Filmmaker on democracy: The case of Agnieszka Holland’s work

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ABSTRACT
This essay explores the influential role of cinematic artists in shaping discussions around democratic values and addressing contemporary European challenges. It focuses on the works and public statements of Agnieszka Holland, a renowned Polish filmmaker. Holland, known for her film Europa, Europa, predominantly explores individual experiences. However, these personal narratives are intricately interwoven with broader communal, historical-political, and cultural themes. This text aims to highlight key democratic principles through Holland’s perspectives, emphasising the educational impact of her films. Particularly, it examines how her work confronts various forms of discrimination, including those based on gender, religion, and nationality, while simultaneously fostering a ‘culture of dialogue’. The approach used in this research is an analysis of media content.

KEYWORDS
cinema, history, democracy, Agnieszka Holland
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Photo 1. Agnieszka Holland
Source: https://www.europeanfilmacademy.org/academy-stands-agnieszka-holland

An artist is not obligated to fight for social causes, but if it aligns with their temperament, there’s no reason they shouldn’t speak up on important issues.

I am deeply fascinated by the ‘homo politicus’ and feel a sense of responsibility for what happens around me.

– Agnieszka Holland (Holland & Staszczyczyn, 2014)

Can a director impart a universal, or more specifically, a pan-European message through their work, while also prompting reflective thought and fostering dialogue? A compelling answer to this query lies in the works of Agnieszka Holland¹, notably her film Europa, Europa (1990)². Holland’s directorial efforts undoubtedly stimulate contemplation on democratic values, the nuances of national and European identities, and the media’s role in modern Europe. Furthermore, the theme of ‘Europeanness’³ in her work can be associated with the

¹ Agnieszka Holland (born 1948) – member of the Film Group “X” from 1972 to 1981. Since 1981, she has also lived and worked in Western Europe and the USA. Member of the Polish Film Academy, in 2008-2012 its president. Member also of the European Film Academy, chair of its board since 2014 and its president since 2020. Honorary president of the Polish Directors Guild. She has received, among others, the Culture.pl Superbrands Award (awarded for the active dissemination of Polish culture abroad), the title of “Creator of Culture” (award of the Polityka weekly for “combining an outstandingly authorial view of film with the difficult rules of entertainment cinema. For openness, the courage to create ambitious art and uncompromising expression of unpopular ideas in public life. For not allowing us to forget the history and paradoxes of Eastern Europe through her work”), and in 2021 she received the Special Award “Platinum Lions” for lifetime achievement at the 46th Polish Film Festival in Gdynia and the Jerzy Turowicz Award. She is the author of films and series, including: Test Shots (1976), Provincial Actors (1978), Fever (1980), Woman Alone (1981), Bitter Harvest (1985), To Kill a Priest (1988), Europe, Europe (1990), Olivier, Olivier (1991), Secret Garden (1993), Total Eclipse (1995), Washington Square (1997), The Third Miracle (1999), Copy of the Master (2005), Janosik. A True Story (2009), Into Darkness (2011), Spoor (2017), Citizen Jones (2019), Charlataan (2020), Green Frontier (2023).

² There are two forces at work in Europe. One serves a consumerist audience for whom America and its cinema icons are the benchmark of style and quality of film production. The other refers back to the idea of artistic cinema, not necessarily offbeat or low-budget, but cinema that requires the patience and courage of the audience (see, among others, Sitarski, 2001).

³ At this point it is worth remembering that “The problematic nature of the concepts of identity and Europeanness also translates into the problematic nature of the category of European identity. Perhaps when we abstract from normative conceptions of Europeanness, from theoretical notions and political aspirations,
concept of memory, the caliber of artistic expression, and, fundamentally, the values embodied in Holland’s output.

When considering the basis of Agnieszka Holland’s authority and her prominence in the media landscape, it is evident that she has garnered respect from many, possibly continuing to do so, primarily due to her courage and aptitude for articulating even intricate issues succinctly (Pasternak, 2022, p. 407). This does not imply that she was averse to making compromises. Nevertheless, Holland consistently endeavored to remain faithful to her personal ethos and the art she practiced. Consequently, she established herself as an authoritative figure for individuals with a pronounced social inclination—activists who, resonating with her conviction, believed in the necessity of active engagement in the face of ongoing events, irrespective of time and place. Her approach was not invariably aligned with straightforward politics, and it was not about being excessively cautious in expression to avoid provoking displeasure. More frequently, Holland’s intent centered on exerting a genuine influence on reality, a sentiment that even those who are innately more reclusive or individualistic, yet are unable to stay indifferent to issues of personal importance, can relate to. Holland is recognized as an authority by those who support pro-European sentiments and adhere to democratic principles, by individuals who perceive Poland as a nation welcoming to diversity, committed to the freedom of choice, and tolerant of all forms of otherness.

In his seminal work “Cinema of Europe” (2009, pp. 208-210), Tadeusz Lubelski probes into the values inherent in European cinema and its national counterparts. These values are not only evident but also meticulously examined in Agnieszka Holland’s oeuvre. Addressing the notion of national cinema, it is pertinent to note that its analysis should encompass historical, political, religious, educational, and cultural community contexts (Lubelski & Stronki, 2009, p. 11). These are the quintessential elements for comprehending the essence of national cinema, a subject on which Holland has articulated her perspectives, not merely through mass media engagements but predominantly through her filmmaking. Her filmography spans diverse themes, including explorations of Polish and European history (e.g., Fever, In Darkness), political narratives (e.g., Europa, Europa, Green Frontier, Prime Minister series), religious discourses (e.g., To Kill a Priest, The Third Miracle), and cultural reflections (e.g., Provincial Actors, Total Eclipse, Copy of the Master). In each project, Holland seeks to address fundamental questions: How does Polish cinema integrate within the European context, echoing the core values of democracy? How does it evolve from existing traditions, reshaping them through cinematic language to forge unique conventions?

and focus on the actual and subjective, as it were, bottom-up experience of European identity, we perceive not one coherent identity, but a multiplicity of European identities, rooted in a multiplicity of ways of experiencing Europe and European integration, its consequences and their meaning. What form European identity will ultimately take, to what extent it will be the result of an elite project and to what extent it will be a bottom-up product rooted in subjective experience, what its constituent elements are/will be, is still an open question” (Bachryj-Krzywaźnia, 2014, p. 314).

“National cinema is usually interpreted as a manifestation of the interaction of the local and the international. Attention is primarily focused on language, subject matter, style, sources of funding (and thus the sphere of film production), the nationality of the director, cinematographer, actors. Other scholars, pointing to the determinants of national cinema, have written about the identity of a culture: a recognisable system of ideas, signs, associations, modes of behaviour and communication, and thus the ability to reach an audience. The categories that make it possible to define this notion more deeply are economics, thematology, audience, criticism, thus placing national cinema in the context of art cinema, high culture and national heritage more broadly” (Lubelski, 2009, pp. 208-210).
The concept of European cinema, as delineated by John Hill in “The Past of European Cinema,” is pivotal in understanding Holland’s influence. Hill posits, “European cinema coexists alongside and within national and cultural identities. Ironically, therefore, the experience of building Europeanness is one of the themes that national cinema can and should address” (cited in Sitarski, 2009, p. 184). Central to this discourse is the assimilation of shared moral, political, and cultural values across Europe. Consequently, in discussions regarding democracy, media, journalism, and education (Grabowski, 2019, pp. 52-65) in the contemporary era and in light of emerging challenges, it is insightful to consider these themes from the perspective of artists and the arts. Such an approach enhances our understanding of the role played by traditional and new mass communication media in advocating European integration and cooperation, as well as in addressing and resolving prejudices, stereotypes, and crises.

The delineated research problems facilitate an analysis of the art of moving images on two distinct planes: intra-filmic (concerning the content within the films, where references to history, politics, religion, and the like are manifested) and extra-filmic (pertaining to the reception of Holland’s films, particularly in terms of their potential political impact). This allows for a dual examination: firstly, the historical narratives within Holland’s films and the varying historical reception of these narratives; and secondly, the political intricacies in works like Prime Minister and their conveyed political messages. The director has been forthright about her political beliefs, ardently supporting opposition groups in Poland from 2015 to 2023, groups which regard freedom and democracy as cornerstones of a sound nation. Additionally, the religious elements in films such as In Darkness merit attention, especially Holland’s approach to faith characterized by tolerance and a propensity for dialogue. This multifaceted analysis underscores Holland’s profound impact on Polish culture, her unique storytelling about Poland and its people, and the unequivocal value of her films in promoting democratic ideals. These aspects have garnered significant attention from film scholars, making it imperative to synthesize their findings and highlight the essential cognitive value of Holland’s selected filmography.

Each time, the key to this work is the topicality of the problem. In Holland’s case, it centers on the need to construct an individual identity in the context of a cultural, national, or gender community (see also Heinich, 2019, p. 90). It is essential to remember that identification becomes a subject of discussion particularly when it is problematic, entailing inconsistencies between ‘self-perception’, ‘self-representation’, and ‘designation’ (Heinich, 2019, p. 54), or involving disorders at various levels. Holland has consistently been cognizant of these complexities, which is evident in the themes she addresses in many of her films. For example, the identity of a woman, as she portrays, is built upon a universal conflict of values – transcending merely Polish or European contexts – often leading to a dilemma between loneliness and humiliation, as depicted in Woman Alone and Washington Square. The director also explores identity from various angles: religious (in In Darkness), national-historical (in Fever), and European (in Europa, Europa and Green Border). In the latter instances, Holland associates identity with the concept of ‘spectacle’, namely, the mass consumption of signs and meanings prevalent in numerous rituals such as speeches, marches, or manifestos. This raises questions about Polish complexes and the

5 Nathalie Heinich (2019) coined the following definition of identity, which she sees dynamically, not as something given in advance: “it is the resultant of a whole set of operations by means of which a subject is equipped with a judgment” (p. 90).

6 The first term refers to the way a person perceives themselves. The second refers to how she presents herself to others. The third informs how she is called and judged by others (individuals and institutions). See Heinich, 2019, p. 54.
oscillation between ‘self-glorification’ and ‘self-denigration’, which frequently emerge in public debates. The national preoccupation with perfection veils an underlying sense of insignificance. Conversely, excessive self-criticism inhibits rejuvenation (as discussed by Pomian, 2004, among others). Viewed from this perspective, history, politics, and religion transition from being mere pillars of identity to becoming its fortifications.

In summarizing these preliminary findings, it is pertinent to inquire: Does the awareness of markers shaping national and European identity indeed contribute to the cultivation of democratic values? This question demands continual reconsideration, particularly in contemporary times, as addressing it leads towards a deeper understanding of ourselves as Poles-Europeans. Moreover, it enables the realization of values imperative in a democratic world to effectively confront the crises of the 21st century.

**Current problems of the Old Continent**

Agnieszka Holland asserts, “Turning away from politics or not attempting to comprehend the deeper phenomena beneath the surface of reality is a form of escapism” (Holland & Radomski, 2019). The director, who is also an activist, courageously addresses various topics. For several years, she has been recognized as one of the most influential women contributing to positive global change. Holland has always felt a profound sense of responsibility towards Poland, compelling her to voice her opinions. This perhaps explains why some view her as a person with strong convictions, while others appreciate her ability to express these views in a ‘media-attractive’ manner (Pasternak, 2022, p. 403). Additionally, she acknowledges, as Nathalie Heinich (2019) notes, that ‘we live in a world of total ambivalence’ (p. 108). The task of artists, akin to that of researchers, may be to uncover these ambiguities to better understand the roots of tensions and conflicts. This is one reason why Holland actively participates in public debates on pressing issues: discrimination against women, refugee rights, LGBT+ rights, and animal abuse. Holland’s cinema is typically analyzed from four perspectives: 1) theories of film authorship and media ‘dispersion’, 2) the concept of transnational cinema and media, 3) feminism and global women’s cinema (Ostrowska, 2014), and 4) émigré filmmaking. Her time at the FAMU film school in Prague, even before her professional career, taught Holland valuable lessons in self-reliance and solitude (Pasternak, 2022, pp. 13 and 17). The themes in films like *Fever* (1980), meanwhile, revolve around three values crucial for modern Europe: freedom, equality, and fraternity. Holland interprets these concepts broadly, considering them from the perspectives of a woman, a Pole, a European, and, foremost, an artist.

For Holland, freedom primarily means the liberty of expression in all realms of activity, including filmmaking. The goal of the author of *Citizen Jones* (2019) is to remain independent

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7 See also Elżbieta Ostrowska’s project on transnational cinema on the example of Agnieszka Holland’s work (available at https://www.ikw.uni.lodz.pl/strefa-pracownika/badania/transnarodowe-kino-agnieszki-holland).

8 For example, writing about artists in exile, sociologist Marian Golka (2008) asks questions that are also important for these considerations: “What determines the success of a Polish artist abroad? Is it a subjective feeling of satisfaction? A sense of existential security? Or rather a stock of social prestige?” (p. 77). In the case of the author of *Europa, Europa*, ‘the stock of social prestige’ undoubtedly comes into play.

9 See more on Holland’s early emigration in 1981 and her statements on political issues: Pasternak, 2022, p. 203. Even in those years, the director openly admitted that the worst thing was to live a life of lies or silence (Pasternak, 2022, p. 246).

10 The director was actively involved in the 2020 and 2021 *Freedom Games* (see https://www.igrzyska-wolnosci.pl).
of any “pedagogical-moral-political-religious game” (Holland & Brzozowski, 2016). Although she observes a contemporary lack of individuals who defy norms for the betterment of the world, Holland still sees artists, along with youth and women, as a hope of a better future. She believes in the importance of European unity and the sense of liberty provided by the Union, especially for artists. Holland has often stated that the EU, as a promoter of diversity without imposing an ideology, is beneficial. Thus, in discussing this topic, the creator of Provincial Actors (1978) highlights the wisdom, diligence, insight, and strength of the Old Continent and emphasises the necessity for Poland to ‘return’ to Europe.

In addressing the issue of identity, which thrives in the realm of freedom, the director interweaves a nuanced approach to history, religion, and politics. Holland has often highlighted in numerous interviews her experience of ‘living constantly between’ different worlds (Pasternak, 2022, p. 339). This perhaps explains her profound understanding of the complexities of history. She states, “by oversimplifying history, we render it hypocritical. It becomes a fairy tale, where crimes and merits are portrayed as equally real, devoid of any responsibility” (Holland & Zaborski, 2020). Conversely, the fundamental challenge lies in grasping the essence of the past and acknowledging the multiplicity of perspectives on it. This perspective forms the foundation of her film Europa, Europa, wherein Holland reconstructs the methods of youth indoctrination in the USSR and the Third Reich. The film features a surreal scene in which Hitler and Stalin dance hand in hand. As Jakub Majmurek points out in “Holland. A Guide to Political Criticism” (Bagiełowski et al., 2013), Holland thereby participates in the debate that occurred in Poland in the early 1990s regarding the symmetry of the two totalitarian regimes, i.e. Nazism and communism. This leads to the question: What does ‘Polishness’ signify in this context today? Is it merely “historical politics”? Is the notion of a nation possessing enduring characteristics not an

11 Holland emphasised that the past is permanently present in our present. We are constantly reworking it in our own way, updating different things. The director was interested in both psychological, social and political mechanisms. In her films, she showed, among other things, that “as humanity we keep going round in circles, similar emotions, fears, temptations, evil, hatred, violence, similar mechanisms return in cycles. In Poland in particular, we feel that we are spinning in a cycle of eternal return. Certain things keep recurring, when it already seemed that some kind of progress, cognition had eliminated [them] from our social organism. Meanwhile, it turns out that it hasn’t. History can repeat itself” (Holland & Wroblewski, 1989, pp. 9-13).

12 The director admitted that ‘religion is necessary for people’, but she considered Polish Catholicism and other monotheistic religions to be evolving ‘towards exclusionary fundamentalism, aggression towards infidels or other believers’ (Holland & Wróblewski, 2019). Right-wing columnists accused Holland of atheism, although she herself declared that her dislike of the Catholic Church was prompted more by the fundamentalism of the clergy than by the truths of faith themselves (see, among others, Holland, 2008, p. 3).

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14 When reflecting on history in cinema, Holland said: “The impetus for making Citizen Jones was an opinion poll conducted in Russia, which showed that the greatest Russian statesman was Joseph Stalin. He won first place in this ranking” (Holland & Marzec, 2019, pp. 46-48).

15 Speaking about Andrzej Wajda’s film Korczak, Holland stressed that it is not right “on the one hand to show the behaviour of Jews in all its complexity (which I will always defend, anyway), and on the other hand to reduce the behaviour of Poles at the time to the actions of Korczak’s friends wanting to save him and the tram driver dying because he threw bread. […] It seems to me that a certain role in such a balancing act is played […] by an unwillingness to show what is ugly, twisted, smelly, incomprehensible, i.e. – among other things – Polish anti-Semitism, and that it is much […] more pleasant to film a tram driver than a blackmailer” (Holland & Smoleński, 2011, pp. 22-23).
anachronism, potentially limiting our understanding of the now fluid identities of individuals or entire national communities? Holland persistently poses this question to her audience.

Most recently, Holland confronted this issue in Green Border (2023), which was awarded the Special Jury Prize in Venice. The film’s protagonist, Julia (portrayed by Maja Ostaszewska), experiences profound upheavals after relocating to Podlasie, finding herself entangled in the dramatic events unfolding along the Polish-Belarusian border. Holland’s work revisits the perennial question: What constitutes humanity? This theme gains added significance through Ostaszewska’s statement in her interview “Serce zaczyna mocniej bić” [The Heart Begins to Beat Faster], where she emphasizes Holland’s urgent message that “there is no longer time to avoid addressing vital topics” (Holland & Armata, 2023, pp. 40-44). This film serves as yet another testament to Holland’s social awareness, her conviction, and her courage in utilizing art as a powerful medium of communication.

The 21st century has seen Holland amplifying her focus on women’s rights, a subject previously explored in her works such as Woman Alone and Washington Square. However, specific events in 2020 impelled her to vocalize this theme beyond the artistic realm. She emphasized not only women’s right to self-determination but also their sense of alienation within male-dominated societies. Holland has openly discussed her own feelings of estrangement: “as a Jewish woman in Poland, a Polish woman in France, a European woman in Hollywood, and as a woman in a traditionally male profession like directing” (Bargielowski et al., 2013, p. 514). Her experiences and statements highlight the longstanding perception of film directing as a male-dominated field. This is further highlighted by strategies that have historically excluded women from the Polish cinema industry and the counter-tactics employed by female artists, enabling them to adapt and persevere in spite of these challenges.

A new and significant motif in Holland’s oeuvre is her perspective on animal rights. In 2016, she completed an adaptation of Olga Tokarczuk’s novel “Drive Your Plough Over the Bones of the Dead”. This adaptation culminated in the 2017 film Spoor, a crime drama about an elderly woman (portrayed by Agnieszka Mandat). The protagonist spreads rumours that animals, not humans, are behind a series of mysterious murders of local hunters and their sympathizers. The plot twist reveals that she herself is the avenger, executing these murders as retribution for the hunting of animals. Holland has acknowledged her intention to engage the youth with this radical message. She believes that the advocacy for animal rights and broader ecological concerns resonate profoundly with younger audiences, who are particularly sensitive to these issues. Young people recognize that these challenges cannot be addressed solely at a local level and that the European Union plays a crucial role in their resolution.

In the year of the COVID-19 pandemic, Agnieszka Holland, reflecting on the global crisis, identified several important themes that speak volumes about the present and the human condition in the 21st century: the loss of a sense of control over reality, the fear of responsibility, the atrophy of feelings and values, the need for an empathetic revolution, and the need to trust in the experience and wisdom of women (Holland, 2020, pp. 26-29; subsequent quotes are from this source). The director wrote that a time of pandemic crisis “(imposed or perhaps offered?) offers a chance to think deeply about oneself, the world, and the future”. Until 2020, people lived too “voraciously, consuming, moving, littering”. They did not comprehend that “we do not really know anything about our future and all the planning: the cheap plane tickets bought in advance,

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16 Incidentally, it is worth noting that the entire film community stood up to Agnieszka Holland, who was attacked by the right-wing media and representatives of the Polish government for making this film (see, inter alia, Spór, 2023, p. 8).
the hotels booked, the performances and contracts, the Olympics, the tight calendars, and the certainty that things will happen as we want and project them, is an illusion and hubris”. No one was prepared for such a change, although mass culture, including cinema, had long hinted at potential dangers and attempted to acquaint people with catastrophic scenarios. This message went unheard in a ‘culture of simplification’, marked by an excess of media-generated stimuli and an inability to concentrate.

The crisis generated a widespread fear of assuming responsibility for decisions in unpredictable situations. As a result, many people have relinquished “the thankless task of being citizens with all the accompanying responsibilities”. This situation has profoundly affected perceptions of freedom and human rights. The year 2020 also witnessed an atrophy of feelings and a growing indifference, initially towards visitors from other countries (during the refugee crisis), then towards animal rights and their suffering, and eventually towards the victims of the pandemic – the weakest, the poor, the sick, and primarily, the elderly. This shift demonstrated that “From a society that cherishes every life – from a premature baby to a centenarian, we have transformed into Darwinian Spartans in mere moments” (Holland, 2020, pp. 26-29).

According to the creator of Europa, Europa, the hope for the future lies in a new generation of women. These women are distinguished by their self-awareness, valor, and readiness to assume responsibility for the world around them. However, the aspirations of such women increasingly pose a challenge to conservative values. It is women who recognize the paramount importance of health and averting climate catastrophe, as opposed to harboring fears of the unknown or misunderstanding issues such as LGBT+ rights. The filmmaker posits that “women clearly discern where the most pressing issues of today lie, whereas men often fear phantoms, constructs, and in essence, their own vulnerabilities and weaknesses” (Holland, 2020, pp. 26-29). Holland observes that nations led by women have shown more effective management during the pandemic crisis. Female leaders have prioritized cooperation and collaboration, fostering an environment of calm and fairness, thereby building trust more consistently.

In Holland’s perspective, the solution to the recent crises involves redefining the role of politicians. They should act as caretakers rather than fighters or dictators. “Politicians should not resort to deceit for personal gain or convenience, but rather elucidate the complexity of reality, engaging citizens in decision-making processes and providing ample reliable information” (Holland, 2020, pp. 26-29). The focus should be on understanding and preventing conflicts, not creating them. Due to a deviation from these principles, there has been a decline in public trust in politicians and politics, although not in democratic values. Holland suggests that “scientists and artists, through their knowledge and intuition, can foresee grave threats and even devise strategies to mitigate or minimize them. Nevertheless, it is the will and efficacy of politicians that can unite the world in addressing the global challenges we face” (Holland, 2020, pp. 26-29).

Conclusions
“Societies do not want to listen to such positive leaders who say that it will be difficult, that you have to tighten your belt, that sweat, blood and tears await us, and that we have to sacrifice something now so that things can get better,” observed Agnieszka Holland (‘Agnieszka Holland: W dużym stopniu jesteśmy poza Unią Europejską’, 2019). The 21st century has brought numerous crises: climatic, digital, cultural, migratory, and those stemming from globalization’s pitfalls or social inequalities. These crises have been further intensified by processes that foster dangerous, unscientific ‘irrational conspiracy theories, manipulation, passionate outbursts of emotion – fear and hatred’, ultimately leading to ‘the demand for charismatic charlatans in power’ (Holland, 2020, pp. 26-29). Yet, crisis can also be a beacon of change and hope. A shift
in perspective is plausible, thanks to women who offer viewpoints distinct from their male counterparts. As individuals who have faced discrimination, women are particularly attuned to the issues of marginalized groups, including ‘modern slaves, children, people of other races and religions, non-believers, non-heterosexuals, and all living beings – animals, birds, and even plants’ (Holland, 2020, pp. 26-29). Therefore, they have the potential to bring renewal to Europe or at least initiate a ‘new deal’ in the struggle to uphold democratic values. According to Holland, the sustenance of democracy hinges on the courage and intellectual fortitude of those dedicated to its cause. Hope emerges only through analyzing challenges, acknowledging them, and seeking rectification. It is imperative to act rationally and calmly, to collaboratively seek solutions, and to reject the notion that nothing more can be done.

Bibliography


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