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Rosenhagen – a place to remember

**Mobilizing the Past for the future of People’s Park in
Anderslöv**

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Abstract

This study analyzes the memory of Rosenhagen, a People's Park in Anderslöv. The Park was founded in 1930 by the local labor movement and has since then served varied, but important functions in the community. In January 2022, the main building in the Park was burned down in arson, which initiated a process within the association to write down the history of the Park to make sure that Rosenhagen would not be forgotten. Through memories, fragments of Rosenhagen's past are mobilized to activate the community. Rosenhagen is situated in Anderslöv, a village in the Scanian countryside, which further adds to the complexity of engaging with the past. This thesis aims to contribute to the remembrance of Rosenhagen and analyze the complexities of relating to the past while shaping the future. This is achieved through a theoretical framework that emphasizes memories as collective and constructed through social processes, in which places and time play important roles. This study utilizes archival materials and interviews to analyze the relationship between memories, history, and the community today. The study reveals that the memory of the labor movement's role in the Park's past is precarious, while the remembrance of regular people constructing the park on a voluntary basis is emphasized. The collective memory of a strong community and the historical significance of Rosenhagen and Anderslöv in the landscape influences the formulation of needs suitable for present conditions in the countryside. The dynamic interplay between collective memory, history, and places is argued to be important in understanding Rosenhagen and how the countryside and society construct the past.

Keywords: People's Park, Collective Memories, the left behind countryside, places and their pasts.

Word count: 19 808

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1. Introduction

Where do we come from? This question is pointing towards two increasingly important topics of our time. Firstly, it is a question of geography – how have places shaped us and how is our connection to these places justifying certain actions? Secondly, it is a question of time, coming from somewhere indicates that we are not there anymore - how can the past of places be mobilized to shape the future? Questions of place and time are everywhere, stretching from tearing down monuments in BLM demonstrations, Trump supporters shouting “make America great again” or Putin invading Ukraine with the words “Ukraine is an inalienable part of our own history, culture and spiritual space” (Bevan, 2022; Rose-Redwood et al., 2022; Wintour, 2022). Pasts which have been suppressed from dominant narratives are brought to attention, and places of wrongdoing are given new meaning. The understanding of place’s past is a societal process which is increasingly important to study. This thesis will contribute to knowledge on how the past of places matters when shaping the future. It will specifically focus on memories of the People’s Park in Anderslöv, a village in the Scanian countryside.

The People’s Park of interest is mostly known as Rosenhagen, but has many names such as Anderslöv’s People’s House, Anderslöv’s People’s Park or simply the Park. It was founded in 1930 and has ever since then been owned and governed by members of the Park-association and has in various ways been an important place in the village. In the beginning the flourishing labor movement was well connected to the place and used it for their political causes. Side by side with political events, the Park has been a major arena for amusement and leisure, as well as an accessible place for people to meet and create a community together. The space in Rosenhagen is produced by and for the community in Anderslöv. There used to be public dance evenings in the Park until 1975, but ever since then the number of activities and people involved in Rosenhagen has slowly declined. Nevertheless, many people still have a strong attachment to the place and consider it to be of great importance to Anderslöv. In recent years, members of Rosenhagen have been working to re-create the Park “according to the original idea – for and by the people”. These plans got dramatically disrupted in January 2022 when the main building in the Park was burnt down in an arson attack, carried out by whom is still unknown. The fire was a total disaster both economically and emotionally for the community of Rosenhagen, but it also started a process to save the memories of the place. The fire was neither going

to erase Rosenhagen from history nor lead to the place disappearing from the landscape of the future.

This moment in time therefore gives a unique opportunity to study how memories and places are tightly intertwined with the present, as well as the complexity of mobilizing the past when shaping the future. What and how places are being commemorated and collectively remembered is not random, but a product of power dimensions and present frames of reference. The memory of Rosenhagen is situated in the social, political, and economic context of the Scanian countryside and is a component of the history of the nationwide People's Park movement, which is slowly falling into oblivion. Therefore, the study will contribute to a broader understanding of society than the local scale of a single Park.

1.1 Aim & Research questions

The research has two aims. Firstly, to contribute with a scientific perspective to the remembrance of Rosenhagen. This will be done by writing a historical narrative of the Park. The second aim is to contribute with theoretical arguments how Rosenhagen's past is mobilized to shape its future. This will be done by analyzing the relation between memory and history, as well as the function of the past in present frames of reference. More specifically, the thesis will be guided by following research questions:

- How is the community around Rosenhagen engaging with its past and what obstacles and opportunities does this lead to when shaping the future of the place?
- Who is keeping the memories of Rosenhagen alive, for whom and for what purpose?

1.2 Disposition

In the next chapter, the background and previous research relevant to the thesis will be presented and discussed. Chapter 3 will focus on how to understand memories and present the theoretical lens through which the material will be analyzed. Chapter 4 will cover methodological considerations, the collected material, and the operationalization of the theories. Chapter 5 will delve into the history and memories of Rosenhagen, and the present understanding of Rosenhagen's past will be analyzed. The closing chapter will provide a conclusion and discussion of the main arguments.

2. Background and Previous research

This chapter has the purpose of contextualizing the research. The first section focuses on academic and nonacademic literature about the People's Park movement. The second section focuses on the social, economic, and political context of Anderslöv.

2.1 Exploring the People's Park Movement

2.1.1 First phase: Political Potential

The People's Park in Anderslöv is part of a nationwide popular movement that since the late 19th century has created hundreds of parks all over Sweden. The first People's Park was established in Malmö 1893 by the growing labor movement and the same year they also established the first People's House (Ståhl, 2005b). The People's House and People's Park movement are sometimes categorized as the same phenomena and since 1999 the parks and houses share the same umbrella organization *Folkets Hus och Parker (Om oss, n.d.; Ståhl, 2005a)*. The Parks and Houses are not always the same, but have historically been established in connection with each other, especially on the countryside where they are usually combined. Rosenhagen was founded with the intention to build a People's House but has also functioned as a People's Park.

In the early phase of the movement, both the Parks and the Houses were important places to meet for the labor movement. Meeting places that have roots in the labor movement such as People's Houses, Union Halls, and other cooperatively governed institutions were established all over Europe around in late 19th and early 20th century (Kohn, 2003). What is unique to the labor movement in Sweden was that they also established parks and outdoor landscapes (Mitchell et al., 2021). When socialist agitators, labor organizers, and union activists began to spread their ideas, they faced significant repression, and the police frequently dispersed crowds, making it challenging to gather, spread ideas, and organize effectively (Olsson & Ekdahl, 2002). During this time, civil rights such as freedom of speech, and freedom of association were heavily restricted. The Parks then provided places to meet and organize. For example, during the general strike in 1909 the People's Park in Malmö functioned as a gathering spot to exchange information, have political meetings, and provide striking workers with food (Hirdman, 1979, p. 69). Pries et al. (2022) have described the early spread of the People's Parks movement in Scania as the

establishment of red outposts in a hostile landscape crucial for organizing rural workers. The Parks functioned as nodes for solidarity among geographically spread-out workers and as places of contingency for temporally spread-out struggles (ibid). In another article, Pries et al. (2020) emphasize the importance of the parks to institutionalize the social democratic ideals of the early 20th century and contributing to the Social Democrats reaching political power within the state and building the Swedish welfare state. The political potential in the People's Park movement is of high importance to understand the early Parks as the Parks functioned as testbeds for the future society that the labor movement was striving for.

The People's Park in Anderslöv was founded in 1930, almost 50 years after the founding of the People's Park in Malmö. The conditions were different from the founding of the first Parks, in 1930 Sweden was more democratic, there was universal suffrage and Social Democracy had been further institutionalized. The level of class conflict was nevertheless still high. Agricultural workers were in a cycle of struggles in the early 1930s and the People's Parks and Houses were important places in a political geography which was not to their advantage (Pries et al., 2022). The shooting of striking workers in Ådalen 1931, as well as the rise of fascism in Europa shows that this was not a restful time for the labor movement.

2.1.2 Second phase: Dancing in People's Park

In addition to the political objectives the Parks have always been important arenas for enjoyment and leisure. Activities such as dancing, listening to music and partying were going on parallel to the political activities in the first phase of the People's Park movement. Over time, the prominence of political activities in the parks faded and during the mid-20th century the purpose of having a place for amusement and leisure took over as the major function of the parks (Ståhl, 2005a). An impact of this can be seen in the Swedish music industry, which development in the post second world war era was highly dependent on the People's Parks (Fleischer, 2012). This second characteristic of the parks has been described as workers "seizing and constructing the 'means of recreation'" (Mitchell et al., 2021, p. 38). This means that they took over the responsibility to produce culture and activities in their free time for and by themselves. Furthermore Anderson (1987) argues that this was a way for the labor movement to make sure that workers were in contact with the movement in all parts of their life. During the peak of social democracy

in Sweden, workers were expected to be organized in the union at their workplace, to buy food in the cooperatively owned stores, vote on the Social Democratic party and spend their free time in People's Park. It has been argued that the parks, as a part in the fabric of popular movement entities had a disciplinary function and contributed to the creation of the "respectable worker" (Karlsson, 2009; cf. Ambjörnsson, 1998). The parks are, however, different from study circles and union activism in the sense that they were places characterized by leisure, drinking, partying and all the parts following that.

The word People in the name People's Park indicates that the parks never have been exclusive to workers. During the second phase the parks further broadened their audience and became the main venue for artists to tour and people to spend weekends dancing and having fun. The Social Democratic labor movement became institutionalized, and the welfare state was heavily expanded. The second phase is therefore strongly associated with the strong welfare state period in Sweden known as the People's Home¹ (Ståhl, 2005a).

During the second phase, the People's Park in Anderslöv changed name to "Rosenhagen", which was made to reach a wider audience, and the dance evenings were leased to a commercial actor. This was the "golden years" of the People's Park and since then much has changed both in society and for the People's Park movement.

2.1.3 The third phase: People's Parks until today

According to the umbrella organization for People's Parks' own history writing, the second phase ended in 1977 (*För en rimligare värld*, n.d.), and it is accurate to say that the characteristics of People's Park again changed in the 1970's. The reasons for the change were many, such as increased urbanization leaving many parks in smaller towns behind, combined with dispersion of TV and Disco as well as generally decreased involvement in civil society (Mitchell et al., 2021; Ståhl, 2005a). By some parts of the Social Democratic establishment the parks were considered unmodern and were not included in the forward-looking construction of Swedish Society. The social democratic branch of the labor movement had hegemonic political power and were governing the country for many years and the bottom up organizing decreased. Instead initiatives from above were

¹ In Swedish "Folkhemmet", a holistic welfare state project associated with the Social Democratic leader Per Albin Hansson.

prioritized, with public authorities producing places for the people, with names such as “citizen house”, instead of people producing places for people (Pries et al., 2020).

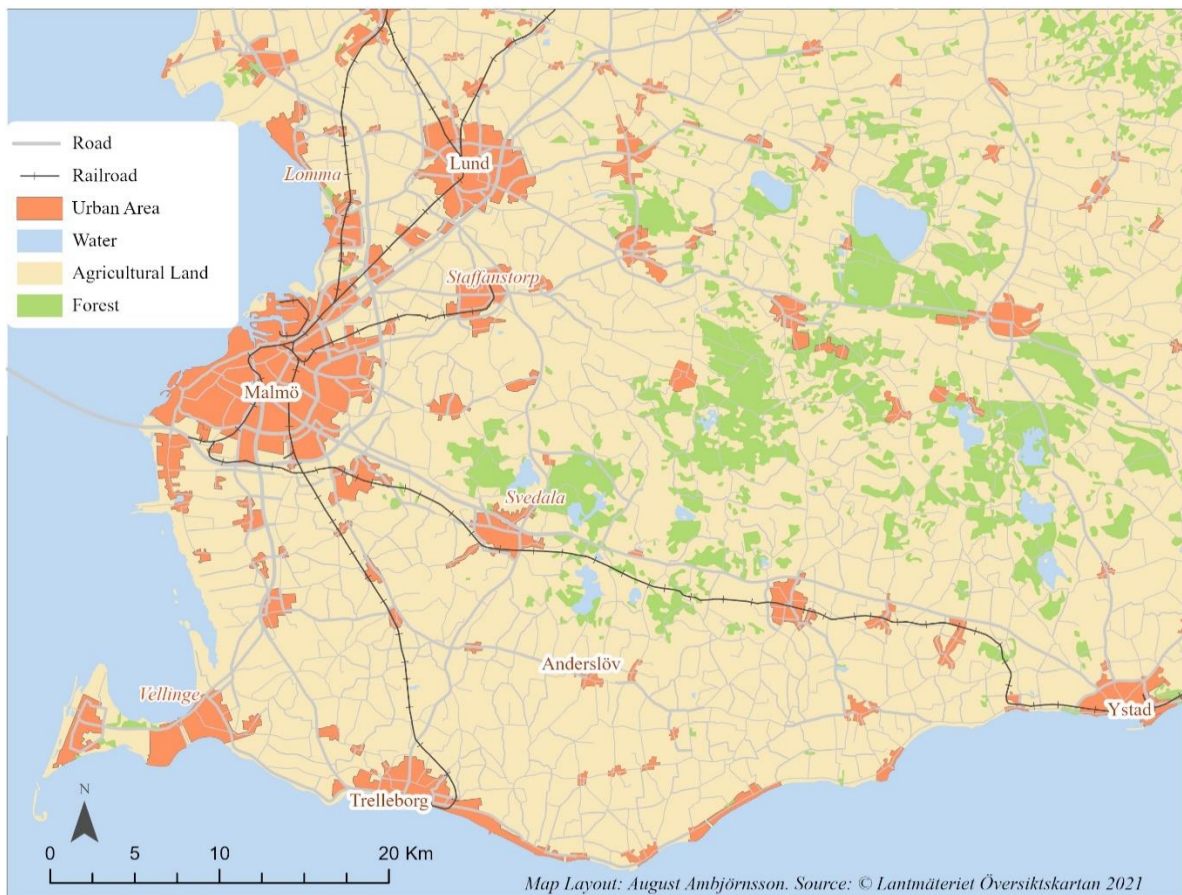
In recent years, some parks have had revivals as festival sites for urban populations to visit in the summers, some have been renamed or simply fallen into despair (*För en rimligare värld*, n.d.). Other parks have been bought by municipalities to function as a space within the public apparatus (Ståhl, 2005a). The People’s Park in Malmö went through a troublesome redefining period, where the heritage of the past struggles resulted in difficulties for the municipality to neutralize the political legacy of the Park (Pries & Jönsson, 2019). Due to the large numbers of parks, there are large variations in histories and destinies, which makes it impossible to cover them all here. The ownership structure of the Park in Anderslöv has remained the same as when the Park was founded in 1930, allowing it to persist some of the changes amidst the Park movement in general. However, the public dance evenings stopped in 1975 and today the Park is different from before.

The People’s Park in Anderslöv exists in the context of the People’s Park movement presented here. It is also situated in a village in the Scanian countryside, which will be the topic of the next section.

2.2 Anderslöv

2.2.1 Historical and present conditions

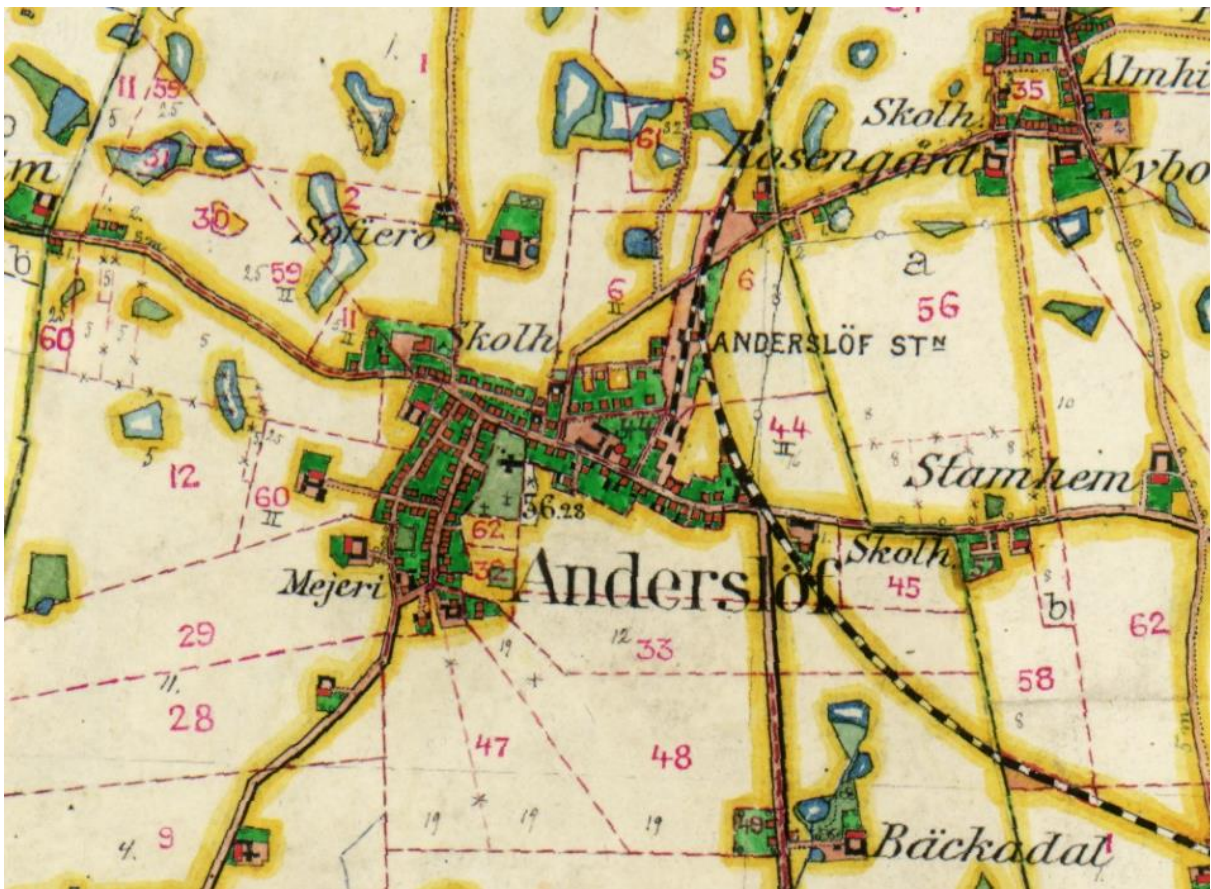
This section will give a background to Anderslöv, a village in the Scanian countryside, situated on the open plains between the cities of Malmö, Trelleborg, and Ystad (see Map 1). The aim is to give an understanding of the character of Anderslöv as the context within which Rosenhagen is situated. This is crucial since memories do not exist in a vacuum, but are formulated in the present, in a political, historical, economic and social context (Radstone & Schwarz, 2010). Due to the nature of Anderslöv’s modern history, the focus will be directed to the characteristics of what Rodríguez-Pose (2018) has referred to as ‘left-behind places’, together with literature on urbanization and uneven development.



Map 1. Anderslöv's location in southwest Scania.

Anderslöv historically started to grow around a church built in the 1100s. After the parliamentary enclosure², implemented in 1812, most of the farms in the village were moved out to the fields and replaced by smaller housing units (Hedman et al., 2017). During the 19th century the village's importance as a marketplace increased, the major road 101 between Malmö and Ystad passed through the village and a railway with a station in Anderslöv was built, as visible in Map 2.

² Parliamentary enclosure, or Enskiftesreformen in Swedish, restructured landowning which among other things resulted in farmhouses moved out from villages closer to the fields (cf. Germundsson & Lewan, 2003).



Map 2. Anderslöv 1910. (Generalstabskartan 1910, Lantmäteriet)

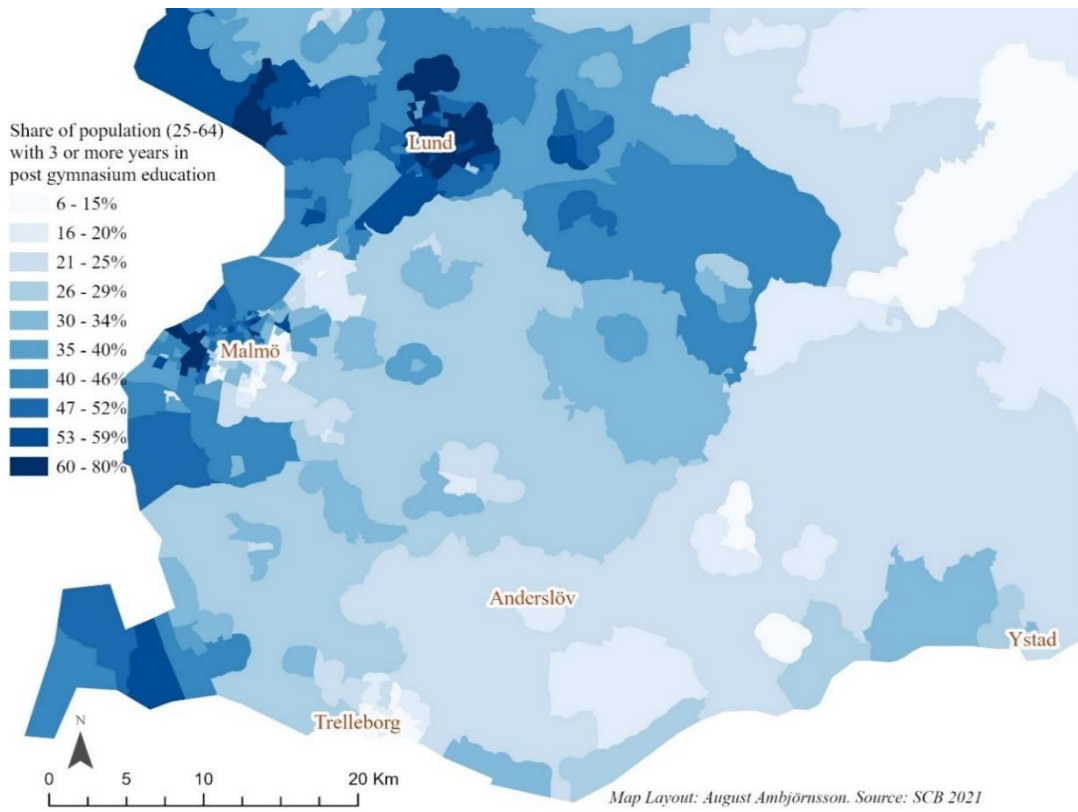
During the 20th century Anderslöv remained an important commercial hub with a varied supply of stores, cafés, restaurants, and services. Nearby industries such as Göta Bruk [iron factory], Stävsjö Tegelbruk [brick factory], Thysells [Furniture factory and store] and Jordberga Sockerbruk [sugar factory], agriculture as well as the commerce in the village have historically provided people with employment and income. Before the municipality reform in 1966 Anderslöv had its own local parliament and could possibly be labeled with the English word “town” rather than a “village”. As we will see later in this text, many of the characteristics of Anderslöv today point towards Anderslöv shifting character between being a village and a town, moving between situatedness of central and peripheral character.

Today Anderslöv is still surrounded by large crop fields, and has approximately 2’600 inhabitants (SCB, 2022). The village is a part of Trelleborg municipality and with a car it is possible to reach Trelleborg in about 20 minutes and Ystad or Malmö in just over 30 minutes. The center of the village has fewer stores than during mid-20th century, now

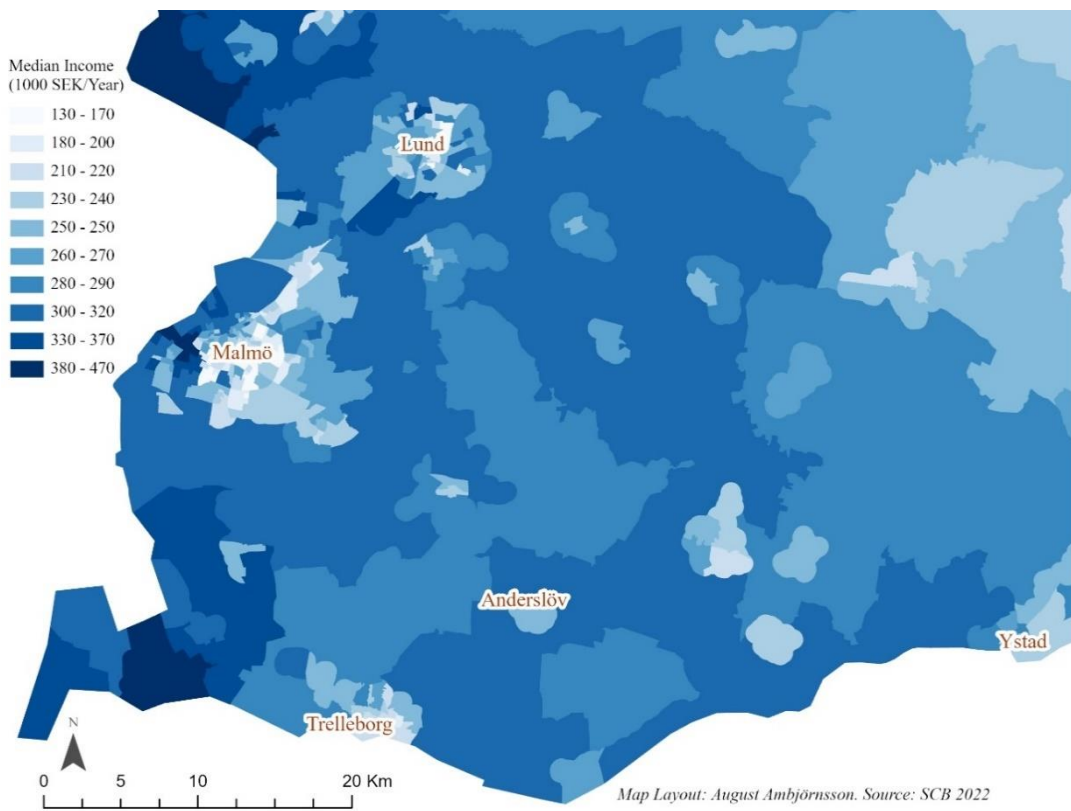
there is one pizzeria and two smaller food stores. Anderslöv's Guesthouse, which also functioned as a local bar and restaurant, has faced economic difficulties and has been closed for several periods, and is today closed. In the village there are schools for children up to 9th grade, which are attended by children from the village as well as the surroundings (Trelleborgs Kommun, 2022). There is also a small library open a couple times a week and a health center and pharmacy and a gym available. Most of the houses are individual homes, but also rent apartments are available (Hedman et al., 2017). In the village there is one larger working place, the steel factory Ruukki with approximately 70 employees (Ruukki, 2023).

Compared to other places in the southwest Scania region, Anderslöv is situated in a landscape where people have less years in education, lower income, and a smaller share of the population in employment, as visible in Map 3, 4, and 5³. This indicates a generally lower socio-economic standard, and limited prospects for the future. In the maps, the city centers in Malmö and Lund are characterized by lower incomes and employment rates and a belt around Malmö is inhabited by people with higher education and income, indicating an urban sprawl. People in employment and with three or more years in education appear to have moved to the neighboring municipalities of Malmö, but Anderslöv is located beyond this sprawl. According to Rodríguez-Pose's (2018) argument, places with indicators similar to those of Anderslöv typically 'revenge' through populist voting. The populist and radical right wing party Sweden Democrats have, as visible in Map 6, large support in the landscape where Anderslöv is situated. The further away from Malmö and Lund, the further right people vote. This is a severe change from when Rosenhagen was established in 1930. In the general election in 1932, the Social Democrats had more than 50% of the votes and the labor movement was strong in comparison to the results in 2022 (see Table 1 & 2). It is not my intention to find causal relationships between the factors presented in this section. The purpose is rather to contextualize the landscape within which the memories of Rosenhagen thrive.

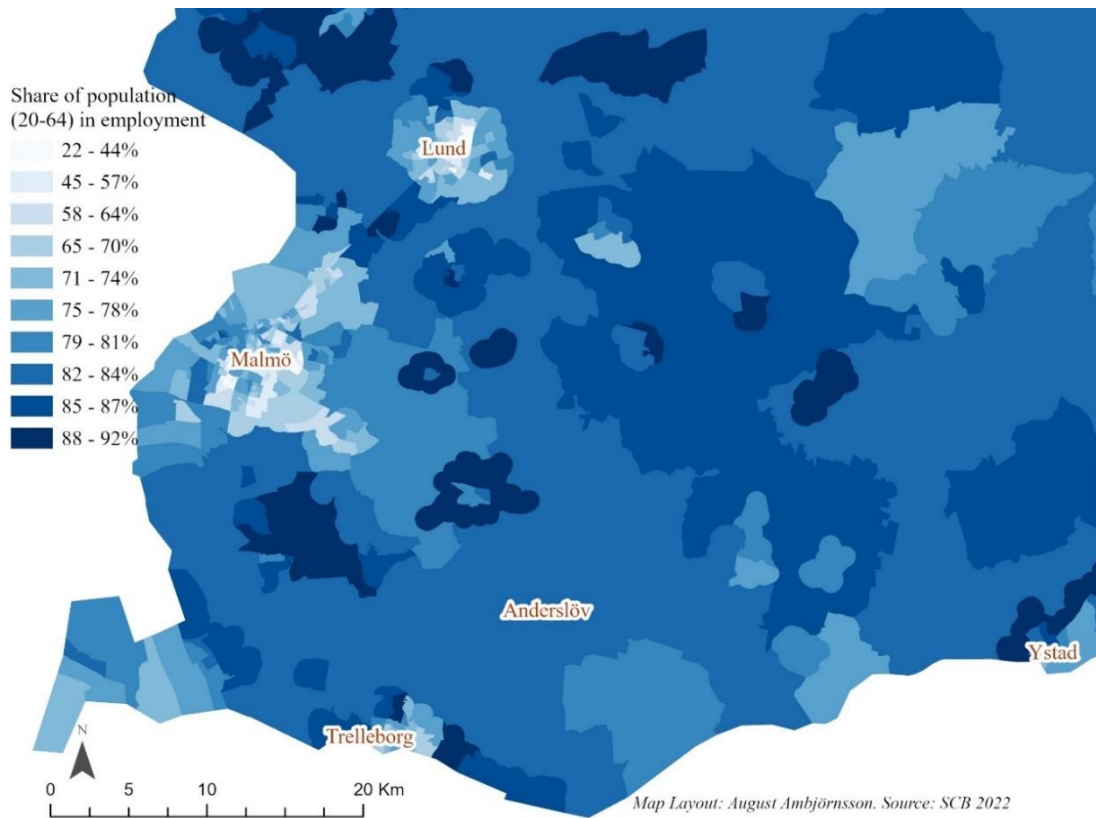
³ Extended explanation of the Maps and of Table 1 & 2 is presented in Appendix 1.



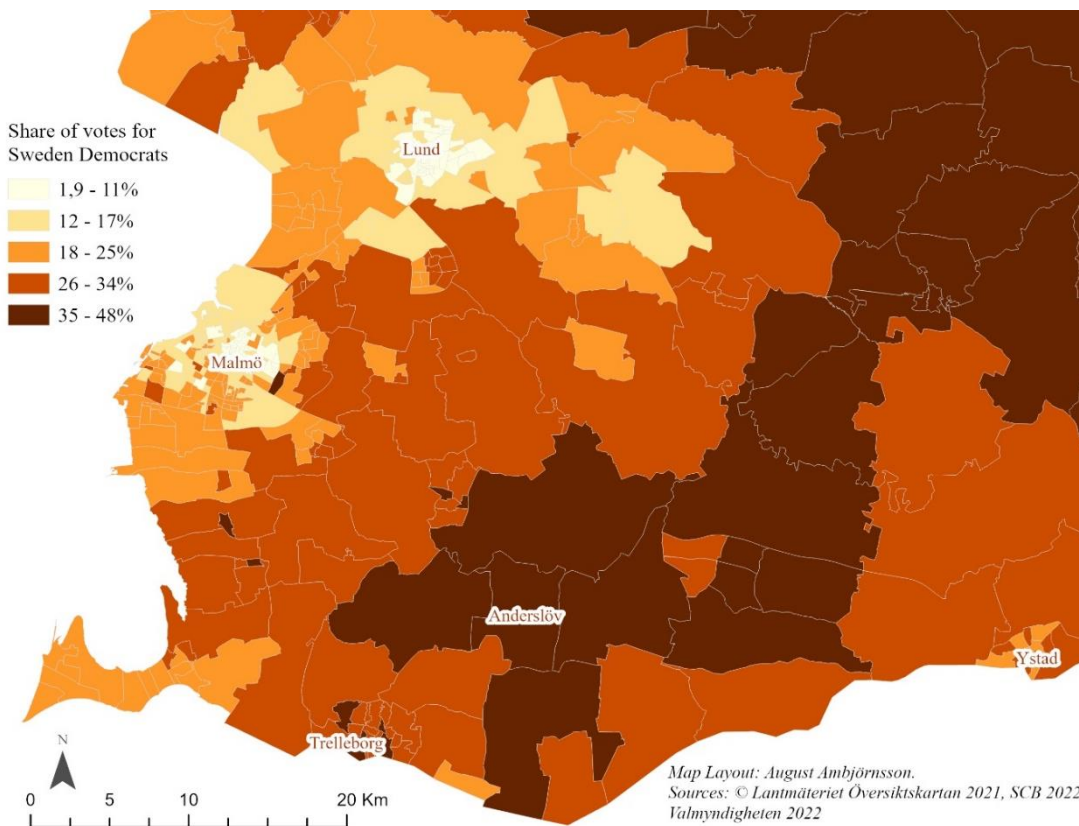
Map 3. Education in southwest Scania



Map 4. Income in southwest Scania



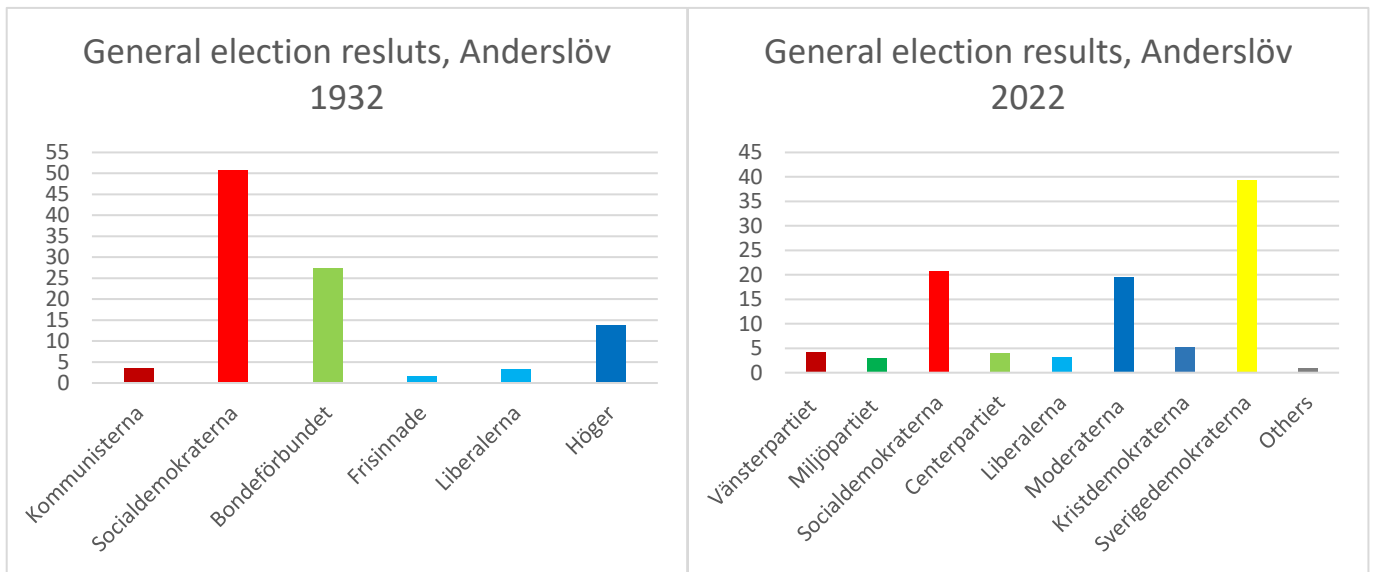
Map 5. Employment in southwest Scania



Map 6. Voting patterns for Swedish Democrats in southwest Scania.

Table 2. Election results 1932 (SCB 1933)

Table 1. Election results 2022 (Valmyndigheten 2022)



2.2.2 Understanding Anderslöv

In Rodriguez (2018) terms, Anderslöv is part of a global trend with decline in the hinterlands of the cities, and peripheral regions. The question of how investments are spatially distributed is not new in geography (cf Christaller, 1966; Marshall, 1920). To assess why there is uneven development, Massey (1979) argues contemporary forms of capitalism to require a spatial division of labor to function. This means that when global and regional production networks have developed, it has been more profitable to locate factories and shops elsewhere. Products once produced and consumed in Anderslöv are now manufactured and consumed in other places, including globally relocated industries and regionally concentrated shopping centers. With this said, Anderslöv is not merely a passive node in a global network, there are things which stay in place due to history, and structures in the landscape. For instance, Rosenhagen is still a part of Anderslöv although other activities have left the village, which will be discussed later. In addition to the globalization of places (Massey, 1991) the temporal aspect of places is important to take into consideration for this study. Places do not have an essential meaning or character, instead, to quote Massey (1995, p. 187) we should think of places “as constantly shifting articulations of social relations through time; and to think of particular attempts to characterize them as attempts to define, and claim coherence and a particular meaning for, specific envelopes of space-time”. Consequently, when Anderslöv’s history is described in this chapter, and when the recollection of Rosenhagen’s past will be analyzed

in present frames of reference, in chapter 5, it is important to note that there is no original, essential Anderslöv or People's Park. Rather we should understand the relation to the past as a way to create meaning of that place in a globalized world. Over time, the articulations of Anderslöv and Rosenhagen are subject to constant redefinition to adapt to current social relations in place, with the community active in Rosenhagen playing a key role in this process.

In southwest Scania, investments on a regional scale are directed towards the coasts and the larger cities, as seen in the maps. It is a form of urbanization that has contributed to Anderslöv shifting between being a town and a village. The deindustrialization of the inland, the closing of the railway in Anderslöv, and the changed major route for cars between Malmö and Ystad from 101 to E65 have contributed to this transformation. According to Lefebvre (1970/2003) our time is an urban era and consequently Anderslöv is urbanized too. Still, the presentation of the place points towards a process of deurbanization, and there are differences in the context of a People's Park in Anderslöv, compared to a place like Malmö. The fact that different places belong to the same urban fabric does not imply that they share the same conditions, or as Lefebvre (1970/2003, p. 113) formulated it "the boundary line does not divide city and country but cuts across the urban phenomenon, between a dominated periphery and a dominating center". The production of central and peripheral space is a possible way to approach Anderslöv. A better refined conceptualization is provided by Gilmore (2008) who describes places like Anderslöv as belonging to the *Desakota*, which refers to a landscape with mixed industrial and agricultural production as well as a landscape to live in, whilst working in the urban. These places are produced as forgotten due to power asymmetries in the landscape and not randomly left behind, they are actively produced through organized abandonment. It is impossible to draw a line between the cities and the countryside in Scania and a complete divide would not correspond to reality (Williams, 1975); the reality of living on the countryside is nevertheless vastly different from living in a city in Scania. Anderslöv belongs to the hinterlands (Brenner & Katsikis, 2020) of the cities and this study, of the memories of this landscape, will take these characteristics into consideration. The analysis of memories of Rosenhagen will be an analysis of how the past can be mobilized in the context of the complex and constantly changing countryside in Scania. In the next chapter the theoretical lens which will be employed in the thesis, will be presented.

3. Theoretical lens when approaching the memories of Rosenhagen

Memories are studied in a wide range of disciplines and from an immense number of angles, stretching from psychology and neuroscience to social sciences or technology in different forms. As a phenomena worth studying, memories can be found in almost every corner of the human world; it is everywhere (Radstone & Schwarz, 2010; Tota & Hagen, 2015). Consequently, there are multiple ways to approach memories but for this study the focus is directed towards memories as a social process of relating to the past.

3.1 Memory & Society

In the beginning of 20th century, Halbwachs (1992) developed a theoretical understanding of memory in society and in how societies relate to the past, and coined the term 'collective memory'. Collective memories are socially constructed on the level of groups, which means that remembering is done together with, and in relation to, others. Halbwachs (1992, p. 38) writes, "the greatest number of memories come back to us when our parents, our friends or other persons recall them to us". This highlights the experience most of us have had, where we remember things better when we interact with others. For instance, it elucidates the difficulties in distinguishing between our own memories from childhood and what we have been told by others such as our parents. According to Halbwachs, we remember our childhood, and relate to our personal past in certain ways due to present frames of reference constructed within our family rather than in reference to the actual past. This further means that collective memories are not delimited to what a person has experienced, they can live longer through passing down memories and telling stories over generations. For example, many societies have a collective memory of the birth of the nation, which is kept alive within the group longer than anyone could live. To clarify the role of the individual's recollection of the past, Schwartz (2015) writes that the collective memory is not the same as a consensual memory. Every individual does not have the exact same understanding of the past. However, the individual's judgment and way of relating to the past is influenced by the collective level, and the collective level is simultaneously influenced by the individual's recalling in a dialectic relationship.

Halbwachs' (1992) argument focuses on social classes, families, and religious communities as the groups shaping collective memories, but groups to carry collective memories do not have a specified size. Collective memories have a dual function for the groups. On one hand, the group influences individual recollections of the past as described

above, on the other hand the collective memory ties the group together. Members of a group are united around shared experiences and references to the past which foster a sense of belonging. Memories in this understanding are never biologically predetermined but constructed and maintained in social interactions situated in the social group. In a society you can belong to multiple groups, have several collective memories and identities.

The theory of collective memories has furthermore been employed in the study of social movements. For the study of social movements, collective memory framework has been employed to analyze functions to create identity, belonging and collective action (Polletta & Jasper, 2001). A social movement and the individuals participating in it are understood as a social group which constructs and is being defined by collective memories in the way as families, social classes and religious communities did for Halbwachs.

Social movements work with their past in various ways to construct a sense of “we”. The memory work is a mnemonic practice of selectively including and excluding historical events and persons to identify the “we” with something of the past, or distance itself as a neo-version of past movements (Jansen, 2007). If a social movement has mnemonic capacity to collectively commemorate important events, these may become institutionalized. Armstrong and Cragg (2006) argue that this is what happened to the Pride parades originating from the Stonewall riot. Activists had organizational resources and considered the riots to be worth commemorating. Together with external political processes converging in time and space, these factors contributed to the spread of the parades across the world and their enduring presence over time (ibid.). An additional approach to the past identified among social movements is to inherit repertoires from previous movements, as for example the practice of demonstrations which is remembered and reused over generations as a tool for social change (Eyerman, 2015). Walking in a demonstration then becomes mnemonic practice, a tradition that constructs the collective memory of how the movement makes collective action. Another important mnemonic practice for movements is the use of symbols, which are associated to past struggles and reused to collectively remember and constitute current actions (ibid.).

This section has theorized the social function of memories, which will be employed when discussing how the past is utilized at Rosenhagen to activate the community in a certain direction. As I explained in the previous chapter, the People’s Park movement is to be

understood as a part of a strong social movement in Sweden during the 20th century. This is important to the study of Rosenhagen's past, where the role of groups, as well as how collective movements construct memories of the past, is of high relevance and will contribute to the analysis by pointing towards where the collective memories can possibly exist as well as provide insights of why they might be lacking.

3.2 Memory & Place

In ancient Greece already the connection between place and memory was made. We can learn of the story how Simonides of Ceos, after surviving a tragic accident where the roof during a dinner collapsed and killed everyone present, could identify who was who, by recalling where they were seated by the tables. Memory is highly dependent on place, and in recent years there has been an increased focus on the role of 'the spatial' in memory-studies, and geographers have argued memories to be embedded in space, place and landscapes (Rhodes, 2020). A key thinker to connect memory and place is Nora (1989) who has added on to Halbwachs argument on collective memories, with theorizing on 'sites of memory' (*lieux de mémoire*). According to Nora (*ibid.*), genuine and lived memories existed in 'pre-modern' societies and thrived in environments of memories (*milieux de mémoire*). These were spontaneous, and collectively shared in peasant everyday life. Due to the loss of these genuine environments in industrialized and modernized society, authorities and/or different groups in society today are creating sites of memories for commemoration processes. As Nora (1989, p. 7) writes: "There are *lieux de memoire*, sites of memory, because there are no longer *milieux de memoire*, real environments of memory". Places of memory can be monuments or boulevards, but also literature or postcards. On these sites commemoration ceremonies can be conducted to construct a collective memory for certain groups, in Nora's case mostly for a French national identity (Schwarz, 2010).

On various points Nora's theorizing has been criticized for being reactionary and nostalgically longing for a colonial and misogynist supremacist French past (Legg, 2005a; Schwarz, 2010). The theorizing of Nora is tightly linked to the construction of nationalism, where purposely selected places, practices and narratives commonly are used to create an imagined community within the nation (cf. Anderson, 1983). The longing for a genuine France is a false essentialist characterization of a place, as I discussed in chapter 3.2 based on Massey's (1995) theorizing of places and their pasts. In line with Radstone & Schwartz

(2010), I consider there not to exist one specific true, purely genuine history to be remembered and that collective memories must be interpreted through historical and political context. Nora (1989), nevertheless, points towards an actual societal process in our time of constructing memories attached to places, as well as the importance of these places for the belonging to a group. These places are, however, not predetermined in a certain direction as places do not remember by themselves.

One way to critically study sites of memories while bearing in mind above mentioned critique, is exemplified by Legg's (2005b) 'sites of counter memories'. Legg (2004) is critically examining the problematics of what he calls nostalgic sites of memory, firstly by examining nostalgia. Nostalgia – longing for a home – is a process which influences society and is utilized for constructing identities and mobilize agency. In contemporary labor movements Smith and Campbell (2017) argues nostalgia to be a signifier of refusing to come to peace with the current conditions of social relations and to be an affective connection to historical organizing. This line of thought stands in contrast to the mainstream understanding of nostalgia to be an elitist and conservative construction to prevent social change. Hall (2017) convincingly argued the authoritarian populist political project of Thatcher in the UK in the 1980s, to be based on a nostalgic view of the British past, and similar practices can be found in contemporary formulations of nostalgia. For the sites of counter memory, the openness to the concept nostalgia, as well as the incorporation of power dimensions of narratives into the analysis is of importance. For Legg (2004), sites of counter memory are not defined as sites commemorating a genuinely true past, but rather a counter construction of alternative remembering in relation to dominant narratives and discourses. These sites often exist without resources to build official monuments and infrastructure, rather they are “corporeal, unofficial, temporal, and reterritorialising or deterritorialising, born in social memory and rumour” (Legg, 2005a, p. 496). Sites of counter memories become useful when studying Rosenhagen since it adds perspectives to Nora's sites of memories. Furthermore, sites of counter memories add the dimension of conflict into the construction of memories, since different groups, institutions or interests are constantly trying to create places of memories in accordance with their objectives. When there is conflict, the reconstruction of the past, and eradication of certain parts of the past, becomes difficult for dominant discourses (cf. Harvey, 1979)

This section has contributed with an emphasis on the role of place in the constructing of collective memories, which will be relevant for the study of Rosenhagen's past. This will be utilized to understand where collective memories are formulated otherwise than among the social groups discussed in section one. Next section will shortly discuss the problematics of time when it comes to recalling the past.

3.3 Memory & Time

Time is a crucial component of memory studies. To remember is to recall something that happened in a time that passed, but the above discussed social groups and places exist in the present. When Halbwachs (1992) argued memories to be collective, he did not see them as mirrors of the past. He understood them as constructed in accordance with *present* social frames of reference.

Halbwachs has been criticized for representing a presentist approach to memories, which means that memories are completely social constructs situated within frames of the present (Coser, 1992). The role of history is contested within the collective memory framework, and Vromen (1993) argues that if we accept historical continuity, collective memories needs to be a mix of events that have happened historically and conditions which are present. Memories can be distorted, shaped, or directed, but the past is not something completely malleable depending exclusively on present constructions and interests. I concur with Schwartz (2015) who argues conditions of the present to be built on conditions of the past, and that memories should be seen primarily as a selective truth about history.

This points towards an important difference between memory studies and historical research. Historical research is more interested in finding out what has happened, whilst memorial research is more focused on how history is understood and used today. In this way history is closer to objectively researching the past, whilst memory studies are closer to subjectivist interpretations of the past (Landsberg, 2023). History and memory are tightly interconnected, and memory needs historical events that can be remembered. This thesis is a study of memories and analyzes the relation between memory and history in Rosenhagen. I am not interested in debunking memories through history but rather how the memory of Rosenhagen functions today, in contemporary conditions, and in relation

to and in combination with historical events. I am therefore interested in how history becomes a resource for memory to spark imaginations and inspire.

In this chapter I have discussed the theoretical lens through which the memories of Rosenhagen will be analyzed. In the following chapter, the process of the research will be discussed.

4. Methodology

4.1 Design of research

In spring 2022, after the arson, I developed an interest in researching Rosenhagen. Initially an exploratory approach was adopted. I contacted the association and met with members to obtain information about their situation and needs. After the fire, members were concerned that memories embedded in the house would be lost. The members asked me to help them write their history, and I became interested in the complexity of relating to the past when shaping the future of Rosenhagen. Rosenhagen and People's Parks in general have a rich history – but much has changed since they peaked, even before the fire the Park had had difficulties to sustain. After the fire, processes of relating to the past were started within the community, which made the timing for the research critical. In an abductive manner (Bryman, 2016) material has been collected and theory developed back and forth in varied intensity over the last year. During the research I went to the Park and made observations at meetings and events, conducted in-depth and group interviews with previous and current members and searched on various locations for archived sources.

The research is of qualitative nature and multiple sources have been combined to come closer to what has historically happened in Rosenhagen, and what function the memory of the past has today. With the aim to analyze meanings, processes and qualities of the memories, qualitative material serves well (Rennstam & Wästerfors, 2018). With the various sources relating to Rosenhagen from different angles, it is possible to draw conclusions from the material beyond the narrative of one specific source.

4.1.1 Philosophy of science and situated knowledge.

The methodological choices have been guided by critical realist philosophy of science as a part of the post-positivist research paradigm (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Ontologically, I

consider there to be an objective reality beyond what we can subjectively sense and understand. Bhaskar (2008, p. 12) writes, if humans “ceased to exist sound would continue to travel and heavy bodies fall to the earth in exactly the same way”. For the thesis this means that things which are not remembered or documented from Rosenhagen’s past nevertheless have happened. The other way around this also means that the sources describing the past correspond to an actual reality beyond social constructions. In critical realist thought, social dimensions mediate reality and the knowledge we can have of it, which means that the representation of the past will not be an unfiltered truth in a positivist sense but closer to reality than simply a belief. In contrast to a positivist I consider there to be subjective dimensions to how knowledge about this reality is derived (Taylor, 2018). Consequently, varied methods and sources have been consulted to contribute in a complementary way to my understanding of the past and the processes that shape the remembrance and utilization of history. Often during the research process, the sources have contradicted each other, but based on the theoretical and concrete knowledge of Rosenhagen, the results presented in the thesis will be as close to truth as possible.

With this philosophical point of departure, I do not believe there to be a determined future for Rosenhagen based on how they engage with their past, but that historical and social context specific structures influence what events that emerges when mechanisms are activated (Sayer, 2000). If, for example, the association had had proper insurance for the house, the material conditions to depart from after the fire would have been different, but the lack of insurance is not determining the outcome. In the same way is the ownership structure of the association different from many other People’s Parks, which influences Rosenhagen’s resilience after the fire, and their capacities to use history to shape the future.

Rosenhagen has been approached with the assumption that knowledge is situated (Haraway, 1988), which mean that the positionality of both the sources and me as a researcher has been reflected upon during the research. The written sources were produced in a context which is different from today, and the informants are all situated in Anderslöv, a village with a tight community with delicate social constellations. The sections in chapter 5, and the categorization of the material, may give the impression that sources are valued differently, which is not my intention. I do not consider the written

sources to be more valuable than the interviews, although the sources are used for different objectives in this thesis. As a researcher my positionality was shaped by the fact that before starting the research I had never heard about Anderslöv. Multiple times during the research I experienced the feeling of being an outsider. I am a native Swedish speaker but sometimes had difficulties to understand the local accent, and my social frames of reference as well as collective memories differ from the people I met. I come from the urban centers Malmö/Lund with as shown in chapter 2 different conditions than in Anderslöv. I have actively tried to come close to the community, gain trust and receive accurate information about how and what that is remembered from Rosenhagen, but at the same time I know that there is an inherent fallibility in my situated understanding of the case. Furthermore, about half of the interviewees were men and half were women. I did not identify significant differences in relation to the research objectives dependent on gender and therefore this aspect has not been highlighted. With the situated knowledge framework (ibid.), I assume that this can be a consequence of my positionality as a man, which influences both my reading of the sources as well as the capacity for the informants to express gendered dimensions in the memories of the Park.

4.3 Methods and Material

The material is divided into two categories, an overview of the material is presented in Table 3. Category 1 comprises memories gathered from interviews, as well as three amateur history books that were referenced by informants in discussions about Rosenhagen. Category 2 consists of varied archived material, mostly annual reports but also some newspapers and protocol books.

4.3.2 Interviews

The informants interviewed for the thesis have been purposively sampled due to their relevance for the research (Bryman, 2016). A gatekeeper in the association advised me on people to talk to, all of whom have a strong historical connection to Rosenhagen. The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured manner, to let the informants extend their answers and make sure that the interview stayed open for new topics which I was previously unaware of (Valentine, 2005). To make sure that the interview stayed on track an interview guide was used during the interviews (Bryman, 2016). The same interview guide was used for all the interviews although the respondents had varied stories to tell. All the semi-structured interviews were planned to be preferably with one person. When

arriving at some of the the interviews, I found that there were more people present than expected, as the informant had invited additional individuals who they believed could provide me with information. This resulted in the interviews being less structured than planned, but it also contributed to enjoyable and lively conversations.

In addition to the semi-structured interviews, I organized a public event called Commemorate Rosenhagen [Föreviga Rosenhagen] early in the research. With a Facebook-event and posters in the local store, people were invited to come to Rosenhagen and share their memories. Seven persons showed up and we talked in a group for about 2 hours. The event provided me with some memories, but primarily functioned as an informative event and to find individuals with whom I later conducted semi-structured interviews.

Directly after all interviews initial thoughts from me were collected in a field diary. Some of the interviews were not recorded since the situation was not comfortable enough to pick up the recorder, and instead notes were made during and after the interview. All recorded material was transcribed after the interview and given an informant-code which will be used when referring to the informants in the results.

4.3.3 Archives

The protocol books and annual reports were found in the second building of the park, which luckily was not burned down. The material was large and unstructured, and I identified the annual reports as a valuable source for tracking the developments at Rosenhagen over time. Writing an annual report every year is something that most associations do, and the frequency and frames of an annual report provides structure over the years. The protocol books 1930-1936 and 1936-1939 functioned to provide information about things that had happened in the association a long time ago. The local archives are written by the association itself and is an expression of the democratic processes which have happened in the association, which makes them useful to study the association from the inside and from their own perspective (Bergquist, 1999).

4.3.4 Difficulties in data collection.

Various difficulties were encountered when gathering the materials. As expected, when doing interviews the human factor plays a certain role, resulting in planned interviews being delayed and cancelled. Most of the documents were found unsorted in the

remaining building in the Park and are far from complete. Due to the scope of the research, parts of the material were selected as relevant for the thesis. I assume that the canceled interviews and the excluded parts of the archives could have contributed to stronger empirical evidence for the thesis. Furthermore, in the attic of the main building that was burnt down, there should have been a larger archive with posters and other documents which could have been interesting for the research. There is no register of what was kept in the attic, and exactly if or how the material in the attic could have contributed to the research will remain unknown. The research has few documents from proper archives. I have consulted various archives, but there are few which have information about Rosenhagen and the ones that have it only have very limited material.

4.3.5 Ethical considerations

The people involved in the research have been informed about the research process and asked for consent. Some people asked to participate in the research have not wanted to participate, which has been respected. Everyone who participated in the research has been granted anonymity, except some attributes presented in Table 3. The results of the research will be shared with the community that participated in the study both by me going to the Park and presenting the thesis, as well as in the form of a popular scientific version of the thesis.

Table 3. Material Overview (In addition to the material presented in this Table, complementary sources referenced in the result section can be found in the reference list).

Category 1			
Interviews	<i>Informant(s): informant code</i>	<i>About informant(s)</i>	<i>About Material</i>
Interview 1	1: 1A	The informant and his family were active members and visitors historically.	Recorded and transcribed. Photos from personal collection.
Interview 2	1: 1B	Visitor historically, involved in Anderslöv Museum.	Notes.
Interview 3	2: 3A, 3B	Visitors historically	Recorded and transcribed.
Interview 4	1: 4A	active member and visitor historically and present.	Recorded and transcribed.
Interview 5	1: 5A	Visitor historically and involved in external association that used to use Rosenhagen for their activities.	Notes.
Interview 6	2: 6A, 6B	Visitors historically, 6A is an active member and has a relative that have been very active historically.	Recorded and transcribed
Interview 7	5: 7A, 7B, 7C, 7D, 7E.	Visitors historically. 7A, 7B and 7C have relatives that have been very active in the park. G5 is a fireman and fought the fire.	Recorded and transcribed. Photos from personal collection.
Interview 8	1: 8A	Currently an active member.	Recorded and transcribed
Interview 9	7. 9A, 9B, 9C, 9D, 9E, 9F, 9G	People who voluntarily showed up at the event commemorate Rosenhagen. Various connections to the park, and some of them have been interviewed again.	Recorded and transcribed. Photos and text from personal collections.

Books	<i>Reference</i>	<i>About the book</i>	
Book 1	(Hassby 1978)	Anderslöv genom tiderna [Anderslöv through the ages]. A book about Anderslöv's history.	
Book 2	(Frank et al. 2020)	"Blannevann": En nostalgisk resa i Trelleborgs 60-70 tal. ["Mix-water": A nostalgic journey in Trelleborg's 60-70s]. A book primarily about amusement in Trelleborg and its surroundings during the 1960s. "Blannevann" refers to the drink you mix liquor with in Scanian accent.	
Book 3	(Brönmark 2006)	Den Gamla Dansbanan [The Old Dance Venue]. A book about dance venues in southwest Scania.	
Category 2			
Archived material	<i>Reference in text</i>	<i>From</i>	<i>About the material</i>
Annual Reports	(AR YEAR)	Unpublished local archive	For the years: 1930 – 1935, 1944, 1953 – 1954, 1957, 1974 – 1981, 1983 – 1990. The yearly annual report describes what has happened during the last year in the association.
Protocols	(PB 1), (PB 2)	Unpublished local Archive.	Protocol book 1: 1930-1936, Protocol book 2: 1936-1939,
Vardagstryck	(UB 1930) (AR YEAR)	University Library Lund Vardagstryck	The university library archive consists of annual reports (AR) 1942, 1943, 1945 and original statues (UB) from 1930.
Pictures and a Poster	(Anderslöv Museum)	Anderslöv Museum	Some photos, a poster as well as text in the exhibitions.

4.4 Processing material

According to Rennstam & Wästerfors (2018) working with qualitative data is essentially about sorting, reducing and arguing. The material employed in this thesis has been chaotic in the sense that it has been spread out, filled with gaps, and demanding to reach. The theoretical framework has been operationalized to make sense of the material and construct a historical narrative as well as theoretical arguments beyond the individual memories and stories (ibid.). The material was sorted and assessed in relation to the objectives of the research and divided into the two above described categories. Category 2 was identified as suitable for writing the historical narrative, and was sorted in the chronology of events, as well as reduced to contribute to the arguments. In one way, archives are also a part of how we understand the past today, but since they have not been read by anyone in a long time, they are not a part of the collective memory. The historical narrative presented in the results is therefore closer to historical research (see chapter 3.3).

Category 1 was identified as useful to study the collective memories of Rosenhagen and has been processed in a thematic way. The transcripts were read multiple times to identify *what* from the past that was remembered as well as and *how* past events were recalled (Rennstam & Wästerfors, 2018). With help from the theoretical framework, I identified themes in the material, which then were read parallel to the historical narrative. The themes were associated to the most suitable timeframe but are not exclusively a memory connected to this part. All quotes are furthermore translated by me with the focus to keep the essence of the quote and create readability no matter the strong accent in the spoken language. The themes together with the in time associated historical narrative were put in conversation with the theoretical framework to construct the analytical arguments.

5. Results & Analysis

This chapter follows the historical chronology of Anderslöv's People's Park and is divided into the following four sections: '5.1 1930-1950'; '5.2 1950-1975'; '5.3 1975-2022'; '5.4 2022- '. Each section is divided into three subsections. In the first subsection (5.x.1) the historical narrative is presented. Secondly (5.x.2) the memories of the past, sorted by themes and associated with that time frame are presented. In the third subsection (5.x.3) the historical narrative and the memories are discussed, and analytical arguments made. In accordance with the overlaps between history, memory, and my interpretation of the data discussed in chapters 3 and 4, the subsections are not watertight. Instead, they should be seen as a pedagogical structure to improve readability and convey arguments.

5.1 1930-1950

5.1.1 The Narrative: Creating a People's Park

The founding meeting of "Anderslöv's People's House Association u.p.a"⁴ was held on May 4th, 1930, in the municipal hall in Anderslöv. The first meeting had two tasks, first to elect people to vital positions in the association, such as the board and revision, second to accept the statutes (PB 1). People had gathered with the aim to start an association, with clear objectives expressed in the statutes:

"The aim with the activities of the association is to purchase and build property in Anderslöv Parish, to provide meeting rooms for the members of the association, union organizations and other associations". (UB 1930)

At the first meeting 34 people were present. All had subscribed shares in the association, which meant that they promised to pay 50 SEK⁵ as a deposit within five months after the association was founded (PB 1). Usually, the deposit was paid 10 SEK at the time which gave you a receipt (Figure 1), and resulted in a membership book, with a proof of stake and the statutes (Figure 2). As visible in Figure 2, the share could later be inherited.

⁴ In Swedish, the name reads "Anderslövs Folkets Hus Förening u.p.a." The abbreviation stands for "without personal responsibility", and is a historical construction for economic nonprofit civil society associations with both other associations and individuals as members (NE.se, n.d.).

⁵ In 1932, a worker at the nearby Stävsjö Brick factory earned 0,80 SEK/hour, Göta Ironfactory 0,62 SEK/hour, Constructionworker 1,0 SEK/hour and day labor in agriculture 0,45 SEK/hour (Arbetet 1932-04-04 p. 4).

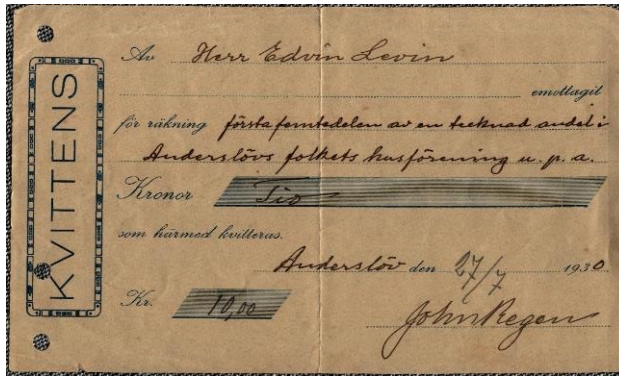


Figure 1. Receipt for paying 10 SEK of the share in July 1930 (7A's Personal archive)

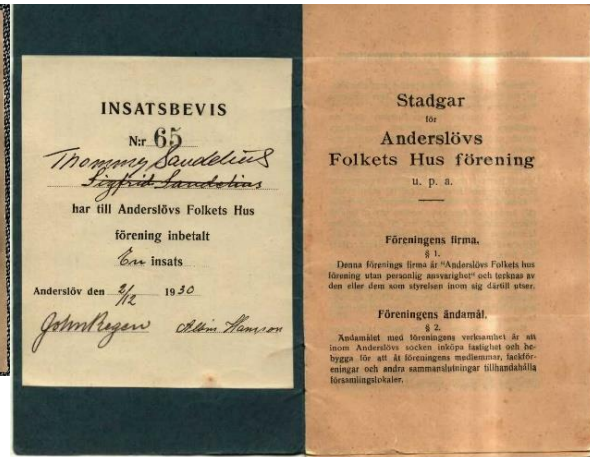


Figure 2. First pages in the membership book received after paying the full amount (1A's Personal archive)

By selling shares, money was raised to buy a plot of land. Already in the fall of 1930, a contract was signed to purchase a plot of land for 6,000 SEK on the outskirts of the village. On March 14th, 1931, the first 5,000 SEK were paid for the plot, and the association could start to use the land. To be able to pay the remaining 1000 SEK, the plot was rented out during the summer this year, a bazar was organized in the nearby Gröna Lund Tivoli which brought in 418 and 125 SEK respectively. In the fall of 1931, the final payment was made, and the land was now secured for the association (PB 1).

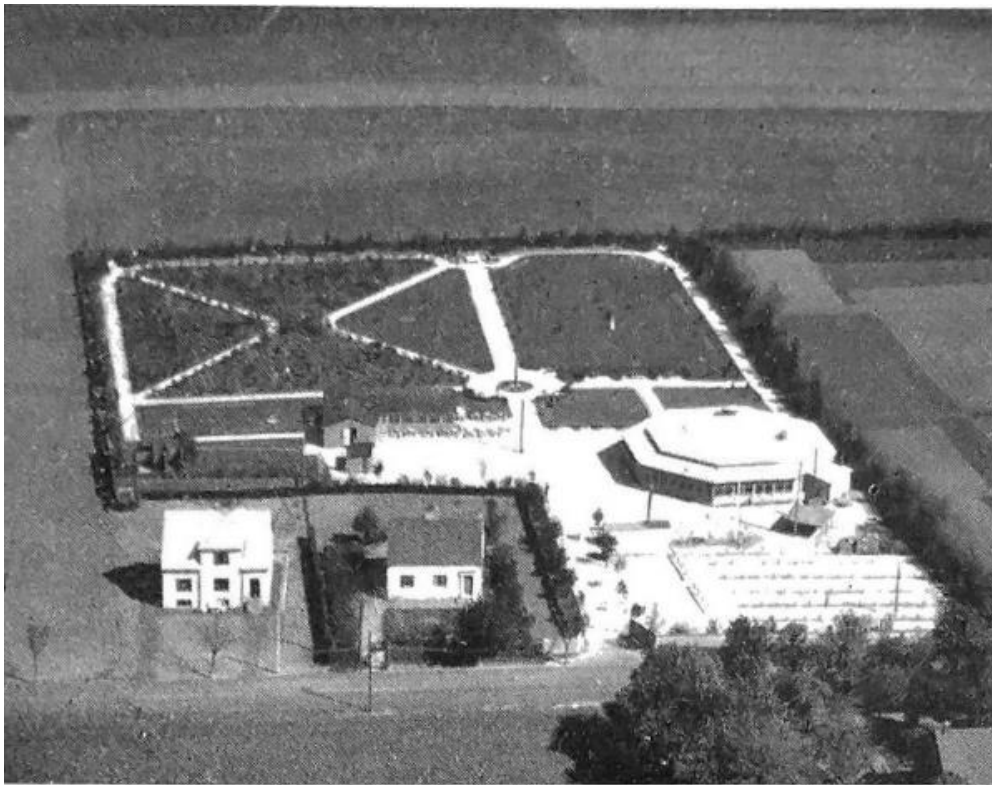


Figure 3. Aerial Photo of the Park in late 1930s (Reproduced from Hansson, 1939, p. 117)

As owners of the land, focus could now be directed to creating the place they wanted. In the fall of 1931, a hawthorn hedge was planted, and in the spring of 1932 the first outdoor dance floor was built, visible in Figure 4. The park surrounding the dance floor was planted, paths were laid out, and buildings for serving food and three pavilions were erected. Much was done by voluntary work, but to take care of it all a janitor was hired during the summer months. 1932 was the first proper summer in the Park, and it was a great success. In addition to the dancefloor and the greenery, visitors could enjoy a strength measurer and a shooting range or buy hot dogs, candy, and ice cream. During the

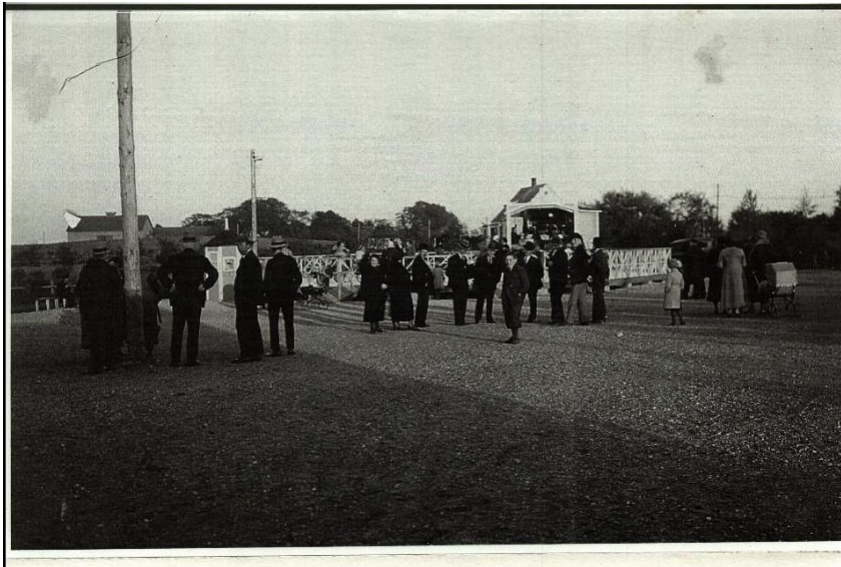


Figure 4. People in the People's Park, the outdoor dancing floor in the background. Sometime early 1930s (Anderslöv Museum).

summer 1932, 38 dance evenings, several bazaars, and midsummer celebrations were held in the Park. The social democratic Labor Commune held its May Day celebration here, and various associations and social clubs held meetings, organized political lectures,

bazaars, and summer parties in the park. Playtime and performances were arranged for the children by the social democratic Storytime Associations from Husie and Limhamn (PB 1).

In the following years the Park developed in the same direction as the first year, and it was a successful company. In 1934 a pavilion was upgraded with year-round heating, a kitchen and meeting rooms. In 1936 a second dance floor was built with a roof and later walls (the one that burned in 2022), which made it possible to dance in the winter. The economic situation for the association was profitable enough to remain stable, invest in the facilities and give remuneration to the board. A janitor was hired to take care of the Park and the different functions in the Park were leased out, for example taking care of the bike parking or selling ice cream. In this way a People's Park was created in Anderslöv (PB 2).

The people who founded the People's House association had a strong connection to the local social democratic labor movement. Everyone mentioned by name in the protocol from the first meeting can also be found in archives from other Social Democratic organizations, such as the local Labor Commune (ALC). As soon as there was enough money, symbols connected to the labor movement were purchased to the Park such as a red flag. On May 1st 1935 a bust of Hjalmar Branting, the leader of the social democratic party between 1907 and 1925, was uncovered and is still standing in the Park (Figure 5, PB 1).



Figure 5. Hjalmar Branting bust in the Park 2022 (the author)

Besides the dance evenings, the Park was extensively utilized by various labor movement affiliated associations such as the Social Democratic Youth, labor unions, the sobriety association Verdandi, theater groups, Workers' Educational Association (ABF), and the Labor Commune. Initially, these associations held events and bazars in the Park. After the pavilion was upgraded with heating and meetings rooms, many of these organizations began to hold their regular meetings in the Park throughout the year. In addition to these organizations, which are close to social democracy, one communist organization had lectures in the park, although irregularly. The presence of the communists led to a discussion within the Park association about which organizations were welcome to use the Park, since some members were dissatisfied with the presence of communists. Eventually, during an extra member meeting, the Park association concluded that everyone was welcome to use the place, except for Nazi-organizers (PB 1). During the workers day in 1933 the Associate Professor Aron Borelius from Lund University was invited to the Park to lecture about the dangers of Nazism spreading in Germany and Europa (Arbetet 1933-08-26 p. 10)

In this section the historical narrative, based on the archival sources, of the creation of the People's Park in Anderslöv has been presented. In the next section passed down memories of creating the Park, and the origins of the association will be presented.

5.1.2 Memories: Fragments of the labor movement and common people on voluntary basis

There is not one dominant memorial narrative about how, why or even when the Park was created in the first place. On the official webpage of Rosenhagen it still (April 2023) reads that the association was established in the 1920s (*Om Föreningen - Anderslövs Folketshus Förening*, n.d.). No one interviewed was active in the 1930s and the pioneering years, and there are various passed down stories, and memories which will be presented here. In the interviews, an insecurity about the memory of why and how the Park was founded was explained by the claim that people back then did not take photos or talk about the past that much, since they were more interested in the future. In the written down memories, the connection to the labor movement is clearer, and the cause for the Park is considered to be the need for a place to meet and organize (Anderslöv Museum; Brönmark, 2006; Hassby, 1978).

One of the memorial narratives about the founding of the Park expresses that there was a conflict between the Labor Commune and the owner of the nearby amusement park Gröna Lund Tivoli⁶, who according to the story did not let the workers have meetings and utilize the park for their cause (Anderslöv Museum; Hassby 1978). According to the story, this led to the workers starting their own place for dancing and meetings. The owner of Gröna Lund, “engineer Sjöbrunn”, was also the owner of the brick factory Stävsjö Tegelbruk where people from the Labor Commune were employed (Anderslöv Museum). Sjöbrunn is still today known in Anderslöv and has a reputation for being complicated and a bit strange.

Some informants have passed down memories of the connection to the labor movement, for instance, informant 7A states, when talking about Figure 6:

⁶ Gröna Lund Tivoli was open between 1905-1949 and was a commercial amusement park about four kilometers north of Anderslöv.



Figure 6. The labor movement in Anderslöv at the square (7A's Personal archive)

I also have a photo from this, when they are walking from the square to Rosenhagen. Because it is actually this, that the Park was for, that was how it started. There was a strike on Markie county, grandpas mother, she told about the potato strike on St. Markie. Anders Stark was evicted, he was working there, [...] that was how it

was back in those days, they had nowhere to meet, so they built the park, and got engaged and involved, to have somewhere to gather (7A)⁷



Figure 7. The labor movement in Anderslöv (7A's Personal Archive)

The passed down memory in the quote above of the strike in Stora Markie stretches back to the late 19th century. A relative to informant 7A was evicted from the county during the strike. These experiences, from class struggles and the need to create a place for the labor movement to be able to gather, are remembered as the motivation to start the Park. The second part of the

argument from informant 7A is that this experience has been told over generations and made people continue to create the People's Parks as a place to gather.

The importance of the labor movement is not a significant theme in other memorial narratives of why and how the Park was created. Informant 1A explained to this picture, after direct question from me what it was showing:

⁷ All interviews referred to in the result section are listen in Table 3.



Figure 8. The labor movement in the Park on 1st of May (1A's Personal Archive)

That photo, it must have been an early one, the first of May was not celebrated that damn much, this must thus be in the 1940s, my father looks very young there. (1A)

In other memories about the origin of the park, the connection to the labor movement is even vaguer with this quote from informant 4A:

There were always representatives from them [the union] at the meetings, when we had the annual meeting there were always someone from them there, one person representing the iron workers union. I always somehow associated the Park with the union, and have always done, but at the same time you don't think about it when you talk about the dancing or the things that were happening in the park. I don't associate that it was the union, that the union was the ones who arranged the dancing (4A)

This quote refers to later experiences of the park, and the memory of the connection to the labor movement. The informant has a vague memory of the connection to the union, and the metal workers union is up to this day one of the members of the Park association.

The labor movement, or the union is vaguely remembered as part of the Park but not as a driving force in the main activities. The creators of the place are rather remembered as regular people, and based on voluntary work, even though some work in the Park historically has been paid. For the informant it is as a logical consequence that people active in the park, which were workers, were also active in the union. The people that created the Park have been ordinary people and regular workers doing what they were good at:

So, there was an electrician, he did a lot of the electrical work, there was a painter, so he handled that part, and Ulla [who also owned the local café] was in charge of the serving and took care of all the administrative tasks, and then I think there was a bus driver, so there was a mix of different professions there. You know, I myself am a sheet metal worker, so I worked well with the gutters (4A)

Another example is from interview 6, which is vaguer in its labor movement connotation, but emphasizes the regular working-class people:

I think it was the working-class kids who built it, you know the youth once, and then it became Rosenhagen or People's Park as it was called in the beginning. (6A)

The creation of the Park in this quote is to be understood as there was regular people who founded the Park and created it as a place for the community, no matter the connection to the labor movement, as interviewee 8A states:

Some people associate People's House with Social Democrats and that it is a political symbol. I am not particularly interested in politics, and I have never seen it that way, but rather as a unique opportunity for everyone in the village to take part in (8A)

The memory of creating a Park is focused on villagers voluntarily creating the place they want and need. This is remembered as a practice which has been kept in the association over generations. For instance, when a theater group started to use Rosenhagen 1990 for practices and performances it was very different coming to Rosenhagen than coming to a commercial or municipal governed place. One of them states:

On other places, when you get there, you are not allowed to do this, and to do that. Here we asked can we saw a whole in the stage floor and got the answer "sure do that, that's a great idea!" And we asked can we change this and this and this, and got the answer, "sure do that, that's a great idea!" We changed super many things here for the different performances (9D)

The vague memory of the connection to the labor movement, and the stronger memory of the creation of a Park by regular people, will be analyzed in the following section.

5.1.3 Analysis: between forgetting the labor movement and remembering building together.

In relation to the general development of the People's Parks Movement (chapter 2), the Park in Anderslöv was founded late. Many of the parks in Skåne were established 30-50 years earlier and often during labor struggles, such as a strike or for the cause of organizing labor (Björner, 2021; Pries et al., 2022).

In the first memorial narrative presented above, there is a conflict in relation to Gröna Lund and engineer Sjöbrunn, but the labor movement used Gröna Lund frequently during this time, so if there was a conflict it cannot have been severe. On 1st of May 1930, three days before the founding meeting of the Park association, the labor movement had their

afterparty at Gröna Lund (Arbetet 1930-04-28 p. 2). In August 1930 the Social Democratic leader, Per Albin Hansson visited the labor movement in Anderslöv and there was a lecture organized in Gröna Lund (Anderslöv Museum). With this said and as discussed in chapter 2, there was a cycle of labor conflicts in the countryside in Scania during the 1930s and we can assume this influenced the labor movement in Anderslöv and making them skeptical towards Sjöbrunn as the owner of the Gröna Lund, and the owner of the brick factory. The creation of a place by and for themselves meant that they had they could concentrate their organizing in one place, without having to ask for permission, and create a Park beyond the reach of the local elite, which have been the case for other parks (cf. Jönsson et al., 2022). There was, however, not enough conflict to result in a collective memory of the Park's origin in the labor movement. To construct the Park as a site of counter-memories (Legg, 2005b), in regards of the labor movement, there would need to be a stronger conflict involved. Instead Rosenhagen's Past has become more malleable compared to other People's Parks (cf. Pries & Jönsson, 2019). The passed down memory of labor struggles at Markie Count stretches back to the 19th century, long before the Park was started, and is not obviously connected to Rosenhagen in the sense that everyone involved in starting it had that collective experience.

A passed down memory of labor struggles in Markie could have been leveled to a collective memory today, if there was still a labor movement in Anderslöv which could have carried the memory as a social movement (chapter 3.1). Many years have passed since the labor movement utilized the Park for political causes, such as meetings or lectures or mnemonic practices of collective actions such as 1 of May celebrations (cf. Eyerman, 2015). Today there exists no local Labor Commune, ABF or Social Democratic Youth organization in Anderslöv. The social groups, to speak with Halbwachs (1992), to carry the collective memory are no longer present in the village. The Park association is a group which could have carried this memory, but the activities of the Park have never been exclusively connected to the labor movement, which will be shown in section 5.2. The Social Democratic party and the Iron union still own shares in the park, and their role is therefore recalled every annual meeting, which is contributing to keeping the memory of the labor movement, although on a precarious level.

There are sites which could be constructed as sites of memory (cf. Nora 1989), such as the Hjalmar-bust (Figure 5). A bust which is standing by itself becomes no more important

than a stone, since places do not remember by themselves, people are needed to fill the places with meaning. On the personal level, places of memory exist in artifacts such as photos or documents which were presented in the interviews. There are, however, very few photos of Rosenhagen, and almost none which are publicly available, which means that there are fewer places which can be constructed as sites of memories.

Furthermore, archives which could have been used to construct memories and which would have been useful for writing the historical narrative are missing. According to the online archive register (Riksarkivet, n.d.) the archive of Anderslöv's Labor Commune (1919-1972) and Social Democratic Association (1973-1991) should be located in the labor movement archives in Trelleborg. This archive was closed June 2021 due economic reasons, and there is no official registration where the documents were moved. After spending hours searching for this archive, I have been told that the documents were moved to the attic of the house that burnt in Rosenhagen 2022. A genealogist I met during the research had looked in these archives in 2016, and the photos he took then are most likely all that exists from the archive of the Labor Commune in Anderslöv. In one of these photos (Figure 9) it reads that the labor movement was involved in starting the park:

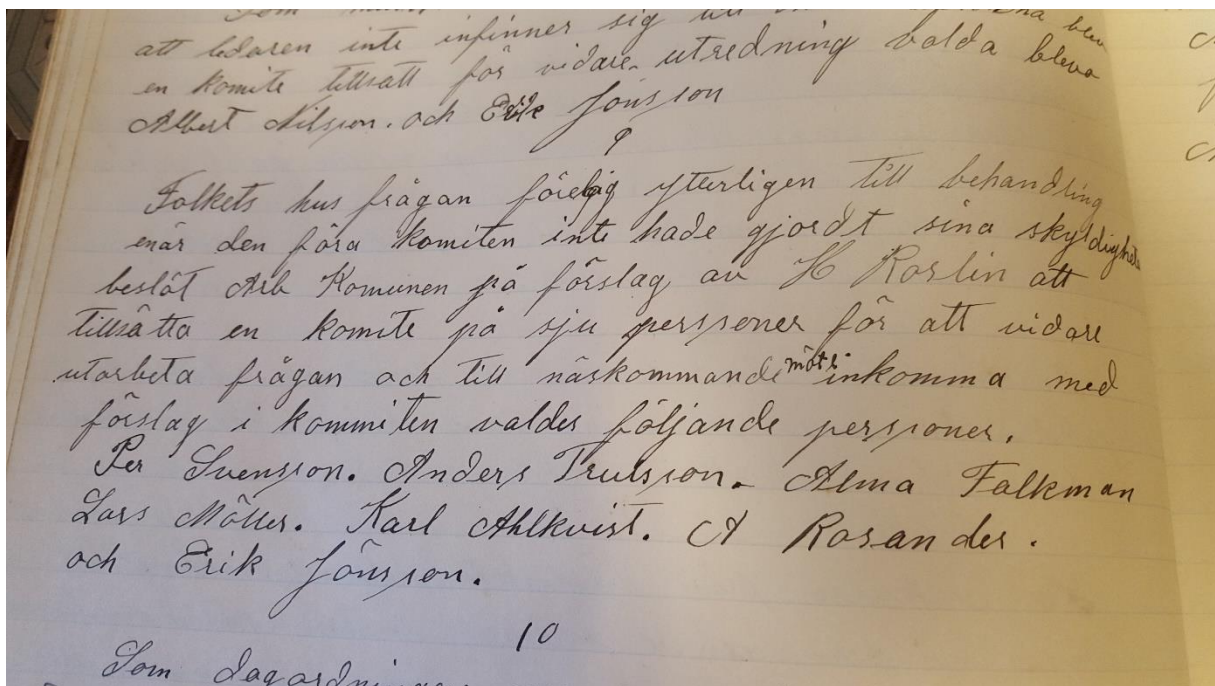


Figure 9. Protocol from the labor commune, about People's Park

The text in the protocol reads:

The People's House issue was proposed by the board for consideration since the previous committee had not fulfilled its obligations. On the proposal of H. Rosling, the Labor Commune decided to appoint a committee of seven persons to further investigate the issue and submit proposals at the next meeting. The following individuals were elected to the committee: Per Svensson, Anders Thrulsson, Alma Falkhem, Lars Möller, Karl Ahlkvist, A. Rosanders, and Erik Jönsson⁸.

With the lack of sources, the historical narrative about the origin of the Park is blurred and slowly disappearing, and especially the role of the Social Democratic Party.

With changed frames of reference in the political landscape (chapter 2) the connection to Social Democracy is less favorable than in the past which further contributes to the fragile memory of the labor movement. The social democratic hegemony in the labor movement has consequently contributed to the labor movement being interchangeable with Social Democracy, and therefore also the labor movement is not suitable with present frames of reference. To be associated with the labor movement is rather seen an obstacle for the association, and the collective memory is instead constructed around that there were regular locals who on voluntary basis created the Park. In addition to being a favorable memory for the social groups, the site of memory and the present frames of reference, this memory has been kept alive through repeated activities in the park. Creating a Park by and for regular people on voluntary basis, is perpetuated through repeated enactment throughout the years, it has become a tradition of how things are done.

The collective memory of regular people, and not commercial capitalists, having the capacity to create a Park is mobilized to encourage people to continue creating the Park. Even though the material conditions to run a Park association in Anderslöv has changed, the collective memory of "we, regular people" to which people can identify today is functioning as a driving force to shape the future of Rosenhagen. The memory makes people think that by trying enough they can recreate Rosenhagen into a house for and by the people. In this way the memory functions as a motivating and inspiring force.

⁸ The protocol does not exist in an archive, the reproduction presented here is the picture the genealogist sent to me by email 2022 (ALC).

5.2 1950-1975

5.2.1 *The narrative: Amusement in the Park*

The years of this section should not be read as the exact period for the transformation into primarily being a place for amusement, as dancing and having fun has always been a part of the park. As stated in the previous section, the first facilities which were created in the Park were a dance floor and green spaces. This was done before a house was built to function as a place where political organizations could have meetings.

The increased importance of the amusement part is visible in the annual report of 1942. The board of the association reminds the members of what they find the mayor cause of the association, after a financially successful year with dancing and enjoyment in the park:

We do not know what the future holds and perhaps the time will come when it will be more difficult to achieve a good financial result from the association's restaurant - but when it perhaps will become a matter of life for the labor movement to have access to meeting rooms of good quality. So may we not forget our real task, but in good cooperation lead our company to the real goal, which primarily is: The common meeting rooms of the labor organizations' benefit and joy (AR 1942).

For the board, the Park was still primarily a political place, but for visitors and members it became an arena for amusement. In 1936 the dance floor with a roof had been built, which eventually was upgraded with walls which made it possible to dance all year round. People were hired to sell snacks and provide the visitors with activities other than dancing. The interest in the dance evenings in Rosenhagen was massive, and Gröna Lund was outcompeted in the 1940s. As an example, in 1957 there were an average of 549 visitors per night in Rosenhagen (AR 1957)

Money was earned through bike parking fee, entrance fee, and fee for dancing as well as through the leasing contracts for the stands in the park. In contrast to Gröna Lund, there was only one price for entering the dance floors in Rosenhagen. In Gröna Lund there were two dancefloors (but one orchestra), and the second dance floor⁹ costed extra to enter (Anderslöv Museum). From 1932 the Park had permission to sell beer in the Park (PB 1).

⁹ The more expensive dancefloor was known as "knodda-banan", which is a Scanian expression that translates to "snob dance floor".

Alcohol was sold approximately until 1950s or 1960s,¹⁰ but coffee and soft drinks continued to be offered, as well as snacks and candy.

Until the 1960s the Park association was arranging the dance evening by themselves. Due to Rosenhagen having an indoor dance floor, the dance evenings were concentrated to the winter from the late 1950s (AR 1958). During the summer, people went to other Parks, such as Granhyddan in Beddinge which had an outdoor dance floor. After the Park Association stopped arranging the dance by themselves, the Park was leased to the commercial actor "Beck" who also leased Granhyddan in Beddinge. During the years when Beck arranged the dance not only people from Anderslöv but people from other parts of the region came to Rosenhagen in the weekends. Beck organized buses from nearby villages and towns. During the time when Beck was arranging the dance, it was not uncommon with up to 1'200 visitors in one night (Trelleborgs Allehanda 1962-10-31).

Not only dance evenings were arranged in the spirit of enjoyment and recreation. There were revues, shows, theater and other events arranged in the Park. The greenery was well kept and in the 1950s there was a small zoo in the Park with birds (Arbetet 1953-04-28 p. 11). They also had a projector for a couple of years to show movies (AR 1944). As visible in Figure 10, the Park had two larger buildings. The right one was the dance house, and the left one was the beer serving hall, and later coffee drinking pavilion. In the smaller building a wardrobe, toilets, prison cells and an interrogation room were installed in the late 1950s (AR 1957). The prison cells were previously freestanding next to the house (PB 1). The outdoor dance floor was torn down during the 1950s. In the next section, the memories of the amusement in the Park will be presented.

¹⁰ I have not been able to determine the exact circumstances surrounding the discontinuation of alcohol sales in the Park. By considering the material available together with the stricter alcohol regulations implemented in Sweden during this period, the years stated appear most likely.



Figure 10. Aerial photo of Rosenhagen 1957. (Anderslöv Museum)

5.2.2 Memories: Golden years of youth

The memorial narratives of the dancing years are more cohesive than the memories of the creation of the Park (section 5.1). The amusement part of Park's past is remembered in an extraordinarily positive and prominent way. Signifying words in the material are dancing, concerts, community, joy, drinking, laughing, falling in love etcetera. During the 1960s, the Park got the name "Rosenhagen", which is remembered as a way of broadening the audience, wanting to not be specifically associated with the labor movement's name "People's Park", and becoming fully an arena for enjoyment (Frank et al., 2020).

Enjoyment of the activities in the Park is emphasized in various forms throughout the interviews. At an early age, people started to go to Rosenhagen at the weekends to have fun with friends, as informant 6A remembers:

We rode our bikes to the Park and took a table where we drank soda or Coca-Cola, or some drank coffee-karsk, well not us girls, but the guys did, they had hidden bottles with them. That's how it was back then and then we danced, there were two sides to the place, on the left side when you entered the entrance, there were more people dancing, and those who

went to the right side, didn't dance as much, they mostly sat and talked. And back then there was proper dance music, yes, "Kase-dans"¹¹ as we called it (6A)

Rosenhagen had permission to sell alcohol from the 1930s, and the permission was withdrawn most likely in the late 1950s or 1960s. It was nevertheless common, especially for men, to bring alcohol to the Park and pour it in the coffee or hide it in the bushes outside and go out and drink. As with parties in general, and especially when including alcohol, there could sometimes be quarrels between the guests, which also is remembered in a positive way, both by men and women interviewed. The quarrels were usually resolved by the park-hired guard, which locked the rowdy guests into the prison cells, as interviewee 1A recalls:

Those who were not sober that night was taken into the prison cells and released in the morning, there were two prison cells where one kept those who had been drinking spirits with boxing gloves, one could say they got free lodging but no food included (1A).

Mostly conflicts are remembered to be resolved within the community. When there was the need for police intervention, the local policeman was known by the community and the intervention is remembered in a comical way, as for example this quote, which was followed by laughter when it was told:

There was a police officer who used to go to the Park in the evenings when there was dancing. He caught a drunk man and took him to the police station and jail. But something went wrong because after a while, the drunk man came back to the park, brushed off his hands and said, 'now we got rid of that bastard.' He had locked the police officer in the cell instead of himself. (9A)

The positive memories of evenings in the park, including rowdy evenings, are tightly linked to the memory of a strong community which developed around the Park. People remember that you took care of each other no matter how drunk you were or what had been happening.

6A: Yeah, but we had fun in our time, I don't think young people have as much fun today as we did. It was a different sense of community than what exists today.

¹¹ "Kase-dans" is a Scanian expression for dancing in couple close to each other and slowly sliding over the dancefloor.

6B: It was camaraderie.

6A: And we were a gang.

6B: Yes, but with a really strong sense of camaraderie. You took care of each other, if someone was too drunk, you'd say, "come here you bastard, we're going home now" and so on.

Not knowing people when going to the Park for the first time was not an issue, since friends could be made there. The friendships built in the Park were strong, which is remembered as being good for the village as well as for society in general:

I just want to say that I think it's sad that there's nothing for young people to go and dance and have a real gathering place [...] All these places are being shut down, and that's a big mistake because young people are pushed out onto the streets and into pubs, where they sit and drink instead of having a venue where we can go and play music, dance, and have a good time, like we had (6B)

Rosenhagen is remembered as so important and enjoyable that everyone wanted to go there, not only people from Anderslöv. Many of the informants emphasize that buses were organized to drive youth from Malmö, Skurup and Ystad to come to Rosenhagen and that everyone was welcome to the Park and went there:

No, I can't remember anyone not being welcome. As I was saying, when Beck took over, when he started, there were even buses from Malmö and Ystad, yes, in the 50s and 60s when Beck was there. (1A)

During Beck's time, there were still quite some artists who toured there, like Lil-Babs, and many others. Yes, during Beck's time they even arranged buses from places like Svedala and Skurup (3A),

So, it was often on Saturday evenings that people went to Rosenhagen, and I did that too after I moved to Malmö. My friends and I came here to dance. Yes, that's what it was all about, dancing. I think I went every Saturday (4A)

In the quotes, Rosenhagen is remembered in relation to other places, and just as important to visit as the more central places in the region. Going out dancing is remembered as a huge part of life, before people started to watch TV or were able to have fun in other ways, visiting the parks is remembered as the only way to enjoy yourself, as informant 9B and 4A remembers;

Back then, people didn't have as much to do, nowadays everyone has already seen everything. If you haven't seen it yourself, you've seen it on TV, so therefore it was a sensation when events were happening in Rosenhagen (9B)

So, in the fifties or sixties, we always met, you know, we met friends and went dancing and so. But then we got TV, and then we drove home to each other and watched TV in the evening instead. Before the TV, we played cards, talked or took a walk around town or something. But the TV got more channels, it became more and more dangerous because, "you want to come to me tonight?" "No, tonight it's this or that on TV, I want to see it for myself." (4A)

The amusement in the Park took various forms, in addition to dancing nights and concerts especially revues are remembered in a positive way. There were also performances, theater and various other enjoyable events which have left a strong impact on the collective memory of the park. Musicians such as the local bands "Teddy Kvartetten" and "Knut Åkes" (Figure 11) were frequently performing in the park. "Sandys" och "Trakton" were other local bands that also figures in the memories of the dance evenings in the park.



Figure 11. Knut Åkes orchestra in the Park, year unknown (1A's Personal archive)

During many years, the local bands were necessary for the dance to happen, since there was no possibility to play recorded music. In addition to the local musicians, the local bike-artists-duo Kurt and Knut known as "Truk and Tunk" performed regularly in the Park (Figure 12, 13). Kurt and Knut were known in the village, and also the owners of the local bike- and TV-store.



Figure 13. Truk & Tunk bike performance in the park, year unknown (Anderslöv Museum)



Figure 12. Bike practice in the Park, year unknown (Anderslöv Museum)



Figure 14. Jubileumsmällan, year unknown (7A'd Personal archive)

Locals also performed in revues such as Jubileumsmällan (Figure 14). Side by side with the local celebrities appears the memory of regionally and nationally famous artists and shows which have visited

Rosengagen. Especially

remembered are names such as Rock Olga, Anna-Lena Lövgren, Lasse Holmqvist and Nils Ahlroth. Informant 6A remembers:

I remember one time when Rock Olga was there. [...] She was a girl and very popular, but I don't remember when it was. I was probably not very old then, and there were a lot of people there, you won't believe it. We stood packed like sardines so no one could dance. Everyone listened to her, all the time, it was rock music! Like the Beatles, more or less (6A)

The revue artist and comedian Nils Ahlroth known all over Sweden for his shows, is also especially remembered, and the memory of his comedy shows still evoke laughter. Another performer remembered is Lasse Holmqvist, who toured around People's Parks in Sweden, with performances, games and music-shows. He was later known for being the moderator for the popular TV-show "Here is your life" (1980-1991) and the floral armchairs used in the program were produced in the furniture factory in Anderslöv. Informant 3A recalls when Lasse visited Rosenhagen:

We used to have parties there, there was also an outdoor dance floor, and once there was some kind of a summer event, with Lasse Holmqvist as host. He would have some kind of competition where all the female business owners in the village were called up on stage to compete. They were all well-known names like Asta Anderssen, who I think had the oldest store in the village. It was a wonderful event (3A)

What the collective and cohesive memories of the golden days means and how they can be understood today, will be analyzed in the following section.

5.2.3 Analysis: Being important, remembering the community

The transformation of Rosenhagen into a primarily amusement-oriented place, with a decreased political prominence, is coherent with the People's Parks movement (Ståhl, 2005b). Anderslöv appears to have been large enough, as a town and commercial center, to remain a central place, although urbanization into larger cities was ongoing. During the years 1950-1975 the Swedish welfare state was peaking, and it was the highly productive years before the oil crises, increased globalization and restructuring of society in the 1980s (cf. chapter 2). The cohesively positive memory of enjoyment in the Park is intertwined with the recollection of a strong community, and the Park being an important place both for artists and people from, and beyond, Anderslöv to visit. The memory of changing the name to Rosenhagen instead of People's Park is contributing to the memory of the place as an arena for amusement. In present frames of reference, the mid-20th

century is remembered as golden years of production and improvement in life quality, and in this collective memory Rosenhagen fits well as a component.

Many of the informants have personal experiences of the amusement part of the Park, this was the golden years of their youth. Personally important experiences can appear as remembered on a private level but are amplified by the collective memory of this time. Due to technical development this period has been effectively reproduced in various forms over the years, which contributes to its persistence. It is still possible to listen to music and see filmed material recorded in the 1960s. For Rosenhagen specifically, two of the books used as memorial material in the thesis: “Blannevann” (Frank et al., 2020) and “Den Gamla Dansbanan”¹² (Brönmark, 2006) are focused on places for dancing during the years when the Parks were major arena for amusement in society. In contrast to earlier periods, there are therefore more accessible sites of memories which can be revisited. These sites contribute to the collective memory of practices which are no longer performed in the Park (cf. Nora 1989).

The memory of this period in Rosenhagen is, as mentioned, positive. Even events that might initially seem negative, such as quarrels between guests, are remembered in a comic way. Most likely not everyone exclusively had positive experiences during these years. In the construction of the collective memories, selective truths about the past which are more favorable in present frames of reference are dominating (cf. Schwartz, 2015). The collective memory is constructed around that people took care of each other, and Rosenhagen being an important place is the landscape and on varied scales. This functions well as a counternarrative towards the present narrative of Anderslöv being left behind (cf. chapter 2). The social groups carrying this memory, such as the locals in Anderslöv, experience a reality where a sense of community and improvement is missing and has been eradicated. The places where a community in Anderslöv could be developed, such as cafés and restaurants, do not exist anymore. The nostalgic character of the memories (cf. chapter 3.2.), should be understood as a dissatisfaction with current conditions, and a longing for a time when things were functioning differently and better. Back then, Anderslöv and Rosenhagen were important places on multiple scales, for instance expressed in the memory of the floral armchairs produced in the village and famous

¹² See Table 3 for more information about the books.

artists and shows touring at Rosenhagen. In 2023 this is far from the reality in Anderslöv and Rosenhagen. The collective memory of Rosenhagen being just as important for artists and visitors as concert arenas in for example Malmö, creates a desire to recreate Rosenhagen as it once was. Based on the content of the memories, and with the historical and political context in mind, I argue the nostalgia to function in a progressive and productive way for the community in Anderslöv today. When the informants are discussing what they perceive as a distorted youth and mobilizes Rosenhagens past as a solution (see quote from 6B p. 46) it is an expression for how the past can be utilized today in a productive direction.

Consequently, for the memory of the amusement and importance of Rosenhagen and Anderslöv, Rosenhagen has the capacity to function as a site of counter-memories in relation to present narratives (cf. Legg 2005b; discussion chapter 3.2). Rosenhagen is a place which is under democratic control and in the hands of the people and the past teaches that it should remain so. When business or workplaces dependent on volatile capitalist regimes of accumulation left Anderslöv for the regional and global scale (chapter 2.2), Rosenhagen remained in place. The mobilization of the past teaches that it should remain in place, and that it is indeed possible to create a place like Rosenhagen was in the 1960s in Anderslöv today. This inspires people to continue to create a People's Park in Anderslöv. As informant 3A answered on the question what you can learn from Rosenhagen's Past: "I think what you can learn, it is the imagination that sets the limits." (3A).

5.3 1975 - 2022

5.3.1 The narrative: Home to civil society

Golden days did not last forever, and in 1975 the last public dance evening was held in the park. During the fall 1974 visitors ceased to come to the public dance evenings in Rosenhagen, and the leaser of that time, Gudrun Brink, terminated the contract on the 1st of May 1975. The Park association tried to revive the dance evenings again, but the visitors were too few (AR 1975-1977). Since then, there have been no public dance events in the park, in the way which is usually associated with People's Parks history. Instead, the primary function of the Park was directed towards being a place for civil society associations and individual needs. Going from a flourishing business with up to 1'200 visitors every weekend to 0 visitors to the public dance evenings changed the conditions

under which the association could operate. Now the major income to the Park came from renting out the place to civil society associations (AR 1980-1990).

In the late 1970s and 1980s this meant decreased income, which constrained the capacity to invest in the facilities. Parts of the Park slowly deprived, the dance floor was worn out and needed replacement, and water pipes broke down regularly. The community strived to resist the setback and managed to survive due to many hours of volunteer work, material purchases through friends and increased funding from the municipality. One major cost was the heating, which was done with oil until 1990. Following the oil crises of 1973, energy prices increased which was especially impactful during cold winters. The increased energy costs are visible in the updated thicker façade with smaller windows (compare Figure 15 with Figure 10).



Figure 15. The main building in the Park, most likely around 2005 (Om Föreningen - Anderslövs Folketshus Förening, n.d.)

Not only the economic situation worried the board of the association after the termination of public dance evenings. The lack of regrowth of people involved in the association was continuously brought up in the annual reports from the 1980s. The older members wanted to be exchanged by a new generation of active people. Over the years there has been a regeneration of active members, but not strong regrowth.

Civil society associations have, ever since the founding of the Park, been renting the place for their meetings and activities, but during these years this became the primary activity in Rosenhagen. On Wednesdays the sport association Anderslöv's BOIK¹³ arranged Bingo, which was well visited and brought in money both to the local football team and to Rosenhagen. During the weekends dance evenings were arranged by old style dance

¹³ "BOIK" stands for "Boll och Idrottsklubb" which translates to "Ball and Sports Club".

associations (Gammeldans), and in the 1990s, Folk-dancers used the place regularly. The Park was frequently rented out for various events. These were arranged by individuals or different associations such as Scouts, motor clubs, pensioner associations, football supporters, the Red Cross, the school, or Center Party Youth. They arranged parties, meetings, flea markets, veteran motorcycle races, conferences, weddings, birthday parties, school discos and graduation ceremonies among other events. Everyone was welcome to use the place, and the board continuously sought more tenants: "The premises are open to more activities regardless of political ideas" (AR 1986). The smaller building in the Park was rented by the handicraft's association, which also made sure to keep it renovated. The Park association themselves sometimes organized parties to collect money for renovations. As an example, in 1984, the Park was rented out 170 days to different associations and individuals. From 1990 until 2022, the revenue group "Piggsvinsteatern" used the major building regularly for practices. Except for this revue group, there have not been any regular tenants in approximately the last 15 years.

5.3.2 Memories: Society founded on civic participation.

The recollection of the period after the public dance evenings is characterized by the emphasis on civil society. Civil society has been a part of the Park since it was founded, but during this period it is remembered as the main function of the park. After the main building was burned down, there was no suitable place in the village where civil society could gather as informant 4A told:

I just think that there should be a place to arrange meetings. In another association I'm part of, we have nowhere to go now when we're going to have a meeting. Where should we be then? There's no place here that can accommodate around 25, 30, 40 people and then you want to have such a location. And sports associations could also have their parties there and so on (4A)

The recalling of Rosenhagen being the home to civil society is interlinked with accessibility, to rent Rosenhagen did not cost much, it was nearby and easy to use:

It was so nice to have somewhere to be, it was nice with Rosenhagen, anyone could rent it, and the rental cost was insignificant in the situation; we were just happy to have somewhere to be! (5A)

The informants recall that there were often various events organized by civil society or individuals at Rosenhagen and therethrough the locals continuously were in contact with the Park:

6B: It was for everyone, all kinds of people, and we had the confirmation for my grandchildren in the small house.

6A: But there were also children's parties and such.

6B: Yes, there was a lot of that.

6A: And they have had graduation parties there. And sports associations had parties in the large house, and there was bingo!

6B: So Rosenhagen has meant a lot here in Anderslöv.

6A: As I said, there were many events and the surplus then was spent to support a good cause.

The quote shows that Rosenhagen is remembered as an important facility for civil society activities and for personal needs, such as a site for graduation parties. It also points towards it being positive to use Rosenhagen for this, and to support civil society by utilizing the place. Bingo-evenings on Wednesday for example, are not just remembered as fun and socializing, but also as serving to maintain the vitality of the local community. Through the bingo nights, the local football association could earn some money, which was considered positive for the village:

9A: They made good money from Bingo, and then they went to Malmö to recruit the best football players there, and they came here to play in Anderslöv, so they reached division three.

9C: Yes, even division two, they were on the betting coupons.

9A: Yes, right, and they defeated teams like Helsingborg IF, and Trelleborg FF and so on.

Recalling being a place for civil society is furthermore connected to there being an active civil society in the countryside. To fill the function of being a place for civil society, there needs to be a civil society which needs places to be. When remembering the past, a society where people was more engaged in the local community appears:

It was like a different culture back then with community involvement, there were many parties with the sports association, labor union parties, handicraft associations and so on (9A)

Civil society, being connected with each other and contributing to the community's wellbeing, is furthermore remembered to be arising from a collective need of getting to know people, as informant 7A tells:

I think people had to do it before, to be involved in associations, since they were not so well off. It was a way to get out and be a part of something, both the music, choir, and it is the same with football associations, it is also a unifying force, that those who don't have much to do can go to. When you meet others like this, you get to know someone who has a better situation, so you get a connection to the labor market, networks are important. It becomes the way you move on in life (7A)

This quote is directed towards the structural need to have a community, where people were helping each other out, to create a better life. Another aspect of the recollection of community life focuses on the role of individuals and personalities in shaping civil society. The local enthusiasts, or "Eldsjälar"¹⁴ as they are called in Swedish, who were passionate about the community's wellbeing are thought of as something belonging to the past and is missing today:

7B: I was thinking about my grandfather, he was a member of the pension committee, health committee, sobriety committee and my great-grandfather was on the boards of the Masonry Association, the People's House Association and a part of the membership council of Solidar¹⁵, so he was very active.

7E: it should be remembered that today it is much, much harder to get people involved, both in the associations and in politics. It's still somewhat possible when it comes to children and their sports, then the parents understand they must step up to keep their child in the soccer team, but it's not much more than that.

Many of the people interviewed were "Eldsjälar" in the community when they were younger, but they don't have the energy anymore, and they are concerned about the risk of too low regeneration of enthusiast. The responsibility of people still engaged on

¹⁴ The term "eldsjäl" directly translates to "fire-soul", and refers to a person who dedicates extensive amounts of energy and time to the greater good without economic compensation.

¹⁵ Solidar was the Scanian version of the cooperatively owned food stores.

voluntary basis gets significant and demanding which is a concern, as informant 4A said about another member of the park:

But I think what he has done is absolutely amazing, and I can't believe that he manages to do it, because he doesn't have any direct support, there aren't many people who want to get involved. And I don't know anyone who I could imagine getting involved in a People's Park today (4A)

The meaning of the memories of an active civil society and the function it has will be analyzed in the next section.

5.3.3 Analysis: Life organized by civil society

Many People's Parks experienced ceased public dance evenings simultaneously as Rosenhagen. What happened afterwards varies greatly between different Parks. Many parks were bought by municipalities, and transformed into something else following the decreased amount of visitors and capacities to run the Parks (Pries & Jönsson, 2019; Ståhl, 2005a). I have not been able to figure out the decisive reason for the decreased number of visitors at Rosenhagen. The Park nevertheless remained in the hands of the association and continued to be an important place for the village and civil society. Due to civil society during this time still being strong in the community, the demand for a place like Rosenhagen was kept high, at least for some years.

The memories tell a story of a time when the community and the connection to Rosenhagen were stronger. In this sense, the memory of civil society contributes to the themes discussed in section 5.2.3. Civil society additionally contributes to the collective memory of a past when more people were organized in associations, extending beyond the Park. The memory of being involved in civil society is constructed around the narrative that historically there was a material and structural need to autonomously create social capital through connections and cooperations within civil society. Civil society was created to improve everyday life for the collective and common good. The present frames of reference for many people today are constructed in a highly individualized society, which contributes to this being understood as belonging to the past. By being organized in associations, and local politics, people nevertheless had more power over their lives, which is remembered and contributed to the members of Rosenhagen publishing this statement on their Facebook-page in January 2020:

Anderslöv's People's House Association has begun a work for renewal and to steer the activities back to the original idea of a People's House, a house for the people. A house that gathers associations and activities to make it accessible to the villagers. Therefore, we need your help! It is for you we exist and we would like to get your feedback on what kind of activities you would like to see at Rosenhagen such as dance courses, interesting lectures, language courses, flea markets, LAN gaming, concerts, parties, etc. (Rosenhagen Folkets Hus, Facebook, 2020)

The material needs and capacities for an active civil society in the countryside look different today than historically. However, both the narrative and the material conditions in the last 30 years have indicated a decline in Anderslöv. The attempt to reformulate demands in response to contemporary needs is shaped by fragments of the past as formulated in the quote above. This is contributing to people still becoming "Eldsjälar", although in a lower frequency than before. The renewal of the Park, was abruptly disturbed by the arson in January 2022, which will be the topic of the next chapter.

5.4 2022 -

5.4.1 The Narrative: Rosenhagen was burned to the ground.

In the night between the 22nd and 23rd of January 2022 a silhouette passed by on the surveillance camera of the company located on the other side of the road from Rosenhagen. Ten minutes later the same silhouette was passing by again but in the other direction. 40 minutes later there was a full fire in the main building of the park. The fire was detected by a neighbor, who works part-time as a fire fighter. He called 112 and hurried to the fire station to get the fire truck. It was already too late; the building could not be saved and was burned down to the ground. The police investigation states that there was flammable fluid found on site, but since there was no more evidence, the police dropped the investigation without any suspects (Trelleborgs Allehanda 2023-01-22).

This was not the first time that there were acts of vandalism in the park. In recent years, there have been at least three incidents involving fire and vandalism (Trelleborgs Allehanda 2022-01-22). For instance, in 2020 there was one incident with a fire nearby a door of the main building, and one incident with smashed windows and graffiti of a swastika and the words "weed", "stop" and "saab" (Trelleborgs Allehanda 2020-06-27 p.8). After the arson in January 2022, the remaining smaller building has been subject to

vandalism, when someone in November 2022 shot 21 times with an air gun towards the windows (Trelleborgs Allehanda 2022-11-22 p. 4).

The insurance for the house which was burnt down in 2022 did not cover the costs to build a new house and it is still unclear exactly what will happen where the main building previously was standing. Initially local politicians from Trelleborg were promising funding for a new house, a promise that was withdrawn after a couple of months (Trelleborgs Allehanda 2023-01-22)



Figure 16. The ground where the main house used to be, 2022 (the author)

5.4.2 Memories: The trauma of the fire

In the remembrance of Rosenhagen, the fire had a strong emotional impact. The informants expressed experiences of sorrow and grief:

Rosenhagen has meant a lot, I mean I grew up in it. My mother and father were heavily involved in it, both in the board, kitchen, ticket sales and the whole thing, mother and father knew practically everyone who came there, and it was their topic of conversation on Sundays, as soon as he woke up he got ready and went for his round in the Park and checked

everything, and then they started talking "oh did you see him, yeah he was also in the kitchen, yeah he came there", they had plenty to discuss about this all Sunday, it went on the whole week and then it was Saturday again, and it started all over again and they got a lot out of it, and of course it rubbed off on me too, I was also a part of Rosenhagen and have been heavily involved too [...] I can almost see how mother and father turned in their graves when it happened because it was their everything (1A)

It hurts when you walk past, people were crying when it burned, and I get stomachache when I think about it (5A).

I think it was terrible when it burned, I will never forgive him, or them. It's sacrilege, really. I thought it was terrible. It's a place you've been going to since you were a child and then suddenly, it's just ashes! (3A)

It became very emotional because many of us firefighters had memories from there. So, it was quite a big thing (7D).

At the same time, no one I have met has shared accusations or thoughts about who it could have been that committed the arson. Everyone thought it was either a pyromaniac or "youths doing what youth do".

The ones still active in the Park are, despite the fire, not falling into a melancholic apathy. There are events planned, and the association has been growing in the recent year with new members, as well as older active members that are coming back, as informant 8 expressed:

There are those who are involved mostly because of history, that their parents were involved, and they still have a relationship with the Park as a memory, and then there are people who are involved because they see opportunities and want to create something new. So now, when we have started talking about doing our own events and music arrangements and concerts again, those who have been interested in these things have joined because they want to be involved in developing that activity, so to speak, [...] For me it's much about expanding the range of activities in the village, right? We don't need to compete with what already exists, but rather to provide what's missing (8A).

In the last section of this chapter, the memories of loss and the shaping of the future will be analyzed.

5.4.3 Analysis: Moving on

In one way the fire is difficult to contextualize since it is such an extreme event. In another way it would not be wrong to argue that the arson and the vandalism that Rosenhagen has been subject to in recent years is an amplification of processes already going on since 1975. The loss of the dance hurt the Park association, and the fire was the crescendo of the very same loss. The fire hurt the community in Anderslöv and sparked the process of collecting the memories of Rosenhagen and writing down the history of the place. It has not led to the members giving up their vision for their Park. The last quote in section 5.3.3 points towards there already prior to the fire was a sense of loss within the association, which required a return to the original idea – a house for the people.

A house is never just a house, houses do not remember by themselves, houses need their people. In Rosenhagen there are people to remember and mobilize the past for the future. The rich history of the house, together with the living memories of the Park which have been discussed in the previous sections of the chapter are all contributing to the resilience of Rosenhagen when the disastrous fire happened. The people in Anderslöv, just because they are there, and they are now, believe that it is possible to create an important and enjoyable place for the community in the village and will continue to strive to make it happen. In the contemporary conditions of Anderslöv they are constructing a collective memory to improve the community, although the conditions sometimes are not to their advantage. When the insurance and politicians could not help them rebuild the house, they must recreate the place by themselves and for themselves.

6. Conclusion & Discussion

This thesis was written with two aims. Firstly, it aimed to contribute with a scientific perspective to the remembrance of Rosenhagen. With the historical narrative, as well as the interviews and collection of memories, the trajectory of the People's Park in Anderslöv has been traced back to the start in 1930. In the beginning, the Park was home to the labor movement, to dancing and to civil society. As time passed, the labor movement fell away, followed by the cessation of public dance events and, gradually, the decline of civil society. This has not meant the end of the association, Rosenhagen is today a continuation of a historical place and at the same time vastly different place. Changes in the geographical context of Anderslöv have meant changes to Rosenhagen too, which has contributed to how the Park is remembered. The second aim was to formulate theoretical arguments on how Rosenhagen's past is mobilized to shape its future. Through the theoretical lens, which emphasizes the emergence of collective memories from social processes and their dependency on place and time, the relationship between history, memories, and the community has been analyzed. The questions set out to be answered were:

- Who is keeping the memories of Rosenhagen alive, for whom and for what purpose?
- How is the community around Rosenhagen engaging with its past and what obstacles and opportunities does this lead to when shaping the future of the place?

In the analysis of the results, several arguments were made to answer the research questions. The memories of Rosenhagen are constructed by the community in Anderslöv within their present frames of reference and are engaged with in various ways to motivate further engagement with the place. The passed down memories of the labor movement were identified as fragile and not dominating in the collective engagement with the past. This result also showed that the social democratic labor movement is *not* keeping the memories of their past alive, also on larger scales than the Park, through for instance the closure of the archives in Trelleborg and the difficulties accessing historical documentation. Changes in the political and social geography of Anderslöv have led to transformed frames of reference, in relation to a time when it was more favorable to be associated with Social Democracy. This has made the memory of the labor movement less opportune in contemporary creation of the Park. Instead, the dominant memorial narratives revolve around regular people creating a Park on voluntary basis and

cohesively positive memories of enjoyment in the Park intertwined with the recollection of a strong community, and remembering the Park being an important place both for artists and people from, and beyond, Anderslöv to visit. In the context of the peripheral countryside, and when being produced as a forgotten or left behind place, these memories are mobilized in a productive direction, where community involvement is remembered as an important component of the creation of Rosenhagen. The past is therethrough contributing to the formulation of contemporary needs in the village. The arson was a disaster, but it has not stopped members of the Park association continuing to strive for a place where social relations are constituted by collective effort for the collective good of the villagers.

Through the results and analysis, the thesis has contributed to knowledge about places and their past. Specifically, the focus has been directed towards a People's Park in Anderslöv, but since the Park is not an isolated entity in time or in space, the thesis can be situated in a wider context than Rosenhagen. The People's Park movement has a long and rich history (cf. chapter 2.1), and this thesis has contributed to the understanding of how that history is remembered and utilized today in a place with an active Park association. Due to the importance of the People's Parks in the development of Swedish society, it is of high relevance to know how these places functions today and in what way they can function in the future. Furthermore, Rosenhagen is situated in the social, political, and economic context of the Scanian countryside (cf. chapter 2.2). Accordingly, the thesis is an intervention into the complexity of relating to the past in the peripheries. Anderslöv has, like many other places in the countryside, experienced processes leading to shifting character between peripheral and central, urbanity and rurality, acknowledged and neglected, remembered and forgotten. This makes the thesis a contribution to knowledge about the mobilization of the past in this context.

The mobilization of the past is a powerful tool to activate people. Neither the past nor the place determines the direction and outcome of this activation; it is up to the people.

Epilogue

Writing this thesis has been both a demanding and rewarding project. The people I have met, the material I have read, and the rich history of People's Parks, as well as the village of Anderslöv, have continuously triggered my curiosity. At times, it has been difficult to delimit the scope of the thesis and to determine which sidetracks are relevant to the research. In this study the focus has been directed towards the conflict dimension between the people in the Park and larger societal and structural processes which are leaving the countryside behind. It has been argued that the people in Anderslöv are striving to be remembered, to be recognized as important and to improve life where they are situated. This abstraction has blurred some of the sociological differences within the community, which have not been highlighted but could be the focus for future research. The history that has been written in this thesis can be read as universalistic and it would be fruitful to analyze who is not feeling welcomed in the Park, who is excluded from this landscape and why that is. To research this, more time at hand would be necessary. By getting to know the community better, stories and memories which have not been found by me could be explored. An interesting approach for future research would be to incorporate a People's House or Park which is situated in an urban context into the analysis. Historically, geographically spread-out Parks have been highly interconnected and cooperated when needed. To what extent is connectivity achievable today? How can people situated in vastly different contexts effectively communicate and collaborate to strengthen one another? Are their needs similar?

On a last, but very important note, I would like to thank everyone who made this research possible. Most thanks to the community in Anderslöv for participating in this study, for sharing their memories and for continuing to create a People's Park in Anderslöv. I also want to thank Tomas Germundsson for insightful supervision and Johan Pries, Erik Jönsson, Vanessa Schmidt, Emily Bronstorp and Klara Thörn for reading and discussing this project with me.

Appendices

Appendix 1

This appendix expands the explanation of the statistics presented in the Maps and Tables 1 & 2

The statistical choropleth maps (Map 2, 3, 4) are divided into Demographical Statistical Areas (Demografiska Statistikområden, DeSO). DeSo is a geographical representation of statistics that has been developed by SCB and divides the map into areas with between 700 and 2700 inhabitants. The representation is stable over time and done to be able to see differences within municipalities and regions. The division is based on agglomerations of populations as well as geographical contexts such as election districts, streets, or railroads (2023). This creates a good spatial representation of the statistics when comparing different places in southwest Scania. The data was derived from SCB via GET (Geodata Extraction Tool). The method used to divide and classify the data is Natural Breaks (Jenks). This algorithm divides the data into classes and groups values that are close to each other. This creates a representation which is aiming at large differences between classes and small differences within classes (Ballas et al., 2017) which is sufficient for the data representing different places in Scania. In the maps there are 10 classes, which can appear as many. However, the purpose is to show differences between places on the map which makes 10 classes an efficient amount.

Map 3 shows the share of the population (25-64) with 3 or more years education after the gymnasium, usually university but also other forms of education. The share was calculated by dividing the absolute number of persons with 3 or more years un education after gymnasium in the field “eftergymn3” with “total” population in the area.

Map 4 shows the spatial distribution of median income in Scania. Median income is calculated on income for household per consumption unit. Consumption unit is a measurement developed by SCB to measure purchasing power according to the composition of the household. This measurement considers if it is a single household and how many children there are in the household to get a more accurate representation of the purchasing power of the household (*Disponibel inkomst per konsumtionsenhet för hushåll 20–64 år efter hushållstyp 2020*, n.d.).

Map 5 shows the share of population (20-64) in employment. The share was calculated through dividing the absolute numbers of working persons in the field “Forvarb” with the field “Totalt” with the absolute number of total persons in the area.

Map 6 shows the share of people voting for the Swedish Democrats. This map is divided into election areas (valkrets), which is the smallest unit in which votes are counted. The method used to classify the data is Natural selection (Jenks), which is explained above.

Table 1 & 2 shows the election results in Anderslöv in the general elections 1932 and 2022. Here follows a short explanation of the different parties to enlighten readers without prior knowledge about the political parties in Sweden. The political party “Kommunisterna” in Table 1 represent the “kilbom-fraction” of the Swedish communist party. “Kommunisterna” (Table 1) was later renamed to “Vänsterpartiet” (Table 2) and is today a socialist left-wing party. “Socialdemokraterna” is the Social Democratic party in 1932 and 2022. “Bondeförbundet” (Table 1) was later renamed to “Centerpartiet” (Table 2). The party was established to represent farmers and is in 2022 liberal party. “Frisinnade” and “Liberalerna” (Table 1) were later united and named “Liberalerna” (Table 2) and is a liberal party. “Höger” (Table 1) was renamed “Moderaterna” (Table 2) and is a conservative and liberal right-wing party. “Miljöpartiet” (Table 2) is the green party which was established in 1981. “Kristdemokraterna” (Table 2) a Christian Democratic party, established in 1964. The party has a conservative and social character. “Swedish Democrats” (Table 2) is a national conservative and rightwing populist party that was established in 1988 by nazis. Table 1 was created by manually extracting statistics from SCB (1933). Table 2 was created by manually extracting data from the election authorities webpage (Valmyndigheten, 2022).

Appendix 2

Intervjuguide Anderslövs Folkets Park

Introduktion

Presentation av mig, min del i projektet och syftet med forskningen.

Informera om deltagande i forskning, anonymitet och vad materialet kommer att användas till.

Bakgrundsinformation om intervjudperson

- Namn, koppling till Rosenhagen
- Hur länge var du aktiv i Rosenhagen? Vilken roll hade du och vad innebar det?

Minnen av Parken

- Vad kan du berätta om viktiga händelser i Rosenhagens historia? Finns det några händelser du minns extra mycket?
- Vet du när olika delar av Rosenhagen byggdes eller renoverades? Vad fanns det för anledningar till detta? Hur genomfördes renoveringarna?
- Vad har skett i parken som är extra viktigt att minnas?

Drivkrafter

- Hur kom det sig att du blev aktiv i Rosenhagen och fick den roll du hade?
- Kan du berätta om vem som deltog i Rosenhagens aktiviteter?
- Vem hade möjlighet att arrangera saker på Rosenhagen?
- Vad har medlemmar fått ut av att vara med i Rosenhagen?
- Fanns det några speciella händelser som förde de aktiva på Rosenhagen närmare varandra eller som splittrade er?
- Har det funnits situationer då ni har känt er motarbetade i parken? Har någon tyckt att man borde göra något annat än att driva en folkets park?

Nu och framöver

- Vad tycker du att folk idag kan lära sig av eran historia?
- Varför är det viktigt att vi minns Rosenhagens historia?
- Hur påverkar minnen av parken aktiviteterna i parken idag?

Avslut

- Finns det något du vill tillägga?

Reference list

Archival sources

Interviews are presented in Table 3. The reference used in the text is indicated within the brackets [...].

Anderslöv's People's House association, Local archive

Protocol book 1: 1930 – 1936 [PB 1]

Protocol book 2: 1936 – 1939 [PB 2]

Annual Reports: 1930 – 1935, 1944, 1953 – 1954, 1957, 1974 – 1981, 1983 – 1990 [AR YEAR]

Anderslöv's Labor Commune

Not available in an archive. The protocols I have read were photos of the protocols sent to me from a genealogist that I met during the research process. They included one page where People's Park was discussed, and one page with people to nominate for the election to the local parliament. Dates are unknown. [ALC]

UB Vardagstryck

Annual Reports: 1942, 1943, 1945 [AR YEAR]

Original statues 1930 [UB 1930]

Anderslöv Museum

Exhibition material, photos, archive. [Anderslöv Museum]

Journals

from *Kungliga Biblioteket, National library of Sweden*; “Digitilized Archive Swedish Newspapers”, and *Retriever* “Research Media Archive”.

Arbetet 1930-04-28

Arbetet 1932-04-04

Arbetet 1933-26-08

Arbetet 1953-04-28

Trelleborgs Allehanda 1962-10-31

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