



“What is the Real Sweden?” Backstage Negotiations in the Process of Identity Authentication With(in) the Context of Family History Television

By
Karen Ann Blom

Abstract

Swedish-Americans' interest in Family History reflects a larger phenomenon of increased interest in history and the past in general. The Swedish reality Family History television programme *Allt för Sverige* is one example that advertises to potential Swedish-American contestants the ability to learn not only their family history, but about Sweden and Swedish culture through physical experiences in Sweden. *Allt för Sverige* presents a specific scripted Swedish identity, that earlier studies have examined from the Goffmanian frontstage, the broadcasted public presentation, marking the prevalence of a primordial discourse informing and delimiting national belonging. Participant studies of reality television programmes in general are few and those which do exist tend to have a top-down, patriarchal focus on the exploitation of contestants. From the theoretical perspective of Goffman's dramaturgical model and concepts of Front and Backstage this article looks behind the curtain to the backstage, examining participants' negotiations with the presented scripted identity of *Allt för Sverige*. Participant's negotiations as expressed through their narratives collected from semi-structured interviews are analysed through Hall's analytical framework of encoding/decoding and perceived as part of a process of authentication of identity. Researchers have argued the potential for family history television to challenge norms and single authoritative depictions effectively democratizing historical knowledge. This article argues that to understand this potential we need to observe a phenomenon from multiple perspectives. Hence, analysing backstage negotiations of participants, going beyond what is edited for television audiences, is essential to understanding *Allt för Sverige* as a whole and part of identity construction and authentication. The results reveal participants often reject narratives of nostalgia and question the authenticity of the presented identity script.

Keywords: Family History, Identity, Script, Swedish-Americans, Allt för Sverige

Blom, Karen Ann “What is the Real Sweden?” Backstage Negotiations in the Process of Identity Authentication With(in) the Context of Family”, Culture Unbound, Volume 15, No 2, 2023: 22-44. Published by Linköping University Electronic Press: <http://www.cultureunbound.ep.liu.se> <https://doi.org/10.3384/cu.4113>



Introduction

KA

Was Sweden like you expected it to be?

Elias

The show helped [it to] be [what I expected], I think.

Of course, they tried to bring in things from modern Sweden,

but a lot of the show is that romanticised version of Sweden, you know?

Like they try to show you how it was and the traditions.

And then I remember people commenting on social media,

“they’re not showing you the real Sweden.” You know? I was like,

“What is the real Sweden?” Are you meaning this ideal concept?

In my mind, they showed me exactly what I wanted to see.

In the above excerpt Elias describes his reaction to social media critique during his participation as a contestant on *Allt för Sverige* (official English title *Great Swedish Adventure*) an award winning Swedish family history reality television programme that recruits “ordinary” Americans with Swedish heritage to travel to Sweden for the first time, participate in activities to learn about Sweden and Swedish culture while competing for the ultimate prize: a family reunion with Swedish relatives (Meter-Television 2020). This format contrasts with other Family History programmes which focus on celebrities and reality television whose prize is of monetary value. Elias’ rhetorical question and response to, “what is the real Sweden?” highlights more than his understanding of what Sweden “is” or the multiplicity of identity. It draws attention to the use of the television to portray a specific identity of Sweden and what it means to be “Swedish,” as well as the questioning of this identity by the individuals with(in) this portrayal and the process of authentication which takes place behind the public-/ised frontstage.

Elias’ quote suggests the broadcasted presentation is not the “whole picture” but one imbued with essentialist, political, and institutional objectives. It reveals that contestants do not blindly accept constructed scripted identities presented, but have the capability to contest, reject, renegotiate, the script. The backstage perspective provides an unusually explicit and therefore suitable example of how, when, and why an “ordinary” person escapes the control of the media production which originally has provided it with a voice. This is made possible through the increased access and flow of information through various forms of media since they allow the contestants to know that there is a Sweden “beyond” the official script, and to express and renegotiate their own script-breaking geographic concepts to a large audience (through social media or other online exchanges). This examination of the backstage is not limited to *Allt för Sverige* and this case

study but reflects a larger trend of the “ordinary” being made celebrity, increased freedom and flow of information threatening traditional media outlets control, and, for better or worse in the age of “fake news”, medias’ curating abilities. Consequently this study and its examination of previous contestants descriptions of experiences backstage in relation to the presented scripted identity of *Allt för Sverige* is relevant and an appropriate example for the present day.

The concepts of *frontstage* and *backstage* originate in Goffman’s (1990) social theory that life could be understood in theatrical terms. Frontstage behaviour is what is public, on display and in the case of *Allt för Sverige*, the product or broadcasted presentation. Previous research specifically about *Allt för Sverige* have provided valuable insights into the mediated presentation of Family History. These studies provide a valuable look at the expression of the popular interest in Family History in consumable mass entertainment. Hjorthén’s (2017) cultural-historical analysis of *Allt för Sverige*’s seasons one to five pointed out the predominance of a primordial discourse or a (latent) national belonging based on biological requirements. Examining the “representations of history, culture, and family through images, text and sound” (commenting on dated cultural references) Hjorthén analyses how “blood is imagined as a transmitter of culture” (2017: 128). He further notes the token inclusion of contemporary immigrants in Sweden and staged culture clashes with the “Americans” delimitating further the exclusion from the collective (imagined) Swedish identity. Likewise, Klareld’s (2022) study examines season nine as a social text. Analysing participant statements from the broadcasted show to reveal what family history means to them, Klareld employs Saar’s (2017) use of genealogy as a theoretical entry point to understand oneself, spatiality, and continuity. Genealogy,¹ she argues, is not neutral but requires judgement and evaluations of ancestral actions. Klareld found that *Allt för Sverige* portrayed the knowledge of these ancestors as a “valuable asset” and expressed as a specific type of story resulting in revelations, knowledge-sharing, and a purpose for the future. While both Hjorthén (2017) and Klareld (2022) include citations from participants, these are from the final “cut,” the narrative of the produced broadcast.

However, does the broadcasted frontstage present a “true” picture of individuals’ experiences and negotiations of this script? I argue that focusing only on the production, the complexity of the individual and the nuances of effect of *Allt för Sverige*’s script is hidden. I turn from the frontstage production, a “social history repackaged for public consumption” (Donnelly & Shaw 2020: 49) and look backstage in this study as, “the places where the camera is not focused at the moment or all the places out of range of ‘live’ microphones” (Goffman, 1990, p. 121). Backstage, for Goffman, is where individuals let their guard down, forgo performing what they think is expected, and is the space in which negotiations

and dissonance can take place. While much information can be gained from the frontstage, I argue that it remains a condensed, manicured, scripted “cut” of contestants’ experiences of what was in some cases weeks of filming into a maximum of eight hours of final production. In other words, the frontstage product does not relay the contestants’ full un-edited experience and opinions.

For Swedish-American contestants there are four levels of negotiation with who/what represents Sweden and Swedishness while on set in Sweden. First is the official scripted version represented by the website, the programme leader-led “Swedish School” and cultural-historical activities/competitions planned, presenting in a sense a Swedish cultural canon flavoured with the nostalgic folk culture ideals. Second is their interactions with the television crew: the production team who have more power to direct the “script” and the technical crew who are involved in the production but have not the same decision-making power. Third is contestants’ encounters with Swedes in the everyday ordinary, not related to *Allt för Sverige*’s filming, and the fourth is with each other, other Swedish-American contestants. These negotiations and encounters both confirm and contradict each other, and it is within these negotiations that the contestant builds an understanding of Sweden, Swedish culture, and identity. While additional factors, such as previous experiences with and knowledge of reality television programmes, are negotiated and have the potential to influence contestant’s perceptions and expectations, this article will not include this in the analysis, focusing specifically on the negotiations of the scripted identity of Sweden/Swedishness.

Contestants’ voice and agency to negotiate these encountered versions of Sweden and Swedishness is highlighted in this study. Contestants’ own understandings, experiences, and process of authentication of such identity and family history is explored through their narratives collected through questionnaires and following semi-structured interviews. As a participant I call Sebastian said during their interview, “remember that what you see on tv is just a little smidgen of what you’re really going through during that whole time,” underscoring that *Allt för Sverige* provides only one of the many possible narratives. This narrative could be argued as critically limited, projecting specific politicised perspectives of the past, Swedish society and culture today, and disregarding individual agency.

Theoretical framework

All the world’s a stage,
And all the men and women merely players

(Shakespeare 2000: 27)

While *Allt för Sverige* is, as Sebastian acknowledges, a “smidgen” of the “real world,” Goffman (1990) views the social world as a stage, as Shakespeare wrote, with individuals playing alternating and interacting roles. Goffman’s (1990) dramaturgical model employs these theatrical terminologies to describe the interactions and performances of individuals in different arenas of life.

Social interactional behaviours and roles, according to Goffman (1990), are directed or governed by (but not necessarily always following) a script which regulates expectations and setting. The presented script is intended to inform how individuals should/could (re)act in varying contexts. It is in the “reading” of the script that individuals skilfully negotiate, create meaning, assess, and authenticate behaviour and objects (Hall 1983, Hochschild 1997). While scripts are often associated with a formalized version that actors use verbatim, such as in television productions, Goffman points out that we use scripts in our day-to-day activities as well. An example is the interaction between a server and customer within a restaurant. There are set expectations for behaviour and conversation between these two individuals that are social norms in that specific cultural context.

Observing that the same server and customer would act differently depending on where they are situated (in the restaurant vs in the back, or kitchen) and who they are with (work colleagues, strangers, or friends). Goffman divides these social interactions into different regions or stages which may in some cases overlap. The frontstage² is often institutionalised, formal and as in the case of *Allt för Sverige*, becomes a selected “collective representation” where individuals adhere to conventions knowing they are being watched (Goffman 1990: 37). In contrast, the backstage is an informal space away from the audiences’ (and camera’s) eye, where one can be their “true self,” and where tension or resistance to the presented script can take place. This performance is not always a conscious or intentional manipulation of impressions and is seen in this study through the relaying of previously undisclosed information regarding participant’s negotiations of the specified scripted behaviours. As Goffman recognised, these regions/stages are culturally impacted and thus the presentation of self in the everyday life varies accordingly.

Goffman in later publications describes script as an example of a social frame projecting the will/aim of institutions and reflecting a “normative” expectation of prescribed involvement (Goffman 1974, Persson 2019). The power and choice of the production team to direct the experiences *Allt för Sverige* contestants is expressed by the participant Leo. He noted the lack of the ‘mean-spirited’ competitiveness of other reality shows stating the production team were, “very intentional. They could have made it that if they wanted to, but they don’t want that...so some credit goes to the way that they do it and set it up.” This statement reflects Goffman’s argument that scripts are influenced by previous experiences. Leo’s comparison to other reality shows presents a further level of negotiation than

those previously mentioned revealing the complexity and multiplicity individuals engage with in social interactions.

Allt för Sverige presents a script of a specific Swedish culture and identity as “true” or “authentic.” The participant Noah notes that *Allt för Sverige* is “a national treasure...because it preserves Sweden in its own diaspora... reach[ing] into new generations.” While perceiving the positive nature of including “new generations” his comment also highlights the problematic nature of preserving a specific culture (and identity) as canonical constructing the view of Sweden and Swedish culture as unchanging and stagnant. This article utilizes Goffman’s theoretical concepts to examine the backstage negotiations of previous contestants from *Allt för Sverige* noting that for participants negotiating the script goes beyond the frontstage and camera’s gaze.

Family History and Television

As Klareld wrote, *Allt för Sverige* “may promote its audience’s interest in family history but it did not create it” (2022:5). Interest in Family History has grown exponentially, especially since the introduction of direct-to-consumer genetic tests in 1990s resulting in a myriad of consumable products including Family History television, however, the academic response in terms of research has not matched this pace.

A desire for belonging, a search for identity and “home” for seeking specific places related to ancestors was found as motivation for ancestral tourism with tourists valuing everyday objects as equal to if not more significant than official monuments and memorials by researchers Mehtiyeva and Prince (2020) and Alexander et al (2017). *Allt för Sverige* responds to this motivation and interest, providing a type of tourist experience for contestants (and audience), noting it, “Showcas[es] everyday Americans as they journey throughout Sweden to discover their land, roots and cultural heritage” (Meter-Television 2020). Presenting a specific form of Swedish cultural canon, *Allt för Sverige* includes tangible (e.g. traditional clothing) and intangible (e.g. traditional skills such as ploughing a field) cultural heritage with and through which contestants are meant to engage with or as they say “discover” and essentially learn how to be a Swede.

While individuals seek belonging and identity of “self”, the influence and power of the interest in mediated Family History is also recognised at the institutional level. Ancestral tourism is recognised as, “one of the most significant socio-cultural and economic forces today” (Timothy 2008: 118) with governments and socio-cultural institutions acknowledging the constructing “soft power” of media involving ancestral tourism aspect, such as *Allt för Sverige*, as contributing

to positively marketing “the nation” (Larochelle 2019, Thelen et al 2020). This marketing involves the scripted presentation of identity.

Syvertsen (2001), identified the importance of the study of television participation as crucial as media becomes increasingly, “something to do” rather than just “something to watch” (319). Yet, despite the wide array of reality television studies, few focus on the participants/contestants. The studies which do have this focus tend to present a “top down,” paternalistic perspective of both the programmes and participants (Salamon 2010: 142, Ruehlicke 2019). The majority, Patterson (2015) reiterates, analyse specific shows, audiences, or power relations neglecting the perspectives of contestants, and those studies that do include these perspectives tend to have a focus on contestants’ exploitation and resulting “fall outs.”

Research that has examined Family History television has problematized the construction and perpetuation of concepts within presented scripts such as ethnicity, race, gender (Scodari 2013), and nationality (Hunt 2006) in frontstage productions, with researchers arguing participation is used as a tool to confirm, develop and join an (arguably) dominant/hegemonic (national and/or cultural) identity (Hunt 2006, Kramer 2011). Other researchers have explored how Family History and Family History Television, has contributed positively to public and social histories by empowering micro-narratives and highlighting the use and development of historical consciousness and empathy by family historians (Shaw 2020, Shaw & Donnelly, 2021a, Shaw & Donnelly 2021b, Shaw 2021). And Lunt’s (2017) study of the television show *Who Do You Think You Are?* argues that the analysis of Family History television contributes to the understanding of genealogy as a social practice and media representation of the relations between history and memory.

This study recognises *Allt för Sverige*, representative of Family History research, as a social practice and link between history, memory, and cultural heritage, and examines participants’ backstage negotiations providing an alternative perspective to previous frontstage studies.

A product of “self” through a process of authentication

Learning about one’s Family History and embracing the cultural historical aspects which are connected to this history becomes a process of authentication and production of “self” and “others” as much as a production of a family tree. The use of history or the past for purposes of identity and belonging within the present is a common theme in earlier research (e.g. Lowenthal 1985, Lowenthal 2012). Historical references through written text, images, tangible, and intangible culture in speech, acted or re-enacted in behaviours can be used in a variety of ways to

reason or argue in the process of authentication, verifying someone or something and their claim to authenticity and “truth.” Authenticity and truth are highly subjective and based on people’s perspective which vary (Darlington 2020). What is perceived as “authentic” for one person in one moment may not be “authentic” for another. Moreover, this perception of authenticity is dynamic and may differ for each person over time as their horizons of understanding adjust and adapt through lived experiences. Therefore, focusing on the *process* rather than the product allows space for this variance. This approach has been explored through heritage tourism and is applicable to this and arguably many other instances (see for example Bucholtz 2003, Cohen & Cohen 2012).

Allt för Sverige presents a scripted identity that emphasises a primordial (or based on biology/genetics) inheritance and “belonging” (see Hjorthén 2017). This primordial argument Hunt believes reflects a “millennial spirit of introspective self-doubt over questions of national identity... European integration, accelerating immigration, and a resurgent English nationalism” (2006: 844). Critics and sceptics of commercialized genealogy link this desire for identity to *Blut und Boden* (blood and soil), *Heimat* (homeland), and blood quantum which they perceive as “exclusionary, ethnocentric and reactionary” (Guelke & Timothy 2008: 3). Arguably, however, this perception of genealogy is not of the “new” Family History that has moved from seeking prestige and pedigrees of the past to the contemporary “ordinary” person whose lineages often reveal hybridity (Guelke & Timothy 2008). Moreover, this criticism of genealogy neglects to consider the agency of the individual. Despite scripted presentations of primordial inheritance and belonging, Edge (2017) asserted that individuals have the agency to resist these presentations. Furthermore, it has been argued that given the opportunity, Family History television has the potential to democratize historical knowledge and interrogate the presentation of a single authoritative depiction of family life in the past (Hunt 2006, Evans 2015).

So, what are participants’ perspectives? How do they use their agency to position themselves using historical-cultural references to build connections, a sense of belonging, of identity in an argument for value and authenticity? It is important to remember that forgetting and rejecting presented images and historical references is as important and interesting as that of embracing and remembering.

Sample and Method

Allt för Sverige, an award-winning “reality” television programme with the ultimate prize of winning a family reunion, was chosen as a reflection of the popularity of Swedish family history research media, with the focus on “ordinary” people

and their agency within this context. Inspired by Norwegian predecessor *Alt for Norge* (<https://www.facebook.com/altfor norge/>) *Allt för Sverige* recruits Swedish Americans who have never travelled to Sweden prior to compete in challenges that place value on physical/mental skill and/or the reproduction/remembering or performance of the Swedish culture that is taught. Further casting requirements, reflecting this study's participants, include a balance of ages (< 70 years), a variety of occupations and socio-economic backgrounds, and an "outgoing personality that would make a good impression on TV" (Thorsell 2014, Ljung 2019). More importantly, as the show's genealogists point out, contestants should not have extensive information about their family history, "as the idea for the program is ... to come to Sweden to find their origins, not just to confirm what they already know" (Stark 2013: 8). In other words, for many contestants their first interaction with Sweden and Swedish culture is through *Allt för Sverige* and thus is an interesting case to examine for the construction and process of authentication of identity.

Sixteen prior participants (eight female/ eight male) from seasons one to eight were requested to submit three-five photos with an online questionnaire of what they felt represented themselves for use in the semi-structured interview. Interviews were conducted using the online platforms of Zoom and Facebook Messenger, engaging in photo-elicitation (Harper 2002)³ based on the photos and questionnaires submitted. The interview was guided by themes: place, identity, and family history and asked questions such as, "how would you describe Swedishness" and "In what way if any, does where you are now or where your ancestors have been define who you are?" The interview atmosphere was informal and allowed participants the freedom to bring up their own interests and concerns - which they did frequently. All participants elaborated upon the questions and themes raised, often going "off-track" to relay unrelated life stories and intimate details. Interviews were between one and three hours. I have chosen to focus on the information provided which is within the scope of the study to facilitate a comparison between informants. The data was analysed according to reoccurring patterns which were reorganised several times to note overlapping themes. Hall's (2006) model of encoding/decoding is used to organise narratives drawn from participants' interviews to examine how the scripted identity of *Allt för Sverige* is encoded, presented, engaged with (decoded), and reacted to. Individuals either perceive the script as a) confirmation, b) almost "truth" but negotiate-noting exceptions, or c) oppose the script creating tension and dissonance (Hall 2006: 172-173). Participants within the television programme itself have the opportunity of directly engaging with the script (re)production and therefore have a unique perspective. All participants are given pseudonyms for confidentiality purposes.⁴

Finns det hjärterum så finns det stjärterum / *If there's room in your heart, there'll be room for an ass*⁵

The Presented Script

Before their acceptance as contestants, Americans apply through the website “Great Swedish Adventure.” *Allt för Sverige* requires contestants to have never travelled to Sweden so, while contestants have varied levels of experience and knowledge of Sweden/Swedish culture, the application website and programme itself acts as an authoritative entry point to and claims to provide a representative “snapshot” of the “real” Sweden and Swedish identity.

What is the “real” Sweden though? Stereotypes of Sweden and Swedes are prevalent, as various websites will attest to including *Nordic Perspective* (Andersson 2022) that has collected data from various sources including a 2019 poll from ebeach.se travel agency. Andersson reports that many believe that there are IKEA stores on every corner, polar bears/reindeer in the streets and ABBA on every loudspeaker. Swedes, Andersson (2022) reports, are perceived as blond and blue-eyed, sexually promiscuous yet socially reserved, are often on sun holidays and drunk, are secularised, democratic and love to eat meatballs and fish in various forms (fermented herring-*surströmming*, fish paste in toothpaste-like tubes, or dried fish rehydrated in *lye-lutfisk*). Swedes drive Volvo or Saab cars but are also climate conscious, a modern nation maintaining historical traditions. Moreover, Swedes and Sweden are often associated with the stories of Astrid Lindgren, most well-known outside of Sweden for Pippi Longstocking and the idyllic small village countryside of Sweden portrayed through this and Lindgren's other stories. According to Astrid Lindgren Company's website Pippi has been translated into 77 languages (Astrid Lindgren Company 2022) so arguably is well known around the world. How does *Allt för Sverige's* depiction compare?

The official *Allt för Sverige* website is representative of the same scripted identity which is later presented on the television programme. Juxtaposing Sweden to the United States, the website motivates *Allt för Sverige* as a type of social experiment stating that, “[s]ince America has such a strong impact on the world through its politics, financial institutions, television, film, fashion, and culture *it will be interesting to turn the tables and bring people back to their Swedish roots*” (Meter-Television 2020: emphasis added). Potential American candidates are described as “fun, outgoing”, “adventurous”, with “Swedish ancestry (even a little bit counts⁶), with a burning desire to find their roots and see their motherland” (Meter-Television 2020). Americans are told they will have a once in a lifetime opportunity to, “journey throughout Sweden to discover *their* land, roots and cultural heritage” which they are told is a “*new* land and culture” (Meter-Television 2020: emphasis added). The rhetoric used emphasises both a possessive belonging

(“*their* land” “*their* Swedish roots”), an intense emotional connection (“burning desire”), while simultaneously noting that it is unfamiliar and new.

Allt för Sverige’s website writes very little about Sweden or Swedish identity however what it does present *visually* reflects the opening citation from Elias and his reflection of the romanticised Swedish identity. There is a series of four photos presented on the page that portray a dominant/hegemonic version of Swedish identity. These are entitled, “rich and fascinating Swedish cultural heritage” (Meter-Television 2020) with three out of the four depicting the traditional celebration of Midsummer. A blonde, blue-eyed, white woman, a red and white wooden summer cottage (*stuga*), raising of the maypole in the rain, dancing people in traditional costumes, traditional foods of eggs, potatoes, flatbread and alcohol, a statue of a cow with a political message of “fair/equitable milk” symbolising the social welfare state as key features of the larger Swedish culture. These four photos are representative of the larger portrayal of the “type” of identity that *Allt för Sverige* presents, a specific script of a people group who maintain their rich cultural heritage through the performance of traditions and rituals such as raising the Maypole, dressing in traditional clothing, and eating traditional foods, while simultaneously modern in their approach to human rights and equality.

Setting of the Script

Allt för Sverige presents a repeated dramaturgical setting in each season and episode through which the socio-cultural script is embedded and presented. Starting with the first episode, the programme leader, Anders Lundin, welcomes home the contestants as they make a dramatic (rehearsed beforehand) entry into Sweden often with Swedish flags flying in the background. Participants of this study have expressed that while these are not scripted in detail- i.e., the production team does not instruct them to kiss the ground, but individuals do this and other emotional expressions on their own accord. Gustav in his interview relayed,

I really wanted to see where [my ancestors] were born, and I had heard the stories and I really wanted to do that and so when we crossed the line, I was very emotional, which was... kind of surprised me.

Each season, there are ten contestants (eleven in season 5). In each episode, a new place in Sweden is featured where contestants open a large sea chest (*Amerikakoffert*) that contains Swedish objects such as woollen socks, an ABBA music record, and a *dalahäst*, or horse ornament (banal symbols for Sweden and/or Swedishness (see Billig 1995)) that are intended to be clues for the day’s activities. Every episode includes learning about Swedish culture (language, history etc.)

specific to the setting they are in and ends with an elimination challenge (often based on the lesson and/or place). While there is one “winner” of the show, who wins is not necessarily the individual who is physically strongest, nor is it the individual who has remembered or learned the most. Rather, it is a combination and at times simply “luck of the draw.” The participants however, throughout their narratives noted they felt that they all have “won.” When eliminated, participants receive all the research the show’s genealogist found including a family tree and photos.

In addition, one common element which participants in this study spoke about as “life-changing”, eye-opening and turning points in their lives was receiving their “special day.” Contestants are presented with a mini chest containing photos and a letter with a story of their family history which they open at a place significant to their ancestor’s story. The viewer hears the letter/story read aloud but sees the individual reading it silently in a place of significance to their ancestral story. This individualised narrative within the collective identity and link to a personally significant place creates a confirmation of the individual’s cultural identity as a Swede and “belonging” to Sweden.

Breaking Script

The script dictates and shapes how individuals are meant to experience Sweden by presenting a cultural canon. Through “Swedish school” Anders Lundin explains parts of Swedish history and cultural norms such as *jantelagen* (no one is or should be better than anyone else), and traditional celebrations. This presents a prescribed reference of a Swedish identity and what it means to be Swedish. As Olivia, recalls:

I feel like we didn’t get the real Sweden if that makes any sense. Like when Anders would do our little lessons. A lot of that stuff they said like the production people were like, “no, we don’t believe that or that’s not really true. It’s not really what we do” ... so, maybe that was considered a generalization. Like, maybe Swedish people [in general] are really like this so then they kind of play that up on the show.

Olivia points out that “real Swedes”, the production people as she called them, had difficulty with the script of Swedishness presented by *Allt för Sverige* stating that it is not a true reflection of Sweden. Her narrative negotiates and tries to justify this objection by the crew, stating that in some way the script could still be authenticated, stating “I feel like they’re just like us, but they maybe have different ways of thinking...the ones that we were around were very reserved.” Reflecting on the scripted experience she notes that the programme “handpicked people

based on what they want[ed]” to emphasise the difference of cultures noting the stereotypical generalization of the loud, emotional American, echoing Hjorthén’s (2017) observation of staged culture clashes:

Americans are considered very loud, and they want you to go on the show and cry, they want you to have lots of emotion.... I think that’s maybe a generalization that Swedes have [about] Americans that they’re loud and emotional people but it is not what you see in America, you don’t see men crying and all these men on the show are crying.

What was not included informs about the script as much as what was included in the final broadcast. As previously mentioned, Sebastian noted during the interview that not all their experiences in Sweden and with *Allt för Sverige* were televised “remember what you see on tv is just a little smidgen of what you’re really going through during that whole time.” Astrid, another participant, also expressed her frustration that so much was not included in the final “cut” suggests that a “bloopers” segment should be also broadcast to reveal more of what happened behind scenes. Emphasising that what happened backstage and absent from the frontstage final broadcast she thought was meaningful for herself and others.

It was not however just that which was “cut” but also the contestants’ “days off” or hours before and after filming that was not revealed in the final broadcasted programme. Several participants relayed their desire to see the “real Sweden” and meet “real Swedes” and did so by various means. Their interactions with “real Swedes” caused reflection over the identity and information provided by *Allt för Sverige* by engaging with a Sweden/Swedishness that was not scripted by *Allt för Sverige*. Emma described going to the local grocery store so she “could watch actual people buying their groceries.” Remarking that on the programme they were taught that Swedes are “very stoic and very standoffish,” and that if Swedes did not speak to them, it is not because they were rude but simply being Swedish, Emma, like many others, disagreed. She argued that this was not reflective of her family, nor the Swedes encountered in the everyday ordinary. Emma argued that Swedes in the grocery store were very friendly and chatty and noted that many were making the same dish she made for dinner at home, tacos. Thus, emphasising their similarities or “sameness” rather than difference.

Similarly, Elsa, another participant, relayed an experience after a day of filming shopping at a second-hand store looking for a record which they had learnt about during the “Swedish School.” Elsa, accompanied by their castmate, upon relaying information about their relation to the record was promptly serenaded by the Swedes waiting in line singing the famous song, after which the two castmates were assisted with their purchases, offered a lift to their hotel, and were invited

to a stranger's home. This, as others relayed, was directly breaking the scripted identity of the restrained and reserved Swede. Not only were the "real Swedes" not "standoffish" but on the contrary they were overtly friendly and loud.

Confirmation through Cultural Heritage and Satellite Sweden

Participants in their interviews access the script presented by the programme through the expression of intangible (e.g. prayers) and tangible (e.g. photographs) cultural heritage. *Allt för Sverige* itself utilised tangible and intangible cultural entities as symbolic markers for Swedishness in both the official website and in broadcasting. The intangible cultural celebration of Midsummer and its adjacent tangible objects such as the wreath of flowers, culturally traditional foods, and traditional clothing are examples touched upon in the script.

Participants in their interviews refer to what they learnt or experienced on the programme connecting it to memories of, or revitalised, cultural heritage. While most participants interviewed were of mixed heritage (another heritage(s) in addition to Swedish / American), many expressed the confirmation of Swedishness and belonging due to their physical likeness and similar "tastes" for activities and food as the Swedes and Swedish family they met.

Participants recalled celebrating common Swedish celebrations for example, Lucia with wearing a wreath of candles on their head, Christmas and the Swedish version of Father Christmas, which many call *Tomte* (correct Swedish *Jultomten*) visiting their house. Special holidays were not the only expression of Swedishness however, participants relayed their everyday banal Swedishness as well: collecting rain in Swedish barrels which their American neighbours do not do, wearing clothes more accepted in Sweden than the United States, and reciting in Swedish prayers and sayings their grandmother taught them. Participants were eager to note personality and physical similarities with the Swedish script presented, as Peter stated, "I tried to avoid people you know like the Swedes do. I think it is a characteristic I share" later reflecting, "you don't know if [what they teach on *Allt för Sverige* is] the Swedes today or yesterday's Swedes."

Other cultural items were presented through various collections of items. Hanna gave me a tour of her collection of Swedish items including photos, dalahäst ornaments, flags, wreaths etc. Her son joined the interview for a short period explaining his and his mum's passion for their ancestral heritage as key to regaining in a sense their Swedishness, stating:

why my mom and I wanted to get them back is because we knew that was part of the American migration was losing or the bleaching or the loss of all the erasing of your ancestral heritage, so we wanted to get it back. You have to come from somewhere.

Astrid, another participant, echoes this sentiment of the importance of regaining cultural heritage, sharing her collection she laments that, while she is “into all things Swedish,” she still cannot speak the language, which she “feels bad” about. Participants refer often to the photos they sent, recalled the inheritance of photos, furniture, and dishes and many utilised the Swedish they knew, intertwining their narratives with Swedish such as *lagom* (not too much and not too little) and *fika* (heart to heart coffee break).



Fig. 1. “Elias” with items from the “Allt för Sverige’s” American chest. Personal photo used with permission from the participant.

Elias (Figure 1) whose narrative opened this study, was not an exception to this attempt to authenticate the script through cultural heritage. The above photo is one that he submitted for the interview, which he felt described him. It was taken during the show, and he is seen wearing and holding items found in the American chest they had just opened. There is wool around his neck as a beard, a hat, handmade knit woollen socks, and an axe. Elias explains, “that picture encapsulates all the eccentric dreams I have of Sweden. The stereotypical you know; this is just who I am.” The items he found viewed as a bridge to the identity presented on *Allt för Sverige* perceiving these as “authentic” and valuable stating, “I kind of see that [authenticity] in older traditions and cultures and the kind of way things used to be done.” Moreover, he sees in himself more characteristics that match with the “stereotypical Swede” personality-wise remarking that even his house is “kind of like a Swedish cabin... painted in the same way it’s red with the white trim”. It is not just a Swedish identity on the show, but it is an identity

that is transferred either as an ornament in the collection, a revitalised celebration or as Elias reflects a satellite version of Sweden transplanted into the geographical region of the United States.

Opposing the Script

While the majority emphasised the sameness of identity scripts from *Allt för Sverige* there were some who did not agree with everything as it was presented. One participant, Noah emphasised that as a black person he felt they did not identify with “ABBA, Lutfisken, you know what else? Pippi Longstocking, Emil you know, I don’t connect with that.” Rather he identified with those who had parents who immigrated to Sweden long ago, stating, “they grew up, they were born there. They [speak] the language, they didn’t look Swedish, they didn’t look Swedish no, but they **are** Swedish.... They’re making a life for themselves right there in that country Sweden. They’re comfortable there.” In his rejection of the script of identity presented by *Allt för Sverige*, he attempts to modify the narrative. Other participants, highlighted the hybridity of culture and historical heritage of both cast members and Sweden, noting there were individuals in Sweden’s past as well as contemporary times who were not “white.” Noah criticised that the Saami (the indigenous people of the Swedish geographical region) as individuals were underrepresented or not represented at all in *Allt för Sverige*’s script of Sweden/Swedishness. This emphasises the hegemonic, multicultural Sweden. Noah summarises his negotiation questioning, “I mean you never know what [it] is... is there a cultural trait in you? Or is it your personality? or is your personality based on your cultural heritage?”

Discussion

Participants’ backstage negotiations of their “reading” and understanding of *Allt för Sverige*’s presented frontstage script of Swedish identity is organised into three responses according to Hall’s (2006) model of encoding/decoding. Participants were found to break/negotiate the script modifying and adapting the script to what they deemed more authentic, many confirmed the script using cultural heritage evidence, and a few who opposed the script entirely attempting to create an alternative script. Negotiating the script on multiple levels, the four main negotiations occurred between the participants and the official script, with the television crew, with Swedes in the everyday ordinary, and with the other Swedish-American contestants.

The majority negotiated within the script, adapting it to match what they perceived as a more “authentic” Swedish/Swedishness through their experiences on their “days off” or with the production team, as was seen through the example

of their attempt to see the “real” Sweden by visiting the grocery store. Actively participating in a process of authentication, the presented script is negotiated, questioned, and compared to what the participants perceive as the most “authentic” source. The presented frontstage script from *Allt för Sverige* of what Sweden and Swedishness is in general accepted by the participants but with many noting exceptions, for example by stating that their family or themselves do not act like what was described (stoic, quiet etc.), re-adjusting in their process of authentication to create meaningful connections.

Participants describe and utilise intangible and tangible cultural heritage such as sayings/prayers, cultural objects, places, and celebrations/traditions as evidence in their negotiations and process of authentication of the scripted identity. Like Mehtiyeva & Prince’s (2020) findings, individuals of this study placed a higher value of meaning on everyday activities and places than public and famous monuments. The everyday Swedes and the identity they encountered were perceived by participants as more authentic and authoritative than the scripts presented by *Allt för Sverige*. Perhaps this signifies a shift from earlier generations of Swedish-Americans’ nostalgic perception of the “old country” and preservation of folk culture. However, the continued collections of memorability and nostalgia for intangible connections provide cause to think that this desire for belonging to the past is not completely absent. The findings of this study strengthen the arguments found by Prince (2021) whose three performances categories of presenting an authentic genealogical self, enacting familiarity, genealogy as storytelling and giving off impressions of Swedishness are reflected throughout the narratives of the participants of this study. The fact that Prince examined Swedish-American tourists who were not on a television programme and yet found very similar results, emphasises that the narratives of participants of this study are only partially influenced, and to different degrees, by the mediated environment of *Allt för Sverige*.

The opposing of the script according to Hall (2006) is where a modified reading of the script occurs. In the participants’ negotiation and rejection of the script of identity presented by *Allt för Sverige*, they attempt to modify the narrative again focusing on what they perceived as a more “authentic” contemporary Sweden, creating an alternative to the presented script. Participants’ criticism of the narrow definition of who is included in Sweden’s history and identity in *Allt för Sverige*’s script is similar to Hjorthén’s (2017) critique of tokenism and exclusionary references to contemporary immigrants and descendants of immigrants. Klareld (2022) also described the negotiations of contestants’ conflicting feelings surrounding colonization with juxtaposition of native American heritage. She noted that most tried to address or resolve their ancestors’ actions and the dissonance creating either “an idealised picture of the past or by

a more nuanced understanding of the past” (Klareld, 2022: 12). This reflects the findings of this study of participants’ attempts to negotiate the presented script of Swedish identity, their process of authentication utilizing cultural, historical, and contemporary evidence to reflect their perception and reading of a Swedish identity. And while there are some who accept the presented script as “truth”, such as one participant who emphasises their long line of ancestry and stating, “I’m probably one of the most Swedish people that was on the show,” the majority adapt and adjust the script to reflect new experiences.

There has always been an element of collective identity connected to the personal search for family history but the relocation of this activity to the public medium of television has created additional complications. Those who engage with the programme are presented with, as Hunt (2006) argues, a scripted identity consisting of a national narrative of becoming, reflecting the argument that family history is not merely about connecting a person to a group of individuals related to them, but about connecting and constructing a collective identity. It produces a pattern of “something to do” as Syvertsen (2001) identified rather than just “something to watch” (319). This construction and projected script of collective identity, some argue is exclusionary and potentially dangerous as Hjorthén (2017) pointed out. However, the potential for democratization of knowledge and for individuals to gain greater historical consciousness, empathy and nuanced understanding of multiple possible “authentic” pasts is also evident as Donnelly & Shaw (2020) and Evans (2015) have argued. This negotiation and situating of personal narratives within the larger context may be missed in the public frontstage broadcast of *Allt för Sverige*. It has been shown that participants’ negotiations and process of authentication of the presented script of identity cannot be cut from their memories as easily. The “cutting” of the final broadcast does not mean these experiences/negotiations are any less valuable, rather this parallel or side narrative is arguably equally engaging and “authentic” as was shown. It does mean however, that the frontstage final broadcast does not present the whole story, nor does it comprehensively present the negotiations of the participants which occurs backstage.

As the narratives of participants of this study have shown, individuals engage and negotiate the presented scripts that go beyond the frame of the camera’s lens and negotiate the presented script of identity within a larger reference than perhaps intended by the producers of the programme. *Allt för Sverige* has the potential of “soft power” similarly to what Anaz & Ozcan (2016) found in their study, to draw individuals to places perhaps they would not have considered prior to the show and challenge individuals’ perceptions of Sweden and Swedish identity. This study’s rich narrative data raises more wonderings than what is possible to discuss within the scope of this article. Further studies could examine deeper the concept

of “authenticity,” the role of emotions in individuals’ evaluations and negotiations with culture and nostalgia, as well as the concept of hybridity and race in relation to “Europe” and “the old country.”

Conclusion

This study started with asking, how do contestants negotiate backstage the presented scripted identity of *Allt för Sverige*? Previous studies have examined the frontstage broadcast, finding a primordial narrative of belonging presenting one aspect of the televised Family History as potentially exclusionary (Hjorthén 2017), while acknowledging that Family History is complex and significant in individual’s construction of self and belonging (Klareld 2022). I have shown that the backstage negotiations of participants are equally interesting and important to gain a more comprehensive understanding of what influence the script of identity presented by *Allt för Sverige* has. The broadcasted representation of *Allt för Sverige* condenses six weeks of events into eight hours of television, and thus is only a small portion of participant’s lived experiences and negotiations behind the curtain.

Driven by their purposes and desires for authentication, acceptance, and identity construction participants within this study utilize elements of cultural heritage and examples from their own experiences to either confirm, adapt, or reject the script to present their version of “reality” or “truth.” Participants negotiate the presented script on four levels, the official scripted version presented by *Allt för Sverige* (their website, “on set” cultural-historical activities, and “Swedish School”) is “read” and compared with alternative and often conflicting presentations of Swedishness from the television team and crew, the “everyday” Swedes on days off, and before and after filming, and finally with each other. It has also been revealed that other negotiations are ongoing however these are not the focus of this paper such as negotiations with previous experiences and knowledge of the form of reality television shows.

This study contributes a new perspective of the larger phenomenon of the interest in Family History, its televised transformation (as “histotainment” (Donnelly & Shaw 2020) and “Biogravison” (Lynch, 2011)) and the backstage negotiations of participants when not frontstage. *Allt för Sverige*’s form as Family History television results in public access and influence both reflecting and constructing the script of identity for consumption. While research and history have shown the potential and danger of the reach and influence that media possesses in many cases, the result of this study presents the thinking, “ordinary” person as one with agency. The scripted identity presented by *Allt för Sverige* is not simply accepted at “face value” but negotiated through participants’ agency and active processing of presented scripts of Sweden/Swedishness in a process

of authentication, demonstrating further, as Shaw & Donnelly have argued, that family historians develop historical consciousness through the embedding of personal micro-narratives in relation to a larger historical context (Shaw 2020, Shaw & Donnelly 2021a, Shaw & Donnelly 2021b, Shaw 2021).

Allt för Sverige presents a specific script as evidenced through both the programme's official website and the dramaturgical setting which dictates the rules of the programme. The recruitment process of Swedish-Americans is limited to individuals who have some ("even a little bit counts") biological connections emphasising a primordial dialogue of inheritance of blood as Hjorthén (2017) has pointed out. This study has demonstrated however, that despite the presented frontstage, backstage, participants actively negotiate, adapt, modify, and/or reject this scripted identity. Participants of this study were not bound by the strict dramaturgical script but actively created tension through their actions and desires to see the "real" Sweden. Participants actively sought a wider exposure of Swedishness than the programme afforded, resulting in reflection, assessment, and a process of authentication of the scripted identity presented to them by *Allt för Sverige*.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

Karen Ann Blom is a PhD student within the Department of Natural and Social Sciences, at the School of Education and Communication, Jönköping University. Her research interests include the social constructions of identity and culture, experiential learning, spatial studies, and the use of the past- specifically Family History.
karenann.blom@ju.se

Notes

1 Genealogy traditionally is restricted to direct descent relations and therefore this paper uses "family history" to include kin relationships and biographical information beyond names, dates, and places. In reference to previous research the terminology used is kept the same as the source but is understood as definition above.

2 Managing this interacting through "impression management", face-work etc.

3 Photo elicitation is meant to create a common base of information and detract the focus and stress on the interviewee to perform

4 This study has received approval from the Swedish Ethics Review Authority Dnr 2019-05944

5 Swedish proverb meaning to make room for one more

6 The participants of this study for example ranged from “100%” Swedish to those who were one eighth Swedish

References

- Alexander, Matthew, Derek Bryce & Samantha Murdy (2017): “Delivering the past: Providing personalized ancestral tourism experiences,” *Journal of Travel Research* 56:4, 543-555.
- Allt för Sverige*, Sveriges Television AB, <https://www.svtplay.se/allt-for-sverige>, October 30 2011.
- Anaz, Necati & Ceyhan Can Ozcan (2016): “Geography of Turkish Soap Operas: Tourism, Soft Power, and Alternative Narratives,” Istvan Egresi, (ed.): *Alternative Tourism in Turkey: Role, Potential Development and Sustainability*, Cham: Springer International Publishing, 247-258.
- Andersson, Karl (2022) *What Swedish People Are Like (Behaviors & Stereotypes Explained)*. <https://nordicperspective.com/culture/what-swedish-people-are-really-like>. (accessed:12/05/22).
- Astrid Lindgren Company (2022) *Pippi Longstocking*. <https://www.astridlindgren.com/en/characters/pippi-longstocking> (accessed:12/05/22).
- Billig, Michael (1995): *Banal Nationalism*, London: Sage.
- Bucholtz, Mary (2003): “Sociolinguistic nostalgia and the authentication of identity,” *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 7, 398-426.
- Cohen, Erik & Cohen, Scott A. (2012): “Authentication: Hot and cool,” *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39:3, 1295-1314.
- Darlington, John (2020): *Fake heritage : why we rebuild monuments*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Donnelly, Debra & Shaw, Emma (2020): “Docudrama as “Histotainment”: Repackaging family history in the digital age,” *Public History Review*, 27, 48-68
- Edge, Thomas (2017): “Who do you think you are? Examining the African-American Experience in Slavery and Freedom through Family History Television,” *The Journal of American Culture*, 40:4, 341-354.
- Evans, Tanya (2015): “Who Do You Think You Are? Historical Television Consultancy,” *Australian Historical Studies*, 46:3, 454-467.
- Goffman, Erving (1967): *Interaction Ritual: Essays in Face-to-Face Behavior*, Chicago: Aldine.
- Goffman, Erving (1974): *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*, Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Goffman, Erving (1990): *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, London: Penguin.
- Guelke, Jeanne K. & Dallen J. Timothy (2008): “Locating Personal Pasts: An Introduction,” Dallen J. Timothy & Jeanne K Guelke. (eds): *Geography and Genealogy: Locating Personal Pasts*, New York: Routledge, 1-20.
- Hall, Edward T. (1983): *The dance of life: the other dimension of time*, N.Y.:Anchor Publishing.
- Hall, Stuart (2006): “Encoding/Decoding,” Meenakshi Gigi Durham & Douglas M. Kellner (eds): *Media and Cultural Studies:Keyworks*, ProQuest Ebook Central: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 163-173.
- Harper, Douglas (2002): “Talking about pictures: a case for photo elicitation,” *Visual Studies* 17:1, 13-26.
- Hjorthén, Adam (2017): “Swedishness by Blood: Transatlantic Genealogy on Twenty-First Century Television,” Margaretha Fahlgren & Anna Williams (eds)

- The Dynamics and Contexts of Cultural Transfers: An Anthology*, Uppsala: Uppsala University, 127-145.
- Hochschild, Arlie Russell (1997); "Sociology of Emotion as a Way of Seeing," Gillian Bendelow & Williams SJ (eds): *Emotions in Social Life: Critical Themes and Contemporary Issues*, ProQuest Ebook Central: Taylor & Francis Group.
- Hunt, Tristram (2006): "Reality, Identity and Empathy: The Changing Face of Social History Television," *Journal of Social History* 39:3, 843-858.
- Klareld, Ann-Sofie (2022): "A Quest for Roots and Kinship: Family History in the Television Series Allt För Sverige (The Great Swedish Adventure)," *Journal of Family History*.
- Kramer, Anne-Marie (2011): "Mediatizing memory: History, affect and identity in 'Who Do You Think You Are?'" *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 14:4, 428-445.
- Larochelle, Dimitra Laurence (2019): "The Greek Fandom of Turkish Soap Operas and the Tourism Industry: Traveling through Borders, Realities, and Identities," *The Journal of Popular Culture*, 52:6, 1472-1493.
- Ljung, Malin (2019): "SVT:s krav på deltagarna i Allt för Sverige," October 27, 2019; <https://www.hant.se/noje/svts-krav-pa-deltagarna-i-allt-for-sverige/5249218>, (accessed 09/09/21).
- Lowenthal, David (1985): *The past is a foreign country*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lowenthal, David (2012): "The Past Made Present," *Historically Speaking* XIII:4, 2-6.
- Lunt, Peter (2017): "The media construction of family history: An analysis of 'Who do you think you are?'" *Communications*, 42:3, 293-307.
- Lynch, Claire (2011): "'Who Do You Think You Are?' Intimate Pasts Made Public," *Biography (Honolulu)*, 34:1, 108-118.
- Mehtiyeva, Aydan & Solène Prince (2020): "Journeys of research, emotions and belonging: an exploratory analysis of the motivations and experience of ancestral tourists," *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 20:1, 85-103.
- Meter-Television (2020): *Allt För Sverige*, <http://www.greatswedishadventure.com/> (accessed 20/06/21).
- Patterson, Natasha (2015): "Sabotaging Reality: Exploring Canadian Women's Participation on Neoliberal Reality TV," *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 40:2, 281.
- Persson, Anders (2019): *Framing social interaction : continuities and cracks in Goffman's frame analysis*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- Ruehlicke, Andrea (2019): *So You've Been on a Show: the Life-cycle and Labor of Reality Television Contestants*, doctoral dissertation, Graduate College of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Urbana, Illinois.
- Saar, Martin (2017): "Genealogy and subjectivity," David Owen (ed.): *Michel Foucault*. London: Routledge, 71-85.
- Salamon, Winnie (2010): "Hijacking the Branded Self: Reality TV and the Politics of Subversion," Nico Carpentier & Sofie Van Bauwel (eds): *Trans-Reality Television: The Transgression of Reality, Genre, Politics, and Audience*, Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 141-154.
- Scodari, Christine (2013): "Roots, Representation, and Resistance? Family History Media & Culture through a Critical Lens," *The Journal of American Culture*, 36:3, 206-220.
- Shakespeare, William (2000): *As You Like It*. South Bend, USA: Infomotions, Inc.
- Shaw, Emma (2020): "'Who We Are, and Why We Do It': A Demographic Overview and the Cited Motivations of Australia's Family Historians," *Journal of Family History*, 45:1, 109-124.
- Shaw, Emma (2021): "Historical thinking and family historians: Renovating the house

- of history,” *Historical encounters*, 8:1, 83-96.
- Shaw, Emma & Donnelly, Debra (2021a): “Micro-narratives of the ancestors: worship, censure, and empathy in family hi(stories),” *Rethinking History*, 25:2, 207-223.
- Shaw, Emma & Donnelly, Debra (2021b): “(Re)discovering the Familial Past and Its Impact on Historical Consciousness,” *Genealogy (Basel)*, 5:4, 102.
- Stark, Helena (2013): ”Allt för Sverige from the inside,” *Swedish American Genealogist*, 33:2, 8-9.
- Syvertsen, Trine (2001): “Ordinary people in extraordinary circumstances: a study of participants in television dating games,” *Media Culture & Society*, 23:3, 319-337.
- Thelen, Timo, Sangkyun Kim & Elisabeth Scherer (2020): “Film tourism impacts: a multi-stakeholder longitudinal approach,” *Tourism Recreation Research*, 45:3, 291-306.
- Thorsell, Elisabeth (2014): “Behind the scenes of Allt för Sverige,” *Swedish American Genealogist*, 34:4, 4-5.
- Timothy, Dallen J (2008): “Genealogical Mobility: Tourism and the Search for a Personal Past,” Jeanne Kay Guelke & Dallen J. Timothy (eds): *Geography and Genealogy: Locating Personal Pasts*, ProQuest Ebook Central: Taylor & Francis Group, 118-137.