased violence in media. Interestingly however, when Astrid Söderbergh Widding conducted a study concerning the alleged popularity of violent films of the 1990's, the results showed that among the most popular films from this decade it was rather a modest part that could classify as "violent films". This could indicate that violence in media creates a generic concern irrespective of its popularity among audiences. In the final publication from Våldsskildringsrådet (later also called Medierådet) about their twenty year practice, they conclude: "Strangely, the Council that was created to work against violence in media as well as actual violence, will get an important role in nuancing this connection"

3.3.2.1. Recovering from the Violence stigma

Apart from the studies done by Våldsskildringsrådet, it took the effort of enthusiastic cultural workers and teachers to have the relationship between film and school restored after the video violence debate. Elisabet Edlund who worked with children and youth film at the Swedish

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116 Janson, "Bio för barnens bästa? Svensk barnfilm som fostran och fritidsnöje under 60 år", 46-47. The name of the report was SOU 1969:14 "Filmen: censur och ansvar. Betänkande avgivet av Filmcensurutredningen".
Film Institute between 1982-1993, was part of building up the confidence again. In "The School and The Moving Images" (Skolan och de rörliga bilderna) published in 1986 she adheres to the importance of shifting focus towards the positive functions of film instead of the negative:

Without in any way diminishing the worry and helplessness that phenomena such as "video violence" and other perversions of the film medium has created, I wanted to show what a living and positive power the moving images are - and can be - in school. Film, TV and video are certainly not only violence, horror and hilarity. In Sweden, as well as the rest of the world, many films are produced for children and youth that are amusing, upsetting and enriching. Films that, just like literature and music, should be part of schools everyday life. "One have spoken enough about "the dreadful video violence", now one wants to do something constructive."

Two years later, in 1988 The Swedish Film Institute received 6 million SEK from the Swedish Government to support children's film and cinema of which the film pedagogic practice such as school cinema could develop. Elisabet Edlund's arguments above highlight film's possibilities by excluding or looking beyond the "worrying" topics, which might have been a necessary statement in the suites of the video violence debate. An immediate trend to recover from the debate was to shift focus from the violent content in film. Three years after the Governmental funding, the Film Institute published a small book edited by Elisabet Edlund, to report on how the funding had been used in different municipalities. One article reports on how school cinema had been implemented in Arboga by an enthusiastic teacher:

Politicians had just opened their eyes to the big amount of video and violent films and wanted to start an anti-video campaign. I then introduced my suggestion about school cinema and that one could offer alternatives to the video films. That one

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should try to accustom children to quality products. And the politicians lined up for that.¹²²

These arguments adhere to a tradition of smakfostran, i.e. that school should educate children about good taste.¹²³ During the same period however, different approaches were also introduced. Instead of excluding or redirecting students from violent films, some methods consisted of including particularly these films in education. Olle Holmberg worked as a Swedish teacher and a researcher when he initiated a project based on the reception of violent films with a group of young male students. His purpose was to understand their fascination for these films which resulted in the book Video violence and education (Videovåld och undervisning, 1988). His study brought up issues such as the repressed fear of death, as well as counter culture towards adulthood.¹²⁴ He also addressed the different aspects of looking at film in a school environment compared to a home environment, enhancing the positive aspects but also the risks that remind about Buckingham's "sophisticated viewer": "It is good that school provide the opportunity for processing and structure [...], it is not good however if the school reduces the emotional engagement too much, so that the pupils do not recognize their video experiences from the home environment."¹²⁵ With this statement, Holmberg emphasizes the importance of the experience of the spectator, which he was particularly interested in. His pedagogic framework thus embraced the experience as a starting point for an understanding of the psychological dimensions of enjoying violent films. Thirty years later when he writes about his experience with this project he describes it as his: "most intellectual adventure as a teacher"¹²⁶ doubting that same kind of projects would be possible in school today' with its demand on measuring results, as well as the lacking focus on film pedagogy in contemporary teacher training.¹²⁷


¹²⁵ Olle Holmberg, Videovåld och undervisning (Stockholm: Symposion, 1988), 92. "Det är bra att skolan ger utrymme åt bearbetning och struktur [...], det är inte lika bra om skolan reducerar den emotionella inlevelsen alltför mycket, så att eleverna inte längre känner igen sina videoupplevelser från hemsescnen."


¹²⁷ Ibid., 36, 40-42.
The teacher Åke Sahlin also worked with similar methods as Holmberg in the 1980's. In his case however, it started as a "crisis" when a group of troublesome boys caused psychological and physical pressure on students and teachers. With a method initiated together with the media analyst Lars Åsbrink, he introduced "Empathy training through violent films" ("Medmänsklighetsträning med stöd av videofilm"). The method was to view and discuss the violent films in episodes with the group of troublesome students in order to reach indepth discussions about their own issues and behaviour. In Stäng inte av! (Don't turn off!) he describes the experience of using this method, the challenges, effort and eventually the successful outcome. "It's my opinion, with support in the curriculum, that the film violence that actually exists and won't disappear in a any foreseeable future, not only should but must be dealt with somewhere and the most appropriate place is actually in school". This is an argument that was similarly expressed in the 1960's debate about film pedagogy. To include the preferences of youth, and films that are not aligned with traditional aspects of what is suitable or of good quality, might break with the school's tradition of "fostering taste". Nevertheless, as Malena Janson and Heta Mulari have described, there are still aspects of fosterage in the film pedagogic practise.

The limiting preconditions for film pedagogy that Olle Holmberg mentions, are clearly aspects that emphasizes the important effort of the "enthusiastic teacher" and likewise a matter that should be addressed on political level. As the arguments for the role of film in education have fluctuated throughout the decades the affirmation for its importance has nevertheless been consistent. To improve the conditions for teachers as well as student teachers should therefore continuously be of main concern. The mission Film i skolan ascribed to the Swedish Film Institute in 2000 is thus as relevant as ever.

129 Ibid., 31. "Jag anser, med stöd av läroplanen, att det filmvåld som faktiskt finns och inte kommer att försvinna inom en överskådlig framtid, inte bör utan måste hanteras någonstans och det lämpligaste stället är faktiskt skolan."
4. The case with *Flickan, mamman och demonerna*

"I strongly believe in art as a transplanted heart for the exposed child"

Suzanne Osten

4.1. The film and the director

"Everything will work out fine in the end, this is just a film." In the opening scene the two actors, likewise mother and daughter in reality, Esther Quigley (daughter Ti) and Maria Sundbom (Mother Siri), ensure the audience about the positive outcome of the film.

Following images show paper dolls with moving eyes along with the opening credits, as if to illustrate how scary effects can be created. The film has been described as a thriller for children. The demons are depicted as real actors with white greyish makeup and staring eyes. They appear in corners, cupboards and constantly accompany Siri while remaining invisible to others. Ti accepts her mother's extraordinary vision and believes in the existence of the demons. With the smell from a special kind of candy she can even scare them away.

The plot begins with the birthday celebration of seven year old Ti. She receives a homemade doll house as a gift from her mother. Her aunt gives her an ipad, ensuring mother Siri that it is not connected to the internet. In the following outline of the story, this idyllic celebration will be contrasted as Siri escapes with Ti to an unknown address where her psychotic illness escalate. Mother Siri sees demons everywhere. The apartment where they live becomes more dirty and messy throughout the film, full of garbage and glass shards. Neighbours complain about rotten smell. Ti is mocked in school since she smells of urine. Due to the demons in the bathroom, Ti is not allowed to wash. The illness escalate to the point where the demons instruct Siri to kill her daughter. But all ends well. Ti's attentive teacher report the suspected situation to the social authorities who interrupt and save both the mother and child from the situation. Ti can reunite with her aunt who has been searching for her throughout the film. Siri gets hospitalised and can improve through medication.

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Flickan, mamman och demonerna is inspired by the director Suzanne Osten's own childhood. In her book Barndom, feminism och galenskap she has described how it was to grow up with a psychotic mother and how it has affected her life and artistry.\textsuperscript{131} Her artistic focus has consistently been on child perspectives and childhood, with plays about challenging upbringings and existential themes. In 1975 she founded "Unga Klara", the theatrical stage for young audiences.\textsuperscript{132} She has also been a professor of directing at the Dramatic Institute of Stockholm as well an Ambassador for children's film at The Swedish Film Institute.\textsuperscript{133}

4.1.1. Representations of the Child in Flickan, mamman och demonerna
When mother Siri starts to break cups and glass from the cupboards, Ti joins her, amused by the crazy actions. The affection between mother and daughter is illustrated in several scenes, playing cards, putting lipstick on each other, telling stories. Ti accepts the behaviour of her mother and positions herself in relation to the circumstances, never showing any fear towards the demons surrounding her mother. She is innocent in her playful way of adjusting to her mother's behaviour. When there is no food at home and Siri is passive about it, Ti goes to the shop and manages to come home with groceries. When Siri forbids her to use the toilet because of its demons, she sneaks in anyway. The competence of the child is thus clearly portrayed as well. Ti uses her fantasy to fill out the missing pieces in her situation. She uses the disconnected ipad and imagines that she communicates with her aunt, that Siri has forbidden her to contact. Considering the concept of digital childhoods and common concerns for its dangerous aspects, the disconnection in Ti's case can rather be considered as an obstacle for her, not being able to contact her aunt. The harmful aspects in Ti's surrounding does not involve media content, but rather the isolation from it. Even if Siri does not prevent Ti from going to school and leaving the house, she has become isolated from the rest of the

\textsuperscript{131} Ibid. 22-25, 53-54. Suzanne Osten's first feature film (Mamma, 1980) is based on her mother's character. Her mother, diagnosed with paranoid schizophrenia, was an intellectual film critic who was very interested in the theories of Freud. Apart from writing Freudian film analysis, she projected the theories onto her child, constantly searching for other motives behind the daughter's actions. Osten learned to imitate a psychoanalytic terminology as a child, in order to respond to her mother's paranoia and escape the isolation. Furthermore, she explains how culture became a rescuing point in her life. She spent hours in the library and attended a school that focused on arts education where she felt secure among teachers. Amazed by plays of Shakespeare, she would soon find her place at the theatres, where she has worked since the 1960's

\textsuperscript{132} Unga Klara, "Om Unga Klara", 2018-05-12, http://www.ungaklara.se/om-unga-klara/

\textsuperscript{133} Barnfilmsambassadören, "Om Barnfilmsambassadören", 2018-05-12, https://barnfilmsambassadoren.wordpress.com/om-barnfilmsambassadoren/
family due to their new secret address. Remaining loyal to her mother, she makes no attempts to expose their abnormal living situation, or maybe she settles for it and finds it normal.

Given Ti's competent characteristics, she is nevertheless a child that needs to be rescued. As Siri's illness escalate we understand the danger it exposes the child to. The demons try to convince Siri that she needs to kill Ti in order to stay safe, which she refuses to accept, making the demons even more aggressive. The terrifying situation dissolves when the police and social authorities break in to the apartment, exclaiming disgust over the dirty abnormal interior. The portrayal of Ti is thus an encapsulation of agency and fragility, which is also illustrated in her clothing. She often wears a white martial arts-outfit, like a warrior in the colour of innocence, getting more dirty as the story evolves. Meanwhile, mother Siri is always properly styled with blond curls and make up, possibly to reflect how Ti perceives her through a child's loving filter. The whiteness in Ti's appearance (clothes, hair, fair skin) might also connote to Karen Lury's description of how the innocence of the child becomes emphasized in relation to its darker surrounding. These are thus characteristics of the child as represented in films for adults. Returning to Vicky Lebeau's study, the character of Ti also becomes a symbol for hope and future. Through the difficulties, she manages to survive. The fostering aspects of the story are not hard to find: The mother is ill and needs care from society. Society has a responsibility for taking care of the child. Ti should not be stigmatised due to her parent being mentally ill. In the tutorial she is described as a "girl that is strong like Pippi Longstocking but on the inside". In a subtle way, this description connects the film to its history among Swedish children's film yet implying its differences, since Ti is placed in a situation that emphasizes her mental and emotional strength.

**4.1.2. Osten's child perspectives and the important role of school**

The experience of a dysfunctional family has not only influenced Osten's artistry but also her understanding of childhood and children. Adhering to psychological research of Alice Miller that emphasize the importance of empathy rather than instruction, Osten has aimed to grasp the child's perspective and recognized the creative competence of the child. Her productions have often challenged the image of innocent childhood to focus on aspects as

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134 Svenska Filminstitutet, Filmhandledning Flickan, mamman och demonerna. "en flicka som är stark som Pippi Långstrump fast på insidan"

135 Osten, Barndom, feminism och galenskap: Osten om Osten, 9.
divorce, mental illness, suicide etc, which she claims that children are capable of understanding. Throughout her career she has faced the same questions from concerned teachers, questioning if children are able to deal with the scary topics. Osten herself is certain. One of her main arguments is that children perceive topics differently from adults:

They [Children] don't experience guilt when they see conflicts on stage. We adults however, with our references, we often see same themes with nostalgia. We look back. We mourn what was lost. This is a crucial difference. Adults are often very sentimental. Children hope. They look forward.

The differing perception between children and adults is also mentioned by Karin Helander in *Hundra år av småbarnskonst*. Perception studies made on preschool children showed that they focus more on certain details in the story rather than the outline of the plot. They also managed to interpret happy endings even if this was lacking to adults. The studies thus showed that children can create their own dramaturgic interpretation of the story as well as the characters. Considering that children can perceive stories differently from adults might be a source of concern. If adults feel insecure about how a film will be perceived, a reaction might be to avoid it to instead of trying to address it. Understanding when a child is ready to comprehend the outline of a story has been Osten's consideration as well. Her art is created with the age of the target group in mind. As she explains about *Flickan, mamman och demonerna*: "It [The film] is done and tested on children from 7 years and older: as School Cinema. All that takes is an engaged teacher, and we have really good tutorials for the teachers help."

Hence, even if Osten approaches the young audience with reliance to their capability, she nevertheless amplifies the child's need for caring adults. If the family does not provide the security that is necessary for the child, the school as an institution becomes even more important. As per the director's own experience: "I had a wonderful teacher. She was

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139 Osten, "Suzanne Osten replikerar om *Flickan, mamman och demonerna*". "Den är gjord och testad för barn från 7 år och upp: på Skolbio. Det krävs bara en engagerad lärare, och vi har verkligt bra handledning till lärarens hjälp"
only 19 years old and a handbreadth high. The reason why I want to mention her is because I believe that a school teacher, or a kindergarden teacher can be that essential meeting, that Alice Miller talks about."

Osten's affirmation to the important role of school is clear. Nevertheless, the combination of art in school is even more important: "Teachers that have not experienced art themselves and a school that does not respect the creativity of the child would be a huge problem." Adhering to what Karin Helander describes as the *interpretative prerogative* of adults, Osten has experienced how adults need to be convinced about the importance of children's culture since they have the power to determine what to attend to and not. This reality has often charged children's culture with a pedagogic burden and a need to argue for its positive function. Osten has however tried to avoid the outspoken pedagogic function of her plays, explaining that: "There is an intrinsic pedagogy in all good plays, but we don't aim for pedagogy". The argument for children's culture should rather be on equal premises as adult culture, according to Osten, stating that child audiences have the same need for art that treats existential problems, placing the experience first.

Interestingly, even if the pedagogic function is not the aim for Osten as expressed above, *Flickan, mamman och demonerna* was created with School cinema in mind. This can indicate an approach to the aesthetic learning process that Rozenkrantz and Mund advocated, an approach that focuses on what the experience of the film can provide. Looking at the tutorial to the film, there is likewise an attempt to address the experience of fear in one of the questions intended for 10-13 year olds asking: "Was there anything that was particularly scary in the film? What? Did it help to know that the story would end happily?" Following question attempts to address the experience of fear in relation to reality, encouraging the pupils to reflect on what they have been scared of from the news or in real life.

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142 Osten, *Barndom, feminism och galenskap: Osten om Osten*, 133. "De vuxnas reaktion är helt avgörande för barnteatern. De köper föreställningen, de talar om den, de jobbar med den, de kan förbjuda den."

143 Ibid., 134. "Det finns en pedagogik inbyggd i alla bra pjäser, men vi syftar inte till pedagogik";

144 Ibid.

145 Svenska Filminstitutet, "Filmhandledning *Flickan, mamman och demonerna*", 1.
4.2. The debate and outcome - clashing ideas about the child spectator

The journey of the film *Flickan, mamman och demonerna* shows a fascinating route starting with director Suzanne Osten’s artistic ambition as well as informing motives concerning mental illness among parents. It has a stopover at The Media Council that tries to cancel Osten's plans and reroute the film by forbidding it to its specific target group. Following debates and legal actions change back the route to its original plan, but has still managed to disturb the outcome and create scepticism among parents and school representatives. Not many schools have seen the film as school cinema even if its offered on demand. As a rescuer in this context, The Swedish association of Schizophrenia (*Schizofreniförbundet*), has taken the film under its wings with funding from the General inheritance fund (*Allmänna arvsfonden*). The purpose of their project is to use the film as part of an information campaign to support children that live with mentally ill parents, and to create awareness among social agents that may face these families, such as within school, psychiatry and the police. The film has thus found its place within a pedagogic context embraced for its informative function, yet with adults as a main target group. In an article in *Point of view*, Suzanne Osten describes the project as "the happy ending" to the case with *Flickan, mamman och demonerna*. In the article she expresses the negative effects that the rating from the Media Council has had on the film: "Consequently: my film plunged from the cinema repertoire - horrific headlines and debates scared considered teachers and parents. Even if we eventually won the case in the administrative court, ticket sales are always the cinema owner's interest."

The Media Council's verdict about the film states the following:

> The theme of the presentation concerns suicide, mental illness and vulnerability of children and is characterised by an alarming and partly very scary ambience. Furthermore, there are aspects of a woman in an escalating psychotic condition who

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146 Information according to School cinema providers *Medioteket* (Stockholm) and *cnema* (Norrköping).

147 *Schizofreniförbundet*, "Projektet Flickan, mamman och demonerna, 2018-04-21, https://medlem.foreningssupport.se/schizofreni/projektet_flickan_mamman_och_demonerna

148 Ibid.

149 Osten, "Suzanne Osten replikerar om *Flickan, mamman och demonerna*".

150 Ibid. "Alltså: min film störtdök från bioägarna – skräckrubriker och debatter skrämdes tilltänkta lärare och föräldrar. Även om vi så småningom vann målet i Förvaltningsdomstolen, är inkomster alltid biografägarens argument."
neglects her daughter, as well as several scenes where a woman has scary hallucinations with demonic characters that among other things, put a snare around her throat and urges her to kill herself and to kill the daughter. The mother's illness and the girl's vulnerability is very realistically represented which can be considered to increase the possible identification for children. The presentation is considered to create a strong fear, worry and confusion and to be harmful for the wellbeing of children under 15 years.\footnote{Statens medieråd, "Examination no. 203597". "Framställningens tematik kretser kring självmord, psykisk sjukdom och barns utsatthet och präglas av en oroväckande och bitvis mycket skrämmande stämning. Vidare förekommer inslag av en kvinna i ett eskalerande psykotiskt tillstånd som försömnar sin dotter, samt flera scener där en kvinna har skrämmande hallucinationer med demonlika personer som bl.a trär en snara runt hennes hals och uppmanar henne att ta sitt liv samt uppmanar henne att ta livet av sin dotter. Mammans sjukdomsförlopp och flickans utsatthet är mycket realistiskt skildrat vilket kan antas öka möjligheten till identifikation för barn. Framställningen bedöms kunna medföra stark rädsla, oro och förvirring och vara till skada för välbefinnandet för barn under 15 år."

Interestingly, the reluctance to show the film for children is based on a worry for the harmful feelings that might be evoked by the "possible identification". This statement can reflect Sommer's concept of a contemporary anxiety concerning the wellbeing of the child. The Media Council, represented by adults, have expressed their concern about certain themes that can be harmful for the child, which in this case is the mental illness of a mother, emphasizing the vulnerability of the child instead of its resilience. The verdict expresses a wish to protect children from a realistic depiction of a situation that according to Suzanne Osten, is the reality for many children in Sweden. It is not the image of the child that is being contested, but rather the image of the mentally ill mother, a topic that Osten has described as one of the biggest taboos in society that needs to be addressed.\footnote{Osten, "Suzanne Osten replikerar om Flickan, mamman och demonerna".} The child perspective in The Media Council's verdict relates to paragraph 3 in the Child convention, adhering to ideas on what is best for the child and emphasizing its right to protection. Moreover, the wish to protect children from experiencing a realistic depiction by referring to the child's vulnerability, is an aspect that can be addressed in line with Anne-Li Lindgren's approach, by identifying the position of the adult in the same context. To prevent subjects from being exposed to children can express a wish not to discuss these topics, perhaps due to an uncertainty in how to deal with the questions or feelings it might evoke, and possibly due to a lack of resources and knowledge. As part of the cultural anxiety addressed by Sommer, the tendency to avoid certain topics relates to a nostalgic view on childhood that aims for its protection in an otherwise changing society. The anxiety caused by changes creates a defensiveness and uncertainty of what is best...
for the child. The notion of the harmful is also part of its own historical discourse and tradition that is recurring irrespective of research results on the topic.

Suzanne Osten does not seem to identify with the anxious uncertainty about her topics, but rather a confidence in knowing what the child is capable of dealing with. She explains how she has conducted reception studies and discussions about the film with its target group and informs that they show: "great empathy and come up with many solutions to how to help the character Ti." The identification that The Media Council described as harmful would from Osten's perspective rather be considered to evoke a sense of empathy with the character rather than fear. Given the Council's statement that the film can be harmful, Osten describes how at least 350,000 young spectators in Sweden need the film since they live in the situation represented in it, with a mentally ill parent. Osten also refers to her long experience within the field of children's culture and knowledge on children perception. Her work has addressed horror and fear, and discovered that children are fascinated by the genre, connecting it to psychological dimensions of our awareness of the unavoidable death, which relates to ideas of art as a transitional object to understand reality. While adults would prefer to avoid this topic: "Real children on the other hand, have an outspoken longing for the horror genre, and to work with it." Clearly, this case illustrates how ideas on what is suitable clashes within the realm of children's culture, as well as within the film pedagogic discourse: Controlling "harmful and non-suitable" film by avoiding them, or by addressing them in school.

4.2.1. Reception of the film

While the Media Council reconciles paragraph 3 in their verdict, Malena Janson draws upon paragraph 31, and the child's right to experience cultural expressions. In her article En rättighet att se Suzanne Ostens film (i.e "A right to see Suzanne Osten's film") published in Dagens Nyheter during the ongoing debate, she contests the Media Council's decision by criticizing both its negligence towards the totality of the film as well as current reception studies. She also explains the contradictory stands of the council as they allow an 11 year old recommendation on other entertainment movies that contains violence. Furthermore, what can be understood from Janson's article is a reference to the new paradigm of childhood

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153 Ibid., "stor empati och ger massor av lösningar på hur man kan hjälpa rollen TI"
154 Ibid., "Verkliga barn har däremot en uttalad längtan till skräckgenren, och att få hålla på med den"
155 Malena Janson, "En rättighet att se Suzanne Ostens film", Dagens Nyheter, 20160317.
research, that acknowledges the child's multi-personal relationship and not only the role of the mother: "the reassuring fact that the girl Ti is not alone but has support from her aunt, her teacher, her bonus dad, a neighbour, a lady at the grocery store..." 156 Considering the totality of the film, it is unlikely that the film can be experienced as harmful according to Janson: "The girl and the mother wins, the demons lose". 157

Film critic Erika Hallgren on the other hand, sympathises with the Media Council's decision. In her article in Svenska Dagbladet she questions the suitability of the realistic representation of demons as well as the dangerous aspects of the mother's illness. Besides this, however, she states that the film as such is important and well done. 158 Likewise, film critic Vanessa Crispin in Point of View, wants to praise the film for its theme and horrific effects, yet withstand that the genre s not suitable for children. Rather it should have been marketed as a film for adults in line with other Swedish horror films, such as Låt den rätte komma in (Tomas Alfredson, 2008). Swedish children's film on the other hand, should look back and learn from the popularity of films produced during the 1960's rather than trying to appear as groundbreaking with violence and horror. 159 Thus, while some have claimed that the film is too realistic, Crispin argues that it is actually the surrealistic aspects of the demons that is not suitable for children, since (which she argues without referring to any research) children are not capable of responding to it. Maria Brander in Expressen follows the same line and would not see the film with a child unless the child would also be ready for films as IT (Tommy Lee Wallace, 1990) and The Shining (Stanley Kubrick, 1980). 160

The different opinions expressed about the film are still rather coherent when it comes to evaluating the quality and importance of the film. Nevertheless, it is precisely the issue of suitability that might separate them, as well as an idea about the horror genre that cannot be aligned with children's film. Another aspect in common with the different articles is that they have a child perspective but not a child's perspective. They all speak on behalf of children, presupposing that their own understanding corresponds to the understanding of the child. This

156 Ibid. "det trygghetsskapande faktum att flickan Ti inte är ensam utan har stöd av sin moster, sin lärare, sin bonuspappa, en granne, en dam på snabbköpet..."
157 Ibid. "Flickan och mamman vinner, demonerna förlorar"
160 Maria Brander, "Flickan, mamman och demonerna", Expressen, 20160413.
can again be compared to the filter that Sommer has described concerning adults way of perceiving childhood. The filter through which we look at children will always depend on our own experience and likely to be mixed with nostalgia as well as concern aligned with the cultural anxiety of our time. Sommer describes an *industry of concerns (bekymmersindustri)* that has grown stronger since the new millennium which feeds the ongoing trend of emphasizing "suggestive, emotional and ideological arguments" concerning children, often fuelled by media and with little attachment to research. "The producers of this industry deliver worrying stories to uncertain parents who want the best for their child - often followed by "good advice" about how to correct the problems."\(^{161}\) The debate concerning *Flickan, mamman och demonerna* reminds about Sommer's description, even if the "producer of the concerns" in this case is The Media Council who claim to conduct their work based on scientific grounds.\(^{162}\) References to relevant research concerning the matter is however not addressed by any of the critics listed above, besides in Malena Janson's article. Janson refers to Karin Helander's reception studies and J-H Schultz and Magne Raundalen's research on the adult's responsibility for making reality comprehensible to children, which includes the challenging aspects as well. The critic Jenny Aschenbrenner from Swedish Radio, also refers to a psychiatrist who claims that culture can never create trauma for its spectator.\(^{163}\) The attitudes concerning children would perhaps be less anxious if the room for scientific statements about child perception could dominate the discourse along with the emphasis on Media and Information Literacy. In line with David Buckingham's approach in *After the death of Childhood*, when highlighting the importance of media education the competences of the child should be one of our primary interest instead of the focusing on concerns.

### 4.2.1.1. Considering children's perspectives on the film

So what were the children's own opinion of the film? Apart from Suzanne Osten's reception studies were the young audience expressed fascination over the genre of horror as well as empathy with the characters, Swedish Radio have made an interview with young spectator's of the film. The reporter Nina Asarnoj saw the film together with a group of children from 6th class.*

\(^{161}\) Sommer, 87- 86. "Producenterna i denna industri levererar oroande berättelser till osäkra föräldrar som vill sina barns bästa - ofta följt av "goda råd" om hur man kommer till rätta med problemen."


\(^{163}\) "Vad säger barnen själva om Suzanne Ostens omdiskuterade film?" Sveriges Radio P1, 20160415, https://sverigesradio.se/sida/avsnitt/719753?programid=767
and 9th grade and encouraged them to reflect upon it afterwards. The concept of transferring children's perspectives through an adult production should of course be addressed with a critical perspective considering selection of statements and conditions of the production, just like Anne-Li Lindgren and Gunilla Halldén have advocated. My purpose with this section however, is merely to take note to what is mentioned by the participating children in this specific radio program, without claiming it to be representative for every child or completely unprejudiced. Once analysing the tutorial I will consider whether these statements are addressed in the material and thus if there is a correspondence with the message of the radio program and the pedagogic framework.

What can be heard from the interviews is that the participants considered the film to be good, interesting, yet scary sometimes. One of the younger spectators appreciated that the demons were presented as real actors instead of ghostly effects, which would have made it more scary. Presented this way, it felt more like a theatre than a horror film, he concludes. They also reflected upon the social circumstances in the film, wondering why school did not react to the girl's situation earlier. One felt sorry when Ti was ashamed of her mother in a sequence, enhancing the importance of the film as it can highlight the situation some children live in. No one thought that the film should have a 15 year old limit, but highlighted that it is good to see it with an adult and discuss it afterwards. One girl expressed the disappointing feeling whenever films receive a 15 year limit, since it prevented them from seeing films they really wanted to see on cinema, continuing to question the purpose of the age limit: Children will experience bad things anyway, "a film will not hurt".

These comments express certain media specific understandings, both concerning scary effects that can be used in film, but also aspects of intermediacy, comparing the style of the film to theatre. Mimetic aspects and representations of reality is also present, when reflecting upon the social circumstances and why school did not react earlier. Besides moments of scared reactions, feelings of empathy and sadness were also touched upon. One girl describes that she was moved to tears in one scene where Ti puts lipstick on her mother, finding the moment sentimentally depicted. The potential of addressing the spectator's experience can thus be sensed by this fifteen minute radio program, presenting the child as an active agent that has not become too "sophisticated" to express feelings evoked by the film. The aspect that the

164 Ibid.
165 Ibid.
film should not be forbidden for 11 year olds, but seen together with an adult can be perceived both as a wish for comfort through scary emotions, and as a need to reflect upon the themes depicted. As Olle Holmberg touched upon, one of the advantages of seeing challenging films in a school context, was the framework that enabled the spectator's questions to be answered. The experience of collective spectatorship in a pedagogic context could address themes that would otherwise be implicit in the spectator's own reactions. A pedagogue following Holmberg's line, could for example address the lipstick sequence and turn attention to the spectator's relation to that particular scene and encourage the understanding of one's emotional reactions. Questions that Rozenkrantz and Mund meant should be crucial to pupils were: "What was your experience of the film? How does your experience resemble or differ from your friends? Can you reflect upon why your experience might resemble or differ from your friend?" With these types of questions and focus on the spectator's feeling, the pedagogic framework would not only be a material for learning about the topic (such as mental illness among parents) or a training in film literacy, but also encouraging pupils to consider their own position in relation to what is depicted and how it is presented.

4.3. Comparing the case to the debate on violent film

The debate that aroused in the 1980's concerning violent and horror film has certain similarities with the debate about Flickan, mamman och demonerna. However, there are crucial differences as well. The main similarity is the adult concern about children facing non suitable content, using words as harmful to describe the impact. One crucial difference concerns the type of films involved in the debate. While the 1980's reacted to how video would give children access to unsuitable genres not intended for them, Suzanne Osten's film is literally created for children within one of the contested genres. As already mentioned, this clash addresses concepts concerning the definition of children's culture and who has the mandate to decide its limitations. When Malena Janson criticized The Media Council's decision by not considering the totality of the film, she thus touched upon its "child friendly" framing instead of specific scary scenes. The legal outcome confirmed Osten's line and established the 11-year age recommendation. The real outcome however, showed the

166 Rozenkrantz and Mund, 424. "Vad var din upplevelse av filmen? Hur liknar eller skiljer sig din upplevelse från din kamrats? Kan du fundera över varför din upplevelse kan tänkas likna eller skilja sig från kamratens?"
complexity of the case and a remaining uncertainty towards the film, as a probable result of the headlines and scary sequences. Child characters can be represented in horror and violent films intended for adults as described by Karen Lury, but if exposed to child audiences the suitability is likely to be contested. Considering that Osten's film was created with informative ambitions for school cinema, adds another aspect that addresses the position of film in education. Critics agreed upon the important topic of Flickan, mamman och demonerna but contested the suitability of its presentation, perhaps implying that Osten should have created a less suggestive film that would not include scary sequences. The reluctance towards exposing the child to frightening emotions is a recurring discourse, connected to the idea of childhood as innocent and different from aspects of the adult world. Even if there is no evident research that shows the negative impact of horror or violent films, there are results showing how the pedagogic context concerning these expressions can matter. To address frightening subjects through art can work as a transitional stage towards empowering the young spectator. Olle Holmberg described how the school environment became a more suitable place to address the challenging topics compared to the home environment, where the child would be alone with its experience, which corresponds to Osten's ambition with the film, creating it for a film pedagogic context where the experiences would be discussed afterwards. This ambition however, relies heavily on the pedagogues that are responsible for the class room discussion, which during times of "anxiety on behalf of children" can be challenging in itself.

The outburst of the 1980's debate started with a testimony that several kids had already seen The Texas Chainsaw Massacre, and consequently a wish to prevent similar possibilities. The Osten debate, nearly four decades later, was of a preventive type wanting to forbid the film before it could reach out. The pedagogic framework used on violent films by Holmberg and Sahlin, addressed issues on empathy and what the film meant for the spectator. Their projects questioned the negative attitude towards the violent preferences of the young spectators, and instead focused on how these preferences could be used in a pedagogic way. In Sahlin's case it was a question of solving a crisis with a group of kids. The project in Holmberg's case, was driven with a researcher's interest in what these preferences could tell us about underlying factors. The pedagogic framework provided to Flickan, mamman och demonerna is not intended as a solution to a problem in the same context as Sahlin's project was. Neither is it intended to examine the young spectator's preferences of a contested genre.
However there are still similar aspects in the goals of the frameworks concerning the focus on achieving empathy with other characters.

4.4. Analysis of the tutorial

The tutorial to the film consists of four pages with text and images as well as a back page with information about production data and suggestions for further reading. There are four main headlines: 1. The plot, 2. Horror film and super heroes, 3. Mental illness, 4. Breaking taboos: to talk about and depict difficult topics. Each section has suggested practices and questions divided between age groups 10-13 and 13-16. The pupils are encouraged to empathize with both the girl character as well as the mother, for example by trying to imagine how it feels to be an insufficient mother. One practice suggests that the pupils discuss difficult circumstances that children can face at home. The tutorial emphasizes directly to the teacher in this part: "Here it is important that you as a teacher are attentive in case some pupils might feel uncomfortable or offended, so that you do not push anyone to talk." The responsibility of the teacher is thus hinted, indicating the challenges that can occur when discussing sensitive topics.

As already mentioned, the tutorial addresses one direct question concerning the child's experience of the film, which is to ask where the child spectator was frightened. Further attempts to dig deeper into examining why the spectator felt frightened in that particular sequence or compare the emotion with a friend is not suggested. However the following questions turn attention to fear in a more general sense, asking about other circumstances where the pupil became frightened and how they dealt with the feeling, as if trying to grasp the concept of fear. Beyond fear, the tutorial also encourages the pupils (10-13) to explore other kinds of emotions, such as anger, sadness, disappointment, love and happiness. "How do the emotions feel in the body and how does one look when feeling them? Show each other!" This practice suggests an approach that emphasizes fear as an emotion among many others, placing it in the body and suggesting that pupils take control over the emotions by playing around with them. This might introduce a way of connecting film pedagogy to embodied film experiences, shifting focus from mainly the text to how something feels in the body. Furthermore, one practice asks pupils to reflect on which type of film (documentary or

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167 "Här är det viktigt att du som lärare är lyhörd för vilka elever som eventuellt känner sig obekväma eller illa berörda, och inte pushar någon att prata", 3.
fictive) affects them the most and asks if you can "learn something" through fiction as well, which encourages the pupil to reflect on their own learning process and the value of different learning material. The aspect of not aiming for pedagogy (yet being it intrinsically) can be characterised with the question: "Does the experience of sharing a fictive character's life and world have a value in itself?"  

There are also aspects that encourage media specific awareness among the pupils. For example by discussing the concept of genres, as well as differences between theatre and film. The pupils are suggested to note the style of how certain scenes are filmed and reflect on why the style is selected for particularly that part. Issues on makeup and costumes are not addressed which could have been relevant in the sense of highlighting how an actor becomes a demon. The tutorial also encourages an imaginative interaction with the characters in the film, suggesting that the pupils write a letter from Ti to the aunt, which is likely a practice to enhance the empathy an understanding for Ti in her exposed situation.

The section on Mental illness addresses the fact that many children grow up in Ti's situation and referring to them as Maskrosbarn i.e. Dandelion children, that manages to grow even through asphalt. The section also criticizes the individualistic society that has emerged making people not interfere in other's lives even if they see that something is not correct. "Our human sense of responsibility should demand more from our compassion with other's and not be frightened to ask further and try to find out how someone really feels. We would all feel better if we could help each other without judging." This statement is an example of a fostering ambition with contemporary film pedagogy, emphasizing the individual's responsibility in the democratic society. Furthermore, the debate has coloured the tutorial which can be noticed in its reference to the different arguments on the child as fragile or competent. The tutorial takes a clear stand in the debate and emphasizes the importance of addressing challenging subjects with children. Partly because children, irrespective of status or upbringing, are likely to experience negative emotions, either through media or reality, and need adults to discuss with, but also because the expectations of childhood as "happy and light hearted " diminishes the child in relation to reality.

169 "Har upplevelsen av att dela en påhittad figurs liv och värld ett värde i sig?", 2.
170 "Vår medmänskliga ansvarsämna borde ställa högre krav på att bry oss om varandra och inte vara rädda för att fråga vidare och försöka ta reda på hur någon egentligen mår och har det. Vi skulle alla må bra av att hjälpa utan att doma."
The issue of adulthood and childhood is emphasized in the tutorial as well, both considering how the relationship is depicted in the film, and also concerning topics from debate. In the section *Breaking taboos: to talk about and depict difficult topics* the child is supposed to consider which topics adults are reluctant to talk about, and also if adults experience emotions differently from children. One question touches upon the cultural anxiety, asking the pupil to reflect on the role of social media in wanting to create a perfect appearance with no signs of failure or weakness. Considering the effort to address childhood discourses and arguments for the importance of discussing the topic, the tutorial responds to the issues of the debate. It is likely that the tutorial would have looked differently if the debate around the film would not have happened. Given the anxiety and concern for showing the film to children, the importance of the tutorial becomes crucial as a supporting guideline for the teacher. The reflections on childhood adds a dimension to the purpose of the film that might have become overlooked if the film would not have been highlighted through the debate. Considering that the tutorials are guidelines to support teachers in their film pedagogic work, the material for Osten's film thus suggests a variety of different approaches to it.
5. Conclusion

What this thesis has addressed is the fluctuating ideas about what is suitable for children and how the "unsuitable" has been addressed in a pedagogic context. For example, after the debate against violence in media, teachers Olle Holmberg and Åke Sahlin conducted pedagogic projects based on the contested genres instead of trying to avoid them as a solution. The adult responsibility to consider children's best has had different outcomes depending on how childhood is understood. Different paragraphs of The Child Convention can likewise be used to argue for opposing standpoints concerning the issue on what is suitable, which has been the case with in the debate about *Flickan, mamman och demonerna*.

I have brought attention to the film pedagogic practice and exemplified how it has functioned as a balancing framework concerning films that have been considered challenging or non suitable, based on a wish to control the reactions of a film. As previously quoted, David Buckingham states that we must recognize what the child already knows when conducting media education. Considering that children's perspectives were absent to such an extent in the debate around *Flickan, mamman och demonerna*, it becomes a clear reminder that adults have the interpretative prerogative surrounding aspects on children's culture. Throughout the debate, adults proclaimed the unsuitability and harmfulness of the film without consulting the target group itself. When Osten described that she had produced and discussed the film with children and received their opinions, this was barely taken into account. The case can be described in line with Sommer's concept of the cultural anxiety on behalf of children. Equally interesting is the tendency to refer to the child audience as one homogeneous group instead of considering that there might be different preferences of genre where some children appreciate horror and others not. The closest hint to such an approach was provided by Maria Brander in *Expressen* when she concluded that the film was suitable for a child, only if the child was capable of watching *The Shining* and *IT* as well. However this argument was rather stated to imply that *Flickan, mamman och demonerna* is not a children's film.

Since the Child convention argues both for the participation and protection of the child, the issue of adjustment and suitability will consequently be a matter of revision and negotiation.
Suzanne Osten's attempts to address difficult topics to children through art, is based on her understanding of the child spectator as a competent agent with a need for challenging subjects. Considering the concern of "adult topics" being introduced too early in children's lives, Osten's artistry is likely to be contested as it sees no border between adult or child topics. Her ambition has been to create art on the same premises irrespective of target group, yet with a framing that considers the spectator. The opening sequence to Flickan, mamman och demonerna reminds the spectator that everything will work out fine in the end and that "it is just a film", a gesture that cares about the spectator. The emphasis of arts importance to a child can be traced back to historical ideas of Ellen Key as well as psychoanalytical ideas of art as a way to grasp reality. The film is made with school cinema in mind adhering to the tradition of addressing challenging subjects together with a tutor. Situating the film in a film pedagogic context is therefore specifically alluring due to Osten's recognition of the important potential of this institution. Even if the screenings of the film as school cinema has been affected by the debate, it has still become part of an informative campaign by The Association of Schizophrenia. This kind of informative use of film can be traced back to the first decades of the 20th century in film pedagogic history, even if the style is different. Nevertheless, one can also suggest that the film has certain symbolical similarities with early education film as it shows the evolving psychological illness of the mother and how it affects the family's life. The structure of the plot thus has similar aspects to films showing development of any kind of phenomena or "courses of events" praised by pioneers of school film. The tutorial provided by the Swedish Film Institute positions the film and makes it relevant for social studies concerning the situation of the exposed child as well as an emphasis on the artistic expressions of the genre. Even if the debate affected ticket sales negatively, it has unquestionably added a dimension to the pedagogic framework by highlighting aspects around childhood discourses, which can be equally relevant to address with children as well as adults.

What strikes me from this research is the appearance of dual concepts, not necessary in polarization with each other, but yet their recurring appearance. It is: fragile and competent, protection and participation, being and becoming, suitable and non suitable, learning through and learning about. Perhaps there is always a risk that dual concepts will create antagonism and be forced into dichotomous structures (not to forget the relationship between adult and child). As described by Dion Sommer, there should be no polarization between the understanding of children as "competent" or "fragile", yet there is a constant negotiation.
between these two discourses. Understanding the fluctuation of these, enables the analysis of arguments or reactions behind phenomena such as the case study in this thesis. The right to protection can sometimes conflict with the right to participation, if the child's fragility is emphasized in favour of its agency. Adhering to the idea of not polarizing between concepts, it might be relevant not to polarize between learning about and learning through when it comes to film pedagogy as well.

There are many ways of using film in school which its long history has shown, some emphasizing the aesthetic experience some on the pedagogic function. Film has been mentioned in the curricula since the 1960's and emphasised with different notions depending on trends and discourses in society. This indicates the complexity of the role of film in education and its purposes. Considering that Osten presupposed that the film would be discussed in a pedagogic context after each screening, it is interesting to consider the Media Council's decision as in favour of school cinema. Since the age rating set by the Council concerns public screenings and not institutional screenings, film pedagogy and school cinema could become even more alluring since it opens doors to otherwise forbidden screenings.

The case with *Flickan, mamman och demonerna* however, show that "challenging" children's film can have difficulties surviving if it is not framed within a very clear pedagogic context. Perhaps it must also be taken under the wings of an association's campaign since schools might not have the resources to deal with challenging themes. This tendency can address the preconditions for the film pedagogic practice in school. As a consequence of the development from "instruction to reflection", the role of the teacher becomes more about guiding the reflection. If challenging films are to be shown, there must be time, knowledge and engagement among teachers and the school management to provide all the processing done after a film screening. As understood by different reports from school teachers however, time, resources and knowledge are not to be taken for granted even if the engagement for film pedagogy is there. This will likely affect the selection of films, since the less challenging films would minimize the risk of overloading an already burdened profession.

Please note, that whenever I have used the word challenging to describe the film above, Suzanne Osten would probably have used the word important.
Suggestions for further research

While conducting this thesis, it has been challenging to delineate the subject. Several threads have appeared and become alluring to address but not manageable for me within the scope of this thesis, such as the rating procedures of the Media Council. The conditions and arguments for school cinema and film pedagogy is however one major aspect. "Challenging" films like *Flickan, mamman och demonerna* would demand time and knowledge from the pedagogue which ultimately demands resources and becomes a political issue. According to reports from school, there often seems to be a lack of engagement for film pedagogy from the school management. While the curricula exclaims honorific expressions about the use and role of film in education, one could still do more research on the film pedagogic conditions in school, as well as approach the practices from different angles. It would also be interesting to examine the tutorials throughout the years and discover if they differ throughout the decades, and of course how the tutorials are used by teachers in school. Even if it has been suggested that the tutorials can describe the contemporary discourses on upbringing and fosterage, there has not been much research conducted on this matter.

The aspect of the child spectator can also be nuanced. Instead of addressing children as one homogeneous group, reception studies could investigate the personal preferences among children and compare experiences with adults. Addressing the genre of horror films in the context of children's culture is likewise interesting in the light of childhood discourses.
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