A quest for European Identity
- Representations of European space in European Road Movies of the 1990s

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Declaration

I, Julie Wouwenaar Tovgaard hereby declare that this thesis, entitled “A Quest for European Identity”, submitted as partial requirement for the MA Programme Euroculture, is my own original work and expressed in my own words. Any use made within it of words of other authors in any form (e.g. ideas, figures, texts, tables, ec.) are properly acknowledged in the text as well as in the List of References.

I hereby also acknowledge that I was informed about the regulations pertaining to the assessment of the MA thesis Europeculture and about the general completion rules for the Master of Arts Programme Euroculture.

Signed

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Date

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Preface

The idea about examine European road movies came step by step and is a result of the personal experience obtained on the Euroculture Programme. I have a BA from Film and Media Studies at the University of Copenhagen and, therefore, I knew I wanted to focus on European films in my thesis. On the programme I met fellow students from various places around the world. I learned new things about myself, my nationality and my feeling of belonging to Europe. These experiences inspired me to become interested in the academic field of travelling and cultural encounters. Finally, this led me to the conviction that I had to engage with the topic of European road movies.

I would like to express my gratitude towards my supervisors Dr. Annie van den Oever and Dr. Krzysztof Kowalski, without their help and patience this thesis would not have been a reality. Furthermore, I would like to thank Dr. Margriet van der Waal in Groningen for her inspiring texts and lectures on European identities that helped me greatly in my work.

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# Table of content

0. Introduction ................................................................................................................. 6
   0.1 Research question .................................................................................................... 7
   0.2 Europe in the 1990s ............................................................................................... 7
   0.3 Topic of research ..................................................................................................... 8
   0.4 Methods of research ............................................................................................... 8
   0.5 Sources of research ............................................................................................... 9
   0.6 Keywords ................................................................................................................ 11
      0.6.1 European identity ............................................................................................. 11
      0.6.2 European space ............................................................................................... 12
      0.6.3 Mobility ........................................................................................................... 13
      0.6.4 European Road Movies .................................................................................. 14
   0.7 Importance ............................................................................................................. 15
   0.8 The order of chapters in which the topic will be addressed .................................. 15
   0.9 Exclusion of topics ................................................................................................. 17

1. Space ........................................................................................................................... 18
   1.1 Introduction ........................................................................................................... 18
   1.2 The epoch of space ............................................................................................... 19
   1.3 Place ....................................................................................................................... 20
   1.4 Space ..................................................................................................................... 21
   1.5 Social space ........................................................................................................... 22
   1.6 Landscape ............................................................................................................. 23
   1.7 Spectatorship, gaze and space ............................................................................. 24
   1.8 Findings ................................................................................................................. 25

2. European road movies ................................................................................................. 27
   2.1 Introduction ........................................................................................................... 27
   2.2 The roots of the road movie .................................................................................. 28
   2.3 Definition of the road movie ................................................................................ 30
   2.4 European road movie ........................................................................................... 31
   2.5 European maps .................................................................................................... 32
   2.6 The European traveller ....................................................................................... 33
   2.7 Road movie boom in the 1990s .......................................................................... 35
   2.8 Road movies engage with the new European space ........................................... 36
   2.9 Cooperation and funding in European cinema ................................................... 36
   2.10 Findings .............................................................................................................. 37

3. Lisbon Story .................................................................................................................. 39
   3.1 Introduction ........................................................................................................... 39
   3.2 Wim Wenders and Lisbon Story .......................................................................... 40
   3.3 A quest for European Identity ............................................................................. 40
   3.4 A unified European space .................................................................................... 42
   3.5 Discovering otherness – colonial gaze ............................................................... 44
   3.6 Lisbon Story as a political film ......................................................................... 46
   3.7 Findings ................................................................................................................. 47
0. Introduction
During the 1990s numerous significant changes took place that reshaped Europe both politically and culturally: the fall of the Berlin Wall, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the breakdown of Yugoslavia. All these events changed European spaces, and for the first time, since the Second World War, European borders became unstable. This raised new questions concerning what Europe is and what it means to be European. This quest for a new European identity is reflected in contemporary European cinema. This is particularly true of the boom in road movies that occurred in the 1990s. These movies can be defined by their attempt to engage with new European spaces.

As film theoreticians point out, the road movie genre provides an opportunity for the renegotiation of the relationship between countries, different cultural identities, and the margins and centres of Europe. It is therefore a good way to scrutinize changes in society and how they relate to evolving notions of a united European space and European identity (Mazierska & Rascaroli 2006, 201).

In this thesis I will analyse three European road movies from the 1990s. Each of them engage with new European spaces and reflect upon a quest for a European identity. I will look at the imagined spaces in the films and discuss how the representations construct, comment on and reimagine a European identity. The films are Lisbon Story (1994) by Wim Wenders, Europa (1991) by Lars von Trier and Zugvögel- ... einmal nach Inari (1996) by Peter Lichtefeld. The three films are very different on a textual level, but are linked by a shared concern for conceptualizing spatial identities, both in terms of the nations and in terms of the nations´ relationship to Europe as a whole. The three films can be used in what the sociologist and philosopher, Walter Benjamin, calls a constellation – a pattern of historical, cultural, aesthetic, and critical discourses – that makes it possible to read history alongside the present¹.

In the following sections I will describe the problem of my thesis more deeply and formulate my research question. After that I will give brief historical and political observations on the situation in Europe in the 1990s. Following this, I will describe the topic of research, the method of research and the sources used. In section 0.6 I will present my four important key words: European identity, European space, mobility and road movies. I will also argue for the importance of my subject and why the topic of European identity is relevant today. Subsequently, I will introduce the order of chapters in which my topic will be presented.

0.1 Research question

The choice to study European road movies came gradually and is a result of the personal experience obtained on the Euroculture Programme. My background is from Film and Media Studies at the University of Copenhagen and, therefore, I knew I wanted to focus on European films in my thesis.

On the programme I met fellow students from various places around the world and we travelled a lot. These experiences inspired me to become interested in the academic field of travelling and cultural encounters. Finally, this led me to the conviction that I had to engage with the topic of European road movies.

The research question for this thesis in Euroculture is very much generated by the material itself. The first film I found suitable for my thesis was Lisbon Story and the film automatically triggered questions about the quest for European identity in the 1990s, representations of European space and road movies. I then searched for material that could be used as a comparison, and found, after studying and watching various European road movies, the two other case studies.

The road movie is a genre that focuses on the search for identity. I realized that many European road movies in the 1990s reflect a quest for a European identity that was made more compelling by the politically changes of the era. It was also during my research of the material that I realised how the European identity is linked to how the European space is imagined and represented. In this way the material generated the problem of my thesis.

Research question: I will analyse three European road movies from the 1990s. Each of them engage with new European spaces and reflect upon a quest for a European identity. I will look at the imagined spaces in the films and discuss how the representations construct, comment on and reimagine a European identity.

0.2 Europe in the 1990s

Many changes occurred in Europe during the 1990s. Among others, Etienne Balibar has suggested that the reshaping of the continent has brought into focus questions of ´what Europe is´ and what are its boundaries (Balibar 1990; Lutz 1997, 59). Furthermore, there has been a search for alternative organizing principles which could unify Europe, often focusing around the elusive concept of ´European civilization´ (Lutz 1997, 94). This attempt to construct a ´pure´ European space as a symbolic continent, whose space is purified of foreign and ´uncivilised elements´, is a discourse that Lutz calls Europism and will be described further in chapter five. Another similar
phenomenon has been described by Ole B. Jensen and Tim Richardson, in their book *Making European Space*, where they state that a core dimension of the European project is the making of a single European space, a *monotopia*\(^2\) (Jensen & Richardson 2004, 3). Both the terms monotopia and Europism capture the idea of a one-dimensional discourse of space and territory, and I will show in my analysis of the material how *Lisbon Story* and *Zugvögel-... einmal nach Inari* function in this discourse, while, in contrast, *Europa* seems to mock the idea of Europe as united space.

### 0.3 Topic of research

The aim of my research is to see how European space and European identity is constructed in the three European road movies produced in the 1990s. I wish to reveal the discourses the films work in, and to see if they support discourses of Europe, organised around ideas that construct the European territory within a single rationality of making a united space. To organise Europe as a united space also suggests a re-thinking of the meaning of Europe in terms of its territorial identity (Jensen & Richardson 2004, 3). In this way, questions of territorial belonging, inclusion and exclusion in a new space of Europe, lead to a new imagined Europe, and thus to the question of territorial identity. This means that the question of European identity is inserted into the frame of imagined European space. My approach, to space and identity at the same time, is to focus on a single idea which cuts through both of them - *mobility*. I will bind space and identity together by focusing on mobility, represented by the road movie. Following the line of thought of Jensen and Richardson, I will argue that the reorganization of European space is about placing cities, landscapes and identities in a new perspective of transnational mobility. This is precisely what the European road movie does when the narrative crosses national borders and engages with a European space. In this way my investigation of European space is structured around key issues, such as questions of identity and the meaning of European mobility.

### 0.4 Methods of research

I will study how road movies represent a European identity by analysing the European space represented and imagined in the films. I will draw out elements in the films that construct European space and European identity. I will do this by mapping out intertextuality and metaphors, and by

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\(^2\) By monotopia Jensen and Richardson mean an organized, ordered and totalized space of zero-friction and seamless logistic flows.
studying the use of maps, landscapes and cartography in the films. Furthermore, I will examine who is represented and who is not. I will also point out dominant values and discourses such as Europism or Europe as a monotopia.

As I am aware that my work is placed in the intersection of different discourses I refer to different areas of research. I will use genre and gender criticism, social and cultural history, critical social science, such as feminist theories about spectatorship, film history, human geography and sociology. My main interest lies in representation and I will make a discussion of my topic through an engagement with theory and a practice of close textual analysis. My goal is to show how power relations and discourses are present in the imagined European spaces.

The analyses of textual elaborations of space and spectacle are important in order to discuss satisfactorily the complex interrelations of history, politics, and the cinematic image. Only by analysing the images and the narrative structure I can clarify the films’ attempt to reshape and reorganize the European space and identity.

The perspective I use to explore the topic space is inspired by Lefebvre who describes the notion of social space. He defines how meaning is attached to spatiality of social life and how representations, symbols and discourses influence the cultural meaning of socio-spatiality. Lefebvre’s theories on space will provide the framework for understanding space and will be described in chapter one.

Mobility is at the foreground of my analysis, because it is movement within and between spaces that increasingly shapes socio-spatial relationships. Mobility, as represented by road movies that traverse European space, is further described in chapter two.

0.5 Sources of research

There are not many books on road movies, and especially not many on the European road movie. The first book on road movies was in 1982 when Mark Williams published The Road Movies. Later Timothy Corrigan tried to define the road movie genre in 1991 with his book A Cinema without Walls. Steven Cohan and Ina Rae Hark published a collection of essays in 1997 called The Road Movie Book. Afterwards two books followed: Jack Sargeant and Stephanie Watson’s Lost Highways (1999) and David Laderman’s Driving Visions (2002). The first book focusing exclusively on European road movies alone were Ewa Mazierska and Laura Rascaroli’s Crossing New Europe (2006) which has significantly helped my research. Furthermore, there are a number of
important articles on road movies. These include Ron Eyerman and Orvar Löfgren’s ‘Romancing the Road’ (1995) and Wendy Everett’s ‘Lost in Transition? The European Road Movie, or A Genre ‘adrift’ in the cosmos’ (2009).

This body of work on road movies will be the background for the discussion of the European road movie and of the genre’s ability to represent space and identity.

On the matter of the historical and political reading of the European space reflected in cinema Rosalinde Galt’s *Redrawing the Map* has been very inspiring. On the matter of European identity and the construction of Europe, the writing of Etienne Balibar³ and Helma Lutz⁴ have influenced my work. Furthermore, Jensen’s and Richardson’s work *Making European space. Mobility, Power and Territorial Identity* helped me understand the term space and its relation to mobility, power and territorial identity.

In my quest to understand the term space, I examined many theoretical fields engaging with space in different ways, represented by many different theoreticians, such as Bauman, Benjamin, Bruno, Burgin, Deleuze, Ejzenstejn, Foucault, Gardies, Konstantarakos, Lotman, Soja and many more. These readings have proved to be very interesting, but also very wide-ranging, and not always relevant in this context. But the energy invested in the field of space has been necessary in order to be able to narrow the concept down and to refer to it in a useful way in this thesis. The result is that I have decided to use the notion of *social space* described by sociologist Henri Lefebvre in his important work *The Production of Space*. I also refer to the human geographer Tim Cresswell’s book *Place: a short introduction* for the basic understanding of the complex term space. The reason for this choice is that Lefebvre and Cresswell’s theories on space show that space is a way of seeing, imagining and understanding the space the subject is in. Furthermore, both theoreticians make a clear distinction between the different, interrelated levels and understandings of space. In this way the theories from Lefebvre and Cresswell prove to be the most productive when wanting to distinguish between ‘real’ Europe and the representations of Europe and how the two different spaces are related and interact with the construction of identity.

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³ ‘Es gibt keinen Staat in Europa: racism and politics in Europe today’ (Balibar, 1991) and ‘The nation form - history and ideology’ (Balibar, 1990)

0.6 Keywords

To be able to understand the phenomenon of imagined European space and European identity in road movies, the phenomena and the terms relating to it should be examined first. As mentioned my investigating is structured around European identity, European space, mobility and European road movies which are four keywords that will be conceptualized in the following subsections. These keywords are interrelated when studying European road movies that picture journeys engaged with European identity and European spaces in the 1990s.

0.6.1 European identity

Everyone has something to say about identity: Anthropologists, geographers, historians, philosophers, political scientists and sociologists. Identity has the last twenty years been one of the unifying themes of social sciences.

Sociologist Richard Jenkins describes identity as the way in which individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their social relations with other individuals and collectivities. Identity is about knowing who is them and who is us (Jenkins 2004, 5). The ways identity has been used by sociologists has been very different, but in this context I will focus only on identity in terms of a sense of belonging to a certain space.

Postmodern societies introduce more complex sources of identity that make it more difficult to map patterns of identity and belonging. One reason for this is that individuals lose their bonds to locality and family due to the geographical mobility experienced today. People can choose where to live and who they want to be in a society in which traditional constancy is breaking down. One theorist that has been influential on identity is Anthony Giddens who writes that one important element of modernity is the ‘reflexive project of the self’ in which identity is constantly reworked (Giddens 1991, 53).

A larger part of the sociological work has concentrated specifically on identity as a sense of belonging and the term entails identity as a feature of the imagination. For example, individuals imagine themselves as belonging to some wider entities, such as a local community or nationality. This sense of identity is often found in the public debate, for example when referring to national character contrasted with the European identity, which is also seen in the case studies.

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5 Some scholars have claimed that identities in contemporary societies are becoming more fragmented. In earlier time there existed elements that individuals used to define their identities such as family, locality, nation, social class, ethnicity and gender, and as a result identity was in recent past not so much an issue (Howard 2000, 367-368). Because societies were more stable, identity was often assigned, rather than selected or adopted as today.
Identity is a feature of the imagination and built on many different components. As sociologist Mark Gottdeiner points out:

“The experience of identity remains a combination of fragmentation and symbolic levelling that derives from the media and, simultaneously, the unending search for authenticity which is as dependent on material artefacts, institutions, and localized space as it is on cognitive processes of self-integration.” (Gottdeiner 1995, 242).

In this quote social identity is seen as a process of constructing meaning from a background of different cultural elements. As seen, the sense of belonging to a certain locality or territory is a component in the construction of identity. Moreover, road movies function as cultural attributes and, when renegotiating European space, the films also renegotiate European identity.

To end this subsection on European identity I will describe how there are two opposing approaches to the issue of European identity. Some scholars argue that European identity is already given and that it would arise naturally from the common roots of European culture, a common culture based on fate and experience. Another group of scholars argue that the existence of a European identity is impossible. The argument for this statement is that due to the variety of European cultures and languages and the absences of common characteristic within the memories of European history the existence of a European community is impossible (Karolewski 2006, 60). These two oppositional approaches, and the problems they raise, are present in the material used as case studies and will be discussed later in this thesis. As mentioned there are elements in the films that construct Europe as a monotopic space or a ‘pure’ space having one European identity, while other parts of the films point out the impossibility of a European identity.

0.6.2 European space

I will not describe the framework on space in this subsection, since it will be discussed in the following chapter. But I will shortly summarize the political and social development of the European space since 1989.

As mentioned in the introduction the European space changed around the 1990s and these changes led to a search for the connotation of the concept ‘Europe´. The European Union have promoted a notion about ‘Europeanness´ amongst the populations in Europe and on the same time tried to preserve the idea about a cultural diversity among the member states (Rovisco 2008, 141).
As already mentioned there is an attempt to construct a European space as a symbolic continent whose space is purified of foreign and ‘uncivilised elements’, which is a discourse called Europism or to see Europe as a monotopia. The idea about a unified European space builds on the assumption that there exists a ‘European civilisation’ or ‘European identity’, a moral universalism based on shared values of humanism, rationality, democracy, progress and freedom - values created by classical Greco-Roman civilisation, Christianity, literary and artistic canonicity and so on. Today there is an assumption that the idea of Europe evolved into a naturalized and taken-for-granted notion of a ‘geographical space´ a ‘cultural space´ and a ‘political space´ (Rovisco 2008, 142). All these different spaces are reflected in the material.

0.6.3 Mobility

The notion of mobility contains a number of different aspects. Using sociologist John Urry’s *Mobilities* I will examine the term ‘mobile’ or ‘mobility’ (Urry 2007, 7). Firstly, there is the use of the notion ‘mobile’ that describes something or somebody that is capable of movement, such as a mobile person, home, hospital etcetera. Another sense of mobility is deployed in social science. This is upward or downward social mobility and here mobility is vertical⁶. Furthermore, mobility can be understood in the sense of migration or other kinds of geographical movement. Geographical movement is a horizontal sense of being ‘on the move’, and refers especially to change country in search of a ‘better life’ (Urry 2007, 7). It is in this sense that I will use the concept of mobility. The protagonists in the road movies represent a corporeal mobility when they travel for work, pleasure, migration or escape.

It is worth noticing that mobility with the movement of people, goods and symbolic meanings is strongly connected to globalization⁷. Globalisation refers to the process by which the world is said to become a single space, which has intensified the interrelatedness of cultures, images, information and peoples around the world (Robertson 1992, 8-10).

As stated, mobility is an important component in the construction of identity. It a common understanding that “… identities are not attributes that people ‘have’ or ‘are’ but resources that

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⁶ Sociologists presume that there is a vertical hierarchy of positions in society and that individuals located in this hierarchy on the background of the parent’s positions and their own starting position. Currently there is a debate whether the modern world has become more mobile, since the contemporary societies seem to have increased the circulation of people up and down the vertical hierarchy. This fits very well the characteristics of the identities in contemporary societies that are becoming more fragmented and that individuals more or less have an active role in selecting or adopting an identity.

⁷ See Robertson (1992) for a deeper conceptualizing of the term globalization
people ‘use’, something they ‘do’” (Karolewski 2006, 215). The *recourses*, which may serve as the raw material for a European identity, are experiences of travel across European countries, engagement with European languages, meetings with people from other European countries and transnational mobility (Karolewski 2006, 215). In this way, issues of mobility such as movement, transition, travelling, tourism, fluidity, border-crossing and immigration are central to the way in which European identity is being both formed and challenged today. Many scholars have engaged with mobility and travelling identity categories such as *nomad*, *tourist* and *vagabond* that have been described and conceptualized by thinkers such as Zygmunt Bauman, Gilles Deleuze and Stuart Hall. Despite the variety of approaches to the complex subject of mobility, the travelling figures, or figures of mobility, can be seen as metaphors for the postmodern condition in Europe. As Jensen and Richardson state, mobility has actually become a defining feature of contemporary Europe. Even the European treaties are based on movement; of people, goods, capital and services. It could be argued that Europe is as much about movement as it is about place, as the European project seeks to break down the barriers to free movement (Jensen & Richardson 2004, 5).

All things considered, mobility is a key word that helps us think through the massive changes in society occasioned by modernity and postmodernity. Rather than allowing stable identities and fixed positions, the theoretical work indicates that in society today, mobility is essential and expected.

Mobility is therefore an important element in my thesis and will constantly be in the forefront of my analysis. In the films it is the protagonist’s movement within and between spaces that increasingly shapes the socio-spatial relationships. These are described further in chapter two.

**0.6.4 European Road Movies**

I will describe the European road movie in chapter two but this subsection briefly describes the definition of the European road movie.

European films that portray travel have many names: Semi-road movies, road movies, films of voyage, travel films, travel narratives, films with elements of travel etc. However, after the work of film theoreticians, such as Wendy Everett, Ewa Mazierska and Laura Rascaroli I decided to refer to them as European road movies. Moreover, I have chosen to work with a rather broad definition of the genre, including any fictional film in which the journey, thematically and as a narrative structuring device, shapes a tale of self-discovery and social knowledge set within a European context. The one reason for careful consideration of the genre is that scholars of the road movie
have stated that it is an entirely American genre, and that road movies set outside American space can not be defined as road movies. However, chapter two argues that the genre has roots in European cinema’s history. Furthermore, it functions, on its own terms, in a European context.

The road movie has many variations, different styles and is often mixed with other genres. However, the genre has one basic core: The journey as a cultural critique, as exploration both of society and of self (Laderman 2002, 248). This means that the road movie, through its mobility, has an ability to mirror and interpret changes, such as shifting European borders and the formations of national and transnational identities. Therefore, this particular cinematic form provides an excellent opportunity to explore imagined spaces of Europe and the construction of European identity.

0.7 Importance

The construction of European identity is an ongoing process and, therefore, the study of representations of Europe is an important subject. Cinema plays a vital part as the narrator of contemporary experiences and memories (Everett 2009, 2) and therefore it is important to analyse representations of European space if one wants to understand the construction of European identity.

The peoples of Europe are still trying to find out what it means to be a part of a united European space. As film theoretician Wendy Everett expresses it, it is important to pay attention to European films that takes up issues such as Europe’s transition and the complex present, defined by plurality, diversity and difference. Europeans need, more than ever, their own images to tell their own stories and to explore their own myths and identities.

I hope that my work will contribute to the recent work of theoreticians such as Mazierska, Rascaroli, Everett, Rovisco and Galt, on representations of European space and identity that point out new ways to view the changes that Europe has undergone since 1989.

0.8 The order of chapters in which the topic will be addressed

**Chapter one:** The first chapter in the thesis will be about space. The field of spatial examination is too multidisciplinary in nature to attempt to cover it in this thesis, but it is useful for the understanding of space to describe some of the ways in which space has become such an important category to contemporary cultural studies. Most importantly, this chapter describes the theoretical framework used in this thesis developed by Cresswell and Lefebvre, which is essential for the understanding of the connection between spaces, identity and road movies.
Chapter two: Chapter two will include an introduction to the road movie genre. Here I present the roots of the European road movie and describe important generic key-elements. In this chapter I will also go deeper into the unique characteristics that make road movies well-suited for an analysis of European space and identity. Furthermore, I will briefly describe the road movie boom in the 1990s and present different motivations for this phenomenon. I will argue that the road movie boom is linked to the changes in the European society in the 1990s.

Chapter three: The third chapter will consist of an analysis of Lisbon Story made by the German director Wim Wenders. The film depicts Philip Winter’s journey from Frankfurt to Lisbon portraying a united and peaceful European space. But after textual analysis the film reveals itself to be political in its nostalgic and romantic representation of the imaginary Lisbon. The protagonist in Lisbon Story is searching for a European identity, but he never finds a place to belong. In this way the film the film raises questions about the unified European space and what it means to be European.

Chapter four: This chapter will include a textual analysis of Europa directed by the Danish film director Lars von Trier. In this chapter I will argue for reading the film as a reaction against the political and cultural attempt to construct Europe as one unified space. In the film Germany becomes an allegory for the whole of Europe, a kind of microcosm of Europe and the events that occurred after 1945. Taking a historical and political approach, I will argue that the Germany of von Trier is a mirroring of the European project at the beginning of the 1990s, when the borders of European space, culturally as well as politically, were blurry and even impossible to mark. Especially important is that von Trier, by constructing images, with the use of back projecting, ironically questions the construction of Europe in the early 1990s.

Chapter five: Chapter five includes a textual analysis of Zugvögel - ... einmal nach Inari that takes up many of the same issues as the two other films, such as European space and European identity, but handles the topics in a more subtle and discrete way. While Europa and Lisbon Story articulate a European space more obviously, Zugvögel... Einmach nach Inari does it in the shadow of the narrative. The film shows a peaceful united Europe and expresses optimism for the future of Europe. Like Lisbon Story the film representing the margins of Europe as a place rich on nature and humanity, while the big centres in Europe have lost their identity. In this chapter I will compare the three films and how they imagine European space.
0.9 Exclusion of topics

Certain topics concerning the European road movie and European space are left out. In this section I provide my reader with information on the choices to exclude these topics.

I do not wish to provide an overview of road movies in the 1990’s, but rather to concentrate on three case studies. There are various reasons for this approach. Firstly, there are too many films made in the 1990s for any sort of overview to make critical sense. As this paper is not about investigating a pre-existing genre or national cinema, the idea of a coherent and numerically significant body of related texts is less central than a concern for the specific work of each film. More significantly, the arguments I make, need a depth of textual analysis that can happen only in the context of longer case studies. However, I have included a list of European road movies at the end of my thesis, so the reader can see what films I have come across during my research.

It is important to mention that the material for this thesis is geographically located to the area of central Europe. There are two reasons for this choice: Due to my background, earlier studies and my expertise I know more about central Europe and Western Europe, than I do about the Mediterranean area. The second reason for the choice to focus on narrative connected to Central Europe is that the countries that lie around the border between the old Eastern and Western Europe were the ones that experienced the changes in 1989 the most, therefore it also makes sense to focus on this area. But the reader has to be aware that films all over Europe addressed the changed borders and the new Europe. In the North-Western Europe the films are thematising immigration and multiculturism while the Eastern and East-Central European films are taking up matters such as life during communism. Furthermore, as the film critic Rosalinde Galt points out, filmmakers from various places made films which narrative was centred on the war in Bosnia (Galt 2006, 113). But as mentioned the changes in Europe were experienced strongest by the countries on the line between the old Eastern and Western Europe and the films made in these nations often visualize the difficulties and wishes of the new cartography. It is especially in films from Germany that the most acute responses to Europe’s changes are found. In my thesis all three films have connection to Germany.
1. Space

1.1 Introduction

Lately there has been an increasing interest in the study of location, space and the psychological mapping - also in cinema studies (Konstantarakos 2000, 1). The reason for this is that scholars have begun to see the links between the globalized postmodern space and a variety of material fields of spatial production, as for example cinema. The development in the area of critical theory has two advantages for cinema: On one side it offers a new way to study cultural texts in relation to developing geopolitical spaces, and on the other side it simultaneously raise critiques of the geopolitical and geographical systems with which it must engage.

With the reshape of Europe started new symbolic establishments of relations between the European space and the people that live in it. As mentioned the cinema offers a way to study matters of the geopolitical spaces and it is possible to see the reorganization process of the European identity in the road movies. In this way the European space, European road movies and European identity is linked together. But the relation between European identity and European space is somewhat more complicated than that. To understand how identity is linked to space one must first understand basic elements of the complexity of space.

Nobody really knows what space is. The term is not a specialized piece of academic terminology. It is a word often used in daily speak and wrapped up in common sense. Consequently the term space seems familiar and therefore might easier to grasp, but on the other hand, however, it makes the term slippery as the subject for research. Because, there seem to be an understanding of the word, it is hard to get beyond that common-sense-level, in order to understand the term in more developed ways. With other words the term space is both simple and complicated.

It is the purpose in this chapter to outline a theoretical framework of space and spatiality that will be building upon theories from Tim Creswell and Henri Lefebvre.

In this chapter I refer to Cresswell’s book Place: a short introduction where he describes vital matters of space. Furthermore I will also describe the terms landscape and place that is occasionally is used as substitutes for the word space. Besides Cresswell’s basic description of space, place and landscape I will mention Lefebvre’s more complicated account of space where he distinguishes between more abstract kinds of space (Absolute space) and lived and meaningful spaces (Social space) (Lefebvre, 1991). Cresswell’s space can easily be confused somewhat by the idea of social
space, or socially produced space, which in many ways, plays the same role as what Cresswell’s calls place and therefore important to distinguish (Cresswell 2004, 10).

Lefebvre’s contribution to the matter on space has been very important and the consequence of the introduction of social space was a shift from space as a context for material activity or manifestation to a space which is produced by subjectivities and psychic states, and in which social relations take place.

I will on the background of Lefebvre and Cresswell, following the line of thoughts from Jensen and Richardson, outline the framework on space in the sections 1.3, 1.4 and 1.5. After describing space and it’s different meanings, I will shortly describe the notion landscape in section 1.6. Furthermore I will introduce theories on spectatorship in section 1.7. In spite the fact that theories on spectatorship is not directly related to the subject about European identity, space and road movies it is important for this thesis, because they open up a discussion about audience and space in the field of visual representations and will be referred to in the following analyses.

To introduce my reader to space I will start with a short introduction to the role of space inspired by Michel Foucault that describes the contemporary times as the *epoch of space*.

### 1.2 The epoch of space

Space has a long history in Western experience. One of the earliest ideas of space is found in the classical Greece cosmology where space had a form of a sphere with a centre and a boundary (Burgin 1996, 40). The same kind of idea of space can be traced in the medieval Christian doctrines where the sun and moon moves over the flat earth. There was an earthly sphere that was the scene for humans, where every being had a place determined by the overlooking God.

In his text ´Of other Spaces´ Foucault calls this medieval space the *Space of emplacement*, a place that was shattered by the scientist Galileo (Foucault 1984, 1). As Foucault states the real scandal of Galileo’s work lay not so much in his discovery that the earth revolved around the sun, but in his establishment of an endless open space. Space was no longer a sphere with a centre and a boundary. As a result a thing´s place where no
longer anything but a point in its movement. In such a place the Middle Ages turned out to be dissolved and a new epoch started. Foucault calls the epoch of today the *epoch of space*: “We are in the epoch of simultaneity: we are in the epoch of juxtaposition, the epoch of the near and far, if the side-by-side, of the dispersed” (Foucault 1984, 1). According to Foucault the epoch of space is one in which space takes for us the form of relations among sites. To obtain a deeper understanding of space I will in the following section describe Cresswell’s definitions about space and it’s different meanings.8

1.3 Place
Place is everywhere and in this way it is different than e.g. the geographical term ‘territory’, which is a specialized term. According to Cresswell place is a room, a garden, a city, a nation and Europe. The answer to why they are places is that they are all spaces which people have made meaningful. They are spaces that people are attached to in one way or another. This is the most straightforward and common definition of place – a meaningful location (Cresswell 2004, 7). On the background of human geographer John Agnew, Cresswell has outlined three fundamental aspects of place as a ‘meaningful location’.

1. Location.
2. Locale.
3. Sense of place.

A room, a garden, a city and Europe all have a ‘location’. They have fixed objective co-ordinates on the Earth’s surface and it is possible to locate the places on a map. But places are not always stationary. Also a ship, a car or a train can become a special kind of place for the individuals that share it on a journey, in spite of the fact that the location is constantly changing. The notion ‘locale’ refer to the material setting for social relations, which is the actual shape of place within which people perform their lives as individuals, as men or women or as white or black etc. Most places have an actual form and places are material things. E.g. has the city Lisbon a collocation of buildings and roads and public spaces, which are the place’s locale. But, besides being located and having material form, a place must also have relationships to humans and the human ability to construct and consume meaning. With the ‘sense of place’ John Agnew define the subjective and

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8 Cresswell calls ‘space with meaning’ for ‘place’ and therefore I will describe place first and after that what Cresswell calls space. However I will in this thesis not distinct between place and space, but will treat both notions under the term space.
emotional attachment people have to place. Here he underlines that especially novels and films can bring to mind a sense of place. Sense of place is the audience’s feeling that they know what it is like to ‘be there’ (Cresswell 2004, 8).

It has been argued that due to the globalization there is a loss of a sense of place in the Western world. The globalization have erased local cultures and produced homogenized global spaces, which is a discussion that will also be touch upon later in this thesis.

1.4 Space
Besides using Agnew’s three-part definition of place, it is according to Cresswell important to distinguish place from the term space. To do this he refers to another human geographer Yi-Fu Tuan that has compared space to movement and place to pauses. As Tuan express it:

“What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value…. The ideas ‘space’ and ‘place’ require each other for definition. From the security and stability of place we are aware of the openness, freedom, and threat of space, and vice versa. Furthermore, if we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place.” (Tuan, 1977, 6).

Space has been seen in distinction to place, as a territory without meaning. But when humans invest meaning in space, and then becomes attached to it, it becomes a place. This is seen in the road movie where the protagonist is traversing the European space. When the journey stops and the protagonist steps out of the vehicle, he gets involved with the space and he obtains a sense of place. Furthermore the road movie gives the audiences a sense of place by representing space and giving it meaning in the cinema.

This basic dualistic relation between space and place presented by Cresswell can easily be confused by the idea of social space (perceived space, conceived space and lived space). In the following section I will describe the social space which is an important concept by Lefebvre.
1.5 Social space
A big amount of work on space in the areas of postmodern criticism, philosophy, and social theory is influenced by Henri Lefebvre’s important work *The Production of Space*. One reason to describe key-elements on space from Lefebvre is that he divides social space up in three notions that make it easier to grasp the complexity of space. Furthermore the work of Lefebvre is especially important in this context because he underlines the importance of representations of space for the experience of space. As Rosalinde Galt formulates it on the background of Lefebvre - mental space and social realities are in `reality´ inseparable (Galt 2006, 94).

Following the work of Lefebvre, the human geographer Soja, describes the following dialectically linked notions of social space (Soja 1989, 65-75). First, there is the *perceived space*, that is, the empirical space of human interactions, a concept very similar to locales, defined by Cresswell. Second, there are *representations of space* (conceived space), the space within which agents think and work and where ideological, political, and cultural conflicts take place. Lastly, there are *spaces of representations* (lived space), that is, the space inhabited and used by cultural producers, the space where innovation and imagination can provide the terrain for changing power relations within the two other spaces (Soja 1989, 183).

It is sometimes hard to distinguish between the perceived space and the lived space and therefore I will shortly exemplify the three different spaces and describe them a bit more intensively.

The perceived European space is where the Europeans live and covers spaces such as buildings, cities, nations, terrains etc. The conceived space is representations of space such as paintings, photos and films that represent European space. This space is idealistic and, as mentioned, it is in the representations that ideological, political and cultural conflicts take place. This analytical dimension of space concentrates on how meaning is attached to spatiality of social life. It deals with the issue of how representations, symbols and discourses frame the cultural meaning of socio-spatiality. The third dimension of space is the lived space, which is the space of subjectivity; it is a space of people’s sense making, fantasy and feelings of the spaces they account in. The meaning making happens through a process of `social spatialization´ where the social agents appropriate and give meaning to space through socio-spatial practices and identification processes (Shields 1991, 31; Jensen & Richardson, 45). It means that social agents, that see representations of Europe, will, by the means of a social spatialization, appropriate space and this way give meaning to the European space.
As I have mentioned the European space (on all levels) were reshaped in the 1990s, which started a quest for a new European identity. The search for a European identity, especially the political attempt to create a European unit, involved a reorganization of social space to encourage a homogenization of the territory. The attempt to standardize the European space is very visual, for example is the European space now governed by boundaries and effective control of movement, within the spatial boundaries. This construction of the European space allows symbolic establishments of relations between the European space and the people that live in it (Roudometof 1998, 185).

The European road movies present the European space. Different parts of Europe might be represented as rural, peripheral, urban, modern, successful or back in time. Local roads might be old or brand new, which all are representations that give meaning to space and gives the continent identity. Both the spatial location and the social actions are important processes of socio-spatial identification. In order for such an identity to come about, a process of social mobilisation is needed (Jensen and Richardson 2004, 46). It is through mobility that social actions take place in space. It is these social actions in space that the road movie reflects and therefore gives the road movie the ability to reflect and renegotiate the European space and identity.

I have in this section showed that the European road movie work in the field of conceived space, where the new European areas are reflected and imagined. By looking at the road movies it is possible to see the reorganization process of the European space in the 1990s. The road movies are both reflecting the changes in Europe while they also contribute to the changes themselves.

1.6 Landscape
Another concept that I would like to mention in this chapter is ‘landscape’, which occasionally is a used as a substitute for space. Basically the landscape refers to a potion of the earth’s surface that can be view from one spot. As Cresswell describes the landscape combines a focus on the material topography of a portion of land (that which can be seen) with the notion of wisdom (the way it is seen). In this way the landscape is an intensely visual idea (Cresswell 2004, 10). When using the term landscape one also indicates that the viewer is outside of it, and this is the primary way in which it differs from space. Spaces are things that individuals can be inside of, whereas a landscape is looked at from the outside. In the road movies the audience is outside the films narrative and the films images becomes landscapes viewed upon. The protagonist in the film can either be a part of the place visited, or he can take a position where he looks upon the space as a landscape.
Landscape refers to the shape, the material topography, of a piece of land. The landscape can picture nature or the cultural landscape of a city (Cresswell 2004, 11).

1.7 Spectatorship, gaze and space

When looking at representations of space, especially feminist theories of spectatorship are very useful, because they open up a discussion about audience and space in the field of visual representations. The feminist film scholars ask who is looking at whom and through what structures of viewing⁹.

Feministic theories on spectatorships occurred in the 1970s and trace the power relations and pleasure of the gaze in a situated and positioned looking¹⁰. Especially Laura Mulvey’s article from 1975 ‘Pleasure of seeing’ was an important contribution to film theory on gaze. Mulvey’s text is an attack on the representation of women in films – especially the Hollywood cinema (Mulvey 1975, 16). According to Mulvey, the films underline the patriarchal society where the woman is looked at as ‘the other’ and the man is the spectator. But it is not only the male protagonist that looks at the female protagonist, but also the viewer who looks at the woman through the lens of the camera (Mulvey 1975, 19). Said with other words the man is the bearer of the look, the female protagonist is the passive object and the portraying of the female body shows a masculine gaze. Often films include scenes that have no connection with the narrative, but which function is to give the viewer visual pleasure.

Theories of gaze can also be used on the relation between man and space. The look objectifies the one being looked upon whether it is people or space. The relation between the gaze and the one that is being looked upon shows the relational construction of meaning, cultural narratives and projected desires in a society (Rogoff 2000, 11).

The relation between man and space has been examined by Ella Shohat that is a feminist scholar that writes about the ways explorers may objectifies the travelled space, especially in films. When subjects travel, they engage in different ways with the cultures they visit. Shohat states that the

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⁹ One of the critical models which feminist theories have repeatedly insisted upon is that race, gender and location are, in and of themselves, epistemological categories; they determine what we know, how we know it and why we know it (Rogoff, 11).

¹⁰ Originally the term gaze is from the work of the French psychoanalyst and psychiatrist Jacques-Marie-Émile Lacan (Evans 1996, 72). Lacan developed a theory of the gaze which later has become important element in the feminist discussions of how women are constructed as the object of a male gaze in films. “An introductory dictionary of Lacanian psychoanalysis” by Dylan Evans
Western world has made a metaphoric portrayal of the exotic and rural land as if it was ‘virgin’, just waiting to be touched by the male western protagonist (Shohat 1991, 46). This discourse is also seen in all three road movies where the male protagonists fall in love with the space they visit. That the space visited is represented with gender overtones reveal the films desires and meaning of space which will be elaborated on in chapter three and five.

With Mulvey, Shohat and the theory on spectatorship in mind it is possible to recognise that filmic representations of space is a form of positioned spectatorship. In the analyses found in the following chapters I will use the theories of spectatorship to look at the images of the European space and point out the positioned spectatorship, which express the contemporary ideas about Europe.

1.8 Findings
I have in this chapter provided my reader with a framework on space. The framework is constructed around Cresswell’s division of place (location, locale and sense of place) to exemplify the different ways space is referred to. Furthermore I have used Lefebvre’s social space (perceived, conceived and lived space), where he states that fantasy and imagination is important for how individuals conceive the space they account in. I have argued for how the road movies work in the field of conceived space, where the new European areas are reflected and imagined.

The meaning making, of the representations of space, happens through a process of social spatialization where social agents appropriate and give meaning to space through socio-spatial practices and identification processes.

This quest for European identity in the 1990s, and especially the political attempt to create a European unit, entailed a reorganization of social space to encourage a homogenization of the territory. As mentioned in this chapter the construction of the European space allows symbolic establishments of relations between the European space and the people that live in it.

The most important finding in this chapter is that space is not something that exists in the world, but it is a way of seeing, knowing and understanding the world. When looking at space, one can locate attachments and connections between people and space. Sometimes, however, to understand the world in terms of space can direct to matters of exclusion. For example is it easy to think about a location as ‘our space’ where others are excluded. Some might argue that this is what is happening in Europe, where the construction of European space have resulted in an exclusion of people who are not European, which will be discussed later in this thesis.
In this chapter I have also touched upon how the cinema is as an arena in which cultural meanings get constituted and at the same time linked to an entire range of readings and analyses of the images, the spatial, and the psychic dynamics of spectatorship. I have pointed out that the spectatorship is important when analyzing European space, because the theory points out that it is crucial to ask who is looking at whom and through what structures of viewing. As Irit Rogoff points it is important to raise questions such as; who is the privileged within the society, which part of the historical past is circulating in the visual representations and which do not, who is seen and who is not seen, whose fantasies of what are nourished by which visual images (Rogoff 2000, 30).

The visual representations are able to locate spaces, for example, as either on the margin or in the centre of Europe. As I have argued, it takes a close textual analysis to scrutinize matters of spectatorships and power relations in the films.
2. European road movies

2.1 Introduction
The road movie is known as an American genre, but I will argue that the genre has roots in European cinema and functions, on its own terms, in a European context. Road movies I argue extend a longstanding cinematic tradition that posits a hopeless and lamentable mobility in an effort to find stability. This chapter’s goal is to trace the European road movie’s generic elements and relate them to the subject of this thesis - the quest for identity and imagined European spaces. To highlight the characteristics of the European road movie I will compare it to the institutionalized genre of its American counterpart. Additionally I will describe the different contributory causes for the road movie boom in Europe in the 1990s.

The theory used in this chapter is predominantly genre theory and film history. However, throughout the chapter I will also focus on the sociological and political transformations that were the context for European road movies of the 1990s, and reflect upon how they were created in the light of issues of European identity and European space.

The most important literature on the European road movie is the article ‘Lost in Transition? The European Road Movie, or a Genre "adrift in the cosmos"’ by Wendy Everett and also the book Crossing New Europe by Ewa Mazierska and Laura Rascaroli. David Laderman’s book Driving Visions: Exploring the Road Movie is also very helpful in establishing the basic characteristics of the European road movie.

In section 2.2 I will point out that the road movie genre has a long tradition in European history and should not only be seen as an American invention taken on by European directors, as many theorists claim. This discussion is based on genre theory where I compare different scholastic approaches to the genre. Throughout this chapter I will, as mentioned, compare the European road movie to its American counterpart to find out where they differ. These differences are important since the three films, used as case studies, are not typical road movies in the American understanding of the genre.

In section 2.3 I will use film scholar Timothy Corrigan’s description of the genre to establish a definition of the road movie. The following section 2.4 will include a thorough description of the European Road movie in which I point out specific key elements of the European genre that appear in the three case studies. Section 2.5 will include a description of the typical feature in road movies to see a direct cut between the map and the territory it represents. I will argue that maps give the
films a scientific aura and that film can be used as a map of cultural difference. To do this I will refer to the work of cultural theorist Giuliana Bruno, feminist film theorist Ella Shohat and film theoretician Bennet Schaber who each describe the relation between the map and the territory where the film takes place. In the section 2.6 I will describe the different kinds of characters commonly portrayed in European road movies. The following section, “Road movie boom in the 1990s” uses film theoreticians Wendy Everett’s, Rosalinde Galt’s, Ewa Mazierska and Laura Rascaroli’s work on European cinema to give a brief historical overview of European road movies in the 1990s and describe how they reflect the social and political changes in the European space. In the last two sections 2.8 and 2.9 I will describe some of the reasons for this boom. The reasons for the boom are related to the contemporary need for a reconstruction of European space and a wish to explore the new Europe. But the boom might also be a result of the European Union’s funding system that supports pan-European co-production.

2.2 The roots of the road movie

“The road movie is ...a Hollywood genre that catches peculiarly American dreams, tensions and anxieties, even when imported by the motion picture industry of other nations” (Cohan & Rae Hark 1997, 2).

The road movie genre is famous for being a typical American genre. The freedom to go somewhere else whenever you want too has played a big part in the American self image. American mythology has always linked freedom to mobility and the road movie is considered to have a characteristic form expressing the American dream about ‘hitting the road’ (Eyerman and Löfgren 1995, 53). This specific format of the American road movie emerged during the 1960s and is epitomised by Dennis Hopper’s Easy Rider (1969) which epitomises the desire for freedom and escape from the everyday life. Even though the genre became institutionalized during the 1960s and 1970s, it has roots in genres such as buddy-movies, gangster films and westerns.

According to Eyerman and Löfgren the key elements in a typical road movie are escape, freedom, danger, risk and a form of automobile fetishism (Eyerman and Löfgren 1995, 60-61).

It is assumed that the American highway is the emblem of the genre, and Eyerman and Löfgren maintain that only America offers the geographic and symbolic conditions required to realise a road movie in a suitable way, even when they recognise the genres connection to European forms:
“The journey as a metaphor for life itself is not an especially American invention, the *homo viator* motif has a long European history, but the Americanisation of this type of narrative in the road movie format is a consequence of the way specific conceptions concerning the freedom and the function of the road were constructed in the United States” (Eyerman and Löfgren 1995, 55).

One scholar to make an important contribution on the academic work on road movies is David Laderman. In his book *Driving Visions* Laderman writes primarily about American road movies, but he also touches upon the matter of European road movies. Laderman states, like Eyerman and Löfgren and others, that the contemporary European road movie is a reaction to or reformulation of the American road movie (Laderman 2002, 247). Steven Cohan and Ina Rae Hark are of the same opinion and, in their *The Road Movie Book*, define the road movie as expressing the American dream – a motif that has been imported by other nations (Cohan and Rea Hark 1997, 2).

But not all film theorists share this common conviction. In 2006 Ewa Mazierska and Laura Rascaroli contributed to the literature on European road movies with their book *Crossing New Europe*. Mazierska and Rascaroli disagree with assumptions of the genre’s American characteristics and approach European road movies in a new way. In their work the European road movie is not a spinoff of American road movie, but a distinctly European genre with roots way back in European cinemas history. Mazierska and Rascaroli mention far more diverse literature and forerunners for the road movie than the American counterpart, among them Homers *Odyssey*, European medieval pilgrimage tales, *Films Noir*, and Italian neorealist films. The most provoking assumption is Rascaroli’s and Mazierska’s idea that the road movie was born together with the birth of cinema itself. According to the two writers for example Louis Lumière’s film from 1895 *Larrivée d’un train à La Ciotat* is one of the first road movies ever made (Mazierska & Rascaroli 2006, 4). This statement is also seen in the work of film scholar Devin Orgeron who mentions other early film makers such as Méliès 12 and Muybridge 13 as the first road movie makers (Orgeron 2008, 9). It is

11 The English title is “The arival of a train at La Ciotat”
12 Georges Méliès was a French early filmmaker and magician, born in 1861. He made *Le Voyage dans la Lune (A Trip to the Moon)* in 1902, which was a magical travel film. (Bordwell and Thompson, 24-25)
13 Eadweard J. Muybridge was an English photographer born in 1830. He is famous for being one of the pioneers in the field of cinema. He invented a new way to study horses and their gaits and in this way created a little film (Bordwell and Thompson, 15)
therefore possible to argue that the road movie is not simply a genre institutionalized in 1960s America but a genre that has existed much longer, also in Europe.

One of the differences between the early European road movies and the recent European road movies is that, as well as articulating a dominant European experience, they also involve a self-conscious engagement with the American-defined genre. This is for example seen in Zugvögel -...einmal nach Inari where the director is lending filmic elements from other road movies and also from American westerns. In this way the film becomes self-conscious about its own genre and plays on the audience’s cultural knowledge about road movies. The self-conscious element is also seen in Lisbon Story where the American fetishism for the vehicle is mocked because the car breaks down. In this way the film mocks the typical role of the car in American road movies and shows that the European traveller has to continue on foot.

2.3 Definition of the road movie
To define the typical road movie I will follow Timothy Corrigan’s basic generic characteristic in which he seeks to characterize the genre’s social and political factors. Corrigan states that the road movie reflects the breakdown of the family unit, and articulates the destabilisation of male subjectivity and masculine empowerment (Corrigan 1991, 145). Often the main focus is the male protagonist, within a ‘male escapist fantasy’ that links masculinity and technology. Another generic feature is that the road becomes a space that is resistant to the responsibilities of domesticity. A different typical characteristic is that the protagonist is in the power of the ‘menacing and materially assertive’ encounters and events that occur along the road (Corrigan 1991, 145).

As Eyerman and Löfgren point out there is an automobile fetishism to be found in the road movie and Corrigan also shows how the typical protagonist actually identifies himself with his car or motorbike. The vehicle is very important for the protagonist either as protection or as an emblem of his masculine identity (Corrigan 1991, 143-146).

However, as Wendy Everett points out, one should treat with caution the suggestion that the genre is overwhelmingly preoccupied with masculinity. Instead she suggests that the genre should be recognized for its wider preoccupation with identity in general. Furthermore, she suggests that if the concept of family is broadened out to include social units such as community, the relevance of Corrigan’s categories can also be useful in a European context (Everett 2009, 2-3).

Other scholars have argued that the road movie genre is not only ichnographically represented by the car and the road, but also by particular filmic elements such as the tracking shot and the
depiction of open, rural spaces (Hayward 1996, 301; Everett 2009, 4). Again others have argued that the narrative should have a chronological structure that reflects the linearity of the road (Everett 2009, 4). While yet others have stated that the ultimate purpose of the road movie is always self-knowledge, whereas David Laderman states the ´driving force´ of the road movie is its “embrace of the journey as a means of cultural critique” (Laderman 2002, 1).

As Everett concludes all these different definitions seem to work. Put differently it does not make sense to try to prescribe the character and function of a genre as indefinable and elusive as the road movie. The genre is essentially flexible and, therefore, can take up different functions in different places and at different times on its own historical and cultural journey.

Since the definition of the genre is elusive and difficult to pin down, I will work with a very broad definition of the European road movie. I will, on the background on the theories I have read, argue that the genre, European road movie, includes any fictional film in which the journey, thematically and as a narrative structuring device, shapes a tale of self-discovery and social knowledge set across European contexts. In the following sections I will go deeper into the typical elements of the European road movie and point out how the genre differs from the American one.

2.4 European road movie
European and American road movies developed separately, yet at the same time, were inspired by each other. But even though there has been inspiration streaming back and forth between the two continents, the general picture shows that there are differences between the two versions of road movies. One of the differences is that the European road movie is driven by uniquely continental journey narratives that explore issues of national identity, politics and philosophy (Laderman 2002, 247). In general, European road movies seem less interested in romanticizing the freedom of the road and less interested in seeing the road as a political alternative to the established society as seen in the typical American road movie. Instead, European road movies explore the psychological and emotional journey thattakes place during travel. The European road movie is, according to Laderman, associated with introspection, rather than the violence and danger seen in the American road movie.

“…traveling outside of society becomes less important (and perhaps less possible) than traveling into the national culture, tracing the meaning of citizenship as a journey. With smaller countries sharing more national borders, the road movie explores different national identities in intimate topographical proximity.” (Laderman 2002, 248)
In American road movies there is a strong fascination with the car or motorbike. But in the European road movie there is less fetishism of the transport vehicle and less stress on speed. In the European road movie the meaning of the travel is more important than the mode of the transport. It is the *revelation* and *realization* that has importance more than the actual driving (Laderman 2002, 248).

As previously mentioned, many critics believe that the road movie can only take place in the empty spaces of America. Because Europe lacks empty open landscapes, the European road movie has been seen as impossibility. However, it is now clear that European road movies actually use the lack of space and specifically engage with the compact landscape and the proliferation of geographical and cultural of borders. Following the thoughts of Laderman it seems as if a key-element of the European road movie is an engagement with routes that lead to encounter with other cultures. The road movie plays a vital role in remapping new multi-cultural compact spaces and because Europe does not have long highways\(^\text{14}\), European road movies tend to picture smaller, less direct roads, where the protagonist can stop the car and engage with different national cultures (Everett 2009, 4).

Many of the described characteristics of the European road movie are observed in the three case studies. As mentioned *Lisbon Story* depicts a car that breaks down and the protagonist has to get a ride with an old truck. In *Europa* the protagonist is travelling by train and in *Zugvögel – einmal nach Inari* the protagonist uses all kinds of public transport. Furthermore the protagonists are all travelling because they are going somewhere and not because they are seeking the freedom on the road, as seen in the typical American road movies. All three films engage with matters of identity and realization.

### 2.5 European maps

It is a characteristic feature in road movies to see direct cut between the map and the territory it represents in which the map constitutes a modernist, idealized representation of a resistant and elusive reality (Everett 2009, 12). This is seen in both *Zugvögel – einmal nach Inari* and in *Europa*. In both films the routes that the protagonist travel is shown on a map (see figure 2.1 and 2.2)

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\(^{14}\) Europe does have highways, but they do not have the same ichnographically function as the American highways. The films often picture the European highways as crowded and overused, and they are not the preferred routes of the European road movie (Everett 2009, 4)
In this way the films narrative is linked with a map of the territory where the film take place. As Shohat writes, maps have a scientific aura, and by associating itself to the visual medium of maps, cinema represents itself scientifically as being a continuation of geography (Shohat 1991, 53). As Schaber remarks about the map and the space - the two tend to be mutually somewhat elusive (Schaber 1997, 25). Bruno says about the connection between maps and the cinema that films becomes mobile maps - A map of cultural differences (Bruno 2002, 71). When being a continuation of geography, cinema combines science with emotional and subjective images of the space visited. It means that different experiences and images is mapped out and placed geographically and the films give the geography an image and identity. This is what European road movies are doing because - they are connecting culture, fantasy, images, stories, emotions and identity with the scientific maps of Europe. Therefore the films have power to either reimagining well-known features or reproduce stereotypical spatial identities. The focus on maps, images and spatial metaphors are all vital elements in the discursive framing of European space and identity (Jensen & Richardson 2004, 62).

An interesting point about the map used in the two films is that Europe is presented as larger than the European Union. In Zugvögel - ... einmal nach Inari we see a map that covers from Turkey to Russia. In this way the film opens up for thoughts about where Europe ends and begins.

2.6 The European traveller

Often European characters are on the road more out of necessity than out of choice. They are looking for a job, visiting family, or searching for a new home. The protagonists come in various different shapes: Emigrant, exile, nomad, flâneur\textsuperscript{15}, homeless, marginalized or tourist. I will not go

\textsuperscript{15} French, and means to idle about, a stroller or a walker. The figure has been examined in Walter Benjamin’s unfinished project, a collection of writings on the city life of Paris in the 19th century. In Benjamin’s book on Baudelaire he posits in his description of the flâneur that “Empathy is the nature of the intoxication to which the flâneur
into all these different travel figures in detail, but describe the characters briefly. Emigrants or exiles are often individuals that wish to settle elsewhere to escape situations in their own countries. The journeys made by immigrants are often more extreme and dramatic than the journeys made by nomads. Nomadism is a way of life of peoples who do not live continually in the same place but move regularly. The philosophers Delueze and Guattari associate nomadism with postmodern subjectivity because it is alternate, oppositional, and essentially mobile as an alternative to the fixed (Deleuze & Guattari 1988, 482; Benko 1997, 365). Therefore it is possible to state that being a nomad involves resisting the conditions of society through an ongoing geography of displacement. Similarly, Wendy Everett points out that the term nomad has come to imply alternative ways of existing in contemporary western societies (Everett 2009, 6). The nomad is a category that also includes both flâneur and tourist, whose journey is less focused and less dramatic than that of the migrant or exile.

As shown there are different figures of travellers and each character has different motivations which give material to the road movies to embrace and articulate different journeys in Europe. The genre’s ability to represent different kind of journey is also the reason for the very different features and patterns that can be indentified in the genre.

There has always been migration in Europe, but as Everett points out the issue has assumed new importance since the fall of the communism (Everett 2009, 5). Since the 1990s, the changes in Europe have resulted in an increased number of migrants moving to the richer parts of Western Europe. These migrations have impacted creatively on European road movies and offer one explanation for the boom in road movies in the 1990s.

However a motif that is repeated in the films of the 1990s is that the journeys often have no sense of purpose. Instead, the journey reflects a “personal geography [...] based upon mobility” (Aitken and Lukinbeal 1997, 351), in which home itself is a place of transition (Everett 2009, 6). This is seen in Lisbon Story where the protagonist never feels at home and remains a traveller. It is also somewhat seen in the film Zugvögel - ...eimnal nach Inari, where the protagonist’s home looks like a railway station - a place of transit. And the protagonist feels at home when he travels.

As has been shown, some scholars might argue that a film without roads, busses, trains, that portrays people travelling on foot instead of in cars, or narratives that are fragmented, and a fluid and indefinable destinations, can not be defined as a road movie. However, as I have shown the

abandons himself in the crowd. He . . . enjoys the incomparable privilege of being himself and someone else as he sees fit. Like a roving soul in search of a body, he enters another person whenever he wishes” (See quote in Hanssen 2006, 71).
road movie genre has many faces and can picture many different kinds of travel. According to Everett it is the genre’s flexibility to adapt to different cultures and to articulate shifting concerns that locates the road movie as a key genre in contemporary culture. The road movie makes an important contribution to the understanding of contemporary identities and the contemporary society.

2.7 Road movie boom in the 1990s
The list of European films which simultaneously exploit and subvert the road movie genre to discover identity and geographical spaces is long and includes films such as: Leningrad Cowboys Go America (Aki Kaurismäki, Finland, 1989); Journey of Hope (Xavier Koller, Turkey/Switzerland, 1990); Dear Diary (Nanni Moretti, Italy, 1994); Zugvögel... Einmal nach Inari (Peter Lichtefeld, Germany/Finland, 1997); Last Resort (Pawel Pawlikowski, UK, 2001), many film by Wim Wenders, but particularly Alice in the Cities (Germany, 1974), Kings of the Road (Germany, 1975), Paris Texas (1984) and Lisbon Story (1994); and almost all the films by Theo Angelopoulos who in complex works such as Ulysses’ Gaze (1995), and Eternity and a Day (1998), produces temporal and spatial journeys through Greece and the Balkans, investigating issues of identity, memory and history (Everett 2004, 19). Also Tony Gatlif has contributed with European road movies with Gadjo Dilo (1997) and Exiles (2004) where his themes often are centred on the relations between France, Romania and gypsies\textsuperscript{16}.

During the 1990s it is possible to recognize a trend in which films dealing with identity were increasingly framed as road movies (Everett 2004, 114). According to Everett the genre's popularity is caused by its ability to represent postmodern identity. The period which is referred to as ‘postmodernity’ is a result of a set of social, economic and political transformations that have taken place in the last thirty years (Mazierska & Rascaroli 2006, 1).

As also mentioned in the introduction, identity is characterized as essentially fluid and drifting, as an ongoing process that is both constructed and articulated through individual journeys in time and space (Everett 2009, 2). The road movie is perfect for articulating post modern identity because the travel-centred narrative underlines that the identity is an open-ended process that is constantly reworked. As Bauman writes it:

\textsuperscript{16} See annex for more European road movies
“If the modern “problem of identity” was how to construct an identity and keep it solid and stable, the postmodern “problem of identity” is primarily how to avoid fixation and keep the options open.” (Bauman 1996, 18)

The frequent message of the road movies is that there is no end to travel, and if there is an ‘arrival’, then it is just a start of a new journey, which perfectly reflects the avoidance of fixation mentioned in Bauman’s quote about the postmodern “problem of identity”.

2.8 Road movies engage with the new European space
In the 1990s the European borders were again unstable. There was now a need for an idea of Europe as a psychic, cultural and geopolitical location and the new geopolitical identity is reflected in European cinema. In spite of the different film industries and traditions, it is possible to find a common interest in European otherness, a desire to travel new ways and to perceive identity in another way (Galt 2006, 114). Of course not all films that elaborate on the transitions in Europe are road movies, but many of them are, because of the genre’s particular characteristic and ability to represent national and European space, identity and cultural encounters. But another important reason, for the increased amount of road movies produced in the 1990s, is the funding systems shaped by the European Union that supports pan-European productions.

2.9 Cooperation and funding in European cinema
In the 1990s the production in the European film industry changed and became more transnational. Before 1990’s it was not unusually to see coproduction in European cinema. In the 1940s the film industry had already moved in the direction of international cooperation and by the early 1950s the Western European Union17 funded films that were made by more than one member state (Galt 2006, 102). But the largest increase in co-productions occurred in the 1980s. There were several reasons for this. The crisis of the national film industry in Europe forced film directors to rely on national or European funding. Due to the shrinking domestic markets, the pan-European co-productions had been an emerging strategy for the survival of the European cinema. Furthermore, the European Union took initiatives to stimulate film production such as MEDIA18 and the Eurimages fund

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17 Forerunner for the European Union
(Bordwell & Thompson 2003, 606-609). The funding initiatives\(^{19}\) stimulated the cooperation between the European countries and enhanced development and distribution strategies in the film industry (Kerrigan 2010, 62-64).

Road movies are especially well suited to co-production because the travel-narrative solves the storyline puzzle of how to show different nationalities in one film. This indicates that the road movies might be a narrative solution for a pan-European coproduction.

Moreover the director’s choice to produce a road movie is a way to get more funding - the more places a film represent the more money it can get from funding. In Germany, according to a senior source, the German producers encourage writers and directors to ‘become gypsies’ and write road movies all over so that they could access each fund accordingly (Finney 2002, 212). Therefore it is logically to assume that the boom of road movies produced in the 1990s is stimulated by the funding systems that insist on cooperation between two or more European nations.

2.10 Findings

Road movies are known for being an American genre expressing the American dream. But in this chapter is has been described how the European road movies has its roots back in the European film history. Of course, American road movies have influenced European road movies, but European road movies are not simply only reformulations of their American counterparts and reflect European travel on its own terms.

European road movies are often portrayals of introverted, psychological quests that take place during the actual journey. In the European road movie the protagonist uses public transport and there is not the same fetishism of the vehicle and speed as in the American road movie. I argue for a very broad definition of the European road movie and consider the European road movie to include any fiction film in which the journey, thematically and as a narrative structuring device, shapes a tale of self-discovery and social knowledge set across European contexts.

Because road movies travel into the national culture, the genre allows film directors to investigate vital matters of identity e.g. exploring issues such as cultural differences and the contrast between different spatiality - local, national and transnational. Therefore the genre is suitable for an historical, political and sociological reading of the European identity and the unified European space.

\(^{19}\) The two funding programs were forerunners on the matter of European cooperation. In the 1990s the European Union only comprised the west European states, yet the funding programs worked towards a broader European identity, for example, Eurimages financially reached as far as from Turkey to Poland and from Iceland to Morocco (Galt 2006, 103).
The boom of the 1990s has many causes. One is the changes in Europe in the 1990s, and the requirement for new imaginings of the continent to construct a new European identity. Many film directors addressed and explored the new European spaces and the road movie genre is especially suitable for engagement in subjects of identity connected to the geopolitical changes. Another reason for the road movie boom is that, due to the national film crisis, film directors has to rely on funding from pan-European coproduction or from the European Union’s funding systems. When more than one country is involved in a film project, the road movie genre solves a narrative puzzle on how to engage all partners in the story-line. The result of the funding systems is that the financial situation might influence the increased amount of road movies.
3. Lisbon Story

3.1 Introduction
In this chapter I will analyse the European road movie, Lisbon Story, by the German film director Wim Wenders. I will draw out the narrative and visual elements that construct the film’s European space and European identity. In my analysis of Lisbon Story, Crossing new Europe by Ewa Mazieska and Laura Rascaroli is particularly helpful. The article ‘Europe (Un)Divided: How Peace Was Won and the War Never Lost in Wim Wender’s Lisbon Story (1995) and Emir Kusturica’s Bila Jednom Jedna Zemlja/Underground (1995)’ by Evelyn Preuss, have also provided important ideas to the reading of the film’s imagined Europe. Furthermore have the work on Wim Wenders by Phillip Robert Kolker and Peter Beicken and the article ‘Wim Wenders: A Worldwide Homesickness’ by Michael Covino helped me acquire a deeper understanding of Wenders’ filmic universe.

The first sections will contain an introduction to Wim Wenders and will also include a short summary of the film’s narrative. I will refer to earlier films of the director and also mention some of the typical key elements found in his films. The reason for this is that Wenders’s protagonists are often searching for a place to belong, which also is the case in Lisbon Story. In section 3.3 I will argue that the protagonist, in spite of calling himself European, has no place to feel at home. In this way the film raises a question about what it means to be European. In section 3.4 I will describe the journey from Germany to Lisbon and find out how the geographical European space is represented and how it relate the imagined European landscape to the European identity. In section 3.5 I will use theories on the gaze to open up a discussion about the spectatorship in the film. I will do this by referring to Laura Mulvey and Ella Shohat, the two feminist film scholars who both have elaborated on filmic gaze and spectatorship. I will argue that Portuguese space is constructed as the other and seen through the eyes of the tourist. In the last section 3.6 I will show how the film’s representation of national space and European space is hiding political power structures; power structures that are important in the ‘mental mapping’ of the European space and the construction of European identity. I will argue that the textual analysis of the film reveals that the film is very political due to its nostalgic and romantic representation of the imaginary Lisbon.
3.2 Wim Wenders and Lisbon Story

Wim Wenders is a German film director who is famous for directing road movies and he is regarded as one of the most international directors in Europe (Kolker 1993, 161-162). Before Lisbon Story Wim Wenders produced his road movie trilogy Alice in the Cities (1973), The Wrong Move (1974), and In the Course of Time (aka Kings of the Road, 1976). In these films we see the wanderings of displaced characters (Bordwell & Thompson 2003, 620).

Lisbon Story depicts Philip Winter’s travel from Frankfurt to Lisbon. He is a German sound engineer who is hired to create the sound landscape for a film directed by his American colleague, Monroe. Monroe chose Lisbon to be the site for the film celebrating the 100th anniversary of cinema, and therefore he uses vintage cameras and filming methods. In Lisbon, Winter meets a singer, Theresa, with whom he falls in love. Theresa is always on tour and since Monroe does not arrive until in the end of the film, Winter is alone and wanders around trying to complete Monroe’s film.

3.3 A quest for European Identity

In the film’s opening scene a beautiful postcard from Lisbon come through the mail box, followed immediately by ordinary white envelopes from official German institutions. Winter pushes the mail aside, picks up the postcard and in the next scene we see him already driving through Europe. The two scenes show that Winter is not often at home since his mail is piling up, and it is obvious that he is escaping his domestic duties for Lisbon. Winter stays in Portugal much longer than planned, and when it turns out that the film project he is working on is actually cancelled, he stays and wants to finish the film. Winter stays in Lisbon for personal reasons: he is seduced by the city, where he searches for a place to belong.

As film scholar Pamela Robertson points out, although the subject of the road movie is centred on the journey, it remains nonetheless a genre obsessed with home. This happens because the journey depends upon home as a structuring absence (Robertson 1997, 271). Home becomes the norm and the place-based identity against which the encounter with other people and places is measured. However, Winter does not feel home anywhere and, as already mentioned, the journey itself reflects a “personal geography [...] based upon mobility” (Aitken and Lukinbeal 1997, 351), in which home itself is a place of transition.
Because the protagonists in Wenders films are homeless, the director seems to depict a loss of identity in the Western Europeans. This is seen in the films, *Alice in the City* and *King of the Road* that discuss the negative uniformity of Europe and contain a critical approach to the Americanization of Europe, especially the American colonisation of post-war Germany. Wenders’s films often indicate that Germany or Western Europe lacks a distinctive identity and are longing to rediscover one.

In Mazierska and Rascarolis analysis of *Lisbon Story* they note that Wenders brings out a more optimistic picture of the identity issue than seen in the earlier films (Mazierska & Rascaroli 2006, 203). In *Lisbon Story* the protagonist is a happy European citizen with a European identity and Germany is now a part of Europe and not an ‘American colony’. This is shown in the dialogue between the protagonist and the Portuguese hairdresser: “- American? - No, European”.

Winter does not seem to feel German because he pronounces his last name ‘Winter’ in an English manner and when he reads Portuguese poetry he prefers the English translation over the German, which further indicates his disconnection to Germany. All things considered, Winter is not presented close to Germany and not to America either. He is presented as being European, but what European identity is, is a question not answered in the film.

Winter seems homeless and as Michael Covino states about the typical protagonists of Wenders, they are often marked by a ‘world-wide’ homesickness, which defines them and their wandering (Covino 1977, 9-19). This is also seen in *Lisbon Story*, where Winter longs for community, but something in him makes it impossible.

That the European protagonist is homesick, but remains homeless, can be read as Wenders’s wish to prioritize the European identity over the national identity. The film represents that ‘national identity’ and ‘European identity’ are mutually exclusive and since Winter is European he can not be German or Portuguese. In order to remain European he cannot identify himself too strongly with either German or Portuguese culture, and, therefore he, remains homeless.

If Winter is homeless because he wants to be European, then the film does not give any solution to how Europeans can construct their European identity; the European individual has to remain homeless. In this way Wenders continues the thread of identity search from his previous films. Furthermore, the film becomes a critical comment on Europeanness. If Europeans are homeless, then maybe it does not make sense to talk about a unified European space, and in this way the film raises questions about what it means to be European.
3.4 A unified European space

As mentioned earlier, the European Union has tried to promote a notion of ‘Europeanness’ amongst the populations in the EU and scholars have pointed out that there exists the assumption that the idea of ‘Europe’ as a geographical, cultural space and political space (Rovisco 2008, 142).

The narrative in *Lisbon Story* gives the impression that Europe exists as a unified political and cultural space. This is strongly presented in the beginning of the film, where Winter is driving through Europe from Frankfurt to Lisbon. Between Germany and Portugal roads, traffic signs, cars and gas stations are all the same (see figure 3.1). The national boarders are transparent with an exception of the car-radio stations that shift languages between borders. But even though the languages might change, the blend of pop music and news gives an impression of sameness. The landscape changes from Germany’s green, flat fields to the more rocky Portuguese settings, but the asphalted road looks the same. It seems as though Europe is one big country.

In the car, Winter is talking to himself and he is practising the word *homeland* in different languages as if all the countries in Europe really were his homeland. It is worthy to point out here that languages as Turkish, Irish or Serbo-Croatian are not among the languages that Winter speaks. This underline that the troubled areas are not the part of Winter’s Europe (Mazierska & Rascaroli 2006, 204).

Winter experiences the free mobility in Europe and is amazed that he does no longer need a passport. This is exemplified in the scene where he is talking to a non-existing border security and ironically asks if someone would like to see his passport or goods that he is smuggling in his car.

Borders are erected to protect oneself against outsiders, as well as to define a visual manifestation of the "final line of resistance between a mythical 'us' and an equally mythical 'them'" (Rogoff 2000, 112). But in Wenders’s Europe, European countries do not need visual borders to protect themselves against their neighbours nor pronounce their difference from the surrounding nations. As Winter notices, the journey between Frankfurt and Lisbon feels like driving through the ‘United States of Europe’.

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20 The road represents the escape and freedom, and has as mentioned a particular significance in American culture, where the road reflects the mythology of the border: “The road defines the space between town and country. It is an empty expanse, a tabula rasa, the last true frontier” (Dargis 19991, 16). The road takes the protagonist from one space to another. In a less tangible way the border crossing has an important function for the narrative in *Lisbon Story*. In a mythical understanding of border crossing, the border gives the traveller a possibility of escape. Frontiers are often perceived as the absolute otherness and function as a rite de passage from one condition to another. This idea of border crossing as a mythic space, as a gateway to an ‘other’ space, is linked to work in anthropology and post-colonialism, which view the border as a crossing point where hegemonic identities break down and where hybridity can develop (Hammond 2007, 199). Even though the borders do not exist in a physical form between the countries in Europe, they exist as a mental boundary.
In spite of the lack of visual national borders in *Lisbon Story*, different national spaces are represented in the film. In this way the film seems to contradict itself in terms of the European space. On one hand Europe is one united space, but on the other hand the German space is very different to the Portuguese space. In this way the film is a perfect example of the problems with the construction of the European space and identity. The film tries to represent a united space, but at the same time wishes to show that there are cultural and political differences between German and Portuguese space. These two different spaces are supposed to coexist in one united European space, which is not possible. The result is that the film constructs a unified European space that Portuguese space is not a part of. One scene that illustrates this statement is where Winter’s car breaks down at the border crossing to Portugal. As mentioned earlier the vehicle is an important feature in typical American road movies. The car and the control over the speed is some kind of phallic frisson (Hark 1997, 214). When Winter’s car breaks down it becomes somehow an ironic comment on the car’s traditional filmic status (see figure 3.2). Furthermore the break-down symbolises Winter’s loss of control which happens just on the border to Portugal. Winter has lost his protective shell and he is now forced to find help to get to Lisbon. First he gets a ride with a wagon and then he trades his car radio for a lift in an old truck. The journey continues although Wenders is not in the safe uniform western European space anymore. In this way the filmic universe does not include the Portuguese space in the united modern European space.

![Figure 3.1](image1.png)  ![Figure 3.2](image2.png)  ![Figure 3.3](image3.png)

In this scene it is worth noticing that the transition from car to an old truck and to foot is a typical move in European road movies that reflects the increasing personal involvement of the protagonist, and their increasingly close proximity to the ‘other’\(^{21}\).

All in all, the journey to Lisbon shows two things: Europe is united, without any borders but still there is a big mythical border to be crossed between the united European space and Portugal. The travel from the modern Europe is an escape into another world where Winter can create a new identity. In Lisbon he can discover himself and as I will show later he romanticizes the beautiful

\(^{21}\) Bus or train > lorry or taxi > car > foot typical pattern in European road movies (Everett  2009)
Portugal. This assumption entails that Lisbon is a place that is different from the rest of Europe. In this way the film constructs Lisbon as ‘the other’ compared to e.g. Germany. This hypothesis will be explored in the following section.

3.5 Discovering otherness – colonial gaze

“I represented a metaphorical city, a metaphorical Lisbon, because I took Lisbon as a metaphor for Europe”

Wim Wenders

In this section I will examine how the films spectatorship objectifies Lisbon and its citizens. To do this I will use the concept about spectatorship and gaze described by the feminist scholar Laura Mulvey. The feminist theories on the matter of spectatorship trace the power relations and pleasure of the gaze in a situated and positioned looking. The feminist scholar Ella Shohat writes about western cinema’s colonialist imaginary as a product of a gendered Western gaze. Shohat emphasize the role of sexual difference in the construction of a number of superimposed oppositions such as West/East and North/South. These oppositions exist not only on a narrative level, but also on the level of the implicit structuring metaphors supporting colonial discourse (Shohat 1991, 45).

According to Shohat some films are conquering sites and their inhabitants and show signs of a historical bond with colonialism. The filmic gaze takes part in a colonial discourse when it becomes a form of ‘policing’. The gaze represented in Lisbon Story is policing in several ways which are scrutinized below.

Big European capitals are typically associated with heavy traffic, modern buildings and busy people, yet not Lisbon represented in Lisbon Story. The capital of Portugal appears as an old city that hasn’t changed since the nineteen century. In Lisbon Story there is a lady doing her laundry by hand, the traffic in the streets is practically nonexistent, and it is even possible to stop a tram and ask the driver for directions (see figure 3.4). We see a knife-grinder on an old scooter, shoes shiners in streets, overshadowed by laundry hanging from ropes. The life is slow-paced and relaxed, which normally characterizes life in the countryside, and the kids play on the streets and talk to strangers without hesitation. Winter and Monroe feel safe in Lisbon and leave their apartment door open, which show they are not afraid of thieves stealing their valuable equipment.

22 Quoted in Colusso, 1998:76 (Mazierska & Rascaroli 2006, 206)
An important filmic element that makes Lisbon look older than other European cities is the small sequence of Monroe’s silent movie which is shown sporadically throughout the film (see figure 3.6). It is in sepia and was shot on a vintage camera. The glimpses of silent movies look as if they were shot 100 years ago, which makes Lisbon look untouched and captured in time. Furthermore, *Lisbon Story* is mostly shot in Lisbon’s old city, which gives the impression that there are no new buildings, highways or modern life.

*Lisbon Story* does not show immigrants, multiculturalism or tourists and in this way Wenders additionally represent Lisbon as an idealised version of a European city without any evidence of Portugal’s colonist times or from the Americanization of European culture – we see the civilized, peaceful and ‘pure’ Europe (Mazierska & Rascaroli 2006, 208). In this sense Wenders is erasing parts of Lisbon’s history and Lisbon’s contemporary cultural situation which shows that the film works in the discourse of Europism. The omission of other cultures is an important element in the films representations of the European space that I will come back to in chapter five when analysing *Zugvögel - ...einmal nach Inary*.

The film also shows a strong fascination with Portuguese tradition. This is seen in the depiction of Theresa and the band, *Madredeus*. Theresa is wearing a long black dress and her black hair is fixed in a tight knot. She has dark eyes and is pictured as a Mediterranean-beauty singing *fado* songs about Lisbon, inspired by the Portuguese folklore.

From a feministic point of view the representation of Theresa is very stereotypical. Theresa is in contact with her emotions and she expresses herself through music. The *fado* is sorrowful and emotional. Theresa also seems to have some kind of connection with the surrounding nature because she explains that her music and the river go together. Stereotypically women are pictured as being closer to nature than men, which is an image repeated in *Lisbon Story* because Theresa seems to “understand” the river.

In one scene Theresa sings, bathed in blue light, which underlines her beauty (see figure 3.7). But the blue light also underlines that she is viewed as a pretty object by Winter and by the audiences.
She becomes an object for the gaze, a tourist gaze and a colonizing gaze. Theresa is, with her emotions, her mystery and her music, looked upon at as ‘the other’ compared to the modern western protagonist. Winter and the audience are looking at the exotic Theresa and she becomes not only a stereotypical representation of a woman, but also a stereotypical image of the Portuguese traditional culture. Not only does Winter fall in love with Theresa he also falls in love with Portuguese culture that she represents.

The film has several sequences that have no connection with the narrative but function as visual pleasure. Theresa singing with her band becomes the object for a tourist gaze and the same can be said about the images made with the old camera. These scenes objectify Lisbon and its citizen to exotic objects that are different, beautiful, unspoiled, exotic, old fashioned, closer to nature and a little infantile. All in all, the Lisbon Story contain a tourist’s and a colonizer’s gaze. The film never gives up its ‘West German’ perspective that shows the viewpoint of an outsider with the power to form reality according to his image of ‘self’ and ‘other’ (Preuss 2007, 49). That the film represents Lisbon as different than the modern Western Europe underlines that Lisbon is not a part of the united Europe, where Winter comes from.

3.6 Lisbon Story as a political film
When Lisbon Story came out it was perceived as an apolitical film that made a sweet and loving representation of Lisbon (Preuss 2007, 47). But after a close textual analysis it becomes clear that the space represented is full of political elements that show existing power relations. As I have shown in the analysis above the film never gives up its Western German perspective and the film
represent a Western German/Western European imagination. In this way the film treats Lisbon and Portuguese culture as an object.

The film presents the space of Europe, from Germany to Lisbon, that has undergone unification, and that topical choice has a political dimension, because it is used to construct a political unit. Via the uniform representation of Europe the film ignores the different economic, social and historical landscapes and constructs one big homogeneous space (Preuss 2007, 50). In this way Europe is constructed as what Jensen and Richardson calls a monotopia. As already mentioned a homogeneous space where Portugal apparently does not belong. Wim Wenders is contrasting the cold and impersonal cityscape of Frankfurt with the 19th century character of Lisbon that is beautiful like a postcard. Wenders dissolves the difference between the two spaces into an unproblematic continuity between a financial heart of Europe and the capital of Western Europe’s poorest people.

Another feature that underlines that Lisbon Story is a political film is as mentioned that features of Portugal’s immigrants and colonial past erased from the film, which indicates that immigrants do not fit into Wenders’ imaginary Lisbon.

3.7 Findings
I have in this chapter argued for that the film raises questions about what it means to be European. The protagonist calls himself European and says the word homeland in many different European languages, but still he remains homeless. It seems as if the film is saying that a European individual belongs everywhere and nowhere at the same time. In this way the film does not give any solutions for the construction of European identity and how it is possible to achieve a feeling of belonging to the European space.

Lisbon story depicts a journey from Germany to Lisbon, where the unified European space is very visual. The signs and the roads are the same and there are no visual borders. This representation can be read as a political statement because Europe is constructed as a homogeneous unit, ignoring the different economic, social and historical landscapes.

The Portuguese space is constructed as back in time compared with the Western European space. At the border to Portugal the car breaks down, which indicates that Winter has come to a new space. The Portuguese space is culturally, politically and geographically far away from Germany. The representation of Lisbon is very romantic and just as a lovely as on a postcard. The representations of the citizens and of Theresa show a tourist’s gaze and a colonizing gaze that present Portugal as
an exotic, beautiful and pure ‘other’ to the modern Western Europe. *Lisbon Story* shows that the Western European cinema still needs to learn how to represent its spaces without reaching for the romantic stereotypes and the touristic colonizing gaze. As Mazierska and Rascaroli writes it is important to change these romantic descriptions so the Europeans can relate to the other in new, more modest and dialogical ways (Mazierska & Rascaroli 2006, 224).

All things considered the film is very political in its construction of European space. The film seems to reflect a positive and well functioning united, monotopic European space, but still have problems presenting a happy European individual that feels home in Europe. In this way the film reflects the situation in Europe in the 1990s where there is a quest for a European identity.
4. *Europa*

4.1 Introduction

In 1991 the Danish film director Lars von Trier finished his Europe trilogy with the third film called *Europa*. Even though many called the film a masterpiece of modern cinema, later works by Von Trier overshadowed *Europa*\(^{23}\) (Stevenson 2002, 72). The result is that *Europa*, in spite of its status as a masterpiece, suffers from a lack of attention and relatively little is written about it (Greenberg 2008, 45).

This chapter will include an analysis of the film, drawing out the different elements that have important roles in the construction of a European space and European identity. In section 4.2 I will summarise the narrative. The following section will introduce different film critics and their readings of the film. Here I will argue that the film critic Rosalinde Galt has made an interesting political analysis arguing that the film is a reflection on the unique historical and political situation in 1991. The following section 4.4 will contain an analysis of the symbolic role of the train that takes the audience and the protagonist on a journey deep into Europe. After that there will be a section called “Nothing to see or *too* much to see” where I describe how ´repression´ of the European past is an important theme in the film. The following section 4.6 contains a description of the constructed images that are created by the use of back projection. Here I will refer to the concept *time-image* that is described by Gilles Deleuze to explain how the director builds up the filmic space. After that I will, in 4.7, discuss how the film represents the European project in the 1990s by following the line of thought from the work of Galt. In the section 4.8 I will make a political-historical reading of the constructed images used in the film.

In my examination of *Europa* I have on the analytical matters been inspired especially by Rosalinde Galt´s chapter ´Back-Projecting Germany´ in her book *The New European Cinema*. The article ´Holocaust Repressed: Memory and the Subconscious in Lars von Trier´s “Europa”´ by Udi E. Greenberg has also been important. Furthermore I have used the Danish film theorist Lisbeth Overgaard Nielsen´s work on the visual style in the films of Lars von Trier to discuss the use of back-projections.

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\(^{23}\) After the “Europe trilogy” Las Von Trier worked with the famous Dogma 95 manifest, which has been a very discussed in the media and by various film critics (Stevenson 2003, 22-23).
4.2 Summary of the narrative
The first scene in the film shows a hypnosis that takes the protagonist back in time to relive the events in Germany after the Second World War. The Americans are trying to clean up the city and Nazi sympathisers called the Werewolfs are still at large. The American idealist Kessler, with German origin, comes back to Germany to, as he says; to show the country a little kindness. Kessler has an uncle who gives him a civilian job as a train conductor and he therefore travels back and forward across Europe in a train called Zentropa. One night on the train he meets Katarina who is the daughter of the owner of the train company. She becomes fascinated by Kessler and their meeting results in a dinner invitation to her father’s house. Her father was a Nazi during the war, but now the Americans are cleaning his name, because they need his prominent figure to restore Germany. Later in the film the father commits suicide because of his troubled conscious. The daughter admits to Kessler that she once was a Werewolf and the two of them make love on a mini train landscape of Germany. Kessler and Katarina get married. One day at work Kessler gets a phone call and Katarina tells him that she has been kidnapped. Kessler is forced to put a bomb on his train to save Katharina’s life. Kessler activates the bomb, he jumps out, but then he regrets his decision and runs after the train. He manages to stop the bomb and save all the passengers. Then it is revealed to Kessler that it was a setup and that Katarina is still a Werewolf. She used Kessler and his position as a train conductor. The bomb goes off and Kessler drowns captured in a train wagon, while the train sinks into a lake.

4.3 Different political readings of Europa
Since the film came out when the cold-war was at its end the film was instantly read as a political document of its time (Greenberg 2008, 46). Due to the film’s discussion about European-American relations, the film has been read as a reflection on the relationship between Europe and the U.S.

Some scholars interpret Europa as anti-American, for example does film critic Thomas Beltzer write that “...beneath the Wellesian virtuosity is a seething emotional attack against U.S. foreign policy and a somnambulant, complicit Europe” (Beltzer 2005). Other critics have read the film as anti-German because the film is clearly making fun of German stereotypes, e.g. Kessler’s uncle is manic about order and clean shoes, which mock the stereotypical German control - Ordnung muss sein. Furthermore, as Greenberg points out the train conductors bear resemble to the stereotypical behaviour of the SS officers (Greenberg 2008, 46). The film critic Janice Mosier Ricolson writes that Europa criticise post-war-German morals. She writes that the Hartmann family becomes an
allegory for the sick morals of the whole of Germany. This comes about because the family, after the war, denies any connections to the party and in this way refuse to purify themselves from Nazism (Richolson 1992, 62-63). Again others have seen the film as allegory over the stereotypical national identities and the problems it gives, which is seen in the work of Nizan Libovic who writes about stereotypes. Libovic believes that the usage of stereotypes in Europa is a message about the inability of the individual to break from his inherited national perceptions, succumbing to the tragic power of American-European semantics over human life (Lebovic 2000, 108-117; Greenberg 2008, 46).

But Rosalinde Galt’s political analysis is the most compelling in this context. She chooses to read the film as a contemporary, complex, and subversive manifesto, deserving to be viewed as a reflection on the unique historical movement of its production in 1991. It means that it is possible to read Europa as a representation of the European space in the 1990s.

### 4.4 Deeper into Europe by train

In the beginning of the film we see dark railways passing by (see figure 4.1). While violins build up a tension with their short strokes on the same tune we hear a voice from an old hypnotist: “You will now listen to my voice. My voice will help you and guide you still deeper into Europa [...] you will enter still deeper into Europa [...] when I count to ten you will be in Europa”.

![Figure 4.2](image)

In this scene the symbolic meaning of travel as a transition becomes very clear. The hypnotist brings a person back in time to relive the events in 1945. But the hypnosis also brings the audience back from 1991 to 1945. Because the frame of the narrative is a hypnosis the events that follow can be read as a dream or an earlier life of the person who get hypnotized. The hypnosis take place in the present but the events in the film are all experienced in 1945.
The train has important function in several ways; the train is moving freely around Germany in a situation where many people are stuck where they are. The train becomes an icon for freedom. The protagonist is the train conductor and the train becomes a symbol of his life; it is the train that brings our protagonist back to 1945, it is in the train that he meets his future wife and when the train blows up also our protagonist’s life ends (see figure 4.2). Furthermore the train bears the train company’s name on it ‘Zentropa’. The name is compound by the words ‘Zen’ and ‘Europa’. Zen is a variety of Buddhism that is seeking to attain an intuitive illumination of mind and spirit through meditation\textsuperscript{24}. The word Zen points to thinking or meditation. Therefore the name Zentropa indicates that the train is a vehicle that brings the traveller into a meditation that seeks to illuminate the notion Europe.

Just like memory or dreams the train is able to jump in time. This is experienced by the uncle who sometimes sees the same view twice or the train changes direction. Kessler explains this mysterious matter in a theoretical way and does not believe his uncle’s story. But at the end of the film, it is clear that the train can jump in time because the train passes the same bridge twice. The second time the bridge blows up and Kessler drowns, trapped inside the train (see figure 4.3). The train’s unrealistic manner travel can be explained by the hypnosis or the mediation. Because the film is presented as a journey back in time and memory the audience accepts the impossible time and spaces in the film.

\begin{figure}[h]
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\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure43.png}
\caption{Figure 4.3}
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\begin{figure}[h]
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\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure44.png}
\caption{Figure 4.4}
\end{figure}
\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure45.png}
\caption{Figure 4.5}
\end{figure}

Not only does the train jump in time but it also mixes different time-spatial events. In one scene we see a lot of famished prisoners, presumably Jews, in a wagon, as if the memory of the Jews is still clinging on to the train, that now transports rich Germans and Americans (see figure 4.4). As Greenberg points out very few Western viewers would miss the connection between trains and concentration camps, and therefore the film only has to show this short scene before the audience associate to prisoners of The Third Reich (Greenberg 2008, 48). The wagon with the prisoners

\textsuperscript{24}Webster’s new world college dictionary, third edition
cannot exist in real time and therefore it is obviously Kessler’s imagination that creates the images of the prisoners. This scene indicates that besides representing Kessler’s memory the train also represents Europe’s memory. If the film is understood as a journey back in the suppressed European memory, then the wagon with the Jews becomes the director’s moral saying that the wagon with the condemned Jews is attached forever on the European trains. The holocaust will forever be in the European memory.

4.5 Nothing to see or too much to see

“Don’t you dare to look outside; there’s nothing to see out there!” (from Europa)

An important theme in Europe revolves around hiding and repression. Already from the film’s opening scene Kessler’s uncle avoid the news from Kessler’s past in America. The German uncle doesn’t want any news or input what so ever. The repression continues throughout the film. Kessler for example rarely get a chance to look out the windows. The first time he tries to look out his uncle is stopping him and it is obvious that the uncle is hiding something. In the train when Kessler again tries to look out the window, his uncle blames him for having no decency and shouts that there is nothing to see (See figure 4.5 and 4.6). When finally Kessler can’t control his curiosity and looks out the window he sees poor Germans running after the wagon begging for money. In other scenes, when Kessler looks out, dead Germans are hanging near the train after an execution (See figure 4.7). This indicates that the uncle is trying to ignore the world outside the train, and in fact there is not ‘nothing to see’ but too much to see (Galt 2006, 182).

4.6 The use of back projections

Much attention has been given to Europa’s exceptional visual language and to its creative use of post-war imagery (Greenberg 2008, 45). Furthermore, many pictures in the film refer to the style in
films from the 1940s. In the 1940s it was very common to use back projecting which often created an unintentionally incoherent perspective between the actors and the background. The use of back projection was often used when the actors were supposed to look like they were moving in a vehicle. Instead, the actor was sitting in a car, and behind the car there was shown a film with images from a road (see figure 4.8).

By the means of back projection Von Trier creates a destabilisation of the films spatial architecture (see figure 4.9). Constantly, new layers are added to the existing image and become a part of it. The new layers reconstruct the filmic space and play with the audience anchor in space (Nielsen 2008, 103). The audience is forced to change perspective, which draws attention away from the narrative.

The image’s way to draw attention away from the narrative, and in some scenes stop the narrative, reflects a filmic status that according to Gilles Deleuze can be categorized as ‘time-image’ 26. The film’s time-images are not ruled by the logical movement of the world and as Deleuze writes: “Time is out of joint”: it is off the hinges assigned to it by behaviour in the world, but also by movements of the world. It is no longer time that depends on movement; it is aberrant movement that depends on time” (Deleuze 1989, 39).

On one hand, the images give the audience a possibility for a reflexive immersion; on the other hand, the images do not leave room enough for the audience’s feelings and identification with the protagonists. The characters are overruled by the aesthetics in the film and never obtain a psychological depth. Only Kessler attains some kind of personal warmth, but his character is also

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26 Time-image and movement-images is two of Deleuze’s fundamental notions. The time-Image is an image that breaks with the movement-image and breaks down the empiric experience of the time´s chronological continuity (past, present, future). In this way the time-image brings the audience out of a narrative which otherwise makes “sense”. A time-image creates a moment in the film where the spectator must construct meaning themselves (Nielsen 2008, 107).
undermined by the films visual language that interrupts the audience spatial orientation and identification (Nielsen 2008, 104).

This kind of destabilization of the perspectives is, for example, seen in the scene where Katharina and Kessler are standing in front of each other before getting married. The two protagonists are coloured, but the backgrounds are black-and-white. Behind her is the running water and behind him are leaves and branches (see figure 10 and 11). Here the projections give the filmic spaces new meanings and the images can be read as comments to the protagonist’s personalities. The running water underlines the slippery, mysterious and ever changing Katharina and the wood represents the calm and static Kessler. Her background is shot from above which gives the impression that the water is flowing upwards, while his background is shot slightly from the ground. In this way the perspective is disjointed.

Figure 4.11

Figure 4.12

The images give the viewer so much information that they steal attention from the narrative. There is so much to see in the layers that there is actually no story to see. This is how the uncle feels when he watches out the windows on the German space. There is too much to see. I will come back to the political reading of the constructed images of Europe after the following section.

4.7 Germany 1945 and Europe 1991

“For the first time you experience the fear of being on the train, without knowing where you are, when you can get off and how the journey will end” (from Europa)

As mentioned it is possible to read Europa as a representation of the events occurring in the 1990s. When the film came out there existed an optimism and hope for the future of Europe, which the narrative in Lisbon Story is an example of. Europe was whole again and the Berlin Wall was experienced as a historical shift prompting the cultural and intellectual re-examination of
Germany’s position in Europe. But this re-examination also involved a kind of lingering to the Nazi-past that East Germany and West Germany had shared before they were parted. According to Galt, Germany was obliged to face the ghosts from the past because the reunification brought the space of Germany closely back to its post-war borders (Galt 2006, 225). It is precisely this exploration of the unification that Europa takes up by bringing the European viewer back to 1945. Furthermore the film raises questions about the future for the united Germany by pointing out that the last time the two spaces were united Nazism and guilt was present.

But the fall of the wall is not only a symbol of the reunification of Germany but also an event that symbolises the unification of East and West Europe. As the reunification debate suggests, the question about the future of Germany was also, both in 1945 an in 1990, a question about the future of Europe (Galt 2006, 226).

One of the reasons that Europa is special is because the film does not interpret a national history but another country’s history. The director is Danish, but the film takes place in Germany and that is untypical. The film raises the questions about who’s history it is that is being told. Is it a Danish film, a German film or is it a European film? Some film critics calls Europe a genuinely European film because it was made by Swedish, Danish, German and French partners, filmed in English and German language and shot partly in Poland (Ilott 1996, 108).

As mentioned the film does not focus on Danish space in a direct way. But because the German space is represented as European space, and because Denmark is a part of Europe, the film does represent Danish space and history, as well as the history of other European countries as well. The film suggests that the whole Europe’s history is connected with Germany in 1945. So when Lars Von Trier represents the German space as being a place positioned in the middle of Europe it can of course be geographically, but also metaphorically: The events in Germany are kept deep inside the European memory. Galt has a similar reading and states that Germany stands in a metonymic relation to the troubled political and historical spaces of something called ‘Europe’ (Galt 2006, 178).

4.8 Impossible European space and identity
If Europa is read as a political statement on the situation in Europe in the 1990s, then the fragmented pictures can be understood as comments to the impossible space of Europe. As Galt points out the European space is not a visible, actual place. The European space exists as a political
idea, but not as an articulate space (Galt 2006, 179). *Europa* demonstrates that the construction of Europe as one united cultural space is not possible.

There is no single image that on a visual level can go beyond national signifiers and represent the continent as a whole. A photograph or film, picturing an existing location in Europe, would always primarily be national and the connotation of Europe would be only in second order. Therefore it is impossible to create an image that is truly European, and maybe therefore the director had to construct the image of Europe himself. Only by using the imagination is it possible to create an image that is primary European.

The film tries to address a European subject and tries to show the losses and horrors in the European history. But the same time as the film is addressing Europe, it highlights that Europe does not exist. In this way the film show a European subject while pointing out the textual and ideological impossibilities of doing so. Therefore the film is a good example of the contemporary demands and impossibilities of a shared identity for all Europeans.

*Europa* is very different from *Lisbon Story* because it constructs an idea of Europe outside the dominant Western discourse. Both films were released in a moment when change became imaginable in Europe, and both films are addressing the new Europe. But while Wenders’s film shows a positive Western imagined Europe, von Trier’s production of European space in terms of impossibility asks the question: Where now? As the two films show, the engagement with Europe as a point of identification is, in the 1990s, necessarily ambivalent. *Europa* seems to state that change in the European West is necessary, since the project of a European space and European identity is not possible.

When *Europa* came out the Maastricht treaty was signed, but the Danish people voted against integration in the European Union (Greenberg 2008, 45). This film can be seen as a reflection of the doubts and scepticism in the Danish society in the 1990s against the European project.

**4.9 Findings**

I have in this chapter described how the train Zentropa takes the protagonist and the audience deep into Europe. I have also shown that the repression of the events during the Second World War is an important theme in the film. Most importantly I have argued for that it is possible to make a political-historical reading of the film that can be seen as a comment or metaphor on the situation in European space in 1991. Especially the usage of back projection has given interesting textual material in which to analyse the European space in the 1990s. I have on the matter of the
constructed images argued for that they underline the European space as constructed, and that the European space only is possible in the imagination. This means that the film shows the impossibility of constructing a European identity and a coherent European space. Furthermore, *Europa* reflects a Europe that is full of repression, horror and guilt and in this way presents a Europe outside of the dominant western discourse.

The film presents a European subject but at the same time points out the textual and ideological pitfalls of doing so. Europe exists in the imagination, in the dream world, in the hypnoses, as a political space, but not as an actual place. If Europe only exists in the imagination, then what is the future for Europe and for Europeans? The same question is also raised in *Lisbon Story*, where the European protagonist has to remain homeless to remain European.

Since the European space does not exist, the film pictures a difficult future for the Europeans in the 1990s. The film advocates a radical change in the European West.
5. Zugvögel… - einmal nach Inari

5.1 Introduction
In this chapter I will analyse Zugvögel… - einmal nach Inari, made by the German film director Peter Lichtefeld, and a coproduction between Finland and Germany. I will draw out important elements that contribute to the film’s construction of European space and European identity. Furthermore, throughout this chapter I will point out similarities and differences between the three films used as case studies.

In section 5.2 I will summarise the film’s narrative. In 5.3 I will point out elements in the film that construct the protagonist as a European traveller with a European identity. Section 5.4 will compare the representation of Germany with that of Finland, because the film seems to show both sameness and difference among these two European countries. The director borrows filmic styles from both American Westerns and from Finish road movies to represent the Finish space. In this way the film uses intertextuality to give the film new layers of meaning by borrowing elements from other films. In section 5.5 I will show that the female protagonist represents home. According to Ella Shohat there are gender overtones in the way the male protagonist is often active and falls in love with the rural and untouched country and with the girl. This observable fact is present in all three films and will be commented in this chapter. In section 5.6 I will argue that the European traveller is looking for a European identity on the outskirts of Europe. This statement is a part of a bigger discourse, regarding the decline of the West as a result of globalisation. I will build my argument on the work of John Tomlinson who refers to the theories of Giddens and Bauman on globalisation. Section 5.7 is about how the film shows sign of European integration, which has both positive and negative effects. In section 5.8 I will point out that the encounter between citizens of the European Union and people from ‘outside’ is not considered whatsoever. In this way the film is representing a ‘pure’ Europe that is a symbolic continent whose space is purified of foreign and ‘uncivilised elements’. This discourse is, as mentioned, called Europism.

The most important literature used in this chapter is the article ‘Travelling to the Margins of Europe’ by Ewa Mazierska. ‘The Limits of European-Ness’ by Helma Lutz is also very important in my reading of the film’s construction of a European space. As mentioned, I refer to Tomlinson, Giddens and Bauman on the matter of globalisation, which gives an interesting angle on the margin
and centre of Europe. In general it has been difficult to find literature about Zugvögel... - einmache nach Inari in spite of the fact that the film has won several German prices.27

5.2 Summary of the narrative
Hannes Weber is a German lorry driver. His hobby is to figure out the fastest routes from one European city to another. Therefore his apartment is full of maps and timetables so he can hone his skills. Hannes Weber has planned a vacation to Inary, a small city in Finland, where a timetable competition is taking place. His boss fires Weber because he is going on vacation and Weber punches him in his face out of anger. Unfortunately his boss is found dead the day after and Weber is blamed for the homicide. Unaware that the police are following him, Weber travels to Inari. On the way he meets the Finnish woman Sirpa and they fall in love. Sirpa teaches him that the fastest route is not always the best route to travel. Later, when the police catch up with Weber, he is allowed to compete in the competition, but Weber looses the first prize on purpose because he gives the wrong answer to the question about the best route from Dortmund to Inary: Hannes Weber knows the fastest way, but he answers Sirpa’s favourite route to show that he has learned something from her. At last the police finds the right murderer and Weber can stay in Inary with Sirpa.

5.3 The European traveller
Weber is not presented as a German citizen with a strong national identity. He is listening to Italian music when driving the lorry and his flat seems simple and empty without any typical national features. Furthermore he does not show any patriotic tendencies towards Dortmund, because he seems uninterested in the famous local football which emphasizes the fact that he is not bound to the local identity. The empty flat underlines the fact that Weber is a man that spends much of his time on the road. As Mazierska points out Weber’s job as a truck driver, which involves a significant part of his life travelling abroad, also suggests a lack of strong national and regional identity (Mazierska 2001, 7). Because of the maps in Weber’s room, his home bear’s similarities to a train station, which indicates that, like the station, his home is a place of transit and passing through, and a place where the traveller can plan his next journey (see figure 5.1).

Weber’s fascination with European timetables, and especially his hard work trying to find the shortest routes between European cities, can be read as a sign of that it means more to Weber to be a citizen of Europe than of Germany (Mazierska 2001, 7). In the scene where Sirpa and Weber are talking about their lives, Weber reveals that his dream is to improve the European transport connections and work as a railway expert (see figure 5.2). When the film came out in 1996 the open borders were relatively new for the European nations and according to Weber there is still much to be done on the integration of timetables. With Weber’s wish it can be interpreted that he is optimistic about the future of the European Union and he wish to bring Europe closer together.

As mentioned the American road movie is fascinated by the car or motorbike, but in this film we see that the public transport is used. This is as mentioned a typical difference between the European and the American road movie according to David Laderman (Laderman 2002, 248). As stated the typical European traveller takes the train, which is also the case in Zugvögel... - einmach nach Inari. In the train Weber engage with other people from different countries, for example he has a conversation with a Finnish couple (see figure 5.3).

It is revealed that Weber and the Finnish man have something in common because they share the same occupation. As the two of them are truck drivers they connect with each other and share the
same ideas about life, which is more important than where they are from. The film shows that identity is constructed around occupation, values and a view of life, more than national identity. In this way the film has a positive approach to the borderless Europe, and seems to insist on an existence of the term Europeanness amongst the people in Europe.

5.4 Germany vs. Finland
The images from Dortmund are quite gloomy, monotonous, grey and industrial (see figure 5.4 and 5.5). Therefore, it seems like an ironic statement when Weber on the way to Inary writes a postcard to his friend with the headline: Schönes Dortmund (See figure 5.6).

![Figure 5.4](image1.png) ![Figure 5.5](image2.png) ![Figure 5.6](image3.png)

The German railway stations, which Weber passes on his way to Finland, look like each other, as do the cities Hamburg, Stockholm and Helsinki.

But while the rest of West Europe seems grey, the outlying areas of Finland are presented as beautiful places - green and uninhabited (see figure 5.7 and 5.8). There are less people in Finland compared with Germany and there is breathing space for the two protagonists to walk in nature and talk about old tales, while they dream about the future.

![Figure 5.7](image4.png) ![Figure 5.8](image5.png)

In Finland the passport controllers are not very efficient while looking for the suspect Weber. The two guards look at each other and state coldly that “Not even a fool would go to Finland”. The
Finnish passport control bear resembles with the characters that can be found in the films by the Finnish famous road movie director Ari Kaurismäki (see figure 5.9 and 5.10) (Koll 1998, 26).

In the film *Leningrad Cowboys* by Kaurismäki the actors are cold and theatrical. Especially the usage of sunglasses is a well-known element in the film, which is copied in this scene in *Zugvögel – einmal nach Inari*. Furthermore, the actress Kati Outinen, who plays the wife to the Finnish truck driver, is also in Kaurismäki’s film. By borrowing elements from the Finnish road movie universe, the German director relates to the Finnish style in its representations of Finish characters. This fits very well to the assumptions made by Timothy Corrigan who writes that contemporary road movies work with images and ‘simulacra’, more often than with reality in an accurate way (Corrigan 1991, 152). But there is another possible explanation for the director’s decision to imitate Finnish road movies. As mentioned in an earlier chapter, film theorists such as Mulvey, Rogoff and Shohat points out that the gaze produced in films can easily be of a colonialist imaginary, as a product of a Western gaze. Therefore there is a risk of falling into the trap of representing the foreign characters with the eyes of the colonizing voyager. Mazierska believes that the reference to Kaurismäki suggests a desire on the part of the director to portray Finnish culture and the Finnish people from the perspective of the insider, rather than that of the ignorant tourist (Mazierska 2001, 9). However the representation of the Finnish people in remote areas of the country is still clichéd and the film does support the existing stereotype of the Finish people as odd and affected by the fact that the territory is isolated and placed on the northern periphery.

One filmic element that establishes the outskirts of Finland as rural and abandoned is the references to the American westerns. *Zugvögel... – einmal nach Inari* include scenes that imitate the western made by Sergio Leone’s *Once Upon a Time in the West* (1968). Here the intertextuality gives the filmic experience another layer. Sergio Leone’s famous scene pictures a deserted train station, where
a bandit catches a fly with his gun, while waiting with his comrades for the hero to arrive. The hero is not in the train – he is behind the train and he kills all the villains. When the audience recognise the references to the famous western (see the comparison in figure 5.11-5.16), they think they know how the scene is going to end in Zugvögel- *einmal nach Inari*. The audience believes that Weber is behind the bus and there will be some kind of confrontation between the detective and the protagonist. But Weber is not in the bus anymore, because he changed his route. Due to the intertextuality Weber’s exclusion creates a humorous surprise (see figure 5.14).

The director uses the references to the western to play with the audiences’ cultural knowledge and earlier experiences of the genre to surprise the viewers. But the reference to the American western
can also be an indication of as Pierre Sorlin suggests, that Europeans “create and imagine the world trough Hollywood’s lenses” (Sorlin 1991, 1). By comparing Finland to the Wild West the audiences know precisely what the film’s Finland is like. Nevertheless, the images that are projected are self-conscious and humorous. They show that references to other American genres can create new meanings in a European context as well.

The comparison between the Wild West and Finland creates associations about Finland as a place that is uninhabited, rural and empty. The film indicates that the remote regions of Finland reside in the past compared with the urban centres of Europe. In this way the film bear some resemble with Lisbon Story which also represent the edges of Europe as behind the modern Western world. Because the Finnish edge is represented differently than the Finnish cities the film once more draws attention to the fact that there are more important differences than those between nations, such as divisions between city and country side.

Altogether the film seems to insist on a European identity, based on shared values of humanism and freedom and suggests that there exists a united European space. In this European space there is room for local and regional identities and differences, and in this way the film fits into the European Union’s discourse about cultural diversity among the member states. However the film represents the remote regions of Finland as a place left behind the modern world, with a strong social identity, where nature, beauty and love exist. In this way the representation of Finland has romantic and nostalgic elements in its representations of the margin of Europe. The representation of the Finnish space will be discussed further in the following section where I will argue for that there exists a gender division where the female protagonist represents the Finnish countryside, where people cherish love, friendship and life in harmony with nature more than economic success.

5.5 The female protagonist represents home
Sirpa is already married and her husband is fascinated by computers. He never appears in the film, but he is present through his answer machine and his messages on the computer to Sirpa. With his fascination of computers and home in the capital of Finland, the husband represents modern urban life. When Sirpa comes home to her flat, all her roses are dead. This highlights that her husband does not take care of their relationship and that he is not respecting her dreams about having roses. The broken flowers are a strong symbolic meaning that their love is gone. Instead Sirpa falls for Weber who is sweet and attentive. Sirpa teaches Weber about the nature and the beauty of Finland. She explains to him why the fastest route is not always the best route, because the view and the mode of
travel are important too. In this way the film gives a philosophical comment about time and effectiveness. She asks Weber why he is hurrying and what he is saving his time up for. After their conversation Weber changes his way of thinking and in this way Sirpa gives him more existential and emotional values.

From a feminist viewpoint this representation of the woman is stereotypical and not dissimilar to the role of the female protagonist in *Lisbon Story*. In both films the female protagonist are closer to nature and teach men about the important things in life. In the two films the women are representing another lifestyle, away from the urban modern way of life. The men are searching for a place to call home and for love which they can’t seem to find in the big cities. In this way both films represent a romantic nostalgia for a pure way of living, prior to the modern ‘contamination’ of the cities where the men comes from. With other words, the two men are not able to find a home in the industrial centres of Europe and the two films represent a romantic search for what seems to be the lost origins of the modern western civilizations, represented by the woman.

In all the three case studies the men are looking for love in the place they visit, but only Weber experiences true love. In *Lisbon Story* Winter is not ready for commitment and in *Europa* Kessler is attracted to Katharina because of her clear connection to the dark forces of memory that in the end lead him to his death. Because the women in the three films represent the countries visited by a male traveller, there are strong gender overtones to be found. Typically in road movies the protagonist is male and he is exploring the new world, he is the voyager and the discoverer and in this way he is the active part. As Shohat points out this passive/active division are based on stereotypically sexist imagery (Shohat 1991, 52). There exist gender overtones in the way the male protagonist is active and falls in love with the rural and untouched country and with the girl. In other words, the space of the country cannot be distinguished from the female protagonist. This is especially true of *Europa* where Kessler is making love to Katharina on a miniature landscape of Germany. He makes love to Katharina and he makes love to Europa (see figure 5.17).
Weber is open to the rural lifestyle away from the big city and away from values centred on financial success. Often fascination of financial success is associated with America and Weber’s choice can be read as if the European citizen does not want to go the same way as the American society. This point of view is supported by the fact that it is an American that wins the competition, when Weber deliberately becomes number two. The American winner was the best at being rational; she found the fastest route and got the money. But Weber as a European chooses other values; he wants the best route and finds love.

5.6 The big cities have lost their identity
Lisbon and Inari are geographically on the margins of Europe. As seen in both films the protagonists find the margin very attractive, as if the periphery of Europe has a unique culture, which the urban and civilised centre of Europe is perceived to lack (Mazierska 2001, 10). This statement is a part of a bigger discourse, regarding the decline of the West as a result of globalisation. John Tomlinson, building on the work of Giddens and Bauman, writes:

“Although the process of 'globalising modernity' may have begun in the extension of Western institutions (capitalism, industrialism, the nation-state system), their very global ubiquity now represents a decline in the differentials between the West and the rest of the world. In a sense the West's 'success' in disseminating its institutional forms represents a loss of its once unique social/cultural 'edge’” (Tomlinson 1999, 172).

It is reasonable to expect that, as Europe becomes increasingly more westernised and global, the parts of Europe that resist the consequences of globalisation will become more important from a cultural point of view. This means that despite Inari being represented as left behind in time and provincial it becomes an important cultural space for Europe, because its distinctive culture still remains, while the big cities in Europe have lost their identity as a result of the globalisation.

5.7 Signs of European integration
As shown Lichtefeld takes up many of the same issues about Europe as Lars von Trier and Wim Wenders, but handles the topics in a more subtle way. While Europe and Lisbon Story articulate a European space in an obvious way through the filmic dialog, Zugvögel... - Einmach nach Inari does it in the shadow of the narrative. Lichtefeld engages with the issues of open borders and the
integration in EU. The film shows how it is possible to travel from Germany to the border of Finland without passport control. The film also points out that the integration of Europe has resulted in vehicles and traffic signs looking the same in all the countries. Europe seems to be one united space, as also seen in Lisbon Story. Furthermore, the film shows how the Schengen agreement\(^{28}\) works and how the police cooperate in the different countries. When the German police realize that Weber is travelling towards Finland they call the Finnish police for assistance, and the German detective can follow Weber all the way to Finland. The negative sides of free movement are also shown. The films asks whether open borders makes it harder for the police to catch smugglers. All in all the film’s narrative comments on the European changes and give examples of positive and negative results of the integration.

5.8 A ´pure´ European space

Another element in the film, that is similar to one in Lisbon Story, is the omission of certain people. In spite the fact that people, with ethnic backgrounds other than German, play a big role in German society, they are not represented and the encounter between citizens of the European Union and people from ´outside´ is not handled whatsoever. The films represent a somewhat affluent Europe that is inhabited by Europeans that have lived there for many generations.

According to Lutz, historians have found out that the popular image of a sedentary Europe is flawed since people have moved to Europe over the last 300 years. These findings are inconsistent with the common belief that Europe has been a continent of emigration rather than immigration to the United States, Australia and Canada. This common belief can help to explain why European think of themselves as sedentary, homogeneous and white (Lutz 1997, 97).

The lack of other nationalities, peoples and cultures such as Kurds, Turks, ex-Yugoslavians, or Poles can be read as an avoidance of the issue of renegotiating the identity inside the borders of Germany. Also Wenders presents Lisbon as an idealised version of a European city without any traces of Portugal’s colonist times, or from the Americanization of European culture. Both films show a civilized, peaceful and ´pure´ Europe and both directors are referring to a rather narrow

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\(^{28}\) When the agreement took effect in 1995, it abolished checks at the internal borders of the signatory states and created a single external border where immigration checks for the Schengen area are carried out in accordance with identical procedures. Common rules regarding visas, asylum and checks at external borders were adopted to allow the free movement of persons within the participant states without disrupting law and order. More information, see [Http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/justice_freedom_security/free_movement_of_persons_asylum_immigration/l33020_en.htm](http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/justice_freedom_security/free_movement_of_persons_asylum_immigration/l33020_en.htm), 15 March 2009 at 14:36
concept of Europe, erasing parts of the country’s history and the contemporary cultural situation. Both films are exploring Europe from the point of view of the Western eye.

The construction of a ´pure´ Europe as a symbolic continent whose space is purified of foreign and ´uncivilised elements´ is a discourse that Lutz calls Europism. She also states that the construction of the self-referring definition ‘Europeans’ is a somewhat new discourse that tries to construct Europe as homogeneous space. Lutz refers to Philomana Essed to show that that there has been a shift from Eurocentrism to Europism (Essed 1995, 54; Lutz 1997, 95). In spite of both Eurocentrism and Europism are centred on similar key elements, they differ because Eurocentrism focus on the outside and Europism focus on the homogenizing process from the inside. As stated, in the 1990s, Europe needed a consistent image of what it means to be European and this is according to Lutz one of the reasons why Europism was produced after the fall of the wall. As Lutz writes:

“In the face of controversies within and between different EU nations about the advantages of European integration, and the tremendous social disparities within European societies (Between Northern and Southern Europe, North and South Italy or East and West Germany) the pressure to harmonize the EU at the ideological level is growing. In other words, as the European does not yet exist, the making of ´the European´ is not merely a challenge for politicians, economists, lawyers and bureaucrats but also has to be expressed in the creation of an imaginative representation.” (Lutz 1997, 106).

It can be argued that Lisbon Story and Zugvögel- einmal nach Inari are part of this discourse of Europism and the wish for a homogenized Europe. Because the films ignore the issues of the ethnic tension inside Western European countries and because the films, especially Lisbon Story, use nostalgia in the representation of Lisbon, they maintain and produce an unrealistic and old-fashioned vision of a ´pure´ Europe. In contrast, Europa seems to mock this attempt to represent a unified Europe by pointing out that all images of Europe is a construction, as mentioned in chapter four.

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29 Eurocentrism is an elderly discourse of European superiority and domination over the South, which is an old understanding of Europeans. As Etienne Balibar writes, the self-referring definition of ´Europeans´ is a relatively new discourse and until the 1950s the principal meaning of the term referred to groups of colonizers in the colonized regions of the world (Balibar 1991, 7). The processes of the colonization, the empire formations, and the struggle against it, constituted the ground on which Europe constructed itself (Lutz 1997, 95).
5.9 Findings

I have in this chapter argued that the protagonist in Zugvögel-... einmal nach Inari has a European identity and that he thinks positively about the future of Europe. The film shows that elements such as occupation, values and lifestyle are more important for the sense of belonging to a group, than national identity is. The film also reflects the European notion about unity in diversity by showing that citizens in Europe have something in common and at the same time has national differences. On one hand, the film shows the unified, monotopic European space, where the big cities looks like each other, as a result of globalization, where police work together, and where criminals benefit because it is possible to move freely around Europe. On the other hand, the film shows that places on the margins of Europe, like Inari, which are presented as a desolated, uninhabited place, have a slower pace and are inhabited by people who cherish love, friendship and are in tune with nature more than economic success, which is other values than found in America or in the centres of Europe.

The remote regions of Finland seem like an attractive place for the protagonist because it is more rural, has more nature and the female protagonist teaches Weber about the important things in life. Sirpa raises a philosophical question about what is the most important: the fastest route or the most beautiful route. The discussion about the best route becomes a discussion about European values. In the competition the European protagonist answers that best route is the most pleasant, while the American competitor answers the fastest route. In this way the film indicates that America has chosen an effective path with materialistic values, while European values are more existentialistic and humanistic.

In this chapter I have argued that the omission of immigrants creates an image of a ‘pure’ Europe where the inhabitants of Europe have lived there for many generations. In this way the film operates within the discourse of the Europism that focuses on the homogenizing process from the inside. As stated throughout this paper, since the European does not yet exist, the making of the European is not merely a challenge for politicians, but also something that is reflected in the imaginative representations. While the film Europa states that there is no hope for the construction of Europe the other two films are more optimistic about the European future. But after close textual analysis’s it becomes clear that Zugvögel- einmal nach Inari and Lisbon Story show that Europe in the 1990s might is discovering itself, but still needs to learn how to represents itself. As Ien Ang formulates it “How to marginalise itself, to see its present in the historical particularity and its limitedness, so that Europeans can start relating to cultural “others” in new, more modest and dialogical ways” (Ang 1992, 28).
Conclusion

In this conclusion I will summarize my research and present the findings from each chapter.

In my thesis I have presented a textual analysis of three European road movies that each engage with conceptualizing European space. Because the films picture a journey through European space they renegotiate both national and European spatial identities. By the means of analyses it has been possible to highlight contemporary thoughts, dreams and anxieties about the European unified space that occurred after the changes in Europe in the 1990s. I have mapped out the different elements, in the narrative as well as in the spectacle that the three films use to imagine and present the European space and to reconstruct a European identity.

The examination of the European identity is based on a background of film history, genre theory, sociology, human geography, history and textual analysis of the images and of the narrative, all of which is reflected in the sources of the literature. Mobility, European identity, space and road movies are the important keywords related to representation in European space in road movies and frames the presentation of the subject.

The choice to examine road movies is justified by the fact that, due to the genre’s special features, this cinematic form has the ability to mirror and interpret changes such as shifting European borders and the formations of national and transnational identities. As described in chapter two, European road movies carry a reflexive message about fundamental aspects of people’s sense of belonging to the places in which they exist. As I have shown the sense of belonging to a certain locality or territory is an important component in the construction of identity and is achieved by means of symbolic boundaries, or mental maps, through which individuals define ‘us’ and ‘them’. Since the road movies, traversing the European space, portray meetings between different cultures and encounter with different cultural spaces they reflect and are able to renegotiate identities. This makes European road movies an excellent choice for the examination of the European identity after the changes in the European unified space in the 1990s.

As I have showed in chapter one the notion of space is a slippery term that both seems familiar and complex at the same time. I realized that the term space is difficult to grasp during my research and spend many weeks deciding how to handle space in the most productive way. Not until I found the theories on space from Tim Creswell and Henri Lefebvre was I able to distinguish between the different understandings and different levels of space, and how they relate to identity. To conceptualize space in this thesis I therefore used basic definitions from Creswell and Lefebvre
described in chapter one. Creswell’s division of place (location, locale and sense of place) exemplifies the different places that space refers to, and Lefebvre’s social space (perceived, conceived and lived space) underlines that imagination is important for how individuals conceive the space they account in. *Perceived space* is material and covers spaces such as buildings, cities, nations etc. *Conceived space* is representations of space such as road movies that engage with European space. This space is idealistic and it is in the representations that ideological, political and cultural conflicts take place. The *lived space* is a space of subjectivity; it is a space of people’s sense making, fantasy and feelings towards the spaces they account in. In this context, with the terms of Lefebvre, the audience will in the cinema experience a conceived space that is a representation of the perceived space that affects the lived space. Meaning is created through a process of ‘social spatialization’ where the social agents appropriate and give meaning to space through socio-spatial practices and identification processes. When analysing the road movies I am analysing the conceived space which draws out the ideological and political elements that reconstruct ideas about the European space and identity.

I will in the following summarize my findings from my textual analyses of the European space and European identity in the road movies.

In *Lisbon Story* the audience is presented with a unified European space. In the film the European signs and the roads look the same and there are no visual borders between the different nations. Europe is presented as a peaceful space without conflict and, therefore, the film stands as a political statement. Europe is constructed as a homogeneous unit, ignoring the different economic, social and historical landscapes. In this way the film functions in the discourse of, what Jensen & Richardson, call the monotopic Europe. This is the construction of Europe as one single and ordered space. Nevertheless, the film shows that Portugal is not a part of the unified modern European space since it is represented with old vehicles and a population that lives a calm, simple life without signs of modernity or globalisation. Portugal is presented as being at the margins of Europe and Lisbon is presented as being back in time.

When the protagonist enter the space of Portugal his car breaks down which I have argued for symbolizes the protagonist’s loss of control. The road has taken him out of the familiar, ordinary Western Europe to a new space where he can explore new cultures and new sides of himself. As I have shown in my analysis, Lisbon is represented as a romantic and idealised European city on the margin of Europe and becomes situated as the modern Western European other.

In *Lisbon Story* the narrative suggests that a European individual belongs everywhere in Europe. This statement builds upon the fact that the protagonist says the word ‘homeland’ in many different
languages, as if Europe is his homeland and the homeland for all nationalities. However, the protagonist remains homeless and in this way the film advocate for that a European individual with a European identity will remain homeless. Possibly unintentionally, the film points to the fact that there is not a geographical space that is primary European, and maybe this is why the European protagonist cannot find a place to belong. As a result, the film does not give any solutions for the construction of European identity or how it is possible to achieve a feeling of belonging in the European space. I have stated that the protagonist’s dilemma reflects the European dilemma on identity perfectly. Only by travelling and constantly look for a European identity can he remain European. To push this line of thoughts a little further, one might argue that the search for a space to belong is the condition for the European identity in the 1990s. European identity is homeless and the film both reflects the protagonist search for a European identity but also reflects a European quest in the 1990s to articulate and construct a European space where Europeans belong.

In Europa the protagonist relives the event in Europe in 1945, when the borders of Europe were unstable as they also were in 1991. The film focuses on the depressing history of homicide and Nazism that haunts Europe’s past. Using Rosalinde Galt’s political and historical reading of Europe, I have stated that the film can be read as a metaphor for Europe in the 1990s.

In Europa the images representing the space of Europe are constructed by the use of back projection. The use of several layers of back projections, at the same time, creates a destabilisation of the film’s spatial construction. One reading of the constructed images is that the European space is a patchwork of national spaces that together form a European image. Only by constructing an image is it possible to show a European space that is not primary a national image. In this way the film shows that European space exists only as an imaginary space and not as a real location. In other words the European space exists on a political level and in the imagination, but it is an impossible space to locate and therefore an impossible space to visualize. This complexity addresses the problem of the unified European space and European identity in the 1990s and generates questions such as how one can speak about a European space and identity when there are so many different cultures and languages involved. Because the European space does not exist, the film pictures a difficult future for the Europeans in the 1990s. Lars von Trier’s Europa has a negative message about the future of Europe and the film advocates for a radical change in the European West. Furthermore Europa distinguishes itself from the other two films by reflecting a Europe that is full of repression, horror and guilt and in this way presents a Europe outside of the Western discourse which the two other film functions in.
In Zugvögel- *einmal nach Inari* the protagonist is represented as European because he feels at home while travelling in Europe and because he does not have any bonds to his local community. My analysis showed that the film advocates that European civilisation has certain common values and, therefore, advocates for a European identity. The film illustrates that people obtain a feeling of belonging to certain groups due to occupation and shared values more than nationality. Furthermore, the film draws attention to the fact that the divisions between city and countryside are more important than those between nations.

*Zugvögel- ... einmal nach Inari* promotes a unified Europe where Europeans can travel freely and feel at home. The film confirms ideas about globalisation as erasing cultural differences. The large cities that experience the forces of globalisation, have lost their distinctive identities, while the margins of Europe still have elements of national and regional culture. The film presents this periphery of Europe as closer to nature and a place where people cherish love and friendship and avoid materialistic values that are represented by the modern way of life and by America. In this way the film bear resembles to Lisbon *Story* which also portrays the margins of Europe with a romantic nostalgia. Here the inhabitants have a purer way of living, free of the modern contamination of the big cities.

In both *Zugvögel- ... einmal nach Inari* and *Lisbon Story* immigrants are omitted from the representation of Europe. Because the two films do not represent peoples or cultures with backgrounds other than European, they can be read as important statements about European space. The oversight of the role of fugitives and immigrants from other countries indicates that the directors do not see them as a part of either the German, the Portuguese, the Swedish or the Finnish national space and therefore not the European. This fits the assumptions made by Lutz that argue that there exists an ideological, legal, economic and political constructions of a ´pure´ Europe that has used post-colonial and migrant labour to promote images of ´the others´. I have shown that this type of construction is a theme of reference through which Europe defines itself and the films seem to underline and reconfirm this construction of European space. This discourse is by Lutz and called the discourse of Europism, where there seems to be a wish for a homogenized Europe. Because the films ignore the issues of the ethnic tension inside Western European countries and because the films, especially *Lisbon story* uses nostalgia in the representation of Lisbon, they maintain and produce an unrealistic and old-fashioned vision of a ´pure´ Europe and work in the discourse of the Europism. In contrast *Europa* mocks this attempt to represent a unified Europe by pointing out that Europe is a construction.
In my thesis I have furthermore argued that the female protagonists in all the three case studies represent the space visited by the male traveller. Because the women in the films represent the countries visited, there are strong gender overtones to be found. As seen in typical road movies the protagonist is male and he is exploring the new world, he is the voyager, the discoverer, and in this way he is the active part. Following the work from female film theoreticians I have argued that the binary division between passive/active is based on stereotypically sexist imagery, where the woman is the passive object and the man is the active conqueror that falls in love with the rural and untouched country and with the girl. In other words the space of the country cannot be distinct from the female protagonist in these three films. This is particularly experienced in Europa where Kessler is making love to Katharina on a miniature landscape of Germany. He makes love to the woman and he makes love to the land at the same time. This situation is present in all three films. As mentioned, Kessler is fascinated by the situation in Germany and by Katharina because of her clear connection to the dark forces of memory. In Zugvögel-...einmal nach Inari Weber is in love with Sirpa that represents a more rural life-style on the outskirts of Europe, and in Lisbon Story Winter is in love Therese whom he objectifies and looks at the same way he looks at the beautiful city. In all three cases the female protagonist represents the place visited, but also represents a place where the male protagonist can obtain a feeling of belonging. When looking at Lisbon Story and Zugvögel-...einmal nach Inari one can push this assumption a bit further and suggest that the male protagonist represents the modern European West that is lost and can’t find an identity. The outskirts of Europe on the other hand have a strong identity. This is possible since the cities on the margins have not experiences globalization; they are therefore more exotic, with rural landscapes and humanistic values, represented by the woman. This division between man/woman that represents modern/rural and lost/home is a common stereotypical representation of the two genders, which, as has been shown, affects the representation of the European space.

Throughout this paper I have argued for that the road movies from the 1990s are addressing the new European space. Because of the European changes in the geographical, political and cultural space there was a need for a European subject and a wish for understanding Europe as one homogenous place. The three films do not give an answer to what Europe is, but point out different approaches to the discussion about Europe and raises questions that were present in the European societies in the 1990s. The films reflect the confusion, anxieties, optimism and fascination of Europe. They also reflect the search for European identity, a quest continued into the 21st century. Today the

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30 As shown in the chapters only Weber succeeds in finding a new home, since Kessler dies and Winter is not ready to commit to Theresa or to Lisbon.
complex issue regarding what Europe is are still important and an understanding of the notion Europe remains problematic. As Wendy Everett describes Europe is in a complex present defined by “plurality, diversity and difference, and Europeans need, more than ever, their own images to tell their own stories and to explore their own myths and identities” (Everett 2007, 115). But as the analysis of the case studies have shown Europe in the 1990s might be discovering itself, it still needs to learn how to represents itself without stereotypes and romanticism. As Ien Ang formulates it, Europe needs to learn how “… to marginalise itself, to see its present in the historical particularity and its limitedness, so that Europeans can start relating to cultural “others” in new, more modest and dialogical ways” (Ang 1992, 28).

European cinema is vital in the construction of European identity because films have the capacity to make individuals look afresh at themselves and other, and in so doing, they become an integral and vital part of our mobile and unstable identities. As Mazierska and Rascaroli write, time will tell if the old continent in inclined or able to gain such knowledge and skills (Mazierska & Rascaroli 2006, 224). It is interesting to study how European films are engaging with European space today and in the years to come. Furthermore, it is fascinating to experience how the different discourses of European space will affect European cinema and European culture in general.
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31 Tjek lige at denne note ikke skal have årsttal på i teksten. Der er to der hedder robinson.


Eyerman, Ron & Orvar Löfgren (1995) ‘Romancing the Road: Road Movies and Images of Mobility’, Theory, Culture and Society, 12, pp. 53-79


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Annexe: List of European Road Movies

Alice in den Städten (Wenders, 1974)
Butterfly kiss (Winterbottom, 1995)
Code unknown (Michael Haneke, 2000)
Cold Fever (Fridriksson, 1995)
Calendar (Atom Egoyan, 1993)
Dear Diary (Nanni Moretti, 1994);
Exiles (Gatlif, 2004),
Europa (Lars von Trier, 1992)
Epidemic (Lars von Trier, 1984)
Eternity and a Day (Angelopoulos, 1998)
Europa Europa (Holland, 1999)
Felicia’s Journey (Atom Egoyan, 1999)
Gadjo Dilo (Gatlif, 1997),
Go Trabi Go (Bül & Kloos, 1992)
Hawks and Sparrows (Pasolini, 1966)
Im Lauf der Zeit aka Kings of the Road (Wenders, 1976)
In this world (Winterbottom, 2002)
Journey of Hope (Xavier Koller, 1990)
Kings of the Road (Wenders, 1976),
Last Resort (Pawlikowski, 2000)
La Strada (Fellini, 1954)
L’avventura (Antonioni, 1960)
Leningrad Cowboys Meet Moses (Kaurismäki, 1994)
Leningrad Cowboys Go America (Kaurismäki, 1989)
Le acrobate (Soldini, 1997)
Lilja 4ever (Moodysson, 2002)
Lisbon Story (Wenders, 1994)
Lovers from the Arctic Circle (Medem, 1998)
Messidor (Tanner, 1979)
No more Mr. Nice Guy (Schiff, 1995)
Pane e tulipani aka Bread and Tulips (Soldini, 2000)
Pierrot le Fou (Godard, 1965)
Professione: reporter (Antonioni, 1975)
Smultronstålet (Ingmar Bergman, 1957)
Stalker (Tarkowsky, 1979)
Take Care of Your Scarf, Tatiana (Kaurismäki, 1994)
The Biggest Heros (Winterberg, 1996)
The man without a past (Kaurismaki, 2002)
Track way (Urszula Urbaniak, 1999)
The Disappearance of Finbar (Clayton, 1996)
The ride (Sverák, 1994)
The suspended Step of the stork (Angelopoulos, 1991),
Transylvania (Gatlif, 2006)
Ulysses’ Gaze (Angelopoulos, 1995),
Vesna va Veloca (Carlo Mazzacurati, 1999)
Viaggio in Italia (Roberto Rossolini, 1953)
Weekend (Godard, 1967)
Welcome to Sarajevo (Winterbottom, 1997)
Zugvögel- ...einmal nach Inari aka Trains n Roses (Lichtefeld, 1998)