

Tradition and Contrast: Industrial Cities and Industrial Work in the Documentaries of Michael Glawogger: From “Megacities” (1998) to “Working Man’s Death” (2005)

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“City of the Big Shoulders”: Carl Sandburg’s “Chicago”

“HOG Butcher for the World,
Tool Maker, Stacker of Wheat,
Player with Railroads and the Nation’s Freight Handler;
Stormy, husky, brawling,
City of the Big Shoulders“

(Sandburg 1916/1992, 3)

With these words the American poet Carl Sandburg (1878–1967) opens his famous and often quoted poem “Chicago” from 1916 which stand at the beginning of his volume “Chicago Poems”. If there is any doubt that Sandburg wants to sing in praise of the industrial city Chicago by opening with these lines, these doubts are dispersed in the further course of the poem and towards the end of the poem when the poet verbally even repeats the opening, but adds the words “proud to be” before the repetition of “Hog Butcher for the World,/Tool Maker, Stacker of Wheat” etc. Such pride is nevertheless something Sandburg develops and justifies throughout a process in which he responds to the reproaches of various critics against Chicago.¹ Yes, this industrial city has flaws such as prostitution, crime and social problems, but Sandburg turns the tables by demanding: “Come and show me another city with lifted head singing so proud to be alive and coarse and strong and cunning.” Thus, Sandburg seems to imply that other cities have the same problems, and he calls those that do not “little soft cities.” These are cities that cannot compete with Chicago, a place the poet characterizes through a series of metaphors which invoke animals such as dogs (“Fierce as a dog with

¹ For this context see the introduction by John E. Hallwas (Sandburg 1916/1992, xx) who names William T. Stead and Upton Sinclair as examples for such critics.

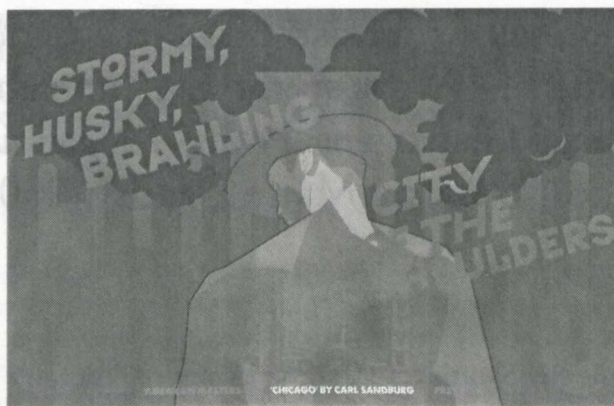


Fig. 1: Ricardo Galvez, poster commissioned by the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) as promotion for the entry dedicated to Carl Sandburg in their biography TV-series „American Masters“, September 2012

(Source: PBS-website: <http://www.pbs.org/wnet/americanmasters/episodes/carl-sandburg/posters-how-carl-sandburg-saw-chicago/2215/>)

tongue lapping for action”), but especially the youth of humankind (“cunning as a savage pitted against the wilderness”) as well as man (“here is a tall bold slugger set vivid against the little soft cities”)/“Under the terrible burden of destiny laughing as a young man laughs”/“Laughing the stormy, husky, brawling laughter of Youth”).

Power, strength, vitality, activism, optimism, and pride are hence set against the initial reproaches whose negative connotations now almost become necessary parts of the positive metaphor: This “savage”, “slugger” and “young man” obviously also needs carnal pleasure, hence prostitution, and given the heated character of this vital being it does not surprise that there is also crime such as shootings among gunmen—finally, the invocation of the “savage” is in tune with the fight for survival of which “wanton hunger” is an expected part. In this way, Sandburg paints a picture of the industrial city of Chicago with its meat markets, its railroads, its exchanges and industries, which on the one hand portrays the “ideal-typical” Chicago-workman, while on the other hand witnesses a process of de- or super-individuation (Fig. 1). For Sandburg, the workman here functions as a representative monument for the industrial city in which he is active: it is not so much that Sandburg describes the city itself, he rather characterizes its features via its inhabitants by featuring their minor flaws and many virtues.

“City On the Move”: Jim Coulthard’s “Sheffield”

It might be a giant leap from Sandburg’s poem from 1916 to the later documentary films on industrial cities, since we are not only skipping temporal gaps of more than fifty respectively eighty years as well as geographical borders, but also the various boundaries between the different media of text and film, a medium, however, closely linked to industry: the first film shown publicly and commercially on the 28th of December 1895 at the “Salon Indien du Grand Café à Paris” depicted “La Sortie de l’Usine Lumière à Lyon” and presented workers leaving the Lumière-factory (Lanzoni 2002, 28; Pearson 1996, 14). However, it seems as if a certain tradition links a poem such as Sandburg’s “Chicago” from 1916 to, for example, a film such as Jim Coulthard’s (director and producer) and Wilfred Harrison’s (text) Sheffield: “City on the Move?” from 1972. After its release, this promotional documentary garnered unexpected attention again in 1997 when parts of it were used for the opening of Peter Cattaneo’s smash hit movie “The Full Monty”: a wide part of its audience assumed that the shown footage was just a spoof,² but despite the fact that some of the voice-over commentary and the accompanying music were slightly altered, most of the borrowed footage was authentic.

In his film, Coulthard tries to show that the industrial city of Sheffield has lived through various watershed moments in history and that this booming place, destined for great things, is about to witness another one of these turning points. Of course, at that time the director could not have foreseen that this watershed would actually bring quite a cruel twist of fate only a few years after the completion of the film when Sheffield had to witness a declining and decimated steel industry and thousands of unemployed workers.

In order to bring his intended message home, Coulthard relies on two intertwined structures: in the first instance, Coulthard uses the classical sequence of the four elements (Fig. 2a–d). Hence a series of images and comments presents a city in which the four elements air, fire, water and earth are in perfect harmony. As a voiceover commentator explains, “thanks to a smokeless policy started in 1959,” the air is smokeless and clean and Sheffield is “one of the cleanest industrial cities in Europe.” This sentiment stands despite the fact that—and here we pass to the element fire—“steelmaking

2 On this, see the information provided on the back of the cover of the 2008 release of “Sheffield: City On The Move” in the context of the DVD “The Reel Monty” as well as the text on the website <http://www.thereelmonty.com/> (last accessed 04/16/2013).

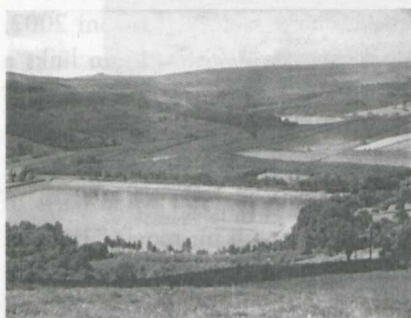
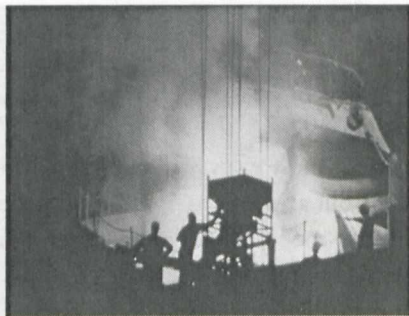


Fig. 2a–d: Screenshots from: Jim Coulthard/Wilfred Harrison, *Sheffield: City on the Move*, 1972

(Source: From the DVD *"The Reel Monty"*, ACM retro, Sheffield)

is still at the heart of the city's heavy industry". The element water is introduced via reference to the reservoirs in the nearby hills, reportedly dubbed as "Sheffield's lake district", and the element of the earth is treated via the architecture of Sheffield, for example with reference to its famous "Hole in the Road", an award winning underground shopping precinct and concourse, sporting a "roof of sky".

These "eternal" elements are in some ways the fitting equivalent to the stable and enduring qualities of Sheffield, for the second structure of Coulthard's film relies on the opposition between tradition and innovation. Hence, Sheffield is on the one hand portrayed as a city that is deeply rooted in its history and its tradition (for example: the cutlers of the city still meet regularly with proper pomp and ceremony), while at the same time, the city is constantly evolving and aspiring to prosper. For example the University of Sheffield anticipated a student population of 10,000 during the 1980s and while Sheffield's nightlife before was not very sophisticated, it then fea-

tured the kind of nightlife expected of all modern cities of any substantial size, hence it was, with its "The Fiesta" nightclub, even home to the biggest nightclub in Europe. In this way, Coulthard makes his audience understand that Sheffield offers the best of all worlds: it is a city full of history, but also modern and characterized by striving; it is a place of hard work, but, thanks to the hard work of its people, also a place for leisure. Sheffield is a place of industry, but at the same time a very clean and green place.

The film constantly compares Sheffield to other cities in order to show that it is actually incomparable and unmatched. For example, according to the film, no city north of London has more department stores than Sheffield; the Christmas illuminations are more extensive in this city than anywhere else in the country.

Like Sandburg, Coulthard never portrays any actual individuals, but rather their character, their collective efforts and endeavors as reflected in the history of the city. It is the appearance of Sheffield that serves, as in Sandburg's poem, as a kind of mirror of the "character" of the city of Sheffield. In the film as well as in the poem, the city and its inhabitants reflect each other. In both cases one could assume that this might be also due to the fact that both works, the poem as much as the film, were written and produced during a time when these respective industrial cities were "on the move", that is: aspiring, striving, ambitious and rising. Hence, each city easily serves as mirror images for a population that aimed at recognizing themselves in such emergent megacities.

But as the sarcastic and ironic use of Coulthard's "City on the move" in the context of Cattaneo's "The Full Monty" already demonstrates, things changed after the decline of the industry³ and it is therefore interesting to see how documentaries are approaching the phenomenon of the declining industrial city in the following years.

Michael Glawogger and the change in documentary film

As an example I will focus on two films by Austrian director and filmmaker Michael Glawogger. Born in 1959 in Graz, Glawogger studied between 1981 and 1982 at the San Francisco Arts Institute before transferring to the film

³ See Taylor et al. (1996, 63–72): "The catastrophic decline of Sheffield's industrial district".

academy in Vienna where he studied from 1983 to 1989. In 1989, he presented his first film, "Krieg in Wien" ("War in Vienna"), which he had produced together with his colleague Ulrich Seidl, another Austrian director, script-writer and film producer.⁴ "War in Vienna" portrays four days in the Austrian capital by combining news reports with interviews and observations. But Glawogger is also a director of feature films, such as "Die Ameisenstraße" from 1995 ("The Ant Trail"), and these two types of films—the scripted, fictional feature film on the one hand and the non-fictional documentary on the other —, both equally practiced by Glawogger, already hint at the fact that he is an advocate of a movement that denies a strict demarcation between the scripted feature and the documentary film. In fact it can be argued that a film such as Cattaneo's "The Full Monty" in a certain way also documents something,⁵ just as a documentary such as Coulthard's "City on the Move" equally relies on scenes that are somewhat staged. In general the only seemingly entirely "objective" documentary actually already contains subjective elements insofar as it depends on the filmmaker's decisions concerning the material that is to be filmed, the angle and the point of view of the camera and the latter's presence, something that influences the filmed surroundings as well as its ensuing perception during the editing process.

It is hence debatable whether or not it makes sense to distinguish strictly between the "fictional film" and the "non-fictional film", for instance when concerned with an author such as Thorolf Lipp. In his book from 2012, "Spielarten des Dokumentarischen" ("Varieties of the Documentary"), Lipp explained his motive for disposing of the traditional notion "documentary" by referring to the fact that in his view, entirely different forms such as a three minute service for a cultural TV-program, a 20-minutes report, shot and edited in three days, and a 90-minute film, produced over a period of three long years, could not be properly called "documentaries" since their "narrative form, artistic means, communicative aims and their temporal extent would differ decisively" (Lipp 2012, 16). Lipp therefore prefers the

⁴ See for this the information on Glawogger's website <http://www.glawogger.com/bio.php> (last access: 04/16/2013) as well as on http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael_Glawogger (last access: 04/16/2013).

⁵ See for example Bill Nichols' position who considers feature films as a sort of a "documentary of wish-fulfillment" since according to his view, a movie documents the wishes of an author, of the director or of the production company, or one could add: of the audience to which the production company reacts. See for this Nichols (2001, 1). For further observations concerning the convergence of feature films and documentaries see for example the foreword by W. C. Barg, K. Hoffmann and R. Kilborn in Hoffmann et al. (2012, 11).

term “non-fictional film” and distinguishes under this “umbrella term” further sub-categories or (as he calls them) “prototypes” such as the “plot-based documentary” (hence he does not eliminate the notion entirely as it sneaks back in at this stage), “non-verbal documentary”, the simple “documentary”, the “Direct Cinema” and the “Cinéma Vérité” (Lipp 2012, 12).

This is not the occasion to discuss the meaningfulness of such distinctions and labels (one could, for example, object that Lipp mingles formal criteria such as “plot-based” and “non-verbal” with historical phenomena such as the “Documentary” of the 1930s or the “Direct Cinema” of the 1960s), but Lipp’s struggle shows that the “documentary” as a genre has entered a crisis which renders evident its claim to simply “document” something. As the Scottish documentary filmmaker John Grierson, who introduced the term “documentary” and who would ultimately become the revered ‘father of British and Canadian documentary film’, wrote in a 1926 review of Robert Flaherty’s “Moana” (Grierson 1926):⁶ “Documentary is a clumsy description, but let it stand” (Grierson 1932, 39).⁷

Glawogger seems to agree with Grierson because he frequently refers to term “documentary”, but always based on the understanding that the documentary includes and adapts elements commonly found in fictional film. However, as Glawogger states, “film in the end is always composing. The way you chose your means, how you put up your camera, exactly how you are creating an image, how you edit it and how the sound is used, all this is composed in every respect” (quoted after Hoffmann 2012, 37). Yet Glawogger emphasizes at the same time: “But when working with film and especially with the documentary you can only truly compose in a good way with things that are there in reality anyway. [...] I would never re-stage or enhance, single out or make clearer something that doesn’t exist in reality anyway.” (ibid.)

Indeed, Glawogger occasionally re-enacts prior experiences for the camera he has made without a camera with the help of his subjects, but in a way that the result looks like a spontaneously filmed, “real” event. Glawogger explains such a use of semi-documentary material by referring to the fact that the portrayed action would have never occurred in the presence of a camera

⁶ See Deacon (2005, 151).

⁷ For this discussion, see Hohenberger (1998, 24), who considers the fundamental problem of the theories on documentary to lie in the fact that the definition of the “fictional” is still too vague.

and that the re-enacted version of the previously experienced event looks much more authentic than had the real action been filmed.⁸

Glawogger's films on cities and labor

Two films show Glawogger's interest in the world of labor, its sites and cities: In 1998 he presented the documentary "Megacities", followed in 2005 by "Working Man's Death". The title of the latter is quite ambiguous insofar as it refers on the one hand to the brutal conditions under which humans have to work and how their labor reduces them to physical activities that might kill them sooner or later. On the other hand, the title poses the question of whether this type of hard work is about to become extinct in some countries or if it just becomes more and more invisible to us, that is: mainly the Western audience (and hence Glawogger aims to visually represent this type of work).

Both films function according to a similar principle: In a representative way a certain amount of phenomena is looked upon—thus, "Megacities" tells "12 stories about survival" ("12 Geschichten vom Überleben") in four cities (Mumbai, New York, Mexico and Moscow). In "Working Man's Death" "5 pictures" ("5 Bilder") are presented:

- Ukrainian colliers who illegally work in a deserted coal mine in the coal field of Donbass and earn their living under high risk and heavy physical strain,
- Indonesian workers extracting and transporting sulfur from a sulfur mine at the volcano Kawa Ijen,
- Nigerian workers in a slaughtering yard (or a field, rather) in Port Harcourt where animals such as goats and steers are killed, sold and processed in large masses,
- Pakistani workers in the wrecking wharfs at Gadani where scrapped deep-sea vessels from all over the world are being dismantled, and finally

⁸ In Lipp's terms Glawogger would have to be seen as a director of "simple documentaries" since Lipp (2012, 30) demands of this genre that "there a topic is dealt with in an especially reflected, perhaps even unique handwriting of the author, that is with artistic means which match as precisely as possible with the chosen topic."

- Chinese workers in the steel mill of Liáoníng, a province in the Northeast of China, traditionally an area of heavy industry.
- An epilogue, shot in Duisburg, presents scenes from a former steel mill that has been transformed into a leisure park. In this estheticized place adolescents are enjoying themselves and thus the film closes with reference to the increasing disappearance of visible labor in a country such as Germany.

In “Megacities” in particular, Glawogger does not allow these individual “stories” and “images” to follow each other in a simply paratactic way, instead he arranges them in an interlocking manner. For example, when a seamstress in Mumbai is shown (Fig. 3a), the rattling of her sewing machine and its speed are later associated with, as well as opposed to, a man with a bioscope who repairs his worn-out films by quietly and very slowly stitching them by hand (Fig. 3b/c). Now his machine, the bioscope, is rattling and its movies tell a lot about the inhabitants of Mumbai and their dreams (hence, here we find an example of Nichol’s above mentioned “documentary of wish-fulfillment”). At the same time the scenes also function as a symbol of meta- or self-reference since the medium of Glawogger’s documentary, the film, here addresses itself. Such self-referential move equally finds its way into the formal level, as the sequence’s speed is accelerated and “Megacities” turns into a film within a film. Titled “Life in Loops”, this sequence tells a story about the tailor Josely in Mumbai. In this context, the film narrates an episode that suddenly provides meaning for a previously shown scene where a raven is depicted as it picks food. While the viewer may previously have thought that this was just a documentary impression, s/he now understands it is actually pre-empting the film within in the film.

At the same time topics are overlapping, covering different countries. Thus, in one scene at the beginning, a young girl in Mumbai is shown carrying a chick. This can be related to a later scene in Mexico where a merchant lures children to buy chocolate by giving away a chick for free with each bargain. Glawogger then portrays some of these children the same way he has photographed the girl in Mumbai with her chick. But she might also refer to a later scene in Mumbai where chicken are slaughtered and processed in huge masses (the whole sequence appears somewhat as an anticipation of a similar scene with the Nigerian slaughter yard in “Working Man’s Death”).⁹

⁹ Spaich (2006, 191) compares Glawogger in this respect to the Italian documentary filmmaker Gualtiero Jacopetti who, in 1962 with his film “Mondo Cane”, landed a huge suc-

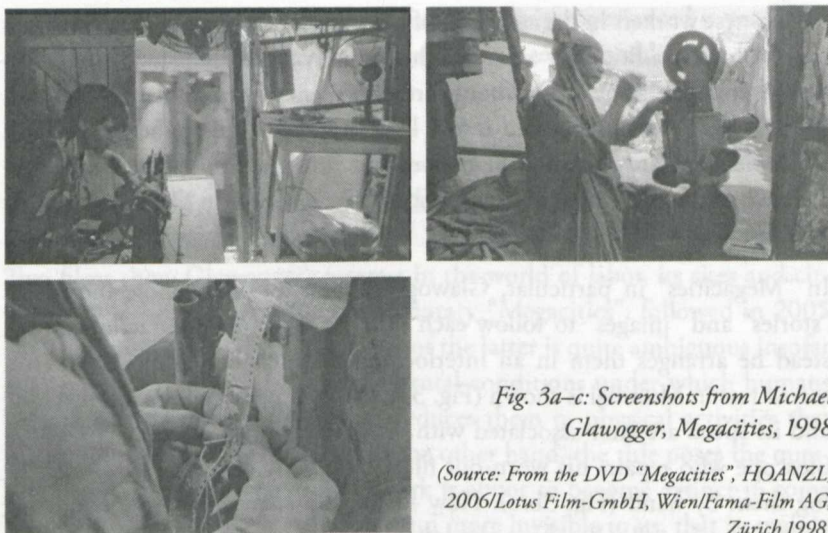


Fig. 3a–c: Screenshots from Michael Glawogger, Megacities, 1998

(Source: From the DVD "Megacities", HOANZL, 2006/Lotus Film-GmbH, Wien/Fama-Film AG, Zürich 1998)

At this point, the audience has already witnessed the process, based on the division of labor, of producing soup out of chicken feet.

That Glawogger obviously intends to hint at the globality of certain phenomena¹⁰ and to raise the audience's awareness in this regard is equally made clear when at the end of the "film within in the film," the audience sees huge amounts of shirts being tailored in tailor Jocely's shop. These same shirts are later sold in New York, then worn in Mexico, before one of them is finally fished out of the trash back in New York towards the end of the film (Fig. 4a–c).

Closely associated with globalization, the phenomenon of garbage is a problem that ties together many different countries. Thus, apart from the scene depicting the shirt in New York, there are scenes in Mumbai where workers are fishing trash out of the river in order to sell these scraps, while workers in Mexico earn their living by collecting garbage and attending the waste dumps where people are sifting through the garbage, searching for still

cess in European cinemas, thanks also to shocking images of, for example, African people butchering pigs in a ritual of their tribe. However, as shown above, Glawogger just does not show these images (as Spaich maintains) in order to simply "ruin the appetite of the audience" or respectively to "test the resilience of the German cinemagoer", but rather in order to emphasize connections by confronting the viewer with images which he or she normally does not see.

10 See for this also Kösters (2008, 24–25) who, however, reads this motif rather formally as a means Glawogger uses in order to overlay the different episodes of his film.

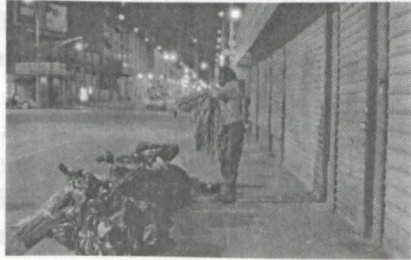
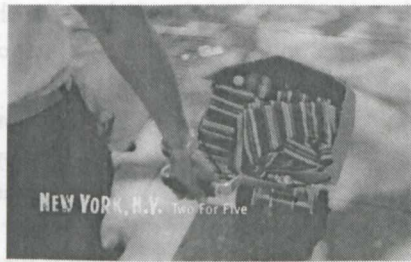
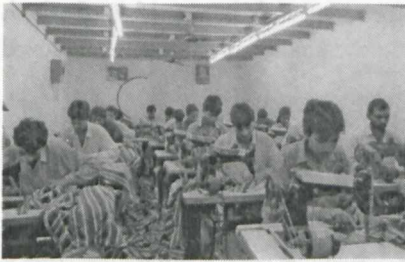


Fig. 4a–c: Screenshots from Michael Glawogger, *Megacities*, 1998

(Source: From the DVD "*Megacities*", HOANZL, 2006/Lotus Film-GmbH, Wien/Fama-Film AG, Zürich 1998)

usable items,¹¹ while scenes in Moscow show a group of orphaned children who live in the sewer system.

At first sight it may seem as if these "Megacities", which are normally portrayed as industrial metropolises, are not shown as such and that instead, the focus is on the effects of industrialization (such as garbage and globalization), which in this case is contrasted with self-employed merchants and workers such as tailors and butchers. And indeed, we only see industrial large scale production in the scenes in Moscow that initially depict mass fabrication of light switches, followed by a female crane operator's work in a steel mill.

However, Glawogger's actual aim seems to be to emphasize the roots of the industrial city which are to be found in the large workshops: even the seemingly independent and self-employed merchants and workers are in a certain way already industrialized because they have to succumb to the rhythm and the velocity of the industry. Ultimately, there seems to be little difference between the full-scale production of the seamstress and the butcher in Mumbai and the workers who assemble light switches. Glawogger thus interlocks tradition and contrast: He refers to tradition inasmuch as industrialization emerges from such working processes which are increasingly

¹¹ For Kösters (2008, 19), this relates even back to the above discussed scene with the bio-scope-man who stitches together found film footage.

based on the division of labor that shape cities and their needs and which conversely also shape the guidelines for and demands towards self-employed merchants and workers.

Glawogger brings out contrast inasmuch as the un- or non-industrial ambience of the depicted self-employed workers such as sewers, butchers, cooks etc. might make them appear as less "estranged" at first sight than the workers in the light-switch-factory or the crane operator—Glawogger's film nevertheless poses the question if there actually is such a difference. This is also made clear by fact that he identifies their common aim as the attempt "to survive in the city", a purpose that is addressed in various ways throughout the film.

Even though the industrial city is only rarely depicted and if so, from a certain distance in "Megacities" (we then see the typical industrial skylines, for example those of Moscow and New York), it is nevertheless present in the actual individual existences of the portrayed people. Thus, in contrast to Sandberg and Coulthard who never show such individual cases and instead define the industrial city in a rather "top down" way as a phenomenon that overarches the individual, Glawogger follows a "bottom up"-strategy through which the industrial city is portrayed via its individuals. Other than Sandberg and Coulthard who, each in their own way, place the industrial city into a historical context that explains certain flaws and disadvantages of the industrial city, Glawogger works without such a historical perspective, thereby enhancing the drawbacks of the living conditions in the "Megacities" such as fraud, prostitution and alcoholism.

This crossing of tradition and contrast as a pattern in the filmmaking, as it has been analyzed above with respect to "Megacities", can also be observed in Glawogger's second documentary, "Working Man's Death". As in "Megacities", at first sight it seems as if the industrial city was absent here, too. Instead we see the Ukrainian workers in an abandoned coal-mine, we see the Indonesian sulfur miners, the Nigerian butchers and the Pakistani ship wreckers who—given that they work far away from industrial cities—appear as a contrast to the Chinese steel workers depicted in their plant, which is situated in the industrial city of Liáoníng. However (and this is also the topic of the epilogue in Duisburg), the industrial city is actually manifest in the other episodes due to its long-distance reach and exactly (and paradoxically) its absence: As the first episode, titled "Heroes" ("Helden"), shows, the Ukrainian coal miners are forced to work in the abandoned mine even though this is dangerous and illegal, because the large enterprises in the industrial cities



Fig. 5a–d: Screenshots from Michael Glawogger, *Working Man's Death*, 2005

(Source: From the DVD "Working Man's Death", filmladen Filmverleih GmbH, Wien/Lotus-Film GmbH, Wien/Quinte-Film, Freiburg/Arte G.E.I.E.)

have died. Glawogger stresses this crisis of the industrial city not only via the interviews with the coal miners, but also by contrasting the depressing present with the "glorious" past by showing the monuments in honor of Alexei Grigorjewitsch Stachanow (a proclaimed "hero of the work" role model for the coal miners who died in 1977 in the coal field of Donbass) which are now re-enacted by some of the workers (Fig. 5a–d) who later in the film also discuss in a critical and controversial way the so-called "Stachanow"-movement (a campaign aiming at the increase of productivity in the Soviet enterprises).

This first episode, set in the Ukraine, also works as a counterpart to the last episode. Entitled "Future" ("Zukunft"), this episode contrasts the coal miners' pessimism with the Chinese steel workers' optimism who not only applaud efficiency and power (two typical notions of the "Stachanow"-movement) and typical hero-virtues such as self-sacrifice, but also praise intelligence and knowledge and hope that their children will follow in their footsteps. They see history as proof of progress, exactly like some of their children who say that their city is a modern one. However, they contrast this modernity with the huge monument for the Chairman Mao, erected in 1969 as one of China's largest statues of Mao on the square Zhongshan in Shenyang during the Cultural Revolution. The adolescents consider the monument as old fashioned and rather "funny" which is why they some-

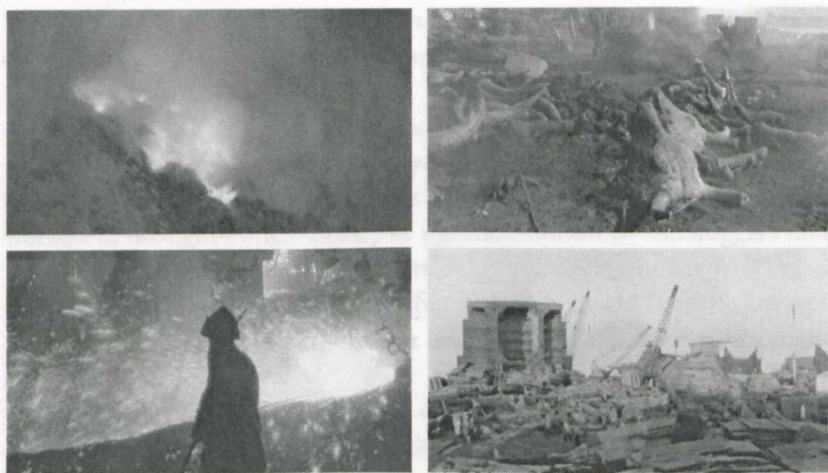


Fig. 6a–d: Screenshots from Michael Glawogger, *Working Man's Death*, 2005

(Source: From the DVD "Working Man's Death", filmladen Filmverleih GmbH, Wien/Lotus-Film GmbH, Wien/Quinte-Film, Freiburg/Arte G.E.I.E.)

times re-enact in a mocking way some of the poses of the monument's figures (in a way that parallels the re-enactment of the Stachanow-monuments mentioned above). Thus, the adolescents see history and its "heroes" in a very different light than their parents.

That this might not be a phenomenon exclusively found in China is addressed in the epilogue. Here, the city of Duisburg is shown, a city where the industrial monuments are now populated by adolescents who prefer esthetics and fun over an involvement with history—as with the Chinese youth, a separation between the present and the past is discernible.

If one finally compares Glawogger's "Megacities" with "Working Man's Death" an interesting intensification can be observed: in the first film the director already uses a somewhat rather negative iconography with respect to the depicted cities. In the second documentary this is even intensified towards a typical iconography of the conditions of Hell as it can be encountered throughout art history. Hence, we find darkness, illuminated only by fiery sparks as we see narrow, gloomy spaces deep below the earth, steam and smoke, blood, destruction, death and wasteland (Fig. 6a–d). It might be a sign of a somewhat timid optimism that the fire and the light in the Duisburg-epilogue are of a very different kind and that the "death" of this type of worker as portrayed in this film via several examples is not to be automatical-

ly considered as something negative.

Glawogger's insistence on human pride also links these two films. Even under the most difficult and oppressing conditions, the human beings in "Megacities" and in "Working Man's Death" nevertheless maintain their pride throughout their fight for survival and hold on to certain values.

However, at the same time some of these values hint at the fact that they are exactly the same values that fostered industrialization: While filming at the slaughter yard at Port Harcourt, Glawogger comes across two men, one a butcher, the other a meat-washer, both of whom boast that they might be the best among their ranks since they are the fastest and most efficient when it comes to killing and washing as many animals as possible (Fig. 7).

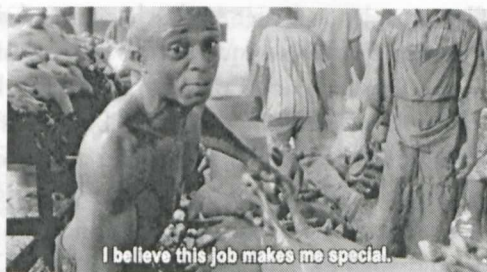


Fig. 7: Screenshot from Michael Glawogger, *Working Man's Death*, 2005

(Source: From the DVD "Working Man's Death", filmladen Filmverleih GmbH, Wien/Lotus-Film GmbH, Wien/Quinte-Film, Freiburg/Arte G.E.I.E.)

Conclusion: From Sandberg to Glawogger

Thus, we may have found something similar to the pride expressed by Sandberg concerning the "HOG Butcher for the World," only in these films, pride is being voiced by an individual and counterbalanced by images which show the particular working context of this individual as well as the consequences of his work in a very specific and almost tangible way. Glawogger thus, other than Sandberg and Coulthard with their "top down" processes, rather pursues a view which switches back and forth between the two positions of "bottom up" and "top down" in order to continuously tare and balance the view anew, keeping it in a state as mobile and dynamic as the modern Megacity and its working condition itself.

It would be interesting to see Sandberg's, Coulthard's and Glawogger's contributions concerning their views on the industrial city in the context of an exhaustive survey of the depiction of the industrial city in documentary

film in order to better study changes and developments in the history of such depictions—an endeavor yet to be accomplished. But also when focusing on Sandburg and Coulthard on the one hand and on Glawogger on the other and when taking their contributions as ideal-typical representations of distinct perspectives on the industrial city, one can, as demonstrated here, distinguish shifts and changes in the relationship between the individual and the industrial city. While they are conceived as proudly mirroring (and thus re-enforcing) each other in Sandburg's and Coulthard's conceptions, in Glawogger's films the relationship between the single human being and the industrial city, partly due to the problems experienced in social and economic contexts over the past 40 years, has become much more refracted and complex, resulting in a representation of the relationship between the individual and the industrial city that is simultaneously optimistic as well as pessimistic. Moreover, it at the same time implies that for a Western audience it has actually become necessary to be faced with such a representation. As the industrial city in the global North is increasingly absent due to the effects of globalization and its implications in and for other countries, it should (still) nevertheless matter to us, too.

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