

Film und Bewegtbild in Kultur und Gesellschaft

Xiaofei Hao

Motion Pictures and the Image of the City

A Documentary Interpretation



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Film und Bewegtbild in Kultur und Gesellschaft

Herausgegeben von

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Motion Pictures and the Image of the City

A Documentary Interpretation

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To my parents

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1 Introduction

German philosopher Walter Benjamin has declared that film is more easily being analyzed than painting and theatre because it is more exact, with more aspects that tend to promote the relationship between art and science.¹ According to him, the space in film that is explored by human consciousness is interwoven with a space of the unconscious, and this optical unconscious was first discovered through the camera (Benjamin, 1980: 500). Film theorist Jean-Louis Baudry claimed that this unconscious would be attached to the mode of production of film, the process of 'work' in its multiple determinations (Baudry, 1985: 541). The knowledge people have about films and the knowledge people have through films has evolved with the development of film. But the most fascinating thing that film reveals is that people know far more than what people can tell. Within the Lacanian framework, the social theorist and cultural critic Slavoj Žižek has applied psychoanalysis to films to elaborate the insanity in human beings' psychic and social lives (Žižek, 1991, 1992, and 2000). In his documentary *The Pervert's Guide to Cinema*,² Žižek presented his speech in reconstructed scenes of some Hitchcock's films. The reconstruction of scenes in the documentary not only provides an atmosphere for him to guide the audience back to the film which he is analysing, but also arouses a curiosity to let people think about the scenes again: How do the scenes reflect or shadow human behaviour and moods? What can people perceive through the scenes? Taken the set in Hitchcock's film as an example, it is more than 'a mere set'; it is a labyrinth for characters, direc-

¹ 'Es ist nur die Kehrseite dieses Sachverhalts, dass die Leistungen, die der Film vorführt, viel exakter und unter viel zahlreicheren Gesichtspunkten analysierbar sind, als die Leistungen, die auf dem Gemälde oder auf der Szene sich darstellen. Der Malerei gegenüber ist es die unvergleichlich genauere Angabe der Situation, die die größere Analysierbarkeit der im Film dargestellten Leistung ausmacht. Der Szene gegenüber ist die größere Analysierbarkeit der filmisch dargestellten Leistung durch eine höhere Isolierbarkeit bedingt. Dieser Umstand hat, und das macht seine Hauptbedeutung aus, die Tendenz, die gegenseitige Durchdringung von Kunst und Wissenschaft zu befördern...Es wird eine der revolutionären Funktionen des Films sein, die künstlerische und die wissenschaftliche Verwertung der Photographie, die vordem meist auseinander dielen, als identisch erkennbar zu machen.' (Benjamin, W. 1980. Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit. 3rd edition. 498-499. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.)

² *The Pervert's Guide to Cinema* is a documentary directed by Sophie Fiennes in 2006, scripted and presented by Slavoj Žižek.

tor and audience where they lose and find themselves, ‘in the intensity of their emotions’ (Bonitzer, 1992: 152). Although some, such as film critic Béla Balázs, has discussed the ‘physiognomy’ of film backgrounds and the surroundings,³ it is rare that the tacit knowledge about the scenes is looked at deeply enough.

The city is the large-scale scene of some films. It is similar to the settings in theatre, but it is also much more than that, because film is a vision of the fusion of space and time (Vidler, 1993) and an art of time-space compression. In fact, film constitutes the most acquirable research material for urban studies. In the field of the cinematic city, film has been reviewed seriously as cultural text. But from the aspect of urban geography, film has not yet received enough attention, since the city in fiction films is seen only as a visual by-product, mixing reality and imagination. Yet each face of the city in a film comes from a choice. Sometimes the choice is a result of consciousness editing, while at others it is an unconscious habitus. The filmmaker’s work is to deal with the selection involved in representing a potential style (Baláz, 1952). It is thus natural to take *the* city as it appears in film as an understanding, a perception, and a cognitive map of that city.

Because of the communicative function of mass media, film has a strong influence on the spread of certain understandings and the perceptions of the city, especially in these days of globalization. It seems that cities around the world have been labelled or defined by one or more films, such as Vienna in *The Third Man*⁴ or *Before Sunrise*,⁵ Rome in *Roman Holiday*⁶ or *The Great Beauty* (*La grande bellezza*)⁷, Paris in *Two or Three Things I Know About Her* (*2 ou 3 choses que je sais d'elle*)⁸ or *Paris, je t'aime*,⁹ and Berlin in *Wings of Desire* (*Der Himmel über Berlin*)¹⁰ or *Run Lola Run* (*Lola rennt*).¹¹ Images of these and other

³ ‘The film, like the painting, thus offers the possibility of giving the backgrounds, the surroundings a physiognomy no less intense than the faces of the characters, as in Van Gogh’s late pictures...’ (Balázs, 1952: 96)

⁴ *The Third Man* is a British film noir made in 1949. It was directed by Carol Reed and starred Joseph Cotten, Alida Valli, and Orson Welles.

⁵ *Before Sunrise* is an American romantic drama film from 1995. It was directed by Richard Linklater and starred Ethan Hawke and Julie Delpy.

⁶ *Rome Holiday* is a romantic comedy released in 1945. It was directed and produced by William Wyler and starred Gregory Peck and Audrey Hepburn.

⁷ *The Great Beauty* (*La grande bellezza*) is an Italian film co-written and directed by Paolo Sorrentino in 2013.

⁸ *Two or Three Things I Know About Her* (*2 ou 3 choses que je sais d'elle*) is a French film directed by Jean-Luc Godard in 1967.

⁹ *Paris, je t'aime* is an anthology film released in 2006 starring an ensemble cast of actors of various nationalities. 18 arrondissements of Paris made up the shooting locations of the film.

¹⁰ *Wings of Desire* (*Der Himmel über Berlin*) is a Franco-German romantic fantasy film directed by Wim Wenders in 1987.

cities have been spread over screens and over years. The otherness of culture plays an important role in the constitution of individual and social identity (Wulf, 2002, 2005). The filmmaker sometimes works just as an anthropologist, using film language to record his or her image of the city. Thus, it is possible to view the 'record' of his or her image of the city in film as a process of construction of individual or social identity.

The power of the film image to represent the material and social world lies in its ability to blur the boundaries of space and time, reproduction and simulation, reality and fantasy, and to obscure the traces of its own ideologically (Hopkins, 1994). Cinematographic image is thus seen as a way to produce concrete relations amongst the fragmented perceptions of the world and to turn the social, historical, and media conditions that determine the space of everyday perception into something sensually graspable, visibly evident (Kappelhoff, 2011). Therefore, the search for a human sense of place and self in the world is constituted by the practice of looking and a study of images (Aitken & Zonn, 1994).

Film has the power to change and remap space identity (Konstantarakos, 2000). Cinematic images of the urban could define the physical form of the city in the stages of postmodern urbanism (Dear, 2000). The time-space characteristic of the city, especially the time-space compression of the 'postmodern city' (Harvey, 1990), coincides with that of film. Shiel and Fitzmaurice (2003) have claimed that cinema has impacted upon the formation of cities, both physically and as cultural constructs. The ways in which the city has impacted upon film provides a dynamic space of representational interest and a ground space for interpretation on visual-sensory experience, form and style, perception, cognition of the cinematic image, and context (Balshaw & Kennedy, 2000; Davis, 2006; Donald, 1999; Penz & Thomas, 1997). Thus, the meaning of the interpretation of the physical environment (here specifically the city) in film presupposes that film is representative of a cultural section of time, the reflection of a place spirit, and a way of keeping these in the archives of existence.

The interweaving of the city space and film language will be elaborated from the perspective of urban studies first. What the image of the city is represented by the language of film? How is the city expressed in the film by the filmmaker? In this research, urban planner Kevin A. Lynch's work *The Image of the City* (1960), has served to help define and constrain the concept of 'the image of the city' from that is to be used in the analysis of films of city as filmmakers' mental cognitive maps, with Lynch's five elements theory of the image of the

¹¹ *Run Lola Run (Lola rennt)* is a German film released in 1998, written and directed by Tom Tykwer and starring Franka Potente and Moritz Bleibtreu.

city employed as selection framework in the context of film. Lynch and his research team applied the concept of the cognitive map to explore the physical city environment through local people's mental images, and after five years' study they concluded their research with the five city image elements: *Path, Landmark, Edge, Node, and District*. The work has been recognized as classical action research guidance for environmental image and people's perception, an important contribution to urban geography in the last century.

The second perspective from which the image of the city in film will be explored in this research is that of tourism studies. There are so many connections between film and tourism, so much so that a film can actually be seen as a virtual tour for the audience during its 90 or so minutes. Furthermore, many aspects of 'film tourism' have proven to be fertile ground for research (e.g. Beeton, 2005; Conell, 2012; Tooke & Baker, 1996). Film provides the objects for the gaze through its construction of anticipation (Urry & Larsen, 2011). When a film shows its story in a location of a city, the city becomes a part of the gaze. As a medium, film therefore provides a source of destination images in two ways: organically when the film is not shooting as an advertisement to attract tourists; induced when the film is aiming for the promotion of the location as a tourist destination. In practice, these two types of image cannot be separated in film tourism. Film provides the special empathetic experiences of the city and triggers wanderlust, or even more directly motivates audience members in regards to the film's location. From the aspect of film tourism, film forms, shapes, or influences the image of the location. Thus, to elaborate the construction of the image of the city in film is an attempt to answer the question 'why would film make people go to the place and how does this happen?' In this research the destination, the place is the city.

Because of the 'identification' effect of film (Balázs, 1952: 48), 'emotional identification' is transferred to the spectator through the camera (Balázs, 1952: 92). Thus, the emotional link between the camera and the place is the key to answer the first question 'why'. Not only the theory of destination image (Gunn, 1972), but also topophilia (Tuan, 1974, 1977) and place attachment (Altman & Low, 1992) are involved in the comparative analysis after the detailed interpretation of the two example films respectively. In regards to the second question, 'how', reference is made to the theory of film, where for example Balázs (1952: 50) declared that film was invented as an art by Hollywood through the break of distance between art and spectator, and illusions are created in the spectator according to the reproduction of the fictional space in the film. Considering the image of the city, the 'image' itself is a product of imagination rooted in the

human body (Wulf, 2004). Thus, the imaginary and its construction are related key issues discussed in this research as well.

Apart from the above two perspectives, film language is the core idea used to probe into the research questions. Viewers from different cultural milieus combine the images from the film with the previous images from themselves and evolve them into different imaginaries about the city and its image. That is the power of film language to manifest the imaginaries and the image of the city. Film language describes the way film ‘speaks’ to its audiences and spectators (Hao & Ryan, 2013). It is the muscle and bones of a film and comprises the structure for film to stand on its own, distinguished from other similar art genres. Ever since the beginning of film history, theorists have been fond of comparing film with verbal language (Baláz, 1952; Monaco, 2009). In 1964 the film theorist Christian Metz suggested in his essay ‘Le Cinéma: langue ou langage?’ that films communicate in a language-like way, such as through the use of signs, symbolic codes, editing, shot types, camera movement, lighting, and scenes that together form phrases to create specific meaning, but not according to one particular set of rules (Metz, 1964). Monaco (2009) summarized the ‘codes’ of film language, including *Mise-en-scène*, montage and sound, based on Metz’s theory; he emphasizes that ‘codes’ do not exist before the filmmaker’s practice, but from the language of film itself. Thus, looking at film language is a way to explore what the image of the city in the film is and how it is produced. The author of film language is a team that includes the director, the cameraman, the director of photography, the editor, etc. In this way, ‘filmmaker’ is actually a more appropriate title for representing the whole team. Considering the director is the main person controlling and directing the team, in this research the director is seen as the representative of the filmmaking team, and his way of using film language is subject of the interpretative focus.

Interpretation is the theoretical explication of implicit patterns of meaning, and the explication of implicit or tacit knowledge is the task of Documentary Method (Bohnsack, 2010: 109-110). German sociologist Ralf Bohnsack has pointed out that Documentary Method aims at reconstructing the implicit knowledge that underlies everyday practice and gives an orientation to habitualized actions, independent of individual intentions and motives (Bohnsack, 2008). The implicit knowledge of the city in cinematic space is accessible for interpretation through the reconstruction of film language, because the understanding of the city is everyday practice for the filmmakers who are shooting in that city. Thus, the methodology of this research project is rooted in Documentary Method. Documentary Method of interpretation is a central aspect of sociologist Karl

Mannheim's sociology of knowledge, which can be traced back to 1922 (Bohnsack, 2003a, 2010). According to Mannheim, an identical, homologous pattern underlying a vast variety of totally different realizations of meaning is the core of documentary meaning (Mannheim, 1952: 57). 'Weltanschauung' is defined by Mannheim and he suggests a change in analytical stance from the question 'what', regarding truth and normativity in the construction of social reality to the question 'how', concerning social production and its development (Bohnsack, 2010). The application of Documentary Method can be traced back to the middle of 20th century in the research field of ethnomethodology, to clarify a principle for everyday life by the experiments of crisis (Garfinkel, 1967). But Bohnsack (2010: 22) has pointed out that 'the application of this method in Ethnomethodology has not answered the question of how social interaction can be investigated and how social science can gain access to the milieu of specific life worlds and the Weltanschauung of specific social groups'. The development of Documentary Method has been regained through the reconstruction of the milieu life (conjunctive level of experience) primarily in the context of group discussion analysis since the 1980s (e.g. Bohnsack, 1983, 1989; Bohnsack, et al, 2002). Pictures and films as the data material for the reconstruction of social structure and the patterns of orientation in everyday practice have extended Documentary Method's interpretative range recently (Bohnsack, 2003b, 2007, 2009; Wagner-Willi, 2006; Baltruschat, 2010; Bohnsack, Fritzsche, & Wagner-Willi, 2014). Bohnsack (2010) elaborates that iconic or image-based understanding is embedded in implicit knowledge as the 'atheoretical' knowledge identified by Mannheim (1982), and this discussion in social science influenced the art historian Erwin Panofsky to make the transition from Iconography to Iconology (Panofsky, 1955). Following Panofsky, but referencing to Max Imdahl's emphasis on formal composition (1996), Documentary Method of interpretation of pictures and video has succeeded in gaining access to the picture as a self-referential system (Bohnsack, 2010). Thus, accessing the image of the city through the interpretation of film language is also possible with Documentary Method.

Two films about the city Taipei will be looked at as case studies: *Yi Yi (A One and a two)*, 一一, Director Edward Yang, 2000) and *Au Revoir Taipei (Yi Ye Tai Bei)*, 一页台北, Director Arvin Chen, 2010). Film director Edward Yang (Yáng Déchāng, 杨德昌, 1947-2007) is regarded as one of the founders of the Taiwan New Cinema (Yeh & Davis, 2005). Yang directed seven feature films in his lifetime, and all of the films are about the city of Taipei. Yang stated himself that he was 'born in Shanghai, raised up in Taipei, the city gives me too much stories' (Huang, 2007: 88). He was very interested in the diversity and subtle differ-

ences between human beings in globalized city life. Jameson (1995) perceived Yang's city representation in a postmodern aesthetic way and he has analysed the spatial characteristics of Taipei City of 1990s in Yang's *Terrorizers*. According to him, no other films seem comparable to Yang's filmic inscription of Taipei, which is dialectically distinct from Hou Hsiao-hsien's images of the Taiwanese countryside.

Director Arvin Chen's *Au Revoir Taipei* (2010) is interpreted as the comparative case. The two films represent the city of Taipei in the years around 2000 and 2010. The different images in these films are comparable because they are chosen from different films but all located in the same city, Taipei. Chen's parents are from Taiwan and he grew up in the San Francisco Bay Area, majoring Architectural Design at the University of California, Berkeley. After graduation, he moved to Taipei to apprentice with Edward Yang (Lu, 2010). *Au Revoir Taipei* is his first feature film. The different directing styles of the two directors in this master-and-apprentice relationship become the objects of study in this consideration of the image of the city in films.

This book is comprised of six parts in total.¹² Following this introduction, I will provide a literature review and explanation of the theoretical foundation and methodology of the research, as well as an introduction of the two films and the city of Taipei. Then the core chapters of this research follow, where Documentary Method of interpretation of film language in the image of the city is applied in detail. The two films, *Yi Yi* and *Au Revoir Taipei* are interpreted in their pictorial dimensions, sound and text dimensions, and their overall interpretation. The core research question of how the presentations of the image of the city in the two films are produced is addressed mainly in these parts. Chapter five is the elaboration and extension of the theme of 'the image of the city' in its uses in film tourism and destination images, involving the construction of symbolic space of place attachment and viewer's imaginaries. The questions regarding why film would arouse the viewer's imaginary of the shooting location and how this process works are given an alternative answer in this chapter. The last chapter concludes the entire research project, from the interpretation of the image of the city in film to the tourist imaginaries, and then to the destination image influenced by place attachment in film.

This research on the image of the city in film interpreted through Documentary Method is multi-perspective and trans-disciplinary. According to film studies, it belongs to the cinematic city and the film critic. In urban studies, it be-

¹² All the film images used in this book courtesy of the production companies of *Yi Yi* and *Au Revoir Taipei*.

longs to urban cultural geography. In tourism studies, it stands in the field of film tourism. When it comes to the methodology and methods, this research is grounded within social science. Such trans-disciplinary projects are always complicated, and require an open mind. The interpretation and elaboration in this research might be time-consuming; yet underwater agarwood is also a gift of time – from dispelling to refiguring may last a hundred years.

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2 Theory, literature and methodology

Since the end of 20th century there has been a shift in focus from history to geography in the social sciences, a phenomenon that has been called the ‘spatial turn’ (Döring & Thielmann, 2008; Falkheimer & Jansson, 2006; Knowles, 2000; Warf & Arias, 2009). In combination with the ‘cultural turn’ that preceded it (Hall, 1990; Jameson, 1998; Oberg, 1960), the influence of the ‘spatial turn’ was apparent in the areas of both literary theory (e.g. Siegel, 1981; Timms & Kelley, 1985) and cinematic studies (e.g. Albrecht, 1986; Weiner, 1970) even earlier, and both the spatial connotations of the city and the symbolic meanings of landscape have been recognized in the humanities for quite some time.

Film can be seen as a ‘close observation’ (Smith, 2001: 9) of culture, or a ‘representation’ (Hall, 1997) of the image of the city. Similar to urban planning, film also acquires the power to change and remap space identity (Konstantarakos, 2000), which means that cinematic representations of the urban could also define the physical form of the city in the stages of ‘postmodern urbanism’ (Dear, 2000). The starting point of this research is to locate the representation of the image of the city constructed by film language in order to interpret the geographical expression of socio-cultural context - the image of Image, city itself as a ‘social image’ (AlSayyad, 2000), which is an interpretation from the aspect of the form in film syntax. Thus, in this chapter I will review the literature to elaborate the following: the concept and system of the image of the city, the composition of film language and the cinematic city, the introduction of the two case studies, and the methods and methodology applied in this research.

2.1 The image of the city

As art historian Hubert Burda (2011: 16) has pointed out, ‘after centuries during which our culture has essentially been constituted through script and text, visual communication has become stronger than ever before and is gaining in validity to a much greater extent’. ‘Image’ could be seen as a visual communication, defined as a ‘graphical representation of the spatial distribution of one or more

objects' (Lauterbur, 1973: 190) involving construction and perception. Thus, the process of communicating images is completed in two steps as images are first constructed by authors and then perceived by viewers. 'Identifying' (Monaco, 2009) happens between the two steps. 'Image' could refer to a mental picture – a kind of imagination (Shepard, 1978; Wulf, 1999), still image (e.g. Saxena, Chung & Ng, 2008), moving image (e.g. Peucker, 2007), etc. Image might also be seen as a comprehension in philosophy, such as in *The Scientific Image* written by Bas C. van Fraassen in 1980. Therefore, the word 'image' is not confined to psychology (e.g. Zenon, 2003), art history (e.g. Feldman, 1971; Belting, 1994) or computer science (e.g. Weickert, 2008); it seems universal in all genres.

If we look back on historical combinations of 'the image' and 'the city', there have been plentiful offerings of 'the image of the city' in fine art in both the Western and Eastern worlds. Prominent examples include Ambrogio Lorenzetti's series painting *The Allegory of Good and Bad Government* (1338-1339), and Zhang Zeduan's panoramic painting *Along the River During the Qingming Festival* (清明上河图, 1085-1145). In *The Allegory of Good and Bad Government*, one part of the fresco, named *Peaceful City*, describes and provides the accurate panoramic view of a city and landscape in the 14th century. The city of Siena could be identified with this famous painting, which is filled with markets, shops, churches, towers, streets, walls and so on. In *Along the River During the Qingming Festival*, the artist captured in successive scenes the landscape and the daily lives of people (including the different lifestyles and activities of rural areas and the city) in the Song Dynasty Chinese capital Bianjing. The images of Siena and Bianjing were both constructed by a painter in his artwork and delivered to viewers from generation to generation. If we shift our focus from fine arts into the area of urban studies in the recent century, 'the image of the city' is a well-known concept in the research area of urban and regional planning, and offering an 'image' to the public (both residents and outsiders) is often (albeit controversially) regarded as one of the primary duties of an urban planner. In the following parts, I will introduce the concept of 'the image of the city' according to urban studies and its related discourses and findings, and explore it from the perspective of destination image when we consider city as destination.

2.1.1 Lynch's image system

The first effort within academic research on 'the image of the city' was attributed to the famous urban planner Kevin Lynch in 1960. According to Lynch, image is

not solely an understandable picture of city, but a system that includes several definitions and five elements: Path, Edge, Landmark, Node, and District. Lynch's image system first proposed the concept of 'a legible city', which would be 'one whose districts or landmarks or pathways are easily identifiable and are easily grouped into an over-all pattern' (Lynch, 1960: 3). This concept emphasizes the identifiable character of a city, meaning the elements of a city and the overall pattern of a city recognizable. A legible city can be 'seen', which would seem to contradict Italo Calvino's novel *Invisible Cities*. In this book, Calvino depicted different images of different cities through the verbal language of main character Marco Polo as he attempts to describe the cities to the emperor Kublai Khan. Marco Polo's descriptions of cities in *Invisible Cities* are actually the identifications of those cities, meaning those cities are legible to both the one who has seen them with his own eyes (Marco Polo) and the one who has not seen them but can imagine them in his mind (Kublai Khan). In Calvino's work, the cities' physical structures (architecture, street and space organization, etc) relate to memory, desire, signs, eyes, names, the dead, and the sky (Calvino, 1972/1974); such an impression of city could be seen as constructing the image of the city, although cities in question are 'invisible'. For his part, Lynch (1960) has suggested some positive values of 'legible surroundings', including the emotional satisfaction, the frameworks for communication or conceptual organization, and the new depths that they may bring to everyday experience. Just like Calvino, Lynch relates the positive values of a legible city not to physical requirements, but rather to perceptual standards. In this way, the image of the city is a mental perception of the physical environment; a legible city is identifiable, describable, interpretable, and communicable.

We have to admit that every city in the world is virtually constructed by visual identification and emotional attachment, and this kind of construction has lead to another concept, 'environmental image' (Lynch, 1960), which is used to interpret information and to guide action. According to Lynch's theory, the environmental image is 'the product both of immediate sensation and of the memory of past experience' (Lynch, 1960: 4). Therefore,

environmental images are the result of a two-way process between the observer and his environment. The environment suggests distinctions and relations, and the observer – with great adaptability and in the light of his own purposes – selects, organizes, and endows with meaning what he sees. The image so developed now limits and emphasizes what is seen, while the image itself is being tested against the filtered perceptual input in a constant interacting process. (Lynch, 1960: 6)

The people who live in the environment are observers, and the people who visit the environment are observers as well. The cities construct their images in all these viewers' minds and these environmental images would be expressed in different ways for each of them. Viewers can capture the image of cities in literature, TV series, advertisements, paintings, and films, and the perception of environment can manifest as 'political, historical, and ethnographic vignettes to narrate and draw theoretical lessons from the socioeconomic, political, and cultural practices of those social actors' (Smith, 2001: 9). However, the image of the city is not static, but an open-ended order (Lynch, 1960). This order is the spiritual representation of the city (Jacobs, 1961). The recognition of this point is significant to research on the image of the city. Because what we are seeking is not a petrification or a final picture of a city, it is essential to acknowledge the dynamic energy and possibility of development in the city as crucial aspects of 'the image of the city'.

The last, but certainly not the least important, of Lynch's terms that I would like to introduce in this research is that of 'imageability', which is described as the

quality in a physical object which gives it a high probability of evoking a strong image in any given observer. It is that shape, color, or arrangement which facilitates the making of vividly identified, powerfully structured, highly useful mental images of the environment. (Lynch, 1960: 9)

Thus the image of the city carries the structure of space and the expression of its inner meaning at the same time, because imageability is the natural characteristic of the city. Lynch has suggested that imageability 'might also be called legibility, or perhaps visibility in a heightened sense, where objects are not only able to be seen, but are presented sharply and intensely to the senses' (Lynch, 1960: 9). However, I subscribe to the view of imageability that involves both comprehension and imagination based on the perception of the socio-cultural environment, taking the artworks mentioned above, *The Allegory of Good and Bad Government*, *Along the River During the Qingming Festival*, and Calvino's novel *Invisible Cities*, as examples. As Lynch said, extending and deepening the perception of environment has involved a 'long biological and cultural development which has gone from the contact senses to the distant senses and from the distant senses to symbolic communications' (Lynch, 1960: 12).

Lynch and his research team proposed a physical composition of the image of the city, which included five elements: *Path*, *Edge*, *Landmark*, *Node*, and *District*. These elements of the city, which Lynch and his team identified as essential to the structure of the image of the city, were also discussed in Jane Jacobs' (1961) *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. Jacobs (1961)

stated that the soul of a city depends on the contents of that city, the multifaceted functions of streets, districts, landmarks, edges, and so forth. *Path*, which could also be called a street, refers to a passage along which an observer moves, either consciously or unconsciously; *Edge* indicates the boundary between two dimensions or two functions; *Landmark* acts as an internal direction in the city and when observers see it, they are often at the outside of the Landmark; *Node* is a convergence and concentration, like a crossroads or a corner; *District* is an area that has the common characteristics which come from the insider's observation (Lynch, 1960; Jacobs, 1961). These elements will be used as a reference point throughout this research and further elaborated in the domain of film interpretation within the documentary method.

According to Lynch, the analysis of an image includes three components, *identity*, *structure*, and *meaning*:

A workable image requires first the identification of an object, which implies its distinction from other things, its recognition as a separable entity. Second, the image must include the spatial or pattern relation of the object to the observer and to other objects. Finally, this object must have some meaning for the observer, whether practical or emotional. Meaning is also a relation, but quite a different one from spatial or pattern relation. (Lynch, 1960: 8)

As Stout (1999/2011: 150) declared, 'in the modern city, it is the image – sometimes celebratory, sometimes haunting, always definitive in its explanatory value – that is paramount both as spectacle and revelation'. Considering the characteristics of film, the image of the city in films can be analysed based on this premise, with film directors providing the identity and structure of images. Thus, this research will combine these three components – identity, structure, and meaning – with the reconstruction of formal structure and the interpretation of characteristic meaning in the process of picture and video interpretation based on documentary method, in order to explore the application of the 'the image of the city' in film studies.

2.1.2 Discussion and applications of Lynch's findings in film studies

As the most widely-read book of urban geography of all time, *The Image of the City* is also Lynch's most well-known theory of how people perceive cities (LeGate & Stout, 2005). Urban planners believe that they can create more psychologically satisfying urban environments for people, and as LeGate and Stout

have written, Lynch's work has had and continues to have a huge influence in this area:

Urban designers throughout the world sketch out the elements of cities or parts of cities they are designing and draw on [Lynch's] theories and practical suggestions to strengthen the city image. Planners in cities as diverse as San Francisco, Cairo, Havana, and ciudad Guyana in Venezuela, have used Lynch's concepts to inform their urban planning and design strategies. (2005: 425)

Lynch's concept of the image of the city has been recognized by different researchers from different areas and has in no way been limited to the study of urban planning. Literary critic Fredric Jameson (1988) has pointed out that Lynch's work specifies the fundamental function of the media idea in any successful act of social triangulation, which always seems to include the representation of its own media system within itself. Colin MacCabe also mentioned Lynch's work in the preface of Fredric Jameson's book *The Geopolitical Aesthetic* as follows:

Effectively, it works as an intersection of the personal and the social, which enables people to function in the urban spaces through which they move...the model for how we might begin to articulate the local and the global. It provides a way of linking the most intimately local – our particular path through the world – and the most global – the crucial features of our political planet. (MacCabe, 1995: xiv)

The research method of cognitive mapping used by Lynch has been embraced by film critics like Jameson (1988) and Žižek (2007), but there is very little research combining Lynch's image theory with film studies. The research on the city in films which has been done has focused primarily on the 'cinematic city' and the relation between city and cinema in a critical way, such as in the postmodern representation of city in film (e.g. AlSayyad, 2000; Dear, 2000; Donald, 1986; Harvey, 1990).

The city itself is a powerful symbol of a complex society and the image of the city is emblematic of a kind of thinking in which interplay exists amongst representation, cognition, and imagination regarding urban social realism. Marxist cultural analysis revealed that superstructures of thought and artistic expression rest upon and derive from a material base rooted in social and economic realities (Stout, 1999/2011). In any case, the image of the city has its explanatory value and reflects the social reality of the time, which observers may apprehend through many channels. As cities become representations, so do representations become cities (Dear, 2000). The representation that is the image of city can be applied to anything - for example the *Formula 1 Competition* has offered the images of two different cities on television at the same time (Burda, 2011),

which is an easily recognizable application of the image of the city through media. The search for a human sense of place and self in the world is constituted by the practice of looking and a study of images (Aitken & Zonn, 1994: 7). Thus, films as the public media have supplied plenty of instances of Lynch's image of the city, and what we are seeking is a way to look into these images.

Lynch indicated that the image of the city is private: each person would have their own image of the city. Lynch also pointed out, however, that there are some substantial agreements 'among members of the same group', revealing consensus amongst significant numbers: these he called 'group images'. These group images, or one might say shared images, 'interest city planners who aspire to model an environment that will be used by many people' (Lynch, 1960: 6). This point of view regarding the image of city is so naturally coincident with filmmakers' application of the image of the city in their films. The image of the city is first created by the filmmakers themselves based on their own perceptions or imagination, then this is delivered to the viewers, at which point the private image might become the group image. This progression is validated by a special phenomenon called film tourism, which I would like to explore later on. Films about cities communicate information about the cities, both to the viewers who have seen the cities in question and to those who have not seen those cities before. When the public images are constructed, the interplay between physical reality and socio-cultural environment can be identified through the mental images carried by large numbers of viewers.

2.1.3 City as a destination and its image-related research

'The city' as a destination for tourists has been focused on since the beginning of tourism studies, and the research about image of destination started in the 1970s, when it was defined in geography as the tourist's perception of a destination (Fridgen, 1987; Hunt, 1975). Research on tourist destination images has involved in different genres, such as psychology (Mayo & Jarvis, 1981), anthropology and sociology (Selwyn, 1996), geography (Dianne & Claudio, 1997), marketing (Ahmed, 1991; Bramwell & Rawding, 1996), and so on. Lawson & Baud-Bovy (1977) saw the destination image as the expression of all objective knowledge, impressions, prejudices, imaginations, and emotional thoughts an individual or group might have regarding a particular place; Crompton (1979: 18) stated that 'an image may be defined as the sum of beliefs, ideas, and impressions that a person has of a destination'. Gunn (1972) introduced the models of image con-

structuring processes in which 'organic images' from newspapers, magazines and other mediums lead to the formation of 'induced image'. Fakeye & Crompton (1991) added a third level, the 'complex image', to Gunn's classification. The image of the city in film can participate in all the levels of the destination image: to supply an organic image of a place to a potential tourist, to induce the motivation of a tourist to visit, and to combine with the tourist's own experience. However, in this research the image of the city that will be interpreted using documentary method is the organic image of the destination city.

Environmental psychology provides a possibility for understanding how tourists perceive and experience foreign environments as 'emotional territory', and tourism studies responds to the idea of a positive attitude towards environment constantly: the origin of 'tourism' is based on this affective bond between people and place, and the emotional link established to the environment through tourism would usually be experienced in a positive way (Holden, 2005). This kind of person-place bond has been explored in humanistic geography since the 1970s (Tuan, 1974, 1975, 1977). Tuan explored the concept of 'topophilia' (Tuan, 1974), which represents the positive attitude of human beings towards their environment; according to him, the city is viewed as a mother who nourishes – place is an archive of fond memories and achievements that inspire the present, 'permanent and hence reassuring to man, who sees frailty in himself and chance and flux everywhere' (Tuan, 1977: 154). At almost the same time, Hunter (1974) suggested that attachment happens at a psychological level and refers to the cognitive and emotional linkage of an individual and a particular setting. At the beginning of 1990s, Irwin Altman and Setha Low discussed place attachment as the 'bonding of people to places' in their book (1992: 2), which is one of the foundations of the conceptual framework of place attachment. According to Lewicka (2011), over the last forty years attention to place attachment has spread its development from human geography towards all branches of social sciences, including environmental psychology, sociology, community psychology, cultural anthropology, urban studies, leisure sciences and tourism, ecology, forestry, architecture and planning, and economics. However, the diversity of perspectives on place attachment and its relationship to concepts such as place identity and sense of place, is a sign of intellectual maturity and vitality akin to the process of theory development (Manzo, & Devine-Wright, 2014). As Bauman (2004: 77) pointed out, identity is a 'hotly contested concept', but definitely also an important component of environmental image (Lynch, 1960: 8). Similar to the concept of destination image mentioned above, Proshansky, Fabian & Kaminoff (1983) suggested that 'place identity' could be seen as the physical environment-

related cognitions which make up the 'environmental past' of the person - a past consisting of places, spaces and their properties which have served instrumentally in the satisfaction of the person's biological, psychological, social, and cultural needs. Yet according to Williams et al. (1992), who suggested a theoretical framework of place attachment which comprises 'place identity' and 'place dependency', the concept of place identity is simplified to the *emotional* connection between people and place, while place dependence refers to the *functional* connection between people and place. The boundary between place identity and place dependency is not definite, but these two dimensions of place attachment amount to a practicable basis for further exploration. Other researchers have suggested different models of place attachment based on the Williams' scale, and yet it seems that the more dimensions they add into the framework of place attachment the more ambiguous the concept becomes.

Place attachment has been studied using methods of both quantitative research and qualitative research: in the former, the measurable models of place attachment are in focus, while in a process of qualitative research the cultural milieu is an important aspect in the exploration of the concept of positive attitude. From the closest place scales like home or neighborhood and to higher levels such as cities or towns and countries, all are concerned with place attachment (Lewicka, 2011). Referring to Lynch (1960), Lewicka (2011) has pointed out that a city is the more legible the more it is divided into different, internally homogeneous, regions, attracting tourists and representatives of the creative class. The city is one of the main scales of place attachment, and according to Tuan (1975: 157), the city is the center of meanings: 'Cities are places, worthy of proper names and prominent labeling in school atlases; whereas the neutral terms of space and area apply to the emptier lands'.

Since the beginning of the study of topophilia, Tuan has stated that the environment itself may not be the direct cause of this kind of bond, but environment provides the sensory stimuli which - as perceived images - lend shape to our joys and ideals, and the particular set of sensory stimuli which people choose to recognize 'is an accident of individual temperament, purpose and of the cultural forces at work at a particular time' (Tuan, 1974: 113). Low (1992) is more affirmative of cultural influence and points to strong individualistic feelings that may be unique to specific people, but nevertheless are embedded within a cultural milieu. He argues that place attachment is more than an emotional and cognitive experience, and includes in his definition of the phenomenon cultural beliefs and practices that link people to place. The attractiveness of a destination influences the construction of place attachment (Lee, 2001); the image of a place

helps determine the attractiveness which in turn influences the construction of place attachment (Hou, Lin, & Morais, 2005). Thus, this research on the image of the city will focus on the exploration of the characteristic meanings from the perspective of place attachment (or the more classical word *topophilia*), which is underlying the image in the films. Using Lewicka's words, this research is an attempt to use Lynch's theory of 'the image of the city' as 'a starting point for a "place theory of place attachment"', which has 'not been studied' (2011: 223) till now.

2.2 The language of film

Film is a remarkable and relatively new way of communicating (Monaco, 2009). The relationship between the image of the city and film could be understood as being based on the relation between perception and construction; the workings of these two processes cannot be definitively isolated from each other. This research focuses on the image of the city constructed by film language, which means language employed both consciously and unconsciously by the filmmakers. As has already been stated, film is usually a team effort effectuated under the supervision of a director, but also including for example a photographer, screenwriter, editor, etc. Considering the complexity of the visual image, I use the word filmmaker sometimes to represent this whole team of 'authors' for a film; but the director is the most important member of this team, and a film is normally seen as the work of the director because his style or preferences are key in the realization of the film work. The film language employed can be considered in regards to the technological skill involved in the construction of the image. At the same time, interpreting film language on the image of the city relies on the perception of the filmmaker. As Kapepelhoff (2011: 203) has stated, 'aesthetics produces forms of life, forms of concrete and experienced reality of ideas', thus the language of film is an appropriate self-referential system with which to interpret both the documentary meanings contained inside films and the social culture outside those films.

2.2.1 *Film language as a system*

Film communicates through language-like means such as signs, symbolic codes, editing, shot types, camera movement, lighting, and scenes that together form phrases to create meaning (Metz, 1964). As a film semiotician, Metz transposed

the thinking of the semiotic-structural revolution inspired by Saussure (1959) - that is the study of systems of signs - into the study of film as a language. The British film theorist Peter Wollen (1972) supported the notion that film is a type of language: it has context, and meaningful words, yet it is different from the language of everyday. For instance, a film shot is like a sentence, since it makes a statement and is sufficient in itself; but the point is that the film does not divide itself into such easily manageable units (Monaco, 2009). Wollen (1972) constructed a categorization of signs in film language; among these categories are the *Icon*, *Index*, and *Symbol*. Although film language cannot be divided into basic units or counted with numbers, signs of film language are naturally interpretative because of their denotations (the surface or literal meanings of signifiers) and connotations (the ways the filmmaker chooses to represent, the representing meaning of the denotations). Monaco (2009) has suggested that film language is a system involving signs, which need spectators to work to interpret the signs they perceive in order to complete the process of intellection. Basically, viewers' sense of cinema's connotations depends on understood comparisons of the image presented with the images that were not chosen (the paradigmatic: what choice to make), and images that came before and after (the syntagmatic: how to edit it); thus, much of the meaning comes from an ongoing process of comparison of what is seen with what is not seen, which is dependent on extensions and indexes (Monaco, 2009). The line between denotation and connotation is not clearly defined in film - if they become strong enough, connotations are eventually accepted as denotative meanings. As it happens, much of the connotative power of film depends on devices that are indexical; they are not arbitrary signs, but neither are they identical (Monaco, 2009). The signs of *Icon* and *Symbol* proposed by Wollen (1972) are mainly denotative, and the signs of *Index* suggest a third type of denotation that points directly toward connotation; therefore, *Index* in film gives spectators concrete representations or measurements of the ideas (Monaco, 2009). Yet film semiotics is not static, but dynamic: the flow of film language supplies 'syntagmatic connotation' (Monaco, 2009) for understanding the inner construction.

As an objection to the order of the world of perception, film has no grammar in its language, but rather 'the syntax of film - its systematic arrangement - orders its rules and indicates relationships among them' (Monaco, 2009: 191). Metz (1974) pointed out that spectators achieve an understanding of film systems because they understand the films themselves: 'it is not because the cinema is language that it can tell such fine stories, but rather it has become language because it has told such fine stories' (Metz, 1974: 47). Heath (1976: 74) similarly stated that 'film is a series of languages and a history of codes'. Monaco (2009) summarized the 'codes' of film language based on Metz's theory, involving for

example the *mise-en-scène*, montage, and sound; he described the codes as ‘critical constructions’, ‘systems of logical relationship’, and the medium through which the ‘message’ of the scene is transmitted; the specially cinematic codes, together with a number of shared codes (for instance, gesture, which is a code of theatre as well as film) make up the syntax of film. Film theorists have basically come to an agreement on the fact that the codes of film language materialize in the wake of the film’s creation and ‘they are not pre-existing laws that the filmmaker consciously observes’ (Monaco, 2009: 197). Therefore, ‘codes’ do not exist in the filmmaker’s conscious, but come from the language of film itself (and yet as Monaco emphasized, ‘film is not a language, but is like language’ 2009: 175). ‘Film language’ as a concept encapsulating the codes of film is agreed upon by academics in film studies. Because film shares a lot of codes with culture, society, and the literary, semiotics has concentrated on the syntagmatic aspect of film, for a very simple reason: it is here that film is most clearly different from other arts, so the syntagmatic category (editing, montage) is in a sense the most ‘cinematic’ (Monaco, 2009). According to Keen, narratives in film ‘infamously manipulate our feelings and call upon our built-in capacity to feel others’ (2010: 64), and Rose (2001) added the narrative structure of film into this equation, considering storyline to be a code in the film language system.

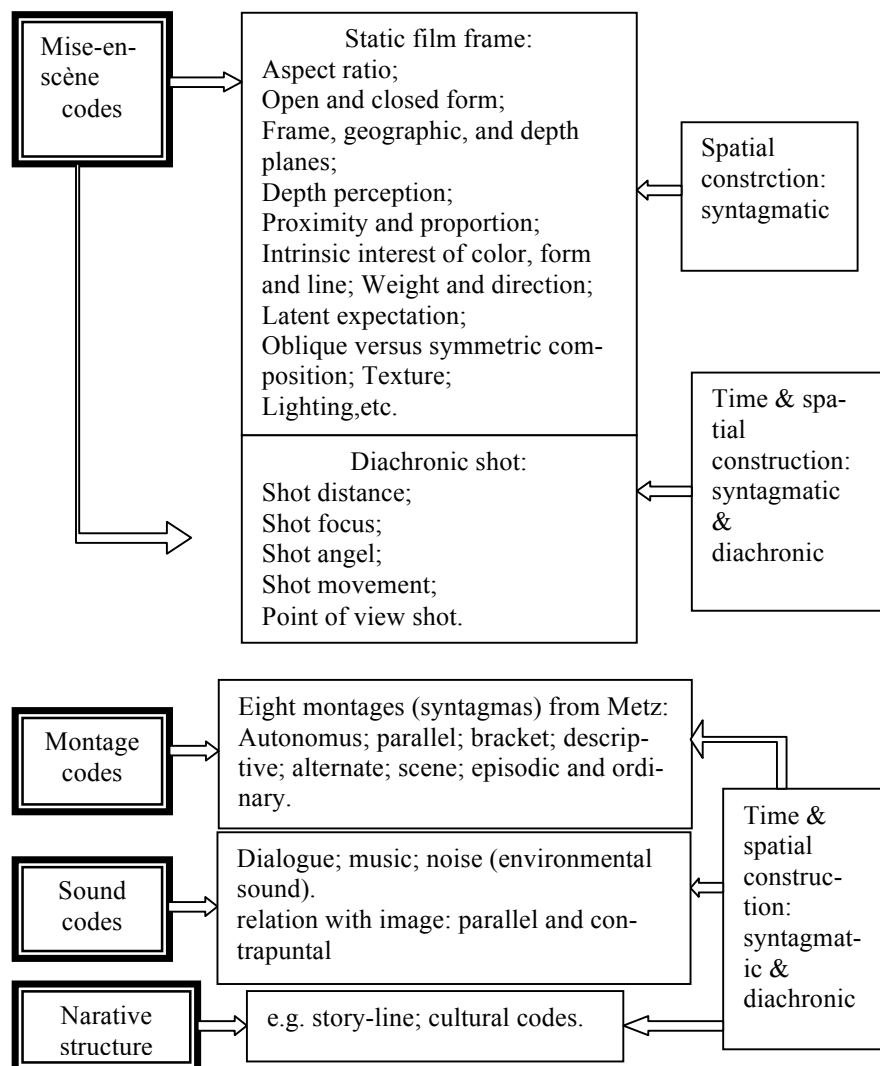


Figure 1: Film language system and its codes. Drawn by the author, based on Monaco (2009) and Rose (2001)

The above figure details the system of film language based on Monaco and Rose's assessments, including the cultural codes that film shares with other arts, and those which are constitutive of narrative structure. As is shown in Fig. 1, the syntax of film language includes both developments in time and in space (Monaco, 2009). *Mise-en-scène* (literally 'putting in the scene') is the modification of space and usually concentrates on the content and form, supplying the object of seeing in films. *Mise-en-scène* is not limited to the expression of space; it also involves the construction of time based on the diachronic shot (a shot that changes in its state over time). Therefore, *mise-en-scène* has developed as a stable element of film language, which is fundamental to the image. Unlike *mise-en-scène*, montage (literally 'putting together') was at first developed as a skill in the handling of time. Monaco (2009) has claimed that montage suggests a building action and working from the raw material, and since the German Expressionists and Eisenstein in the 1920s a film has been seen as being constructed rather than edited. Montage theory has been an essential element in the creation of cinematic narrative, and what montage means in cinema is that the mind is naturally inclined toward reconciling the unconnected (Anderson, 2005). There are different categories or types of montage, like those employed by Pudovkin and Eisenstein. In the late sixties, Metz attempted to synthesize all of these various theories of montage. He constructed a chart in which he tried to indicate how eight types (see Fig.1) of montage were connected logically. As Monaco (2009: 244) has stated, there are a number of problems with Metz's categories, yet the system does have an elegance all its own and it does describe most of the major patterns of montage. Considering the effects of montage, Monaco concluded that 'montage is a dialectical process that creates a third meaning out of the original two meanings of the adjacent shots, and a process in which a number of short shots are woven together to communicate a great deal of information in a short time' (Monaco, 2009: 240). Sound plays an important role in film language as well; it is essential to the creation of a locale, and a still image comes alive when a soundtrack is added that can create a sense of the passage of time (Monaco, 2009). Interestingly, narrative structure is not included in the film language in Monaco's reading of the film language system, but it is an inevitable and important characteristic of film language interpretation as it supplies the complete idea of the film itself.

Benjamin (1936/1968) suggested that the 'close-up', 'space expands', and 'slow motion' in film introduce viewers to unconscious optics much like psychoanalysis introduces people to unconscious impulses. 'Playing on the tension between time (editing, narrative) and space (distance, editing), cinematic codes

create a gaze, a world and an object' (Mulvey, 1989: 25). In this research, this 'gaze', 'world', or 'object' is the representation of the image of the city. Moreover, since the spectators can grasp the image of a social structure through the visual space constructed in films, film language can be seen as 'a poetic process that constantly mirrors three realities of film in each another: the inner film reality, the performed reality, and the production reality' (Kappelhoff, 2011: 207). Dear (2000) has suggested four primary elements in his spatial theory of film as follows: the place of production (i.e. where the film is made), the production of place (i.e. the narrative conventions of the film), the film text (i.e. the movie itself), and the spectator, the whole panoply of perceptual apparatus the viewer brings to a text (i.e. the viewer's subjectivity in relation to the film, including especially the place of viewing, and the delights and dangers of fantasy).

According to Dear's theory, the narrative conventions of a movie text largely derive from the production of place, and there are dual aspects to this production process: the techniques of spatiality used by filmmaker (their spatial tools), and the actual filmic spaces on the screen that are produced by those tools. Dear has claimed that the spatial tools are 'a box of tricks used by the filmmaker to produce a required representational space' (Dear, 2000: 191), including the use of camera angles (high, level, low), depth of focus, framing (e.g. close-up), camera mobility, altered motion (slow, accelerated, reverse, etc.), special lenses and other special effects, and lighting (Easthope, 1993: 19). Dear (2000) confirmed a potential effect on the screen - the narrative spaces are produced by a list of such basic building blocks. Although Dear did not use the words 'film language' to describe the 'box of tricks', the content of this box definitely belongs to the system of film language. Just as Dear (2000) said, the construction of the narrative matrix begins with the framing of the actors and action, sets and lighting, etc., to produce the *mise-en-scène*, or the art of the image.

A few researchers recognize the function of film language as a technique for the construction of narrative space in film, such as Stephen Heath (1976). In *The city as cinematic space: Modernism and place in Berlin, symphony of a city* (1994) Wolfgang Natter combined the urban matrix and narrative matrix by analyzing its film language. Informed by Walter Benjamin's *The work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction* (1936/1968), Natter observed how shots and cuts define film as spatial image. Labov (2003) analyzed the usage of film language in the description of the streets in Warsaw, which is an attempt to combine the urban matrix and narrative matrix as well. No matter how they are named or elaborated, the urban matrix and the narrative matrix of the film are the practices of the two key codes of film language: *mise-en-scène* and montage. In fact, the tension between *mise-en-scène* and montage, which is the relation between space and time, has been the engine of film aesthetics since the Lumières and Melies

first explored the practical possibilities of each at the turn of the 20th century (Monaco, 2009).

2.2.2 Cinematic city

The relation between space and time in film can be linked to Bakhtinian's chronotope (literally 'time space', the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature, 1936/1981),¹³ and Bachelard's topoanalysis (the systematic psychological study of the sites of our intimate lives) in *The Poetics of Space* (1964), as well as Harvey's time-space compression in *The Condition of Postmodernity* (1990) both agree with the implicit connections of the spatial characteristics of the city with the temporal. Based on this kind of representation of the relation between space and time, a distinctive branch combining urban and film studies has developed in the last 30 years: *the cinematic city*.

Space is the fundamental factor of the existence of the city, and the link between film and spaces is a critically important suture in understanding the creation of cultures and places (Dear, 2000). Time is also an essential element of city as a self-sufficient alternative (Jacobs, 1961) and a narrative testifier of film. The time-space characteristic of a city, especially the time-space compression of the postmodern city, happens to coincide with film. Film language as a technique constructs the time-space relation in order to reproduce the reality, or to make the spectator 'discern the fictional aspect of reality itself, to experience reality itself as a fiction' (Žižek, 2001: 77).

The city has been the source of material since the birth of film, and films with the backdrop of the city have and continue to emerge endlessly. German director Fritz Lang's *Metropolis* (1927) is seen as the first scientific fiction movie, and it is also the first movie about the city in the future. The representation of a futuristic urban dystopia found in *Metropolis* seems to function as a 'critique' (Donald, 1999: 86) of the architect Le Corbusier's (1887-1965) planning project *Ville Contemporaine* (a contemporary city for three million people, an idea which the architect introduced in 1922). Later Benjamin (1936/1968) argued for the constitution of the filmic as the modern critical aesthetic, and instrumentally secured the link between film text and city text via his *Passagen Werk* (Buck-Morss, 1989). In the 1950s, with the development of Hollywood movies, the representation of urban life in films began to involve different aspects. Taking

¹³ Some research on time-space relations in the cinematic city are based on Bakhtinian's chronotope, or inspired by it (e.g. Bruno, 1993).

the American comedy film *The Apartment*¹⁴ as an example, New York City participated in the protagonists' personalities and the storyline. With the development of urbanization in the 20th century, people's perception of city life became deeper and more thoroughly entrenched in their beings. Since the 1980s, a number of films related to the thinking of city have described both realistic cities and futuristic cities (e.g. *Blade Runner*¹⁵ in 1982). The relationships between humans within the city space, as well as the relations between time and space in the city became the main topics of filmmakers. Therefore, a focus on the cinematic city has been cultivated from the domain of film critics to the domain of urban and architectural design. From the 1960s discussion of the modern city to the 1980s postmodern city, city and film offer research examples to each other, along with an evolution of the understanding of time-space relations. Production designer Anton Furst said that he translated 'images of architecture' - not architecture itself - into his Academy Award-winning set design in *Batman*¹⁶ (Neumann, 1996: 162) and the ambiguous relationship between architecture and film signaled by this statement has been referred to by researchers (e.g. Toy, 1994; Vidler, 1993). Yet Dear (2000) has suggested that the lack of a 'grounded' or contextualized theory of architecture is a primary reason for the current shift toward cultural studies in academic research in this area, and he believes that contemporary film studies has stretched far beyond architecture for its cultural references, drawing upon post-structuralism, semiotics, psychoanalysis, and postmodernism.

The concept of the cinematic city mainly concentrates on the 'problematic of space', which subsumes the problems of the urban sphere (the city and its extensions) and of everyday life (programmed consumption) and which has displaced the problematic of industrialization (Lefebvre, 1991: 89). Dear (2000) has pointed out that the spatial problematic in human geography is concerned with understanding the simultaneity of time and space in structuring social processes, just as the 'city as labyrinth' was the connection into the psychological and aesthetic framework of films, for example in film noir (Christopher, 1997: 37). Most critics admit film noir that occupies a particular place in the pantheon of cinematic representations of the city (McArthur, 1997: 28). For instance, *Blade Runner* has been examined by Giuliana Bruno (1987) as a metaphor for the postmodern condition and Los Angeles as the quintessential postmodern city, which

¹⁴ It is a comedy film directed and produced by Billy Wilder in 1960, starring Jack Lemmon and Shirley MacLaine.

¹⁵ It is an American science fiction drama film directed by Ridley Scott, starring Harrison Ford, Rutger Hauer and Sean Young.

¹⁶ An American film directed by Tim Burton and produced by Jon Peters, starring Jack Nicholson and Michael Keaton, which is the first episode of Batman film series.

in *Blade Runner* is described as overcrowded and drenched in acid rain (Denzin, 1991). Doel and Clark (1997) isolate *Blade Runner*'s references to spatiality (the city's architectural pastiche) and temporality (the film's fragmented experience of time) as emblematic of a postmodern sensibility within the film.

The relationship between the cinema and the city within the terms of the modernism /postmodernism debate has animated critical discussion and analysis of culture and society since the 1960s; Shiel and Fitzmaurice (2003) stress that cinema has impacted upon the formation of cities, both physically and as cultural constructs, and that the city has in turn impacted upon cinema in providing a dynamic space of representational interest as well as a ground space of interpretation for visual-sensory experience, form and style, perception, cognition of the cinematic image and context (Balshaw & Kennedy, 2000; Davis, 2006; Donald, 1999; Penz & Thomas, 1997). In regard to the role of the city in films, Lent (1987) has summarized six specific categories of urban setting used in film noir set in Los Angeles: residential imagery, topographical imagery, downtown imagery, landmark imagery, industrial imagery, and Hollywood imagery. Easthope (1997) identified three broad attitudes towards the cinematic representation of cities: 1) the city as simply a background; 2) a celebratory and or utopian view of the city; and 3) the city as dystopia. However, Dear (2000: 184) has suggested that the city in film carries with it a multitude of metaphorical meanings, such as refuge and holds that it is extremely rare that the city is simply 'there' in a movie; accordingly, Dear has pointed out ways in which the city plays a more integral role in the execution and representation of narrative.

The time-space relation of city reflected in film is especially stressed by research on the cinematic city in conjunction with the development of postmodernism. Postmodern cinema usually chooses historical or nostalgic scene to represent the inhuman characteristics of architectures and environments, in order to show the indifference scientific rationality and the author's anxiety about the time-space compression. Jameson (1988, 1991) has stressed the significance of architecture in unraveling the meaning of social change since his earliest work on the postmodern, and he also introduced the concept of cognitive mapping from Lynch. But according to Dear (2000), Jameson made little headway with the cognitive mapping project in his aesthetic geography. For moving forward with the cognitive mapping and overcoming the shortages of Jameson's aesthetic geography, a new multi-perspective which relates both to the environmental psychology and sociological interpretation is on the demanding. Therefore, just as Hopkins (1994: 47) pointed out, 'intervening in the production and consumption of the cinematic landscape will enable us to question the power and ideology

of representation, and the politics and problems of interpretation. More importantly, it will contribute to the more expansive task of mapping the social, spatial, and political geography of film’.

2.2.3 Film tourism

Film and tourism both encourage an audience to collect images on the screen or in the reality of a visit to a place. This potential effect of films has generated a special form of tourism, namely film tourism, or film-induced tourism (Beeton, 2005; Connell, 2012). With the development of visual culture, film tourism research has expanded significantly in the past two decades (e.g. Busby & Klug, 2001; Couldry, 1998; Hudson & Ritchie, 2006; Kim, 2012; Macionis & Sparks, 2009). From the initial identification of this phenomenon to the recording of an increasing number of case studies regarding the tourist gaze and cultural authenticity, place images, tourist experience, and the potential energy of film tourism – all have garnered attention from academics (Connell, 2012). In the 1990s, film tourism research started to be published. Riley et al. (1998) gathered data at 12 US locations to support earlier anecdotal accounts of film tourism and their study extended earlier studies by suggesting a variety of reasons for the phenomenon and documenting some of the impacts of film tourism at various locations. Other research has introduced the concept of vicarious experience through empathy (e.g. Carl, Kinson, & Smith, 2007), and developed theoretical understandings about the relationships of films to destination image (e.g. Kim & Richardson, 2003). Shandley, Jamal and Tanase (2006) conducted a study in which they examined a contested tourism proposal in Romania, and suggested a film-location-tourism spectrum to provide a context for discussion that included consideration of the role of fantasy in image creation.

There are mainly four branches of film tourism research according to Hudson and Ritchie’s review (2006): the influence of film on the decision to travel, film tourists, the impacts of film tourism, and film tourism destination marketing activities. Thus, ‘destination impacts’ became the key word of many studies of film-induced tourism (Connell & Meyer, 2009; Kim & Richardson, 2003). Connell (2012: 1008) pointed out that there are ‘many hundreds of local authorities, DMOs and specific film production/promotion units operating across the world to encourage the film-making community to use specific geographic areas for on-location sets’. Yet Beeton (2010) has stated that the emerging field of film tourism research invites multi-disciplinary postmodern study, which has moved it from simply considering business and marketing aspects towards approaches

incorporating multiple disciplinary perspectives. Fig.2 details Beeton's suggestion that film tourism inquiry and knowledge development has progressed from speculation to what she has termed 'higher level' multi-disciplinary inquiry - a combination of media studies and social sciences.

According to Fig. 2, the multi-research area between media studies and film tourism is represented by the idea of 'Myth / Fantasy', and within the recent research on film tourism, tourism imaginaries have been brought into focus just as the model suggests (e.g. Kim, 2012; Salazar, 2012). Chronis (2012: 1809) regarded 'tourism imaginary' as 'a value-laden emotion conferring collective narrative construction that is associated with and enacted in a particular place through tourism'. There are a few studies about how tourism imaginaries intrude into the 'real image' of the destination, such as the image of Santa Claus in Finland (Pretes, 1995), the Coronation Street set (Couldry, 1998) and the Hibiscus Town in China (Hao & Ryan, 2013). The imaginaries (or Fantasy) in film tourism depend on the image and discourses offered by film, thus focusing on the multiple conduits through which they pass and become visible is the only way to study these imaginaries (Salazar, 2012).

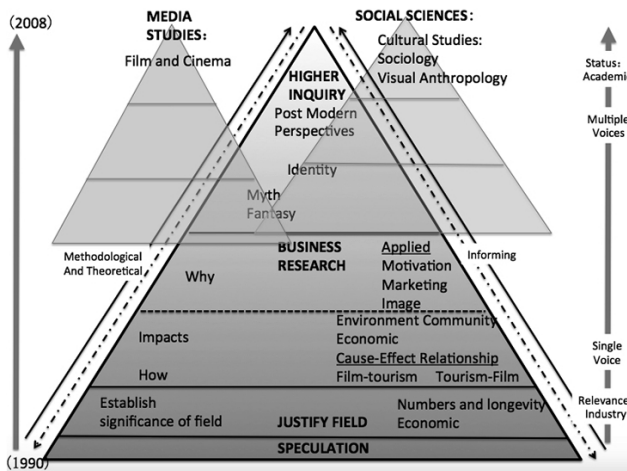


Figure 2: Model of film tourism knowledge development (Beeton, 2010)

Hao and Ryan (2013) pointed out that for film tourism, film language acts as a guidebook, first describing the spaces where the film plots happened; second, shaping images of the places in an audience's mind; and third, serving as a blueprint for the physical reconstruction of spaces to replicate the place representa-

tion shown in the film. ‘Films offer an identity for the place on the screen, and describe a space with its own narrative language’ (Hao & Ryan, 2013: 339), an unavoidable example of which is the idea of New Zealand as ‘Middle-Earth’ (Carl, Kindon, & Smith, 2007) after the release of *The Lord of the Rings*¹⁷ film series and its series of *Hobbit*¹⁸ prequels. Said (1994) suggested that geographic imaginaries refer to how spaces are imagined, how meanings are ascribed to physical spaces, and how knowledge about these places is produced; these hows refer to the construction of place attachment and the effect of film language.

Thus, I add ‘Place attachment, Topophilia’ into Beeton’s model, in the area between social sciences and film tourism. In this research, the research question is located within the mix of tourism, media, and social sciences. In the domain of film tourism studies, this research on the image of the city relates to the destination image of film tourism - the ‘why level’, and the upper level of a postmodern perspective, and the emphasis on the film language interpretation belongs to media studies. Yet the entire research project of the image of the city in film stands in the domain of social sciences.

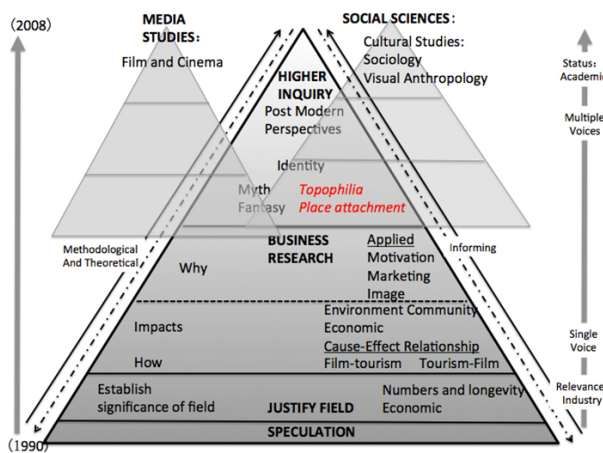


Figure 3: Adding ‘Place attachment, Topophilia’ into Beeton’s Model

¹⁷ Three epic fantasy adventure films directed by Peter Jackson. The films are individually titled *The Fellowship of the Ring* (2001), *The Two Towers* (2002) and *The Return of the King* (2003).

¹⁸ Another three epic fantasy adventure films directed by Peter Jackson. *An Unexpected Journey* (2012), *The Desolation of Smaug* (2013) and *The Battle of the Five Armies* (2014).

2.3 Introduction of two case studies

There are two case studies involved in this research. The following sections will introduce the background of the two films and their directors, as well as their shooting location - the city of Taipei.

2.3.1 *Cinema of Taiwan*

There are three types of Chinese cinemas according to their location: those of Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the mainland. They are all rooted in the Shanghai cinema of the 1920s and 1930s, but by the late 1970s the three industries had become quite distinct (Anderson, 2005). Taiwan's cinema industry has been centralized since the Kuomintang of China (KMT)'s retreat, with the state-owned, vertically-integrated Central Motion Picture Corporation (CMPC) producing the majority of films. Taiwanese cinema was introduced to the melodrama of 'healthy realism' by the CMPC and developed romantic melodramas as well as kung-fu films. 'Healthy realism', which was the dominant sensibility of the CMPC's productions, 'aimed to shine a positive light on social reality through melodramas about the value of hard work and moral rectitude', but starting in the 1970s, the KMT-financed CMPC started to move away from serving merely as a 'mouthpiece for the government and into the production of movies that were more appealing to the masses' (Anderson, 2005: 12-13). Gradually, Taiwan's new wave cinema was cultivated by the filmmaker Li Hanxiang's Grand Motion Picture Company and began to adapt Taiwanese literary works for the screen. Chiao (2007a) suggested the culture recording function of Taiwan new cinema origins from resistance to an 'avoiding reality' style of the last film generation. Taiwan new cinema depends on the director's autobiography, and for the first time put Taiwan into reality. Therefore, the aspiration to reality developed the function of recording culture. From the narrative autobiography, Taiwan new cinema reflects the politics, economy, society, and cultural development of Taiwan over the last forty years. Directors were encouraged to show the face of Taiwan in a way similar to the so-called modernists, a group of novelists who adopted Western literary innovations and westernized concepts such as individualism, rationalism, and liberalism; many of these modernists would later become screenwriters, including Wu Nianzhen, Wang Tong, and Hou Hsiao-sien, all key players in the development of the Taiwanese New Wave (Anderson, 2005). Some filmmakers intend to be history writers, and Hou Hsiao-hsien's film *A City of Sadness* is the product of this intention. Edward Yang is one particular por-

traist within Taiwan's new cinema because of his personal westernized worldview (Anderson, 2005). Jameson (1995) pointed out that the Taiwanese 'New Wave' has tended to mark its images as specific to the island, because Taipei does not possess the profile or the historical resonance and associations of the great traditional mainland cities, nor is it an all-encompassing closed urban space of a virtual city-state like Hong Kong; Taipei dominance has effectively transformed the natural countryside into a extended suburban space, which is modified by the linked association of an intricate web and map of electric trains that lead into the place.

2.3.2 Edward Yang and his films

Edward Yang (1947-2007) is one of the most famous film directors of Taiwan, and he is seen as one of the founders of Taiwanese New Cinema, along with Hou Hsiao-hsien (侯孝贤, 1947-); these two directors represent a dialectical relationship to contemporary filmmaking and the international reception of Taiwanese films (Yeh & Davis, 2005). Edward Yang directed seven feature films in his lifetime: *That Day, on the Beach* (1983), *Taipei Story* (1985), *The Terrorizers* (1986), *A Brighter Summer Day* (1991), *A Confucian Confusion* (1994), *Mah-jong* (1996), and *Yi Yi (A One and a Two)* (2000); he also worked on other projects, such as *Expectation*, one episode of a TV serials, which was recognized by Yang himself as his first experience of filmmaking (Huang, 2007). He won the Best Director Award at Cannes for the film *Yi Yi*. All of Edward Yang's films are about city life, and he is regarded as a 'filmmaking poet' (Anderson, 2005: 2). Yang's concentration on the city environment was continuous throughout his works, and he observed on Taiwanese society carefully. Human relationships which are unsurpassably fatalistic with in specific time-space relations were a core theme of Edward Yang's films since *That day, On the beach*. He cared about and focused on the city's space expression in his films, drawing on it to reflect emotional separation, past purity, broken reality, and themes of space split up, such as in *Terrorizers*, where he extended this split visual object along with the narrative structure (Huang, 2007).

After studying electronic engineering at the National Chiao Tung University of Taiwan, Yang enrolled in a graduate program at the University of Florida, where he received his Master's Degree in Electrical and Computer Engineering in 1974 (Pendegast & Pendegast, 2001). Two German directors influenced Yang deeply - Werner Herzog and Rainer Werner Fassbinder - and were a motivating force for him (Anderson, 2005). Realizing film was what he truly loved,

Yang decided to become a film director after his several years working in USA as an engineer. As an engineer turned director, Yang's Western experience, along with his autodidact's confidence, give his films a distinctly cosmopolitan flavour (Yeh & Davis, 2005), and his exquisite image quality can be traced to his previous painting and art training (Huang, 2007). Yang's works are view that all intended to 'rock audiences out of their popcorn-nourished complacency and into a new awareness of their world and its possibilities', and he presented audiences with 'something they had not been shown: themselves, real, recognizable, everyday people, framed by the particular strangeness and complexity of life' (Anderson, 2005: 4). Yeh and Davis (2005) divided Yang's career into three parts: first, his early melodramas, '*Expectations*' from the TV serial *In Our Time* (1982), *That Day on the Beach* (1983), *Taipei Story* (1985), and *The Terrorizers* (1986); these were balanced a decade later by three postmodern comedies, *A Confucius Confusion* (1994) and *Mahjong* (1996), both black and cynical, and *Yi Yi* (2000), a lighter humanist comedy; and a single masterwork falls in between, the historical epic *A Brighter Summer Day* (1991). Yeh and Davis (2005: 92) also pointed out that although they belong to the family of art cinema, Yang's latter works, from *A Brighter Summer Day* onward, are 'independent, eschewing commercial talent and technicians'.

Edward Yang was interested in the diversity and subtle differences between human beings in globalized city life (Anderson, 2005) and he preferred to use different means to explore this idea. Yang claimed that many wise people had left the world clues in their art, architecture, music, and literature to ensure their descendants would be able to reconstruct the facts and recover faith in humanity, and he thought that film should have the same effect (Chiao, 2007a). In his movie *Taipei Story*, he let a character (who is an architect) express his own feelings about the city of Taipei: "This building, that building; I designed, or not, I cannot tell them apart; this city gives me no feeling of existence." Since his childhood Yang had admired the famous architect Leoh Ming Pei (I.M. Pei, 1917-) and he dreamed of being an architect as well (Huang, 2007: 15). Although he did not follow his early dream career path to become an architect, he conducted the architectural image into his film work to echo the dramatic relations. Yang himself said once in an interview that the modern urban space 'is like a sealed platform, even though there are many metropolitan cities, it is still a sealed space, which is expressed by the telephone of the businessman and the base for fax machine' (Huang, 2007: 168). Some critics have said that Edward Yang's death has reduced the opportunity of Taiwanese architecture to show itself in an emotional, filmic way (Huang, 2007). As Anderson put it:

Yang's predominating landscape has been Taiwan itself – and more specially... Taipei. It is hard to think of any major creative artist who can so comfortably be placed beside the likes of Joyce, Vermeer, or even Woody Allen as someone whose work is so inescapably linked with a specific city – even if that work elegantly transcends its place of origin to embrace themes and emotions that supersede geography and even culture. (Anderson, 2005: 2)

Edward Yang is seen that he attempted to create a kind of soul portrait of Taipei in his film *Yi Yi* (2000) (Anderson, 2005). Some film critics claimed, as a precisely focused film, *Yi Yi*'s gentle, contemporary family comedy appeals through its sympathetic characters and cyclical narrative; its protagonists, goals, and lines of action are neatly laid out and resolved (Yeh & Davis, 2005). Taipei city in *Yi Yi*, as well as the film's architecture and its storytelling, is highly familiar and livable; it comes across as comfortable, especially for Western audiences. Yeh & Davis (2005) claimed that *Yi Yi* has a soothing design, especially its music score, and its spaces are comprised of affluent surroundings: hotels, restaurants, concert halls, luxury flats; the clean, orderly locations, color schemes, balanced composition, acting, and mise-en-scène evoke a sense of serenity, despite the inner emotional turmoil, and the local spaces of Yang's previous films are nowhere to be seen. According to them, '*Yi Yi* is Wordsworth ... a closer analogy might be made with Taiwan's cinematic legacy, with *Yi Yi* recalling healthy realism' (Yeh & Davis, 2005: 94).

Edward Yang's works are seen as the representation of Taiwanese film's new syntax and new spirit (Huang, 2007), such as the way *A Brighter Summer Day* shows the reality of a special time-space relation in Taiwan as an urban historical epic. The concern of Yang's films is always focused on Taipei City, which is regarded as a sign of his specific position in Taiwanese new cinema. In one interview Yang said:

The reality is the most important thing. When I look back on my works, I find that these films reflect the history of Taiwan in these twenty years ... I start to think about the relationship between postmodernity and architecture. Urbanization is the process of civilization, at this point, we are no different from westerners, this is a universal thing, it is the process of human being (Chiao, 2007b: 166).

Edward Yang's seven feature films have been recognized by film critics across the world. The content of his narrative and the form of his film language are identified as leaders of Taiwanese new cinema. But the image of Taipei in his films has been fully examined by very few, typically limited to the two-sentence mentions of film critics. However, Jameson has treated Yang's works' city representations in a thorough and postmodern aesthetic way, analyzing the spatial

characteristics of Taipei City in Yang's *Terrorizers* in the 1990s. According to Jameson (1995), no other films can compare to *Terrorizers*' inscription of Taipei, which is also dialectically distinct from Hou Hsiao-hsien's images of the Taiwanese countryside:

The enclosed spaces in their range and variety thereby figure or embody the unevenness or inequality of the world system: from the most traditional kind of space all the way to ... the multinational space of the publisher's office and transnational anonymity of the hotel corridor with its identical bedrooms ... Taipei is thus mapped and configured as a superimposed set of boxed dwelling spaces in which the characters are all in one way or another confined. (Jameson, 1995: 154)

To Jameson, enclosed dwellings, gas-tank, streets and other urban settings in *Terrorizers* provide a structural inversion of magic realism with 'this utterly non-magical and unsurrealistic photographic transformation of urban detail into solid colors whose stunning combinations are somehow chilled by the perfection of the technological apparatus and strike the viewer with that distance and coldness' (1995: 135). He also pointed out how 'the gentrified dimension of a postmodernity whose flip side is neo-poverty and homelessness and a new attitude towards urban space registered in original ways' in the film (1995: 146). In any case, Jameson's analysis of the image of the city in Yang's film is meaningful and encouraging, because he first noticed the importance of the city background in Yang's film and tried to interpret it from the perspective of geographical aesthetic.

2.3.3 Arvin Chen and his films

The image of the city, which in this research is the image of Taipei, is constructed by the language of Yang's films as well as the city designer's plan in reality. In order to explore this phenomenon further, to incorporate a time span in order to see changes in the image of Taipei within different directors' film language and to discover the social change beneath it, another director, Arvin Chen and his film *Au Revoir Taipei* (2010) will be examined for a comparative analysis. The two films in question represent Taipei city in the years 2000 and 2010, which allows for a comparison of time span in relation to spatial circumstances. The different landscapes in these films are also comparable because they are chosen from different films but all located in the same city of Taipei.

Au Revoir Taipei (2010) is seen as a romantic comedy set in nighttime of Taipei. Director Arvin Chen grew up in the San Francisco Bay Area and studied Architectural Design at the University of California, Berkeley. After graduation,

he moved to Taipei to apprentice with Edward Yang (Lu, 2010). In 2007, Chen's short film *Mei* won the Silver Bear at the Berlinale. *Au Revoir Taipei* was his first feature film. His second film, *Will you still love me tomorrow* (2013), is a family drama involving gay husband and his unknowing wife in Taipei, and reveals a Taipei filled with colorful street scenes and candy-tinged interiors in a departure from the usual depictions of this city, which has rarely looked jolly on screen (Mintzer, 2013).

The two different directing styles of Yang and Chen, despite their master-and-apprentice relationship, might present very different images of Taipei. But as Taipei Mayor Hau Lung-bin has stated, 'the faithful documentation and representation of a city relies on the creativity and free expression of its artists' (Lu, 2010). The particular way these artists used film language to produce the image of the city is at the core of what this research would like to explore.

2.3.4 *Taipei as the city*

Taiwan, as a treasure land of China, was first called 'Formosa' by outside pioneering Portuguese and Spanish long-distance maritime travellers in the Age of Discovery (16th century) (Weng, 2006), then gradually recognized as a remote island on the frontier of the Chinese empire (Mackay, 1895). In the following centuries, the destiny of Taiwan was brought into focus both in the political world and in cultural society. Aborigines, migrants from southern China since 13th century, and mainlanders (外省人, Wai Sheng Ren) in the 20th century, have constituted the main population of Taiwanese society. Colonial influences from the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and Japan have mixed Confucian morality with Christianity (mainly Catholicism). The level of cultural migration and social adaptation found in Taiwan makes it a unique case. Over 300 years worth of Han and other culture have composed a multicultural song about this place. As an island with a unique geographical relationship, Taiwan is constantly reconstructing its culture identity; this reconstruction might be seen as piling up faults and layers, and then this social structure of preservation and evolution make Taiwan even more unique and attractive, no matter if one is considering its political, social, or cultural aspects. Taiwan is a destination full of potential to be explored and studied. Consequently, there is an abundance of research into this Chinese island's history and its economic, cultural, and societal development (e.g. Goddard, 1966; Knapp, 1980; Mackay, 1895; Wolf, 1978). Scholars have also looked at Taiwan through the lens of the light-shadow venue of expression, cinema, to

explore this contemporary, multifaceted island society (e.g. Lin, 2007; Jameson, 1995).

As the center of Taiwan, Taipei is presented as a spokesperson in front of the public. The charms of this city are not limited to its combination of Orient culture and Western capitalism, but also relate to the historical events and social developments that provide an explorative space to interpret this city. In the process of building its own image of city, Taipei has been recognized and identified in many different ways, both in reality and in illusions. Taipei originated at the mouth of the Tansui River and first developed port facilities in combination with agricultural activities (Huang, Wong & Chen, 1998). The urbanization of Taipei was triggered with Japanese colonization as the city's essential infrastructure, including the official buildings, public spaces, and traffic systems that exist in present-day (Chou, 2005; Liu, 2013). After the KMT lost the civil war in mainland China in 1949, the KMT Government retreated to Taiwan with about 1.2-2 million mainlanders and started to use the urban form to legitimize its governance (Liu, 2013); in Taipei City, many new landmarks and government institutions were designed to represent Chinese palace architectural styles (Tay, 1995). Hung, Chen and Cheng (2010) characterize present-day Taipei as a moderately developed urban area which is mostly a mixture of residential and office buildings and factories. Because of their considerable impact on the image and urban development of cities, the illegally-built residences for the KMT soldiers and their dependents, called 'chuan tsun' in Mandarin (眷村) - literally meaning the 'family-dependent village' - ultimately became special spatial products with historic significance (Liu, 2013). The architecture represents political power in Taipei and the way the image of this city upholds the changes in social ideology.

Taiwan's rapid economic growth from 1970 to 2000 transformed the island from a rural economy to an industrialized one; Taipei became a socioeconomically 'dense urban' area, and the pattern of centre-urban sprawl has been part of the Taipei metropolitan area's environment for the last 30 years (Huang, Wang & Budd, 2009). As the political, economic, cultural, and transport centre of Taiwan, 66% of the land in this typically compact Asian city has been urbanized (Jim & Chen, 2009). Since the late 20th century, Taipei has been transforming itself into a hub for high-technology knowledge, and Taipei's new role is as an interface city that is connected to both Silicon Valley and China's coastal cities like Shanghai (Hsu, 2005). Huang (2006: 478) analysed the urban linkage between Taipei and Shanghai, and pointed out that cosmopolitan identities and urban networks are formulated by this new linkage, with Taipei becoming a centre that 'produces the image and sign system of Chineseness in global city-regions'. With the development of globalization and modernization, Taipei has

made itself capable of adapting to new circumstances, and the image of Taipei has changed with its social-economic role. As a highly developed city (Lin & Jhen, 2009), Taipei has carried its physical spatial construction with its socio-cultural reconstruction over the last 40 years.

Taipei's image as discussed in this research is not a satellite image derived from remote sensing technology, but an understanding of urban forms from the perspective of the socio-cultural environment. The image of Taipei is both in its own residents' minds and in the outsiders' imaginaries. Taipei is a place to represent 'the city', and films based on Taipei build images of this city. Filmmakers use film language to provide viewers the image of the city, and while the city in question in films is of course not always Taipei, this city is nevertheless unique and meaningful as an exploratory case.

2.4 Methods and methodology

In Lynch's research on the image of the city, interviewees were asked to draw their own cognitive maps of some city districts and Lynch's team acquired a perception of the image of the city based on the interviewees' maps. Similarly, film language draws its image of city in a more audio-visual way. The choice of what represents city in the films is similar to what interviewees drew in their cognitive maps. The filmmakers in this case are the interviewees, who offer a large amount of images of the city, although the number of interviewees is fewer, or even limited to one. Thus, to interpret the representation of the image of the city created through film language is to analyse the mental image of the city based on an amount of images offered in the film (still or diachronic). The city is composited by details and its organized complexity is a representation of freedom (Jacobs, 1961). Thus film language provides a visual order to reconstruct the visual order of the city's skeleton knitting.

Visual interpretative research has a tradition in social sciences (e.g. Collier, 1979; Emmison & Smith, 2000; Mead, 1963), but 'visual sociology' in the proper sense was not founded until the 1970s (Cheatwood & Stasz, 1979). The use of visual data is involved in social and cultural anthropology (e.g. Collier & Collier, 1986; Mead, 1975) focuses include special social groups (e.g. Bateson & Mead, 1942; Collier, 1973), interaction and role behaviour (e.g. Heath & Hindmarsh, 2002; Heath & Lehn, 2004), urban sociology (Becker, 1981, 1986; Fyfe, 1999; Christmann, 2008) and media reception (e.g. Goffman, 1979; Pink, 2007). With the development of visual culture and technology (Mirzoeff, 1998, 1999), a wide range of methodical approaches to visual studies have been established

(Banks, 1997; Davies, 1999; Pink, 2001; Rose, 2001; Knoblauch et al., 2006). Based on sociology of knowledge (Mannheim, 1952, 1980/1982) and semiotics (Barthes, 1967), picture and video interpretation in documentary method (Bohnsack, 2003, 2008, 2009), provides for a more systematic progression in the qualitative interpretation of visual materials, making it a promising recent methodological development in visual interpretation.

2.4.1 Picture and video interpretation in the documentary method

Bohnsack (2006, 2008) has traced documentary method from Garfinkel's work back to Karl Mannheim's sociology of knowledge. The documentary method of interpretation is a search for 'an identical, homologous pattern underlying a vast variety of totally different realizations of meaning' (Mannheim, 1952: 57), treating an actual appearance as 'the document of', as 'pointing to', or 'standing on behalf of a presupposed underlying pattern' (Garfinkel, 1967: 40). Mannheim stated that every thought, feeling, and perception of the world relies on the standpoint of people, and he explains in regards to the perception of landscape that a certain viewpoint ('*einem bestimmten Aussichtspunkt*' Mannheim, 1980: 212) is necessary for the landscape possible to reveal itself, and this is the basic circumstance which affects all the knowledge of people. The underlying homologous pattern, which Bohnsack (2008) sees as the characteristic meaning (in German: *Wesenssinn*), 'which documents itself', is also called '*habitus*' by Panofsky, a terminology which is adopted by Bourdieu. Bohnsack (2008: 8) stated that one of Panofsky's most extraordinary achievements is 'to have worked out the concept of '*habitus*'... by ways of homologies (meaning structural identities) between quite different media or quite different genres of art from the same epoch (from literature to painting, and architecture to music)'. He also found out that the iconic meaning, which is Max Imdahl's term for deeper semantic structure, owes its peculiarity to a 'complexity of meaning which is characterized by transcontrariness' (Bohnsack, 2008). Thus, this iconic meaning, the documentary meaning, is the unknown point which needs to be made known through interpretation. Bohnsack (2008) pointed out that images are implicated in all signs or systems of meaning and the images are based to a great extent on iconic knowledge, where image-based understanding is embedded in the tacit knowledge, in 'atheoretical' knowledge, as it is called by Mannheim.

Since the transition from Iconography to Iconology in visual arts (Panofsky, 1955), interpretation has turned from the sphere of explicit knowledge to that of tacit or atheoretical knowledge, influenced by Mannheim's documentary method

of Interpretation (Bohnsack, 2003, 2008). The singular message of the pictorial signs is determined on the pre-iconographical or denotative level, then the researcher should pass through the next higher level of iconographical or connotative code when decoding these messages, which obtrudes upon audience's minds and which Barthes (1991: 45) has called the 'obvious meaning'. Bohnsack (2008) pointed out that in connection with methods and theories of art history, in identifying the formal structures the context is been reconstructed validly by reflexivity.

The quality and capacity of pictures and images can provide orientation for our actions and everyday practices, and we can gain access to inherent laws of meaning by way of formal structure (Bohnsack, 2008). Bohnsack (2008) has suggested that with art historian Max Imadhl's study (1996), researchers can differentiate among three dimensions in the formal compositional structure of the picture: the planimetric structure, the scenic choreography and the perspective projection. He pointed out that by thoroughly reconstructing the formal structure, especially the planimetric composition of a picture; researchers are forced to interpret the picture's elements, which are not isolated from each other, but basically an ensemble in the context of the other elements. Bohnsack (2008: 64) has suggested that the methodological devices of picture interpretation are:

to treat the picture as a self-referential system, to differentiate between explicit and implicit knowledge, to change the analytic stance from the question What to the question How, to reconstruct the formal structures of pictures in order to integrate single elements into the over-all context, and –last but not least – to use comparative analysis.

These methodological devices from the basis of this research's endeavour to interpret film language using documentary method. According to documentary method, socio-culture is the milieu, the same 'conjunctive space of experience' (in German: *konjunktiver Erfahrungsraum*, Bohnsack, 2008), coined by Mannheim (1982), which is a concept in relation with the habitus and tacit knowledge, affects the representing producer's (the filmmakers in this research) image of the city, represented by their film language on the screen. Significantly, Ruby et al. claimed that 'reflexivity' refers to the changes brought about by the very presence of the observer and the personal values and biases of the filmmakers (as cited in Collier, & Collier, 1986). Thus the analysis of the image of the city in film is actually the analysis of the filmmakers' reflexivity. Yet the observer's (here the researcher's) reflexivity is controlled for within documentary method of interpretation.

2.4.2 *Film language interpretation*

The image of the city in films can be read as a visual reference of memory; after the films' screening, these images are delivered to the spectators through screen. These images related to city are sealed somehow, recording what the city looks in the filmmakers' mind at that time, that second. Yet these images, gradually communicated into an audience's cognition, flowing with time, are also in a dynamic state. Basically, to interpret film language is to interpret a film's visual image, which includes its composition, content, color, spatial organization, light, and expressive content (Rose, 2001). The language of film is read as *mise-en-scène* (frames, such as screen ratio, screen frame, screen plane; shots, such as distance, focus, angle, point of view; camera movement classifications) the montage (such as editing, cutting etc.), sound, and narrative structure, all of which were elaborated in second part of this chapter. The terminology of film language interpretation then refers to how the shots of a film are put together, how the framing is arranged, how the content is presented and how the storyline is edited.

'Human culture is made up of signs, each of which stands for something other than itself, and the people inhabiting culture busy themselves making sense of those signs' (Bal & Bryson, 1991: 174). To apprehend the world by way of symbolic production and symbolic understanding are the basic roots of interpretation (Schnettler, & Raab, 2008). Semiology is important to the interpretation of film language (Rose, 2001). Signs in films are as important as the narrative structure, and to understand a film mainly depends on the understanding of the connotations of signs. Centrally concerned with the social effects of meaning (Rose, 2001), semiology draws upon the work of several major social theorists such as Barthes, Benjamin, Berger, Brecht, Foucault, Freud, Lacan, Lévi-Strauss, Marx, and Saussure (Williamson, 1978). Rose (2001) pointed out that semiology is embedded in a rich and complex series of ideas whose implications are still actively debated. Semiologists depend on a definition of science that contrasts scientific knowledge with ideology, which is knowledge that is constructed in such a way as to legitimate unequal social power relations or the dominant groups' attempts to represent the world in forms that reflect their own interests and the interests of their power (Hodge & Kress, 1988: 3). For semiologists, science is instead a form of knowledge that reveals those inequalities. Interestingly, the use of the term ideology in this definition is evidence of the formative influence of Marxism on semiology (Rose, 2001).

The focus of semiology in visual method provides a way for film language interpretation. Syntagmatic signs (Monaco, 2009), diegesis (Rose, 2001), and metonymic signs (Barthes, 1973) are relative concepts within film language

interpretation. Yet there are shortcomings of semiology: each semiological term carries with it substantial theoretical baggage, and there is a tendency for each semiological study to invent its own analytical terms (Rose, 2001). Thus, some academics have criticized semiology, stating that it does not offer a clear method for its application (Ball & Smith, 1992; Slater, 1998). Furthermore, semiological studies focus on the image with little concern for reflexivity (Rose, 2001), which is, however, a strength of picture and video interpretation with documentary method. Therefore, this research takes signs into account in order to explore possible answers to the question regarding 'how the image of the city is produced'.

Film language interpretation shares the same source of video analysis because they both involve audio-visual recordings entailing sequential and simultaneous aspects that need to be interpreted. This research focuses on the stationary physical environment, but films offer their images in a mobile way. Film is a combination of sequence and simultaneity. For video interpretation, the simultaneity is taken into account by describing the physical-spatial organization and the scenic arrangement of the observed interaction and by analyzing simultaneous interactions (Wagner-Willi, 2006). Sequential analysis in sociological hermeneutics is an artful interpretation practice situated on the 'second order level', and simultaneous analysis encloses all meaningful elements that constitute the symbolic unit as a whole and represents them all at once (Knoblauch & Schnettler, 2012). Therefore, film generates an extraordinary abundance of data, and the most complex data in social scientific empirical research (Schnettler & Raab, 2008). Yet there is an important difference between film language interpretation and other video analysis. That is, interpretative video analysis prefers 'natural' data (Schnettler, & Raab, 2008) but film work is never naturalistic, even documentary. Film language has its own formal structure as a system where the director's manipulation and recipient design occupy an essential role. Yet film language interpretation based on the documentary method advocates the natural order which has been produced by the actors themselves (Bohnsack, 2008); in this sense, the visual order produced by the filmmaker. Fiction films, documentaries, as well as television programs such as talk shows or advertisements, are all interpretable using documentary method.

2.4.3 Interpretation method and process applied in this research

The image of the city, in Lynch's book, is a system; the film language is also seen as a system. They both include different factors and layers. Their combina-

tion constructs the framework for the research method of this project. I will take the image system from Lynch to look at the city in the films in detail, conducting film interpretation that draws on the documentary method and semiology in order to form a structure for interpreting the language of film. In order to conduct this research, I first chose Lynch's the image of the city theory as the foundational reference, then extracted images and examples of mise-en-scène and montage which are relevant to the image of the city in the two films.

Metz (2002) divided the research content of cinema into three categories, the second of which refers to all phenomena related to a film after its generation, such as the societal, political and ideological influence of the film on different audiences. In the case of this research, film is drawn upon as the data pool of reality and imagination – films are seen as documents of the city's physical environment and reflections of the filmmaker's image of the city. Film is taken here as an interaction between filmmaker and the world. In most cases, a director does not shoot a film concentrating specifically on the physical environment of the city, but his/her implicit knowledge of the city and his/her personal image of the city are always reflected in the film structure and the use of film language, because the physical environment is the basis of everyday practice both in reality and in the cinematic space.

According to documentary method of picture and video, the director is the 'representing producer' of the image of the city, while the 'represented producer' is the 'static' city space interpretation (see Bohnsack, 2008, 2009). Therefore, researchers can extract the implicit knowledge contained in films by different directors, which constitute self-sufficient visual knowledge of society. The pictorial dimension ('Bildimension', Bohnsack, 2009) of the film will be interpreted primarily, but the text dimension related to the image of the city will also be included. For the specialty of film, especially film as a consumable product of story, the narrative structure is also included into the interpretation process. Thus, the observations can be validated through their reconstruction in the pictorial dimension, the aural dimension of text and sound, and the narrative structure dimension. The two films recorded Taipei city in the 10 year time span between 2000 and 2010. The film language of a director is his/her personal way of constructing the image. Therefore, comparing the two different styles of film language found in *Yi Yi* and *Au Revoir Taipei* allows us to probe into the relation between film language and the image of the city. After presenting the empirical research on the two films, this study will discuss the destination image of film tourism and place attachment (topophilia) on a theoretical level in order to fur-

ther elaborate the relation between the image of the city in film and the image of destination in film tourism.

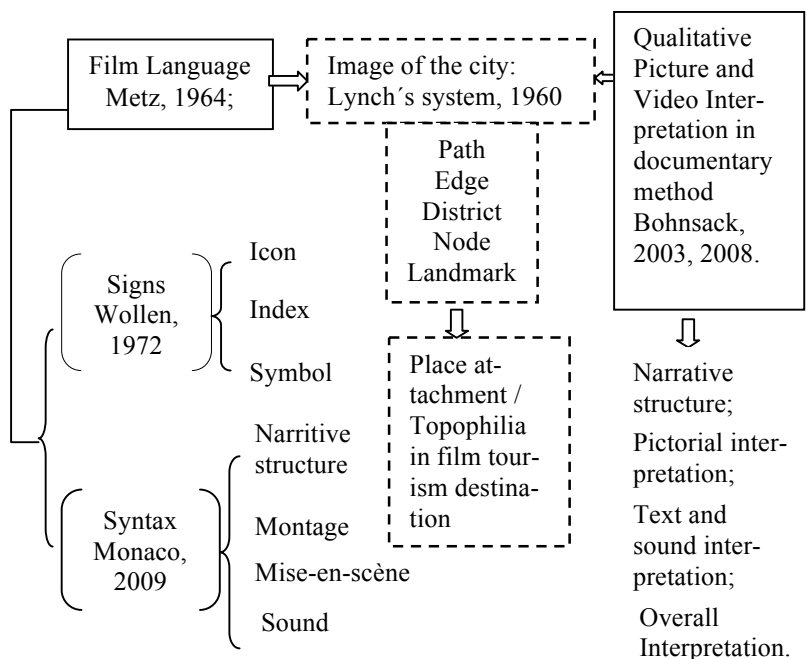


Figure 4: Research framework

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3 *Yi Yi*: Nostalgia upon diaspora

Edward Yang's last piece of filmic work before he passed away *Yi Yi* (*A one and a Two*) could be seen as the re-expression of Yang's perception of city life. In the film he combines the time-space (in German: *Zeitraum*) with the alternation of characters' encounters. At the same time he probes into the relation between humans and outer physical spaces and outlines the social cultural identity. In light of the process of urbanization in Taipei, which was introduced earlier, social cultural identity there is "a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'" (Hall, 1990). These two aspects of cultural identity are represented by the city image and the characters' relationships in Yang's film. The philosopher Ernst Cassirer (1874-1945) claimed that the image represents the principles and notions of a certain culture, and therefore artwork can be studied as a document of that culture (Cassirer, 1996: 88, 164). Following this theory the film *Yi Yi* can be seen as an archive of the filmmaker's image of the city of Taipei. Yet his own reflection evolved in the process of creating this document: the more he shot the city, the more he felt intimacy with Taipei (Zhang, 2001).

According to studies of videography, films that are interpreted using this method are mostly those produced by the researchers themselves (Collier, 1973), or by the research subjects themselves, for example in the documentation of occasions or cultural events (Baltruschat, 2010). The other type of film that could be interpreted within the documentary method of interpretation is the public production or mass media production, such as TV programmes and commercial films (Bohnsack, 2009: 117). In this research project, film is perceived as the data pool of reality and imagination; the film is treated as the archive of the actual city environment as well as the filmmaker's reflection of the image of the city. Thus, the film could be seen as an interaction between filmmaker and the city. The physical environment is the base of everyday practice both in reality and in the cinematic space: human beings undertake their activities in the physical environment of reality. This includes of course filmmakers and the characters in the film, who mostly exist by means of a space which is constructed by the implicit knowledge of everyday practice. Ralf Bohnsack's documentary method of picture and video interpretation is a method that enables the researcher to access this

implicit knowledge. Films of different filmmakers therefore contain distinct structures of implicit knowledge which are self-sufficient visual documents of their views of society and the city space. In *Yi Yi*, the application of urban space by the filmmaker Yang provides the foundation for this research project, which analyses how film language expresses the image of the city. The pictorial dimension of the film will be interpreted as a main dimension first, and afterwards the text (speech) and sound dimension related to the image of the city will be evaluated.

In this chapter I will apply the documentary method using the following steps to find out how the image of the city is constructed by the specific film language used in the film *Yi Yi*: First, the interpretation of narrative structure from the aspect of time-space representation will be outlined. The storyline of the case film will be given in this part, focusing on the 'sequence order of the scenes' without explaining 'why' (Baltruschat, 2010). Since this research is focused on the image of the city, which is the city's time-space expression, I will probe and evaluate the scenic settings and the change of outer place in the city environment in particular. The version of the film used in this research is the DVD version of *Yi Yi*, which is 166 minutes in length. The narrative interpretation covers the entire film, in order to show the scenic process of the changing settings in the film itself.

Secondly, the pictorial dimension of the image of the city will be interpreted. This will first reveal the overall structure of the film in regards to 'the image of the city', and then decipher the 'focusing metaphors' (Bohnsack, 2003). The research focus is the image of the city as described in Kevin Lynch's image theory; therefore I identify in *Yi Yi* 48 sequences in which the content of the five elements of the image of the city - Path, Node, District, Landmark, and Edge - appear (occupying approximately 29 minutes 20 seconds of the total length of the 166 minute film). The overall structure founded in the photogram transcripts of the 48 sequences exemplifies the film structure used throughout the whole film to express the image of the city. I have divided 48 sequences into three overarching 'main-sequences' (in German: Hauptsequenzen; Bohnsack, 2009) according to the change of the two shooting locations of *Yi Yi*: one is called the *Taipei sequence* (including the *Dwelling sub-sequence* and the *Wandering sub-sequence*), the second is called the *Japan sequence* (including *Tokyo sub-sequence* and *Atami sub-sequence*), and the third is the *Back to Taipei sequence*. Considering the focus of this research, the intervals between the 48 sequences within the whole film as well as their temporal order are relevant points to look

at in relation to the image of the city. The identification of the main sequences and sub-sequences has been sorted according to the 48-sequence index.

Because the subject of this research is the images of the city, which are virtually static settings without gestures and facial expressions from actors, the planimetric composition and perspective projection of photograms (single frame) form the most important part of the interpretation. Based on the image of the city, I have chosen 21 photograms (PGs) from the 48 sequences to carry out the formulation (In German: Formulierende) and reflective (in German: Reflektierende) interpretation. Within the documentary method of interpretation, focusing metaphors are contents in which increased metaphoric and interactive density can be found (Bohnsack, Loos, Przyborski, 2002). The criteria of focusing metaphors is according to A) the repetition of image, B) the interactive density of the five elements of the image of the city, and C) the similar structure of the composition between images. Reflective interpretation focuses on the collective orientation frame, which is revealed to be structurally identical through the different topics. The central orientation patterns are therefore that those which 'are repeatedly observable in a homologous way' (Bohnsack, Loos & Przyborski, 2002: 181) throughout the entire film. At the same time, I interpret the semiotic codes of the film language in regards to the image of the city. In film interpretation the synchronicity is realized through the connection of codes in film language, such as mise-en-scène and montage. Just as photography has its own referent, the city is the referent of film and semiological interpretation is involved in revealing the signs/codes for the image of the city. The underlying meanings of the signs and the codes of film language are guided by the socio-cultural background of the filmmaker. Thus, the directors' habitus as representing film producers will be interpreted in this procedure.

Thirdly, the text and sound interpretation of the selected sequences will be undertaken with regards to the image of the city. In *Yi Yi*, there is one sequence with text (speech) related to the topic of the image of the city, so I have chosen this sequence to conduct the text interpretation. The sound, including background music and environmental sound will also be interpreted in this part.

Finally, the overall image of the city as it emerges in the entire film and its title will be interpreted.

3.1 Narrative structure interpretation: the time-space representation

The first frame of this movie is a wedding scene: the bride is pregnant and the new couple's expressions seem to indicate waning interest. Then a group of people walks on the path between two lines of trees. The family takes a group photo in front of a memorial, where a plaque that reads 文学院 (Wen Xue Yuan, 'faculty of arts'). At the wedding dinner party's location, a woman named Yun-Yun appears and cries to an old lady whom she calls 'grandmother'. The grandmother looks pale and another woman keeps Yun-Yun away from the grandmother. The grandmother leaves the wedding party before it officially starts, accompanied by a man called NJ (her daughter's husband) and his daughter (her granddaughter). The grandmother is the first character in this movie to bring out the backdrop of the urban environment, as she is sitting in the back seat of the car, and row upon row of high buildings and the fast running automobiles outside the car windows show a hint of the spatial circumstances of this movie. The camera follows the two characters - the grandmother and the granddaughter - into the residential building from the viewpoint of the security monitor screen. An open balcony and an overpass below the balcony with an endless stream of automobiles delimit the story backdrop once more: the film is set in an urbanized city space. When taking out the garbage, the granddaughter Ting-Ting saw her new neighbour Lili and a boy. The closing space under the viaduct is shown, and its privacy in the plane is exposed in a high angle shot. The movie has not given a clear introduction of the time and location up to this point, but it does describe the city environment of a narrative present through the talk of characters and the change of scenes.

NJ and his daughter Ting-Ting go back to the wedding party after sending his mother-in-law back home. The bustling conversations of people dominate the wedding dinner. The bridegroom is NJ's brother-in-law, and NJ tells to his friend that the bridegroom is delaying the wedding to wait for the luckiest day of the year. People are gossiping about the bride's pregnancy. The little boy, Yang-Yang, is teased by some girls in the wedding party; he didn't eat anything during the dinner. NJ takes Yang-Yang to have fast food. When the father and son get back to the restaurant where the party continues, NJ by coincidence meets a woman in front of the elevator. The woman asks NJ if he lives in Taipei. NJ confirms. She replies that she has mainly lived in USA in the recent years. The woman leaves and then comes back, asking NJ why he abandoned her many years ago without a reason, but the man NJ talked to before in the wedding party comes out of the elevator and interrupts the conversation. This is the first time the movie indicates that the city background of the film is Taipei through the

characters' dialogue, and that the time is the natural present of shooting. NJ comes back to the wedding party and sits in silence. Late at night, NJ and his wife Min-Min drive back home with their children. At the entrance of their building, Min-Min is told that her mother was sent to hospital. Min-Min runs into the street with her high heels and shouts to stop NJ's car. Her shouting and the sounds of her high heels interrupt the silence of night in the city.

The narrative space then transfers to the hospital. Grandmother is saved with an emergency surgery, but she has fallen into a coma. The camera follows the new neighbour girl Lili who carries her cello on her way home. After a meeting with an investor, NJ talks to his colleagues about the problems of his company in a snack stall on the street at lunchtime. Then the camera is outside a glass window of a cafe: Yun-Yun is meeting with A-Di and talking about their relationship and their combined financial arrangement. Ting-Ting meets Lili after school and they go back home together; Ting-Ting notices that Pangzi is waiting for Lili across the road under the overpass. Lili says goodbye to Ting-Ting and goes into the overpass pier space where Pangzi is standing. The family is asked to follow a new duty in their daily lives, talking to grandmother every day in order to wake her up as soon as possible. When the camera shoots again at a high angle from the balcony of Ting-Ting's home, it is obvious that Lili and Pangzi are in a fight. The two young lovers are out of the space between piers and shouts at each other at the edge of the street. Ting-Ting blames herself in front of her grandmother's bed; she tells to her grandmother that her accident was due to dropping the garbage which Ting-Ting herself forgot to take out, and that she cannot sleep. NJ and his colleges are listening to a presentation from a Japanese businessman, Ota. NJ has dinner with the Japanese Ota, who says that both of them are not good at lying. Back in the flat Min-Min cries out, telling NJ that the same routine of her talking to her mother is meaningless and desperate. The little son Yang-Yang starts to take photos with NJ's camera.

Another day, on his way home, NJ sees that Min-Min is taken into a car accompanied by some monks. NJ talks on the telephone and says that he knows Min-Min is going to a religious mountain to have spiritual training. Ting-Ting delivers a message from Pangzi to Lili on her way home. In a class Yang-Yang stares at the beautiful girl who is called Xiao Lao Po (小老婆, little wife). He finds out that she is good at swimming. On a rainy day Ting-Ting yells at Pangzi, saying that she cannot understand why Pangzi and Lili did not try to have a good relationship with each other. The newly married brother-in-law A-Di is entangled with his ex-girlfriend Yun-Yun. In the restaurant at a party for his new-born son, A-Di's wife Xiao-Yan finds about Yun-Yun and shouts at her. Xiao-Yan's

father is angry and takes Xiao-Yan and the baby, leaving the restaurant to return to his home. NJ drives A-Di back to A-Di's home and they discuss about the affair between A-Di and Yun-Yun on the way. The next morning, Xiao-Yan comes back home and finds that A-Di has gas poisoned himself and is almost dead. NJ receives a phone call from A-Shui before he flies to Japan to sign the contract with Ota. Pangzi is waiting for Ting-Ting under the apartment and wants to give a letter to her.

NJ and A-shui meet in Tokyo, which is the second city environment besides Taipei to appear in this movie. NJ and A-Shui are trying to figure out the way in the labyrinth that is the metro network in Tokyo. Within the scene of the complex railway system, NJ and A-Shui are talking about their memories of their first love from when they were young. Meanwhile, in the crowds outside a cinema in Taipei city, the first date of Ting-Ting and Pangzi is taking place. Two pedestrian crossings in the two different cities are shown: in Tokyo NJ and A-Shui, in Taipei Ting-Ting and Pangzi, wait and pass. The spaces of both pedestrian crossings intersect in the united time dimension; the past and present are interwoven in different spatial environments. During NJ's and A-Shui's talk of their love memories, the film images show the old streets and temples of another Japanese city. Meanwhile, in Taipei Ting-Ting and Pangzi go to a motel. Then Pangzi runs away, saying 'it is not good to do so'. Afterwards, Ting-Ting walks in the street on her own in the late at night. In a hotel room in Atami, A-Shui shouts at NJ and asks him to be with her and give them a second chance. NJ hugs A-Shui saying: 'No one understands you except me.' In the early morning NJ squats on the dam at the seaside and smokes. NJ gets a phone call from Da-Da telling NJ not to sign the contract with Ota. NJ says he quits the job. Then he knocks on A-Shui's room and finds no answer. He calls the reception desk and is told that A-Shui has left the hotel.

After hypoxic self-training at home, Yang-Yang jumps into the pool. Ting-Ting meets Pangzi again but this time he is waiting for Lili; Ting-Ting talks to Pangzi and says she wants to fix their friendship, but Pangzi drives her away. Ting-Ting cries to her grandmother (she calls her 'Oma') at home. A siren is heard at midnight, and the next day Ting-Ting sees the breaking news on TV in a police station: Pangzi has killed Lili's English teacher, who had affairs with both Lili's mother and Lili. Ting-Ting walks into Oma's room when she is back home from the police station. She finds out that Oma has woken up and makes a paper butterfly for her. Ting-Ting falls asleep while her Oma is stroking her. When Ting-Ting wakes up again, she hears that Oma has passed away. The whole family holds the funeral for their grandmother. Da-Da and NJ walk on a path surrounded by trees. Da-Da confesses that he had made a mistake in making a company's decision. He hopes NJ will come back to the company to help him

again. Yang-Yang reads a letter to his grandmother to explain why he did not want to talk to her when she was in coma; he had been sure that Oma had already known everything. Yang-Yang explains that he would like to tell people what they cannot see by themselves, just like the back sides of their heads, which he takes photos of.

The use of the same space for the wedding and the funeral brings the film full circle. At the point of the film where Yang-Yang is reading his letter at the funeral, the storyline of *Yi Yi* is brought to a close. It can be concluded that the main location of this film is Taipei, and that the time is the end of the 20th century. The alternation of city space is dependent on the compression and flow of time: there are quick changes of city spaces in one day and jumping changes of city spaces after skips of time. Apart from the main city space of Taipei, two Japanese cities, Tokyo and Atami, are represented in the film. According to the time dimension, the present time experience belongs to Taipei and the past memory experience belongs to Japan. This finding correlates with a statement of the director Edward Yang about the Japanese city: 'I sensed Atami has never changed during the past 20 years, so I thought choosing Atami to represent memory is good' (Zhang, 2001). This interweaving relation of time and space makes the storyline of this movie very picturesque, rather than linear. In the collage of different city environments such as streets, residential buildings, hospitals, and metro stations, these inner and outer city spaces have alternated during the flow of the film. From the aspect of space, time is like the footnote of space. Each image of the city spaces is allocated to a particular time. This is shown for example in the differences between the city street during the daytime and at midnight. The street which Min-Min runs down at midnight is the same one where NJ witnesses Min-Min leaving home; the dark silent street and the bright noisy street both point to the same space of the neighbourhood. From the aspect of the time dimension, it is possible to interpret space as the mark of time. For example, when a city street in Taipei and a city street in Atami are shown at the same time, the time unifies the parallel spaces. The formalization of the time-space relationship in the narrative structure represents the image of Taipei in detail - the residential buildings, the highway, the cafe, the overpass etc., - accompanied by the other two Japanese cities to construct the reference to the past of Taipei. Both aspects of the film (time and space), the day and night impressions of the image of the city, and the varied images of different cities are represented in this film in a realistic and constructive way.

3.2 Pictorial interpretation of the image of the city in *Yi Yi*

3.2.1 *Formulation interpretation of the sequence structure of the image of the city*

Film is a self-referential system, even if it refers to the outside world (e.g. the city space in this research), its main communicative practice is introspective: it functions by ways of creation and interaction inside the film, and the relation between these forms are the principles of film language. To uncover this intrinsic meaning of the film, this part will first conduct a formal structural analysis of the entire film as regards the image of the city, and will then interpret the focusing metaphors through semiological analysis within the 21 photograms, guided by the documentary method's approach to picture and video interpretation.

Semiology mainly focuses on the systematic connotations of film language, which includes the frame and shot in the way of construction. Since the main subject of this research is the image of the city in film language, which is related to mise-en-scène analysis in the aspect of content, the research process involves the close reading of frames and shots, the way of assigning frames and shots, and the expression of the shot content. The documentary method of picture and video interpretation lays out three dimensions of interpretation of photograms: planimetric composition, perspective projection and scenic choreography (Bohnsack, 2009). The mise-en-scène analysis is therefore conducted with these three dimensions in mind. Lynch's study of the image of the city supplies the principle of selection for the mise-en-scène (which involves choosing the film scenes as photograms) with the five categories Path, Node, Landmark, Edge and District. In order to conduct a concrete analysis of each specific category, a description of building scenes will be included in conjunction with the image element District. Taking the beginning frame of the sequence as the mark of the mise-en-scène, I have extracted 48 sequences which are related to the image of the city in the film *Yi Yi*. These 48 sequences are the frames of the city in the film in regards to the aforementioned categories of Path, Node, Landmark, Edge and District. They do not constitute the entire number of scenes in the film. The numbers 1 through 48 have been assigned to the selected sequences in the interest of consistency in this case studies. According to film studies, shot duration, focus, camera distance, angle, movement, and point of view (POV) are the codes of shot language. In addition to the shot codes, sound and light codes are included in order to give a comprehensive description of the overall structure of the image of the city in the film language of *Yi Yi*. Table 1 shows the 48 sequences of the image of the city

in *Yi Yi*. Within the 48 sequences, three overarching main sequences can be identified:

Main sequence I *Taipei*: Sequences 1 - 29, time code 00:00:22 - 01:40:08

A group of people walking on a path with trees to Ting-Ting meets Pangzi under the building. This is the first part of the shooting location Taipei, and it can be divided into two categories of sub-sequences: *Dwelling sub-sequence* (sequences 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29 in Table 1) and *Wandering sub-sequence* (sequences 1, 2, 3, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 18, 21, 22, 27 in Table 1).

Dwelling sub-sequence is the sequence shot in the neighbourhood of the protagonists, including the backyard, the balcony and the view outside it, the way to their home, and the special meeting place near the residential buildings (the space under the viaduct). *Wandering sub-sequence* is the sequence in which the shots are outside the neighbourhood of the home, for instance in the office, or the main street, which do not constitute the familiar surroundings of the protagonists, but the social places of the city environment. Dwelling and Wandering represent the two spaces of the city: the private and the public space. Although the two sub-sequences are not continuous, and not joined together within their own sub-sequences due to the editing of film language, the main sequence and the sub-sequences can be identified as having a rather clear structure. This main sequence is the opening and development of the story line, an expression of the shooting city's setting and environment.




Main sequence II *Japan*: Sequences 29 - 42, time code 01:40:09 - 02:16:37







Tokyo, from NJ's viewpoint in the car to Window reflection in A-Shui's hotel room. This second part of the image of the city in this film transfers the shooting location to Japan, by showing NJ's business trip. In Japan NJ meets his first love A-Shui, and they start to communicate again after a long separation. A city environment that looks much more like their old home from when they were younger surrounds them. At the same time, Taipei is shown in the sequence as Ting-Ting and Pangzi are shown on their first date. Two sub-sequences can be identified: *Tokyo sub-sequence* includes sequences 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 42; *Atami sub-sequence* includes sequences 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40 and 41. The three locations, Taipei, Tokyo, and Atami are comparable within this main sequence. Based on the different choice of city signs - endless modern buildings, complicated railways, and Tokyo tower in Tokyo; the old streets, the temple, and the seaside in Atami; the modern business streets and paths in Taipei - different images of the three cities emerge.



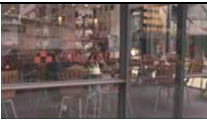
Main sequence III *Back to Taipei*: Sequences 43 - 48, time code 02:16:37 - 02:41:07

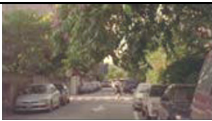

Ting-Ting meets Lili and Pangzi under the building to NJ and Da-Da walking while talking on the path with trees. The third shooting location transfers back to Taipei and the main sequence III is established from sequences 43 to 48. After the shot of the sky - a still empty blue sky without any background music or environmental sound - NJ is back in his Taipei home, back to routine. Taipei appears in the now-familiar shot once again, foregrounding home, the neighbourhood street, and the path with trees which was shown at the beginning of the entire film. The six sequences within this main sequence are separated from each other, but present the final image of Taipei in the film.






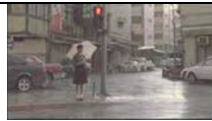
Table 1: Index of 48 sequences of the image of the city in *Yi Yi*




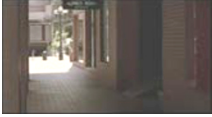


Sequence	1	2	3
Time code	00:00:22	00:00:34	00:03:45
Frame			
Image	Path	Landmark	Path& District
Light	Day light	Day light	Day light
Duration	12 seconds	4 seconds	15 seconds
Distance	Long Shot	Full Shot	Medium Close Shot
ShotAngle	Eye level shot	Eye level shot	Eye level shot
POV	Omniscient: establishing shot	First person: the photographer(camera)	Omniscient
Movement	Static	Static	Static
Sound	Music	Music	Music
Sequence	4	5	6

Time code	00:06:19	00:06:43	00:06:56
Frame			
Image	Node	Path & district	Path & node
Light	Day light & Shadow	Day light	Day light
Duration	9 seconds	13 seconds	16 seconds
Distance	Medium Long Shot	Medium Long Shot	Long Shot
ShotAngle	Eye level shot	Eye level shot	High&oblique angle
Movement	Static	Static & Pan	Static & Pan
POV	First person: Ting-Ting	Omniscient	Omniscient & first person (Ting-Ting)
Sound	Speech & Music	Speech & Music	Speech & Music
Sequence	7	8	9
Time code	00:15:18	00:21:33	00:23:10
Frame			
Image	Path	Path & district	Background buildings
Light	Night	Day light	Day light
Duration	31 seconds	17 seconds	1 min 13 seconds







Distance	Long Shot	Medium Long Shot	Medium Shot
ShotAngle	Back, eye level shot	Side, eye level shot	Front, eyelevel shot
Movement	Static & Pan	Pan	Static
POV	Omniscient: establishing shot	Omniscient: following shot	Omniscient: reverse-angle shot
Sound	Speech	Environmental	Speech
Sequence	10	11	12
Time code	00:24:13	00:24:38	00:25:20
Frame			
Image	Node	District	Landmark& district
Light	Day light	Day light	Day light
Duration	25 seconds	43 seconds	1min 32 seconds
Distance	Full Shot & Close Shot	Close Shot	Medium Shot & Full Shot
ShotAngle	Eye level shot	High & oblique shot	Eye level shot
Movement	Static	Static	Static
POV	Omniscient: establishing shot	Omniscient	Omniscient: establishing shot
Sound	Speech	Speech	Speech
Sequence	13	14	15

Time code	00:26:54	00:27:10	00:29:37
Frame			
Image	Path	Path	Node
Light	Day light	Day light	Day light
Duration	16 seconds	42 seconds	18 seconds
Distance	Long Shot	Long Shot	Long Shot
ShotAngle	Back, eye level shot	Side, low angle shot	High & oblique shot
Movement	Static	Pan	Static
POV	Omniscient: establishing shot	Omniscient: following shot	Omniscient
Sound	Speech	Speech	Speech
Sequence	16	17	18
Time code	00:38:46	00:58:06	01:00:21
Frame			
Image	District	District	District
Light	Day light	Night	Night
Duration	7 seconds	28 seconds	1min 16 seconds
Distance	Long Shot	Long Shot	Extreme Long Shot
ShotAngle	Eye level shot	High angle shot	High angle shot
Movement	Static	Static	Static

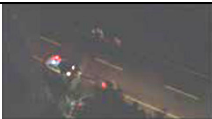


POV	Omniscient	Omniscient	Omniscient
Sound	Speech	Speech	Speech
Sequence	19	20	21
Time code	01:05:17	01:05:34	01:08:39
Frame			
Image	Path	Path	Path & Landmark
Light	Day light	Day light	Day light
Duration	17 seconds	13 seconds	4 seconds
Distance	Long Shot	Long Shot	Long Shot
ShotAngle	Eye level shot	Eye level shot	Eye level shot
Movement	Pan	Static	Pan
POV	Omniscient	Omniscient/NJ	Omniscient: following shot
Sound	Environmental	Environmental	Environmental
Sequence	22	23	24
Time code	01:08:44	01:11:07	01:22:08
Frame			
Image	Path & landmark	Node	Path
Light	Day light	Day light	Day light
Duration	4 seconds	36 seconds	16 seconds
Distance	Long Shot	Medium Long Shot	Medium Long Shot

ShotAngle	Low level shot	Eye level shot	Eye level shot
Movement	Pan	Static	Static
POV	Omniscient	Omniscient: reverse angle shot	Omniscient
Sound	Environmental	Environmental	Environmental
Sequence	25	26	27
Time code	01:22:23	01:22:44	01:31:22
Frame			
Image	Node	Node	Path& district
Light	Day light	Day light	Night
Duration	20 seconds	55 seconds	1min 3 seconds
Distance	Medium Long Shot	Medium Shot	Close Shot
ShotAngle	Eye level shot	Eye level shot	Eye level shot
Movement	Static	Pan	Static
POV	Omniscient/Ting- ting	Omniscient	Omniscient
Sound	Environmental	Speech	Speech
Sequence	28	29	30
Time code	01:36:53	01:39:00	01:40:09
Frame			
Image	Node	Node & path	District

Light	Day light	Day light	Night
Duration	26 seconds	37 seconds	52 seconds
Distance	Medium Shot	Medium Long Shot	Long Shot
ShotAngle	Eye level shot	Eye level shot	Eye level shot
Movement	Static & Pan	Static & Pan	Pan
POV	Third person	Omniscient: following shot	Omniscient: following shot/First person: NJ
Sound	Speech	Environmental & speech	Music
Sequence	31	32	33
Time code	01:42:27	01:42:40	01:44:06
Frame			
Image	Node	Edge	Node
Light	Artificial light	Day light	Evening
Duration	14 seconds	38 seconds	11 seconds
Distance	Medium Long Shot	Long Shot	Medium Long Shot
ShotAngle	High angle shot	Eye level shot	Eye level shot
Movement	Static	Static	Static
POV	Omniscient	Third /first person	Omniscient
Sound	Speech	Speech	Environmental
Sequence	34	35	36

Time code	01:44:18	01:45:01	01:47:13
Frame			
Image	Node	Path	Land-mark&District
Light	Artificial light	Night	Day light
Duration	44 seconds	50 seconds	3 min 28 seconds
Distance	Medium Long Shot	Long & Medium Shot	Long, Medium & Full Shot
ShotAngle	Eye level shot	Eye level shot	Eye level shot & high angle shot
Movement	Pan	Static	Static
POV	Omniscient	Omniscient	Omniscient
Sound	Speech	Speech	Speech
Sequence	37	38	39
Time code	01:56:12	01:59:50	02:00:21
Frame			
Image	Node	Path	District & path, edge, landmark
Light	Night	Night	Evening
Duration	1 min 40 seconds	17 seconds	23 seconds
Distance	Long Shot	Long Shot	Long Shot
ShotAngle	Eye level shot	Eye level shot	High angle shot

Movement	Static	Static	Static & Pan
POV	Omniscient	Omniscient	Third person
Sound	Speech	Environmental	Speech
Sequence	40	41	42
Time code	02:00:44	02:05:37	02:08:19
Frame			
Image	Landmark	Land- mark&district	Land- mark&district
Light	Night	Day break	Night
Duration	18 seconds	39 seconds	43 seconds
Distance	Long Shot	Long Shot	Medium Shot
ShotAngle	Eye level shot	Eye level shot	Eye level shot
Movement	Static	Static	Static
POV	Omniscient	Omniscient	Third person
Sound	Environmental: traffics	Environmental: tides	A-Shui's crying
Sequence	43	44	45
Time code	02:16:38	02:17:50	02:21:18
Frame			
Image	Node	District	Node
Light	Day light	Night	Day light
Duration	36 seconds	42 seconds	1 min 18 seconds

Distance	Medium Long Shot	Long Shot	Medium Long & Medium Shot
ShotAngle	Eye level shot	Eye level shot	Eye level shot
Movement	Pan & Static	Static	Static & Pan & Zoom out
POV	Omniscient	Omniscient	Omniscient
Sound	Environmental & Speech	Environmental & Speech	Speech
Sequence	46	47	48
Time code	02:26:27	02:28:40	02:39:54
Frame			
Image	Path & node	Node	Path
Light	Night	Day light	Day light
Duration	6 seconds	26 seconds	1 min 3 seconds
Distance	Long Shot	Medium Long Shot	Long Shot
ShotAngle	High angle shot	Eye level shot	Eye level shot
Movement	Static	Pan	Static
POV	Omniscient	Omniscient: following shot	Omniscient: establishing shot
Sound	Environmental	Environmental	Speech

From the above Table, the following can be recognized: most sequences of the image of the city are shot in the daylight (31 sequences out of 48), 12 sequences show the city at night, while another two sequences show the city in artificial light, one sequence takes place at daybreak, and two more sequences happen in

the evening. The images of the city at night, day break, evening and in artificial light are always full of story turns. Light not only enriches the storyline, but also creates a more multi-dimensional image of the city. The daylight provides the opportunity to identify the image of the city easily, but the night and other light conditions add more depth and characteristics to the image of the city created in the film. In *Yi Yi*, daylight sequences represent normality, the ritual image of city, while the night scenes (e.g. sequences 7, 17, 18, 27, 35) show the abnormal part of the daily environment, for example the revelation of the accident (sequence 7), and the crying (sequence 42).

The physical city space is produced by a combination of city government, citizens, urban planners, architects and contractors; but the image of the city in the film is produced by the filmmaker, who chooses what to show in the film. Thus, the choice of filmmaker is the foundation of the image of the city in cinematic place. In *Yi Yi*, the sequence of the image of Taipei revolves around the daily life space, the space in which people live their everyday lives. As scenes of travelling to other places interrupt this kind of routine space, a comparison of these two different kinds of images (city as home and city as a destination) is possible.

According to Table 1, the film *Yi Yi* appears realistic because of the deep focus that is applied throughout the entire film (deep focus is the prime aesthetic hallmark of *mise-en-scène*, Monaco, 2009). 31 out of the 48 sequences are static, which means the camera remains still in the majority of sequences relating to the image of the city. Thus, the *mise-en-scène* in *Yi Yi* is an important facet for interpretation of the language of the film. In the following section I will interpret the 21 photograms as focusing metaphor according to the documentary method of film interpretation. The planimetric composition of the photograms in question will be given more attention, because the ‘reconstruction of the planimetric composition, of the picture’s formal structure as a plane, leads us to the principle of design and to the inherent laws of the picture itself’ (Bohnsack, 2008).

3.2.2 *Mise-en-scène interpretation of focusing metaphors*

3.2.2.1 Path: Index of city and Symbol of the stage

According to the trichotomy of signs (Wollen, 1970: 120), which is based on the relation between signifier and the signified, all paths in *Yi Yi* are Icons because they are part of the city in reality. But with the application of film language, they are not just Icons. Each of them is also an *Index* of the image of the city, repre-

senting the city with the endless stream of automobiles (sequences 5, 14, 17, 22), the huge viaduct (sequences 5, 14, 19), the overpass (sequence 22), the neon light (sequences 17, 18, 27, 30, 41) and even the window reflections of all kinds of buildings (sequences 11, 12, 44).



Figure 5: Planimetric composition of PG 1 Seq.5

In PG 1, the left half of the frame is the facade of the residential building, and the right half is the viaduct path and automobiles. The liner paths introduce the line of sight to the buildings which are under construction. The skyline in the depth plane¹⁹ is cut by the building, and the character is in the middle ground. The city seems like the background of the film's story, similar to the relationship between the human character in the window and the highway shown in the frame. The paths in the frame are an Index of the image of the city, which is a large-scale city environment that is a mix of new and old. The same Index function can be found in PG 2. The two main characters walk across the street from the left side of the frame and the long shot gives more space to the path within the frame. The large grey cement pier and the vanishing point along the path both show the vast and void-like city space, with a parallel perspective. The perspective centre of PG 2 is not the characters but the path pavement far away, which also emphasizes the filmmaker's gaze on the modern city environment. This kind of shift of vanishing point from the human character to the urban city space is a general pattern of the image of the city in *Yi Yi*: except for the parallel projection without

¹⁹ In the codes of film language, there are three planes: dominant, geographical, and depth (Monaco, 2009).

perspective centre (e.g. PG 1), all of other one-point front projections locate their perspective centres in the city's physical environment.

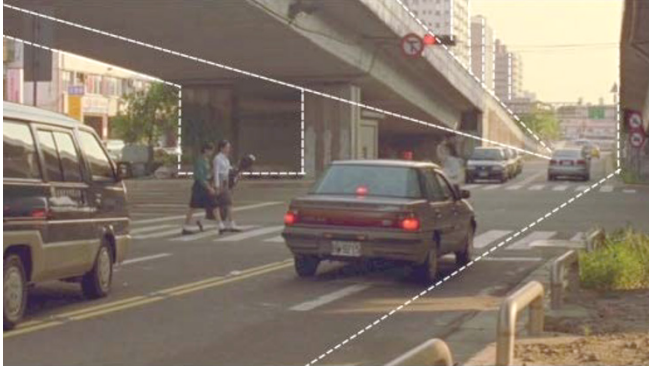


Figure 6: Planimetric composition of PG 2 Seq.14

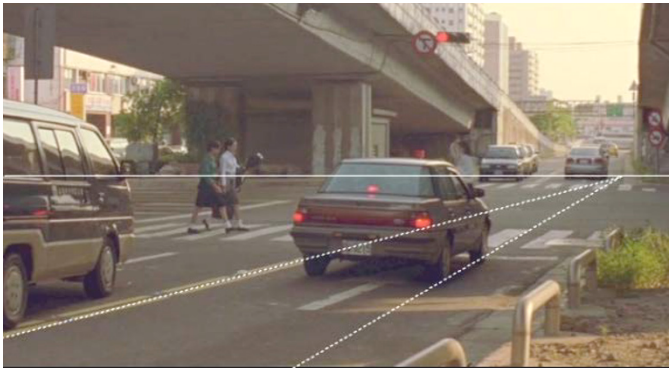


Figure 7: Perspective of PG 2 Seq.14

As Index of the image of Taipei, PG 3 combines the path and overpass as in the storyline where Yang-Yang runs away from the classroom to the photo developing shop. The green overpass occupies the top half of the frame and its lattice cell corresponds to the crowded-together cars in the lower part of the frame; both of them are an Index of the modern city. If the background knowledge is suspended, the formal structure of the image illustrates a place with grid and transportation. The overpass separates the people and cars and breaks the monopoly

of Path in the city environment. Lynch (1960) has pointed out that Path always dominates the image of the city, because people habitually and sometimes unconsciously move along it, and in the process the people observe the city. This can be observed in PG 3, if the overpass is taken as a special kind of path. Yang-Yang runs through the overpass to develop his films, which is his first attempt to run away from his routine schoolboy existence in order to observe the world on his own. The overpass, which directs Yang-Yang towards knowing the world, is the trope connecting connotation and denotation in the film, and it is also the synecdoche of the city.



Figure 8: Planimetric composition of PG 3 Seq.22



Figure 9: Perspective of PG 3 Seq.22

PG 4 shows the Path is the Index of the image of the city as well. In this long high-angle shot, the sea shore, the tree lines, the path, and the parking place gather in the vanishing point, which is in the area of lighted buildings and electronic billboard advertisements. The city area in the frame seems to figure as the destination of the path; the characters walk in the golden section of the frame plane. The Path in this frame combines with other elements (Edge: the sea shore, Landmark: the mountain; District: the skylines made up of buildings) to be the Index of the image of the tourist city Atami in Japan, and also guides the characters walking to a destination.



Figure 10: Planimetric composition of PG 4 Seq.39



Figure 11: Perspective of PG 4 Seq.39

Within PG 1-4, the human characters are comparatively small figures on the path, in contrast to the large scale of the modern city at the end of 20th century. This intense contrast shows the tininess of humans and the vastness of the environment they have built. The complex meaning is that Path leads the human character to experience this human-geographical relationship. There is no dominant position between the human character and the city in these above photograms. Thus, the filmmaker has put the focus on the city - the city is a protagonist as well.

The Path in *Yi Yi* has also functioned as the *Symbol of the stage*, as for example in PG 5 to 10. The paths with trees construct a stage space in the city environment, which are the metonymic signs of connotative aspect. The characters step on the stage and perform their own piece of the story in front of the audience. The photogram from the first sequence of the image of the city (PG 5) and the photogram from the last sequence of the image of the city (PG 6) echo each other in the film, as do the wedding and the funeral scene in the storyline. In the long shot of sequence 1, a group of people walk to the camera and the trees are far away and in the background, constructing a curtain effect reminiscent of being on a stage. The path in the green space constructs the main stage (PG 5). This same structure is found in the sequence 48 (PG 6). These two path signs are the trope for the road of life, and touch both happy moments and death - the beginning and the end of life. This point can be also identified by the number of characters who walk on the Path: in PG 5, there are a group of people walking to the camera; in PG 6, there are only two people walking away from the camera. 'Life is a road with separations and farewells', and the Path in the reality transforms into the ideology of the road of life. With the entering and the leaving of the stage after the show, the Path here in the city environment seems like a green carpet leading to the original point of the city drama. The perspective centres of PG 5 and PG 6 are located on the human characters. These two photograms are the exceptions of the general pattern of perspective in *Yi Yi* (the perspective is centered on the city environment in all of the other photograms related to the image of the city, e.g. PG 7, 9, 11). These are the scenes in which the main characters step onto the stage and walk off the stage - the opening and the ending of the entire film. Thus, no dominant position between human characters and the city is documented in the photograms once again.

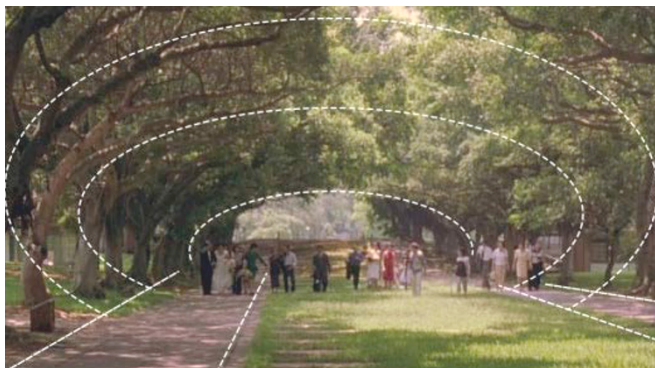


Figure 12: Planimetric composition of PG 5 Seq.1



Figure 13: Planimetric composition of PG 6 Seq.48

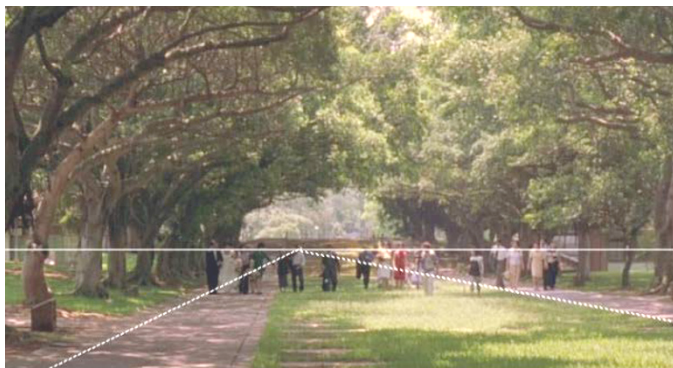


Figure 14: Perspective of PG 5 Seq.1



Figure 15: Perspective of PG 6 Seq.48

In the establishing shots of PG 7 and 8, the static camera and long shots still define a stage for the two characters. As Ting-Ting and Lili walk on their way home this Path stage implies the story of the young generation starting out, and it is here that they step onto the stage and assume these roles. The trees, the parked cars, and the streetlights form the curtain and the proscenium Arch of this stage. PG 7 shows the official start of the love triangle among Ting-Ting, Pangzi, and Lili. PG 8 reveals the ends of Ting-Ting's puppy love: the girl wears a white dress walking on the dark street full of parked cars, and her loneliness is evoked through the comparison drawn between the silent cold city environment and her figure. The light in the two photograms is very different: one is shot during the

sunny daytime and the other in the dark, late at night. The two images of the city are represented in these two scenes. Path works as a demonstration of the city's visual element (Jacobs, 1961), so the stage for the characters is at the same time the stage of the city environment.



Figure 16: Planimetric composition of PG 7 Seq.13



Figure 17: Planimetric composition of PG 8 Seq.38



Figure 18: Perspective of PG 7 Seq.13

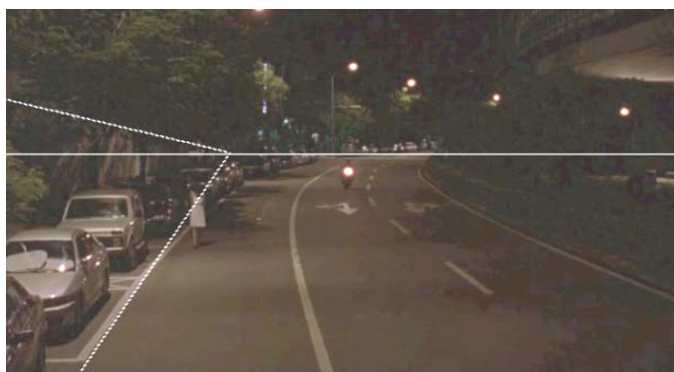


Figure 19: Perspective of PG 8 Seq.38

In PG 9 and 10, the pedestrian and the path construct a stage again: from an omniscient viewpoint NJ is seen driving into the camera, and he walks with A-Shui into the foreground. The offsets of the vanishing point on the urban space are illustrated in PG 9 and 10. This arrangement of the perspective centre reflects that the human character is seen as only a part of the urban space. The city environment and the human character share the same importance here. There is no separation or gap between the human beings and the city - they both play important roles in *Yi Yi*. Therefore, based on the above analysis of the Path in this film, it can be concluded that Path is not only a channel of direction but also a stage of the city life space. Jacobs (1961) wrote about the street ballet show in

American cities, pointing out how the street forms the stage of city life, and in *Yi Yi* Edward Yang has similarly used film language to perform life on the stage of the Path in the city Taipei.



Figure 20: Planimetric composition of PG 9 Seq.19



Figure 21: Planimetric composition of PG 10 Seq.35



Figure 22: Perspective of PG 9 Seq. 19

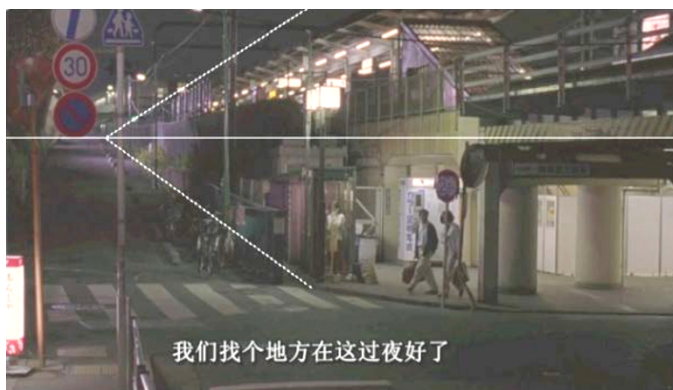


Figure 23: Perspective of PG 10 Seq. 35

3.2.2.2 Node: Symbol of affair and Index of communication

Node is a part of city streets where the structure is concentrated, like at crossings, turn points, corners or other closed squares. It combines two characteristics: connection and concentration (Lynch, 1960). In *Yi Yi*, Edward Yang chose a very special Node space in the city, which is the space under the viaduct and between the large piers. The space under the viaduct becomes a communication point for the three young characters Lili, Pangzi and Ting-Ting. This Node here is the

Symbol of intimacy (e.g. sequences 6, 14, 23) and the *Symbol of confliction* (e.g. sequences 15, 20).



Figure 24: Planimetric composition of PG 11 Seq.6



Figure 25: Planimetric composition of PG 12 Seq.15

In PG 11, paths, viaduct, and trees surround the Node space under the viaduct. It is the first time that the camera shows this space from a high angle shot. The two characters stand inside the rectangle space created by the viaduct and path in order to avoid being seen. Their intimate behaviour is exposed in the high angle shot from the view outside the balcony of Ting-Ting's home. As the conflict between Lili and Pangzi breaks out, they stand outside the intimate space and in front of the path (PG 12). Still from the high angle shot, the conflict is shown to

break their intimate rectangle. The diagonal lines of the frames direct the focus. When the scenes are represented by a medium long shot and a medium shot, the form of the space changes into a trapezoid. The piers are huge and harsh, which contradicts the intimate and close atmosphere .



Figure 26: Planimetric composition of PG 13 Seq.14

PG 13 presents a different section of the Node, and both the piers and the pavement show the huge and harsh characteristics of this space. The parallel projections of PG 11 and 12 expose the ‘private space’ of Lili and Pangzi. There are no hiding places and no secrets in the modern urban space. As the vanishing point shifts to the edge of the photogram away from Lili and Pangzi, the protagonists are not emphasized in the plane like in the former photograms of Path. The city environment is at the perspective centre once again. The homologous structure of the position of city in *Yi Yi* is once again revealed.

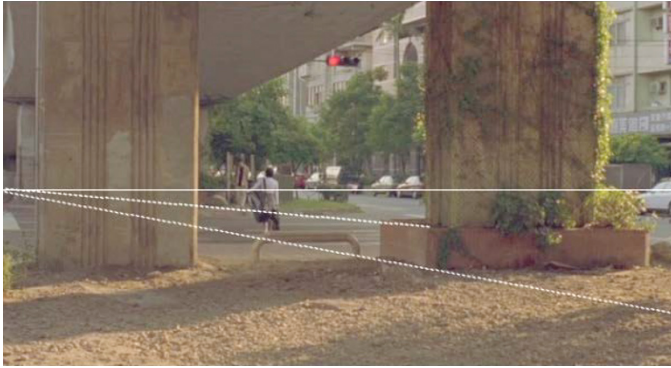


Figure 27: Perspective of PG 13 Seq.14

The barren space in the city is shown in PG 14 when the director uses a medium shot to expose the Node space more thoroughly. The two characters stand in the harsh foreground and their background is the intersecting viaduct. The conflict between Ting-Ting and Pangzi breaks out in this sequence. Although this Node space is always intruded upon by other people or by the passing traffic, the young characters adopt the space and feel it belongs to them, as they can communicate in privacy here without the adults knowing. The Node in these photographs are the *Symbol of affairs* between young lovers and *Index of the communication space* in the city. There are other Nodes in the film besides the space under the viaduct, such as snack stall (sequence 10) and the ground space of the residential buildings (sequence 28, 33, 43, 45, 47), yet these Node spaces are only the Index signs of the communication space. According to Yang's film language, Node becomes the most important space for young people communicating with each other in the city of Taipei. This special city space testifies the habitus of teenagers in the city in the filmmaker's view as well - the characters do not take a traditional romantic space for the love affair, but choose a Node space in the modern city for their intimacy and conflict.

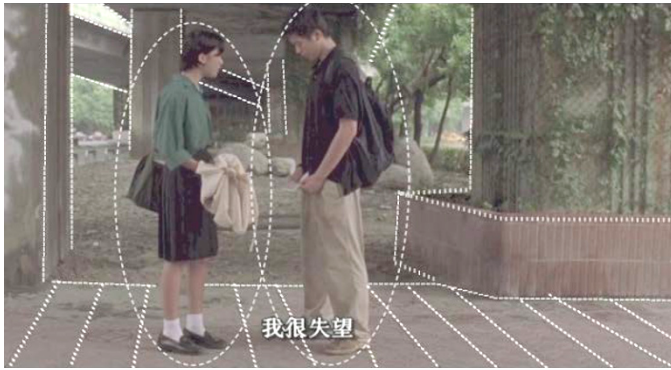


Figure 28: Planimetric composition of PG 14 Seq.26

3.2.2.3 Landmark: characteristic inherent to people in the city

According to Lynch's research, the observers acquire the image of Landmark when they are outside, and the Landmark is the eternal sign of guide in the city (Lynch, 1960). In PG 15 the memorial architecture is the Landmark used to label the area of Taipei, and its traditional style is the symbol of the family that chooses it as the background for marking the wedding moment - they are a traditional Chinese family, emphasizing 'tradition' very heavily. The traditional Landmark of the modern city transfers this characteristic to the family, which completes the process of the metonymic sign. This sign appears in the very beginning of the film, which explains the reason for NJ's choice in favour of family responsibility in the final part of the storyline. NJ represents the traditional Chinese man and his family represents the traditional Chinese family, and tradition will need to face the challenge of the modern. In PG 16, when NJ and A-Shui are travelling in Atami, the Landmark (Tsurumai Hotel) becomes a gridded stage of the rectangular frame of its facade. NJ and A-Shui are in the middle of the second level of the modern restaurant, an upper position of the grid stage. The Landmark represents the next move of NJ and A-Shui: they will check in to this hotel afterwards and face the decision of whether to get separate rooms. The omniscient camera observes from the outside of the hotel with a long shot, and the distance reminds the audience that NJ and A-Shui are having their intimate reunion. This arrangement of film language documents the distance that the filmmaker would like to keep between the human characters and the camera. The

omniscient view is from the outside city, performed as though the city itself is viewing the human behaviours with calmness. The filmmaker's orientation toward the city here is that the city observes the human beings just as the human beings observe the city. The city is a protagonist in the film with its own view.



Figure 29: Planimetric composition of PG 15 Seq.2

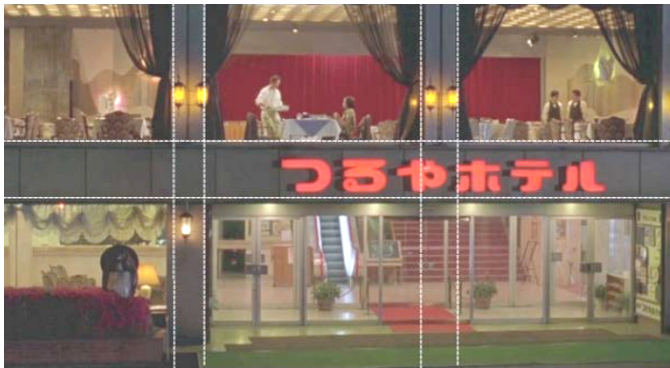


Figure 30: Planimetric composition of PG 16 Seq.40

Another important Landmark is from sequence 41. NJ squats on the dam in the daybreak, and his figure appears much lonelier with the city skyline far away behind him and ebb and flow of the sea nearby (PG 17). A-Shui reveals her painful wound in front of NJ - the fact that many years ago he abandoned her without saying a word. She asks for a cure from him: to be with her again. She freaks out

as NJ is hugging her, and straight after this scene the film transfers to the next shot sequence 41. The dam reaching the sea is the Landmark, but NJ's behaviour is far beyond of receiving the guidance from it. This is the only time in the entire film that he is shown smoking. The top part of this mise-en-scène is composed of the city area with buildings and lights, and the dam and the sea constitute the lower part of the scene. The only space for NJ is just in between the two lines of city and dam. This compression is the symbol of the situation NJ is in, torn between being responsible or giving in to his emotion. In this frame, the Landmark is not the symbol of something specific, but it creates a symbolic space of compression combining his distress with the appearance of a city district in the background. Landmark is not just the sign with which to identify the city, but in *Yi Yi* it becomes a characteristic or condition of character in the story.



Figure 31: Planimetric composition of PG 17 Seq.41

The same situation is shown in the following sequence 42, when NJ and A-Shui come back to Tokyo's hotel and NJ tells A-Shui she is the only one he has loved in his entire life, and the next shot is A-Shui weeping in her room. The camera does not show A-Shui's figure, but her weeping voice is heard as the view of the window in her room is shown (PG 18). Even through the glass reflection, the Tokyo Tower is still clear enough to be recognized, and this Landmark of Tokyo indicates that the character is crying in a foreign city space, as well as in a tourist space, while the Landmark present does not figure as an attraction for A-Shui, but an intimate object in company with her. All the Landmarks of the city are shown in a parallel projection, guaranteeing the omniscient viewpoint and the characteristic of landmark in the city, offering the image to outside viewers.

There are more Landmark scenes in the *Japan sequence* than in the *Taipei sequence*, which attests to the filmmaker's insider view of Taipei versus his the outsider view of Japan. No matter where the landmark is located, the homology is that the landmark in the city has the characteristics inherent to the people who are in the space. The interaction between people and Landmark goes two ways: the physical landmark identifies the characteristics of the people and the people enchant the landmark to an emotional space.

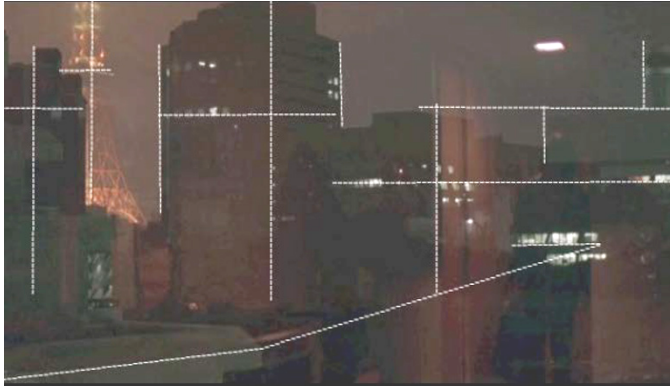


Figure 32: Planimetric composition of PG 18 Seq.42

3.2.2.4 Edge: starting point to flashing back memory

In Lynch's theory, between one function and another function in city is the Edge in the urban environment. Jacobs (1960: 285) interprets the Edge as the negative part of city. A specific example of an Edge in a city is the train rails, which represent the connection part of society. In sequence 32, the static shot illustrates the complex railroads and the highly urbanized city district (PG 19). The two characters NJ and A-Shui are not in the frame and do not show up in the entire sequence, but in the voice over their talking can be heard in the background. The railroads in Tokyo become the symbol of the point between past and present, as NJ and A-Shui start to reminisce about their first date in the off-text. The train takes the two lovers on a journey into the past. Taking the crossing railroads as a symbol of different ways of living, the train chooses one rail to go on. The Edge here is the Index of the image of Tokyo, and at the same time is the Symbol of starting a piece of memory. The immanent meaning is not the connection of

different places in a society, but the connection of past and present reality: the past of NJ and A-Shui is in Taiwan, now they are in Tokyo. Thus, the memory space of these two characters is transferred from the original place to another city space, where they are tourists, outsiders, away from the local daily life. The railways in Tokyo complete the spatial transfer, travelling to a space of memory with the train. The absence of human characters in the image of this sequence reflect a decision made by the filmmaker, who chose to give the city the total focus in the scene, emphasizing that the city is not only the background to this story, but has its own role. The perspective centre and the horizon are near the mixed edge of buildings and railways, completing the horizontal attention to the city edge. The city in the camera's view becomes a protagonist once more, and this time the characteristic of the city is the Edge, connecting in a modern form to the past and to memory. Human characters and the city dissolve into each other's forms and emotions.

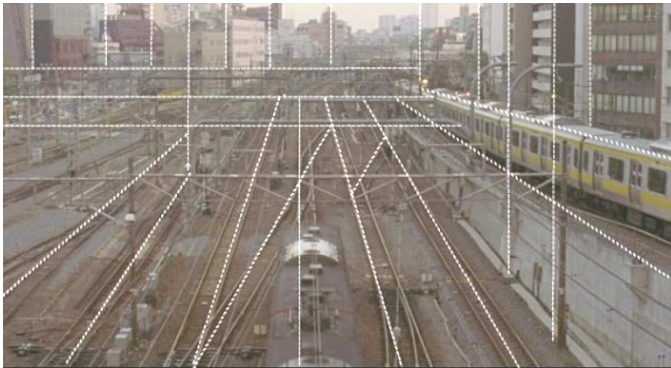


Figure 33: Planimetric composition of PG 19 Seq. 32



Figure 34: Perspective of PG 19 Seq. 32

3.2.2.5 District: blur of complexity

The definition of District is some part of a city which shares similar characteristics, and it supports the continuity of the image of the city (Lynch, 1960). The District is shown in city images of places that share common characteristics like the neon lightings. The ambiguity lays on that the city districts are difficult to recognize in the night. Their structure only appears through a blur of lights, but this construction of them does reflect a highly urbanized city area. The neon lights remain the symbol of the city District, and it transfers the meaning of the complexity of city life to District. The parallel projections of PG 20 and 21 hide human characters from the scene, but emphasize the role of the city District using neon light. PG 20 shows the blurred light, the shape of the path reshaped by the neon light is like a belt. In PG 21 the blur of neon light is framed in a compact rectangle with the path, the buildings, and the car lights mixed together and difficult to distinguish from each other. The city is unpredictable like a maze. Thus, the homology here is the blur of lights used to represent the complexity and ambiguity of the urban District.



Figure 35: Planimetric composition of PG 20 Seq.17

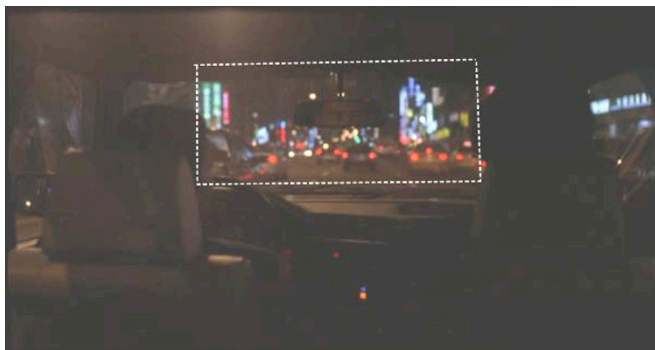


Figure 36: Planimetric composition of PG 21 Seq.27

3.2.2.6 Mise-en-scène in total: the city as a protagonist

In *Yi Yi*, the daily scene of the city is full of calm and universality. The image of Taipei 'reality' is represented by the frequently used long shot and pan movement. As was shown in the above interpretation of the photograms of the image of the city, the mise-en-scène in *Yi Yi* also follows this pattern - the images of Path, Node, Landmark, Edge, and District are the records of Taipei city at the end of the 20th century. Yang tried his best to depict the city in a multidimensional way, showing the city not only in the daytime, but also at midnight, in the evening, and at daybreak. Each piece of the image reflects the homology of Tai-

pei in his perception. This forms the body of evidence attesting to Yang's observation of Taipei. Using the omniscient point of view, Yang framed Taipei using high and low angle shots, as well as establishing and following shots, just like the character Yang-Yang takes photos of the backs of heads in order to show people what they cannot see. Yang approached the city in his mise-en-scène with similar intensions - he wanted to show the audience different or unknown dimensions of the city which they might not notice or be able to see by themselves. Thus the space under the piers is used as a communication space for young lovers, the streets become stages, the bottom of a residential building is a place of communication and crime. The blinking neon light reflected by the window is another mise-en-scène technique that Yang likes to use in *Yi Yi*. The image of the city becomes a blurred reflection on the window. The modern city, the buildings, the landmarks are seen as a projection. This raises the question of whether the city is just a projection of elsewhere. Reality continues while the imagination can be interrupted. The city settings of Yang's mise-en-scène might in fact be the original ones in reality, but they appear on the screen as a result of the director's selection and editing. This means that the city in reality is interrupted by the film's narrative structure. Hence the mises-en-scènes of *Yi Yi* combine fragments of reality; they are interrupted by each other. The fragmentation is marked by the Path, Node, Landmark, Edge and District, and constructs the narrative spatiality of the film. Natter (1994: 211) claims that 'The passage from place to cinematic space is marked not by repetition, but by alterity (otherness), whose visual element is the fragment'. The reality of fragmentation is essential to the way Edward Yang draws his image of Taipei city. The framework composition of the mise-en-scène in *Yi Yi* is another pattern of constructing the image of the city. The visual metaphor of the trapezoid is the breaking of balance, and the metaphor of close lines is compression and struggle. Interestingly, in Yang's earlier work *A Brighter Summer Day* (1990), he started to use tunnel vision in the composition of his mise-en-scène, a technique he also used in one scene related to the image of the city in *Yi Yi* (sequence 28), as DaDa talks to NJ and walks to the downstairs of A-Di's home. This node between residential building and outside is shown as a tunnel.

The relationship between people and the city is tight throughout the mise-en-scène of *Yi Yi*; the two correspond to each other emotionally, and cannot be separated. *Yi Yi* describes the close connections between human beings and the city space, which is not only represented through the relationship between the background of the city and the human characters, but is a multi-active one: Path becomes the Index of the human capability to observe the world, and also a stage

for humans to perform their own lives; Node acts as a Symbol of affairs within a special group of people (e.g. adolescents) and is also an Index of their communications about their feelings; Landmark inherits the characteristics of the people who live in the city environment; Edge works as a starting point for people to access their memories; and District shows the blur of complexity and ambiguity of city life. Thus, there is no gap between the human beings and the city, and the image of the city is not merely a physical environment in *Yi Yi*, but plays a leading role in the story, breeding the characters' encounters, sharing and delivering the same human emotions. City is the product of human beings, and humans are shown to have become the product of the city as well.

3.2.3 *Reflective Interpretation of Montage: similarity induced nostalgia*






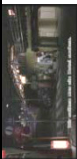






Edward Yang has developed his own brand of film language to construct the city since his first film, and by *Yi Yi*, his language had evolved into a structure: *mise-en-scène* is the dominant code for constructing the image of the city, editing with the simplest montage and without the use of fade in/out, dissolve, the mixture of diegetic and non-diegetic sound, or re-depiction in narrative structure. The city space in *Yi Yi* is not only a static object related to human beings, but also a dynamic social reality in itself. In *Yi Yi*, the editing is often achieved without special effects. But in the image of the city in *Yi Yi* he used parallel montage to show the two cities, Taipei and Atami, which endows the complexity of meaning. In the same time framework, the director uses jump and match cuts to show a comparison of the love stories in two generations: NJ walks with A-Shui in the old and familiar street reminiscing about the past hometown, and Ting-Ting walks with Pangzi for their first date in present Taipei. When Pangzi holds Ting-Ting's hand in front of a pedestrian, NJ and A-Shui are holding hands in front of a waiting line across the railroad. The similar elements of the city, the path, and the similar behaviour of characters, holding hands echo each other in this parallel montage. This dynamic symmetry of time and space reveals the transcontrariness in the film language. The traditional Japanese street and the modern path in Taipei are compared, revealing one notion of the director: the Japanese city recalls the past, and Taipei represents the present. The lost feeling of Taipei is found in Japan, and the lost memory of the past is repeated by the younger generation. Taipei's image here is modern, fast-developing urbanization, while the image of the Japanese city is traditional, with less urbanization. Yet the different characters in the two different city spaces are behaving just the same. The parallel montage constructs these differences and draws the comparison. The conclusion of the comparison is to be found in the similarity of the two different cities: the

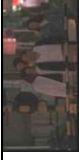
people who are in the different spaces participate in the same activities, although new and old, modern and traditional spaces in the different city environments do exist.

The similarity of the two images of cities reveals the time-space relation. Even though there are different metropolitans in different locations around the world, they are similar to each other in many ways: one's present is like another's past. The social spaces in the two cities thus play the same role - a place for puppy love and the recall of the first love. Li (2005) suggests that the local life activity influences the construction of space, and people's participation brings about the meaning of memory. The similarity induces nostalgia for people - when they have lost their feelings in the complicated modern urban space, they recall their memories to perform nostalgia in a similar space that they missed. Yang conducts this kind of nostalgia for the old Taipei with his film language, and the way he realized this process is based on the similarity between the Japanese city's present and Taipei's past.


Table 2: Transcription of Sequence 35 in Yi Yi

TC: Time Code; BM: Background Music (‘-’ =NONE); ES: Environmental Sound (‘-’ =NONE; ‘~’=CONTINUE); CM: Camera Movement (‘-’ =STATIC)

TC	01:45:01	01:45:02	01:45:03	01:45:04	01:45:05	01:45:06
						
BM	-	-	-	-	-	-
ES	speech	~	~	~	~	~
CM	-	-	-	-	-	-
TC	01:45:07	01:45:08	01:45:09	01:45:10	01:45:11	01:45:12
						
BM	-	-	-	-	-	-
ES	~	~	~	~	~	~
CM	-	-	-	-	-	-
TC	01:45:13	01:45:14	01:45:15	01:45:16	01:45:17	01:45:18

						
BM	-	-	-	-	-	-
ES	~	~	~	~	~	~
CM	-	-	-	-	-	-
TC	01:45:19	01:45:20	01:45:21	01:45:22	01:45:23	01:45:24
						
BM	-	-	-	-	-	-
ES	~	~	~	~	~	~
CM	-	-	-	-	-	-
TC	01:45:25	01:45:26	01:45:27	01:45:28	01:45:29	01:45:30
						
BM	-	-	-	-	-	-
ES	~	~	~	~	~	~
CM	-	-	-	-	-	-

[illegible]

CM	-	-	-	-	-	-
TC	01:45:49	01:45:50				
BM	-	-				
ES	~	~				
CM	-	-				

3.3 Text and sound dimension of the image of the city

Besides the pictorial dimension of film language, the documented meaning shows itself in the dimension of text and sound, which validates the orientation pattern by homology.

3.3.1 *Text interpretation: nostalgia induced by the familiar city space*

Baláz (1952: 229) suggested that the words sound is as much an element of the picture as any line or shadow and always complete or stress the impression made by the picture. In *Yi Yi*, there are not too many dialogues about the city space, although the *mise-en-scène* changes constantly throughout the entire film. The main characters talk about their lives and their encounters, but not about their living environment. Their behaviour, and even their personalities, are influenced by the city itself. A specific example comes in sequence 35 as the speech from the protagonist describes the image of the city directly, with reference to both the present and to past memories.

Transcription of sequence 35 time code: 01:45:01-01:45:50

Am= A-Shui; Bf= NJ

Am: In Chicago now it is 8 am in the morning.

Bf: In Taipei it's 9 pm. We'd better find a place to stay here. (01:45:08)

Am: Look, does this place look like the Pingjiao Dao from Gongguan to Xindian in the past?

Bf: Yes, but now there is no road of this kind in Taipei. I remember the first time I tried to hold your hand, just in front of Pingjiao Dao, do you remember? We were going to Ximending for a movie. When a train passed by, I held your hand at once. I did not think about that my hand was sweaty or dry. I also did not think that after so many years, I could hold you again. Only the place is different; time is different; the age is different.

Am: But your hand is still sweaty. (01:45:50)

Formulation interpretation of the text

OT: 01:45:01-01:45:50 *NJ and A-Shui in Japan*

UT: 01:45:01-01:45:08 *Talk about the time in different spaces*

UT: 01:45:09-01:45:50 *Memory of the first time NJ and A-Shui held their hands*

Reflective interpretation of the text

- 01:45:01-01:45:08 *Talk about the time in different spaces*

After getting off the train, A-Shui and NJ talk about the time, 10 pm in Japan. A-Shui's home is in Chicago, so she mentions that the time in Chicago is 8 am in the morning. NJ answers that the time in Taipei is 9 in the evening. They talk about the time difference between the cities they live in and their present destination. This talk involves the home city they come from – a reminder of the background – and the comparison of the time comes to a conclusion that the present time requires them to find a place to stay.

- 01:45:09-01:45:50 *Memory of the first time NJ and A-Shui held hands*

When walking on the street out of the train station, A-Shui mentions that the place looks familiar. This is the sign which the director gives to indicate that the shooting location in Japan is similar to the place in the characters' memories and that they will return to the past with this familiarity. The homology with the pictorial dimension of sequence 35 comes out in the text dimension. NJ starts to say that Taipei has no road of this kind now, which indicates the lost past. Then he tries to recall the past, the first time he held A-Shui's hand when they were in front of a street named Pingjiao Dao, which is similar to the street in Japan that they are passing at that moment. The connection between the past and the present is established by NJ's speech. He gives a detailed description of the memorized scene, and expresses his complicated feelings towards the situation and the fact that he did not predict the separation between himself and A-Shui: '...after so many years, I can hold you again. Only the place is different; time is different; the age is different too'. He emphasizes several times the word 'different' to suggest the changes between the past and the present: the time, the space, and the characters themselves. He expresses that he treasures the memory and the feeling of holding hand with A-Shui, although time passes and space shifts. He expresses the feeling that people leave but the heart never forgets. A-Shui answers that the one thing that has not changed is NJ's sweaty hand, which shows his nerv-

ousness just like in the past. The two characters construct their own nostalgia in this dialogue, which they have lost in the present urban space but retrieve in a familiar (similar) physical environment. The pictorial dimension in sequence 35 documents the same meaning as the text. The dialogues of NJ and A-Shui connect the two different times/spaces: the past in Taipei and the present in Japan.

In an interview, Edward Yang said about the film *Yi Yi* that when he was looking for the shooting location he found the Japanese city to be just like the city of Taipei from his teenage years (Zhang, 2001). The director therefore transferred his own nostalgia to the image of the city in the film, for example with the overpass through which Yang-Yang runs, which is located on the Xinsheng South Road where Yang lived as a child. Although the physical environment in that area has been strongly changed by urbanization, Yang still tried to reconstruct a past image of the city, which indicates the nostalgic view that is reflected in the film language used in *Yi Yi*. His main subject is the idea of getting back to the past in a modern urban space. It is for this reason that 'urban space in his film can construct the process of subjective identity recognition' (Huang, 2007: 193). NJ's memory about the image of his hometown is in fact the image of the film director Yang, and in the film he uses speech to construct a staggering sound/image structure. With the film language of Yang, the image of the city is no longer constructed through just the visual, but also the aural dimension. NJ's speech about the fact that '...the place is different; time is different; the age is different too' reveals the time and space relationship that Yang tries to describe – a present past. Sequence 35 constructs its own audio-visual alternate exchange system in film language, shifting the image between Japan and Taipei as the similarity of two cities' scenarios spreads through the dialogues outside the image, expanding the memory map in different places simultaneously.

3.3.2 *Environmental sound: nostalgia for the time passing by in the modern city*

From the beginning of the film, the background music is given a prominent position. The city space in sequences 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 are all accompanied by background music²⁰. The environmental sound, representing the sound dimension of the city, plays a principal role in the construction of the image of the city. The environmental sound is essential to the presence of the physical environment,

²⁰ The original music design of *Yi Yi* was created by Edward Yang's wife Kaili Peng, who is a professional musician. In *Yi Yi*, Yang and Peng perform the piano and cello onstage for the concert that Ting-Ting and Pangzi see together.

which of course is not silent, but a vivid space. The long shots (shot distance) and long takes (shot duration) of the Path, the District and the Node are filled with environmental sound. In Baláz's words (1952: 199), the director 'is able to lead our ear as he could once already lead our eye...the rattle and clatter of life will no longer overwhelm us in a lifeless chaos of sound'. The static camera space combines the lively environmental sound made by the people who are in this physical environment, once again emphasizing the close connection between human beings and Taipei city, the space of modern urbanization. When the film turns to the Japanese destination, the complex environmental sound is dominated by one source – the passing-by of trains. The railways in the image have been interpreted as a sign of returning to the past, thus the roaring of trains is a sign of nostalgia as well. Yang himself admitted that Atami functions as a symbol of 'going back to the past' in *Yi Yi* (Zhang, 2001), and consequently the modern urban space's image meets the contrast from nostalgia in the sound dimension as well.

3.4 Overall interpretation of the image of the city

Yi Yi means 'one and one' in Chinese (一一), and yi (一) also is the simplest Chinese word character. Yi (one) represents the simplicity and two of 'Yi' is two (二, Chinese character of 'two'), which is the reason that the English version of the film's name is A one and A two. The narrative structure of *Yi Yi* is simple - it is a drama about three generations of a middle class family in Taipei. Although there are a large number of roles in the storyline, the image of the city in the narrative structure is clear enough: the quotidian space of the quickly urbanizing modern Taipei, and the travel destination of nostalgia in Japan. After 90 minutes of daily life in Taipei is shown, the protagonist NJ takes his business trip to Japan. He meets his first love A-Shui in Tokyo, and they take the 'back to past' journey to Atami. The narrative focus changes to Japan, and the images of Tokyo and Atami are shown during the trip of the two characters. The reason for the transfer in urban spaces is constructed by the director's narrative intention. When NJ is on his way to the hotel to meet A-Shui, he has an outsider's view of the city of Tokyo. The large amount of buildings and the endless stream of cars flow in front of the camera. In Taipei the image of the city is represented by the blinking points far away as the living place appears to be familiar. The difference between the two images is due to the position of director Yang. He had lived in the city for such a long time that his image of the city was grounded in the quo-

tidian setting. Likewise, when he travelled to Japan, he looked at the Japanese city with the eyes of a tourist. Therefore, in the film he gave shots to the high buildings and the gridded window, the labyrinth metro, the seaside, the hotel and the city path he had seen in his childhood but considered lost in a modern Taipei. A trip is a way to get to know an unfamiliar destination, but when the unfamiliar place invokes the familiarity, a place attachment is constructed. The narrative structure supports the image of the city. When NJ and A-Shui meet Ota in the hotel, Ota says 'don't ask me how to go. Find the way yourselves. Young people are always finding their own way', and in the next scene NJ and A-Shui look up the metro lines on the map to try to figure out where to go in the metro labyrinth. The two characters are finding their own ways to their travel destination, and through this narrative structure the image of the city of Tokyo city is represented.

The five elements of the image of the city are sourced from the social space in Taipei city and in Taiwanese society. Edward Yang focused on the sociological topics inherent to city life. *Yi Yi* is a social observation of a traditional family. When looking at the middle class society in the film, the term 'flexible citizenship' coined by Aihwa Ong comes up. Flexible citizenship refers to

the cultural logics of capitalist accumulation, travel, and displacement that induce subjects to respond fluidly and opportunistically to changing political-economic conditions. In their quest to accumulate capital and social prestige in the global arena, subjects emphasize, and are regulated by, practices favoring flexibility, mobility, and repositioning in relation to markets, governments and cultural regimes. (Ong, 1999: 6)

This 'flexible citizenship' is a symptom of diaspora, which is first shown in the film when NJ and Yang-Yang accidentally meet A-Shui in front of the elevator in the restaurant. A-Shui says that she lives in the USA, but because her husband has business in mainland she goes back to Taipei very often. The second scene which shows flexible citizenship is when NJ and his colleague are sitting in Da-Da's car and one of them asks Da-Da whether he will go back to the USA if the company is bankrupt. Harvey has argued that flexible accumulation in the capitalist world has also given rise to 'a new round of time-space compression (in which)...the time horizons of both private and public decision making have shrunk, while satellite communication and declining transport costs have made it increasingly possible to spread those decisions immediately over an ever wider and variegated space' (Harvey, 1990: 147). The image of Taipei as a space of capital accumulation has been delivered. The capitalist city of Taipei shows characteristics of modern capital in the endless cars, the huge viaduct, the high

residential and office buildings, the blinking neon lights, and in Tokyo, the rows upon rows of buildings and complex railroads. The city space reflects capital accumulation and the social ideology of flexible citizenship. The experience of flexible citizenship of Edward Yang himself reflects his habitus as Chinese diaspora.

The pictorial dimension of film language shows that the relationship between human beings and the city is intimate, and there is no distinct separation between the people and the physical environment - both perform their roles of equality. The image of Taipei is of a highly urbanized space of complex humanity in the present, yet it also emerges as being the same as a Japanese city in people's memories of the past. The changing urban environment and the similarities between different cities (such as with Taipei and Tokyo's present, and Taipei's past and the small Japanese town's present), express the homology of the orientation pattern of the image of Taipei - a highly urbanized city and a place that retains its past identity in people's memory. The traditional Chinese mark is shown in the family photo, in NJ's choice of family, and in Yang-Yang's ending speech ('I feel I am getting old', what he has experienced is already a compression of life, and he experiences his own nostalgia because of his newborn nephew). *Yi Yi* finally provides an image of city full of nostalgia in the changing modern urban environment through Yang's identity as a member of the Chinese diaspora. Walter Benjamin has claimed:

By close-ups of the things around us, by focusing on hidden details of familiar objects, by exploring commonplace milieus under the ingenious guidance of the camera, the film, on the one hand, extends our comprehension of the necessities which rule our lives; on the other hand, it manages to assure us of an immense and unexpected field of action... Our taverns and our metropolitan streets, our offices and furnished rooms, our railroad stations and our factories appeared to have us locked up hopelessly. Then came the film and burst this prison-world asunder by the dynamic of the tenth of a second, so that now, in the midst of its far-flung ruins and debris, we calmly and adventurously go traveling. (1936/1968: 236)

For the outsider to Taipei city, *Yi Yi* equals a trip to Taipei and Japan because of the images of the cities that have been shown by the camera. The director represents his image of the cities with film language, and also invites the audience to compare the different images of these cities. Exploring the social culture from the physical environment is not rare in the area of social urban research, but decoding film language using documentary method is just at its beginning. As the character Ota states in *Yi Yi*: 'why are we afraid of the first time? Every day is the first time, and every morning is new. The same day we cannot have twice'.

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4 *Au Revoir Taipei*: Tourist view on the space of empathy

The last line in the ending credits of the film *Au Revoir Taipei*, is composed by four Chinese characters in the middle of the screen ‘谢谢杨导’ (‘Thanks to Director Yang’). The black background, the fading music, and the simplest of final words are combined together. This is not the moment when I get the feeling that this film is somehow related to Edward Yang, but it is the moment that echoes the inner connection between Yang and this film. Arvin Chen, the director of *Au Revoir Taipei*, worked as an apprentice to Yang in Taiwan for almost two years, starting in 2000. Chen studied architecture in the USA and he fell in love with filmmaking at his college and then got advice from Yang, who asked Chen to come to Taiwan as an apprentice (APA, 2007). *Au Revoir Taipei* is Chen’s first full-length feature film in 2010. The story of *Au Revoir Taipei* is an enlarged version of Chen’s former thesis work, his first short film entitled *MEI*. The story is about a young girl who wants to go to New York eagerly, and the plot takes place in the night market of Taipei, which is the same main setting as in *Au Revoir Taipei*.

The identification and observation of the city space are commonalities between Arvin Chen and Edward Yang’s films. When films themselves are the observation of a social society, the interpretation of film language becomes a kind of ‘observing the observations’ (Bohnsack, 2010: 102). In the film, the distance between observer and observed is principally created by the camera (Dear, 2000), while in the interpretation the distance between observing and observations is created by tacit knowledge about the city space which is not explicated by the filmmaker. As observation of the city of Taipei, the film *Au Revoir Taipei* is a dramatic comedy that is 81 minutes long. As Chen states in an interview, the filmmaker shot the city both consciously and unconsciously (see the detail in Appendix). According to him, the empty shots relating to the city environment at the beginning of *Au Revoir Taipei* are just some shots he and the director of photographer feel like putting into the film; but this ‘feel-like’ thing is in fact indicative of the tacit knowledge of the image of Taipei in filmmakers’ minds when deciding what to choose and how to represent it. Majoring in architecture might have provided Arvin Chen with his own sensibilities regarding the

image of the city, but what I want to explore is how he produced his image of Taipei in his film.

If the reality of the world is in the frame (e.g. the perception of human beings, the standing point, the boundary of the Earth), the way to reflect on this structure is to add a frame outside the inner frame. Films are not only shown in the 'frame', but also provide a view of the world through the frame of the filmmakers' arrangement. The documentary method could be seen as a methodological frame for reflecting on the documentary meaning of the world, so it provides such an outer frame for the inner frame of film. The distance between the two frames is the channel of interpretation on the cinematic experience of lighting, camera movement, montage, and scenic choreography, as well as the implicit knowledge of the director. These two frames do not separate; they combine and immerse themselves in each other, which is where the interpreter's detailed reading of the film language comes in. Governed by the theoretical stance of the documentary method, the document meaning represent itself in film and the following interpretation of film language will make explicit the implicit patterns of the document's meaning in regards to the image of the city produced by the filmmakers. Following Bohnsack's documentary method process of film interpretation, and in a way consistent with the preceding interpretation of *Yi Yi*, I will interpret the film *Au Revoir Taipei* using the following steps: Because it is a feature film, I conduct a 'narrative structure interpretation' first, based on both the pictorial and sound dimensions of the entire film; then the pictorial dimension and sound dimensions of the selected focusing metaphors are interpreted separately. Finally, this chapter will conclude with an overall interpretation of the full film.

4.1 Narrative structure interpretation: the time-space representation in *Au Revoir Taipei*

The first frame is a city district full of buildings at night. The average skyline takes up one third of the frame, but here a skyscraper stands in the right half of the frame, occupying the total height of the frame and set in striking contrast to the buildings below. Lights blink on the skyscraper and music starts. The following shots are 1) a city main street full of motorcycles and automobiles, a forest of electronic billboard advertisements, a line of street lamps, and a sea of blinking headlights, 2) a sidewalk in an overhead shot, with crowd, 3) a crowded night market, numerous advertisement boards occupying the two thirds of the frame's

height, stalls standing by each other, and the heads of people gathering and moving forward, 4) a group of middle-aged and elderly women dancing in the park, 5) a train passing by the left side of the frame while a building and an industry chimney are faintly visible in the background. A narrow alley with silent street lamp and residential buildings, two people are carrying luggage into the back of a taxi. The girl gets in the taxi, which is then driven away; the boy stands still and looks at the taxi as it drives off. An off-screen speech starts, which is a letter from the boy to the girl. In the camera frame, the boy turns around and leaves the alley. The off-screen speech continues to describe the daily routine of the boy: he helps in his parents' snack stall every day, and the shot shows the scene of the boy's work. When the off-screen speech says the boy imagines he and she (the girl) wander in the street of Paris, the shot is cut into the street of Taipei at night – the boy is driving his motorcycle in the middle of a street on his own. The French off-screen speech turns into Chinese, and the shot cuts to a book store. The boy is sitting on the floor and reading a book, and near him a bookstore staff organizes the books on the shelves. Late at night, the boy is saying goodbye on the phone. The title of the film shows: *Au Revoir Taipei*.

With a female singer singing in a restaurant, the shot pans to a middle-aged man and another elderly man whose name is Bao; they are talking in low voices. The shot is back to the bookstore; the boy sits on the floor while reading a book, and the same female staff approaches and talks to the boy. The off-screen speech from the boy starts again, in the language of the letter he writes. When the speech says 'you are always in my heart', the shot shows a similar image for a second time - the boy is riding his motorcycle on a wide street at night alone. At a still scene from the outside of a snack stall (a little dinner), which is at the bottom of a corner building, guests are sitting by the street and some motorcycle are passing by. A shot inside the snack stall shows the scenes of making food; the man named Bao and a young man wearing an orange suit (A Hong) are eating and talking. Xiao-Kai (the boy) is asked to hand the bowl of noodles to Bao; Bao talks to Xiao-Kai and expresses his willingness to help him. The shot cuts to an Areca-nut shop; the young man wearing the orange suit walks into the shop and asks for a lottery ticket. As the shopkeeper talks to the young man, another three young men with the same orange suits walk into the shop, and grab the lottery ticket on the counter suddenly and run away. The shopkeeper runs after them. The young man who was scratching the lottery ticket walks behind counter and takes the money out of the cash machine. When he walks out of the shop, he is caught by the shopkeeper and gets beat up with an umbrella. He jumps into a car which is already filled with the three lottery robbers and escapes. The shot cuts

back to the bookstore: Xiao-Kai is sitting on the floor and reading; the staff member talks to him again and knows he is learning French on his own.

The off-screen speech of Xiao-Kai cuts in: when he says 'I miss you so much' and 'I love you', the shot shows him riding his motorcycle in street at night for the third time. In a narrow alley with cold blue lights, a man is running to the camera and a siren is ringing behind him. The middle-aged man who met Bao before in the restaurant is running in the dark alley and at a junction there are two groups of police after him. He buries something in the censer in front of a temple and escapes. The frame shows a shop front named 'Shi Hao Real Estate', and its slogan above the door is 'true heart, with heart, with true heart'. In front of the shop, there are four young men wearing orange suits - the same four people who robbed the Areca-nut Shop. The middle-aged man wearing the brown jacket (named 'Brown-jacket' in the following parts) who has run away from the police walks into the shop and talks with Bao. The shot cuts to the snack stall in the corner, where on the front board is written '火生' (Huo Sheng, start the fire), and the advertisement logo is '古早味' (Gu Zao Wei, 'traditional taste'). A motorcycle drives onto the scene; a boy gets off the motorcycle and walks to the snack stall. He says hello to Xiao-Kai, and Xiao-Kai calls him Gao. In another narrow alley in the dark, some motorcycles stop in the foreground; a car is facing away from the camera, toward the entrance to a temple. In the bookstore, Xiao-Kai and the staff member meet again and talk. Late at night, Xiao-Kai gets a phone call, he paces around the room and then he cries on the bed. The middle shot of Xiao-Kai he is riding his motorcycle on the street at night with a sad look, and behind him are blurred lights. In the snack stall, Xiao-Kai asks his parents for money to go to Paris, but his parents refuse. In Bao's office, Bao agrees to lend money to Xiao-Kai. Bao takes a photo frame from his desk - the photo is a young man carrying a guitar and in the left corner is a small piece of a photo of a young woman. Bao looks at the photos and says 'I did not cherish love when I was young, and now all has passed'. The car still waits in the dark alley; Brown-jacket appears in the left side of the frame and peeps at the car behind a wall.

An empty shot, a city district in the evening, in the foreground are residential buildings and in the background are mountains. Music starts and fades out into the following scene: Xiao-Kai pushes an iron door and walks out into the snack stall. He tells to his parents that he cannot help them in the diner tonight and leaves on his motorcycle. Xiao-Kai meets Bao in his office, and Bao asks him to bring something to Paris. Inside a chain convenience store, Xiao-Kai walks in and tells Gao he will leave the next day. Gao suggests they eat together

before Xiao-Kai leaves, he agrees but says he has to fetch something first. The two boys put on their helmets; Gao is riding and Xiao Kai is sitting behind him. They are riding in the middle of the street and music starts again; Gao looks happy and Xiao Kai looks serious. An image of a residential high rise, A-Hong is talking about his plan to rob the 'thing' from Xiao-Kai. The senior policeman Ji-Yong comes back home and finds nobody there; there is one toothbrush left in the holder and the next frame is he sitting on the bed and reading a note.

In the dark alley, a man is walking to the waiting car. Brown-jacket appears in front of the censer, takes a packet out and leaves quickly. The two policemen get out of the car and start to chase Brown-jacket. Xiao-Kai shows in the frame standing in a corner of two alleys. Brown-jacket walks nearby and talks to Xiao-Kai, then he gives Xiao-Kai a small packet. The two policemen appear in one alley. Xiao-Kai and Brown-jacket depart in different alleys and the two policemen start to chase separately. Gao is waiting for Xiao-Kai on the motorcycle; Xiao-Kai comes and leaves with him along the alley where is hanging lanterns. Ji-Yong runs after them and then runs to the car. The junior policeman Wu-Xing follows Brown-jacket through the different alleys. The two young men wearing orange suits are waiting in an entrance to one alley while bragging to each other. Xiao-Kai and Gao pass them and they start to catch up with them. Gao and Xiao-Kai stop the motorcycle in an alley and walkthrough the crowd of people into a night market ablaze with light. In the night market, crowds of people are everywhere, and the logos of different snacks are standing one by one. Xiao-Kai and Gao appear in the shot: they are walking in the middle of a crowd of people in the night market and Gao is holding a cup of drink while walking. The following frames show various kinds of food being made by different cooks. Xiao-Kai looks in the direction of the camera. The girl that works in the bookstore and has talked with Xiao-Kai several times is sitting in a stall and eating alone. Gao asks Xiao-Kai if she is his acquaintance and Xiao-Kai confirms. Gao walks to the girl and says hi. The girl looks up and notices them. The three, Gao, Xiao-Kai and Susi, the girl, talk together. Gao invites Susi to join them to find something else to eat. From right to left, Susi, Xiao-Kai, and Gao, walk side-by-side in the night market, with people passing by continuously. Gao says to the other two that he would like to buy some small-sausage-in-large-sausage (大肠包小肠, Da Chang Bao Xiao Chang), and leaves. Xiao-Kai and Susi keep on walking.

The queue in front of a pan-fried bun stall under a red logo board is shown, then Xiao-Kai and Susi are standing in the queue and talk back to the camera. A front shot of the two as they are talking with each other – in front of and behind them are many people waiting in the queue. The two young men wearing orange

suits appear and grab Xiao-Kai away from Susi. A shout from police, the two orange suited men stop and let Xiao-Kai go, pretending nothing happened. In the shots one can see the shutting of the suitcase of goods, the running of street vendors, and police chasing after them. Xiao-Kai takes the chance to escape and runs to Susi. He holds her hand and runs away. The two orange suited men find out and catch up with Xiao-Kai. Xiao-Kai and Susi run through the crowds of people and the different stalls, and then stop in front of a green iron wall out of breath. The flow of people in the night market looks like weaving as the two orange suited men look around in the crowd of people. Gao is shown in the picture, eating while walking. The two orange suited men besiege Gao and force him to go with them silently. Looking for Gao, Xiao-Kai and Susi run by a snack stall and look to the front. The back of Gao and the two orange suited men are shown in the frame of the crowd of people in the night market. The camera follows Xiao-Kai and Susi running: the people are so crowded together that they have to shuttle between narrow spaces that open up between them. The figures of Gao and the two orange suited men are getting far away, and in a bird's eye view Xiao-Kai and Susi are seen still running in the alley of the night market. Gao is taken into a car and then it drives away. Xiao-Kai and Susi run toward the camera out of breath and look at the direction the car left.

An alley at night is full of parked cars; the red rear light of the leaving car fades away. Susi questions Xiao-Kai about what happened. Xiao-Kai walks back and forth in the silent alley. Susi is going to call the police, but Xiao-Kai begs her not to and promises he will tell her all he knows. Xiao-Kai and Susi walk in a narrow alley, while Xiao-Kai tells her that he wants to go to Paris to meet his girlfriend so he has borrowed money from Bao, who asked him to deliver something to Paris. The ground is wet and a man on a bike passes by. Susi and Xiao-Kai stand in a forking alley and discuss what to do next under the circumstances. Suddenly they hear a shout from one alley. They look into the alley and find a man is walking towards them while shouting. Susi and Xiao-Kai run into another alley. The shot gradually focuses on the figure far away and it is Ji-Yong running towards the camera. Susi and Xiao-Kai run into the metro station and get on a train. Ji-Yong shows in the train and Susi and Xiao-Kai run out of the train and metro station, back to the main street above ground. Xiao-Kai and Susi run to a square and where a group of middle-aged and elderly women are dancing together. Xiao-Kai drags Susi into the middle of the dancing group and they both start to dance with them. Ji-Yong appears in the shot and he looks at the dancing group in the middle of the square. Ji-Yong bypasses the dancing group and walks to another entrance of the square. Xiao-Kai and Susi run away.

A blurred walking street with sharp light, the backs of Xiao-Kai and Susi are seen. The camera changes to the front of the two as they talk about why Xiao-Kai is so eager to go to Paris. In another alley, the backsides of a man and a woman are seen. Ji-Yong appears and follows them. Three orange suited men are playing mahjong and talking with Gao in a room. A-Hong steps into the room. Xiao-Kai and Susi walk on an overpass silently, and Susi keeps staring at Xiao-Kai. Xiao-Kai receives a phone call from Gao, and A-Hong takes the phone and asks Xiao-Kai to bring the package to a space near the river to redeem Gao. Xiao-Kai takes leave of Susi, but on the stairs of the overpass she stops him. She asks to go with him. In an alley at night, in front of a house, a man and a woman say goodbye to each other. Ji-Yong appears and questions the woman, Yuan-Yuan, about the identity of the man. After some conversation, Ji-Yong pushes the man, whose name is Raymond. Yuan-Yuan leaves them and goes into the house with anger. The two men stand silently in front of the house for a few seconds and then leave.

Xiao-Kai and Susi are standing in the space between piers and talking. One of the orange suited men appears and threatens; after pushes and shoves the two orange suited men take the package that Xiao-Kai got for Bao. Susi runs after the two orange suited men and Xiao-Kai catches up with her. They run up to the street and Susi finds a motorcycle without a lock. On a wet street, a car is racing. Susi and Xiao-Kai are shown in the shot as they race on the motorcycle. Xiao-Kai gets a phone call from Bao. Susi and Xiao-Kai arrive at the motel following the orange suited men's car. A-Hong opens the package they robbed and finds the photo frame from Bao's desk inside. Susi and Xiao-Kai stand in front of a door and A-Hong is seen as it opens. Xiao-Kai and Susi are tied to the chairs and A-Hong asks Xiao-Kai why the package contains Bao's photo. Bao walks in the room and then Ji-Yong and Wu-Xing appear at the door holding their guns. Bao throws the table and escapes with A-Hong. Ji-Yong and Wu-Xin chase after them. Xiao-Kai, Susi, and Gao try to untie themselves. The elevator opens, and they see Ji-Yong throw himself on A-Hong.

In the alley where Gao parked his motorcycle, he says goodbye to Susi and Xiao-Kai. Susi and Xiao-Kai walk back to the night market again, but the stalls are all closed. Xiao-Kai says he knows where they still can eat something. Gao rides back to the convenience store on the corner. In the dark, Susi's voice is asking where it is. The dark is rolling up and Xiao-Kai and Susi appear. From the view outside the snack stall in the corner, Susi is sitting at the table by the door and Xiao-Kai is busy doing something. Xiao-Kai takes a bowl of noodles to Susi and they start to talk. The street lamp is shining, and the alley is similar to the one in the beginning of the movie where Xiao-Kai sent his girlfriend away.

Xiao-Kai gets in a taxi. Susi looks in the direction Xiao-Kai left and Xiao-Kai looks back from the taxi. Then Susi walks away. The sun appears between the layers of clouds and the city buildings are standing in the vague lights. Inside a room, the door is opened; Susi walks in and pours a cup of water, standing in front of the window. At the bookstore, Susi pushes the book cart and organizes the books on the shelves. She finds the book that Xiao-Kai read before; she picks it up and starts to read. Xiao-Kai appears in front of some shelves and calls Susi's name lightly. The same music that was played by the dancing group in the square starts again; Xiao-Kai and Susi are dancing to the music, accompanied by other people in the bookstore.

4.2 Pictorial interpretation of the image of the city in *Au Revoir Taipei*

The meaning of city to human beings is not only that of a container, nor is it merely a proof of the ability that enables humans to change their outer living environment. Rather, it is a provider of life experience, of diversity, and a support system for free choice after the experience of this richness. The image of the city and the social ideology are the outer and inner representations. The image of the city is a visual product combined with psychological perception; film language is the means of expressing the image from the filmmaker in both the pictorial dimension and the sonic dimension. The image of the city is not static, although sometimes the images are expressed in still pictures. The image of the city in *Au Revoir Taipei* shifts from one element of the image of the city to another, and there are comparatively more scenes of the outside urban physical environment than in the film *Yi Yi*. The arrangement of the scene and the montage construct a place as a guide for the trip into Taipei so to speak, and the point of view (not the POV of single shot) of the entire film *Au Revoir Taipei* is devoted to exploring the daily beauty of Taipei city. This could be described as a tourist view, in contrast to the residents' view found in the majority of *Yi Yi*. This standing point of the image of Taipei in *Au Revoir Taipei* will be elaborated in the following sections.

4.2.1 *Formulation interpretation of the sequence structure of the image of the city*

Au Revoir Taipei provides an image of Taipei which is different from that found in *Yi Yi*; the formulation interpretation of its film language summarized the structure of the image. The similarity of the cognitive space of the two films exists in the representations of the five elements of the image of the city outlined by Kevin Lynch's theory. The choice of the sequences of the image of the city is based on their representation of the five elements Path, Node, District, Landmark, and Node in the language of film, *mise-en-scène*. Sequences with at least one of the five elements are all identified in the *mise-en-scène* according to a time code. In *Au Revoir Taipei* there are 57 sequences which are related to the image of the city. In view of the length of *Au Revoir Taipei*, with 57 sequences in 81 minutes, these segments of the image of Taipei make up a much larger portion of the film compared to the 48 sequences in 166 minutes found in *Yi Yi*. The long establishing shots are more common in *Yi Yi* than in *Au Revoir Taipei*, which is symptomatic of the different backgrounds of the two directors in regards to Taipei – one is an insider and the other an outsider. The treatment of city space in *Au Revoir Taipei* turns out to be a repetition of city elements, such as Path and Node. Within the 57 sequences, three main sequences could be identified:

Main sequence I *Opening*: Sequences 1 - 16, time code 00:00:12-00:20:23

City district and landmark building at night to Brown-jacket peeping at the waiting car. These are the opening sequences of the film which give information about the backdrop of the film's story - a city environment at night, without a daylight scene. Main sequence I can be divided into three sub-sequences: *Empty shot of city* (including sequences 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, in Table 3), *Love letter to Paris* (including sequences 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 in Table 3), *Breaking out* (including sequences 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, in Table 3). The five elements of the image of the city, Path, Node, District, Landmark, and Edge are all shown in the first sub-sequence *Empty shot of city*, which describes a physical urban space of Taipei. The second sub-sequence *Love letter to Paris* starts from the farewell between the girl and the boy, then the boy's voice reads his love letter to the girl who goes to Paris. There are only two main elements of the image of the city, Path and Node, in the second sub-sequence. The content of the love letter is not consistent with the actual pictorial image in the film, but the off-screen voice is the only sound of this sub-sequence. In the next sub-sequence, the *mise-en-scène* changes to a dark alley, where someone is being chased by the car with a siren, and after this the film returns to the Path scenario where the boy is riding his

motorcycle alone with a sad face. This *Breaking out* sub-sequence is constructed only by the elements of Path and Node.

Main sequence II *Chasing*: Sequences 17-51, time code 00:20:45-01:08:28

City district with landmark mountain in the evening to Susi, Xiao-Kai and Gao in a taxi. These sequences are constructed by chasing scenarios through the urban space at night. The second main sequence can be divided into eight sub-sequences: *Pre-chasing* (including sequences 17, 18, 19, 20 in Table 3), *Dark alley chasing I* (including sequences 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27 in Table 3), *Night market chasing* (including sequences 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 in Table 3), *Dark alley chasing II* (including sequences 33, 34, 35 in Table 3), *Street, subway and park chasing* (including sequences 36, 37, 38, 39, 40 in Table 3), *Walking in the city* (including sequences 41, 42, 43, 44, 45 in Table 3), *Path chasing* (including sequences 46, 47, 48 in Table 3) and *ending* (including sequences 49, 50, 51 in Table 3). From the dark alley and the night market to the main street, subway, and park square, the images of these urban spaces are shown by the camera during the chasing activity. The time of these sequences is the same one night. Because of the chasing plot, the Main sequence II represents mainly the element of Path. The mise-en-scène transfers from one alley to another street, and the montage alters at a similar pace.




Main sequence III *Ending*: Sequences 52 - 57, time code 01:08:28-01:14:19

Farewell in the alley to City district in day break. These sequences make up the ending description of the city. The repetition of the farewell, which is between the boy and the girl Susi, echoes the opening farewell sequence. The sole sequence of daylight means that the story at night comes to the end in the form of the beginning of morning. The third main sequence can be divided into two sub-sequences: the *Farewell* (including sequences 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56 in Table 3) and the *Day break* (sequence 57 in Table 3). Both the farewells between the boy and the girls happen in the alley, which is a space of departure from the city, according to this film.







The image of the city in *Au Revoir Taipei* are night images (except the last sequence 57, at daybreak), concentrating on 6 city spaces: the dark alley, the snack stall (the diner of Xiao-Kai's parents), the night market, the main street, the metro station and the park square. The first three spaces are traditional urban spaces of Taipei, representing the traditional image of the city, while the last three spaces are modern urban spaces of Taipei, which represent the present image of a modern city. There are both traditional images and the modern images of the city in this film, which is a mix of the traditional and modern from the aspect of city space evolution.




Table 3: Index of the 57 sequences of the image of the city in *Au Revoir Taipei*







Sequence	1	2	3
Time code	00:00:12	00:00:20	00:00:25
Frame			
Image	District & Land-mark	Path & District	Path & District
Focus	Deep focus	Deep focus	Shallow focus
Duration	8 seconds	6 seconds	5 seconds
Distance	Long Shot	Long Shot	Long Shot
ShotAngle	Eye level shot	Eye level shot	Overshoulder shot
Movement	Static	Static	Static
POV	Omniscient: es-tablishing shot	Omniscient	Omniscient
Sound	Music	Music	Music
Sequence	4	5	6
Time code	00:00:30	00:00:35	00:00:43
Frame			
Image	District & Path	Node	Edge
Focus	Shallow focus	Shallow focus	Shallow focus
Duration	5 seconds	8 seconds	5 seconds
Distance	Long Shot	Medium Long Shot	Long Shot
ShotAngle	Over shoulder	Eye level shot	Low & oblique




	shot		angle
Movement	Static	Static	Static
POV	Omniscient	Omniscient	Omniscient
Sound	Music	Music	Music
Sequence	7	8	9
Time code	00:00:48	00:02:02	00:05:22
Frame			
Image	Path	Path	Path
Focus	Deep focus→ Shallow focus→ Deep focus	Deep focus	Deep focus
Duration	49 seconds	6 seconds	6 seconds
Distance	Long & Medium Shot	Long Shot	Long Shot
Shot Angle	Eye level shot	High angle shot	High angle shot
Movement	Static	Tilt	Static
POV	Omniscient: es- tablishment shot & reverse angle shot	Omniscient	Omniscient
Sound	Environmental, Speech & Music	Speech & Music	Speech & Music
Sequence	10	11	12
Time code	00:05:31	00:08:31	00:08:44


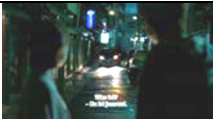


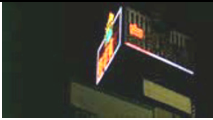
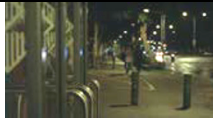
Frame			
Image	Node	Path	Path,Node&Land mark
Focus	Deep focus	Deep focus	Deep focus
Duration	3 seconds	5 seconds	24 seconds
Distance	Long Shot	Long Shot	Long&Medium Shot
Shot Angle	Low angle shot	Eye level shot	Eye level shot
Movement	Static	Static(relatively)	Static, swish pan
POV	Omniscient: es- tablishing shot	Omniscient	Omniscient
Sound	Environmental	Speech & Music	Environmental, Speech & Music
Sequence	13	14	15
Time code	00:11:13	00:14:25	00:18:31
Frame			
Image	Node	Path & Node	Path
Focus	Deep focus,	Deep focus	Shallow focus
Duration	21 seconds	3 seconds	12 seconds
Distance	Long & Medium Shot	Long Shot	Close Shot
Shot Angle	Eye level shot	Eye level shot	Eye level shot

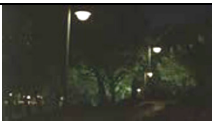
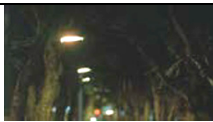
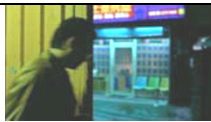
Movement	Static	Static	Static
POV	Omniscient	Omniscient	Omniscient
Sound	Environmental & Music	Music	Music
Sequence	16	17	18
Time code	00:20:15	00:20:45	00:21:22
Frame			
Image	Path & Node	District & Land-mark	Node
Focus	Shallow focus (rack)	Deep focus	Deep focus
Duration	8 seconds	11 seconds	6 seconds
Distance	Long& Close Shot	Long Shot	Long Shot
Shot Angle	Eye level shot	Eye level shot	low angle shot
Movement	Static	Static	Static
POV	Omniscient	Omniscient	Omniscient
Sound	Music	Music	Music
Sequence	19	20	21
Time code	00:25:17	00:25:29	00:27:54
Frame			
Image	Path	District (Building)	Path & Node


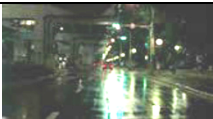

Focus	Shallow focus	Deep focus	Deep focus
Duration	12 seconds	6 seconds	8 seconds
Distance	Medium Shot	Long Shot	Long Shot
Shot Angle	Eye level shot	Eye level shot	Eye level shot
Movement	Static	Static	Static
POV	Omniscient	Omniscient: estab- lishing	Omniscient
Sound	Environmental & Music	Music	Environmental & Music
Sequence	22	23	24
Time code	00:28:37	00:28:41	00:28:46
Frame			
Image	Node	Path & &Node	Path &Node
Focus	Deep focus	Deep focus	Deep focus → shallow focus (rack)
Duration	4 seconds	5 seconds	46 seconds
Distance	Long &Medium Shot	Long Shot	Long &Medium Shot
Shot Angle	Eye level shot	Eye level shot	Eye level shot
Movement	Static	Static	Static
POV	Omniscient	Omniscient	Omniscient
Sound	Environmental & speech	Environmental, music & speech	Environmen- tal,Music &

			speech
Sequence	25	26	27
Time code	00:29:47	00:30:01	00:30:08
Frame			
Image	Path & Landmark	Path	Path & Node
Focus	Deep focus →shallow focus	Deep focus→rack focus	Deep focus →shallow focus
Duration	14 seconds	8 seconds	16 seconds
Distance	Long Shot	Medium Long Shot	Medium Long Shot
Shot Angle	Eye level shot, high angle shot	Eye level shot,	Eye level shot
Movement	Static	Static	Static
POV	Omniscient	Omniscient	Omniscient
Sound	Environmental, Music & Speech	Environmental & Music	Environmental, Music & Speech
Sequence	28	29	30
Time code	00:30:24	00:30:47	00:32:28
Frame			
Image	Path	District & Path	District & Path
Focus	Shallow focus (rack)	Shallow focus	Shallow focus







Duration	23 seconds	12 seconds	15 seconds
Distance	Medium Long-Shot	Long Shot	Medium Shot
Shot Angle	Eye level shot	Over shoulder shot	Eye level shot
Movement	Pan & Static	Static	Static
POV	Omniscient	Omniscient	Omniscient
Sound	Speech	Environmental	Speech & Music
Sequence	31	32	33
Time code	00:34:10	00:34:44	00:35:33
Frame			
Image	Path& District	Path & District	Path
Focus	shallow focus	shallow focus → deep focus	shallow focus
Duration	16 seconds	45 seconds	80 seconds
Distance	Medium Shot	Long & Medium Shot	Medium Long Shot & Medium Shot
Shot Angle	Eye level shot	Eye level shot, high angle shot & bird view shot	Eye level shot
Movement	Static	Static & hand hold	Static
POV	Omniscient	Omniscient: follow- ing shot	Omniscient
Sound	Speech & Music	Speech & Music	Environmental

Sequence	34	35	36
Time code	00:37:22	00:39:24	00:39:41
Frame			
Image	Path & Node	Path & Node	Path
Focus	Deep focus	Shallow focus (rack)	Shallow focus
Duration	27 seconds	17 seconds	12 seconds
Distance	Medium Shot	Medium Long Shot	Long Shot
Shot Angle	Eye level shot	Eye level shot	Eye level shot
Movement	Hand hold	Static	Static & pan
POV	Omniscient: following shot	Omniscient	Omniscient
Sound	Speech	Speech	Music & Speech
Sequence	37	38	39
Time code	00:39:54	00:40:37	00:42:29
Frame			
Image	Node	Landmark	Path
Focus	Deep focus	Deep focus	Deep focus →shallow focus
Duration	32 seconds	16 seconds	18 seconds
Distance	Long & Medium Shot	Long Shot	Long Shot

Shot Angle	Eye level shot	Eye level shot	Eye level shot
Movement	Hand hold, switch pan	Static	Static
POV	Omniscient	Omniscient	Omniscient
Sound	Music & Speech	Music & Speech	Music & Speech
Sequence	40	41	42
Time code	00:42:47	00:45:53	00:47:07
Frame			
Image	Node	Path	Node
Focus	Shallow focus → deep focus → shallow focus (rack)	Shallow focus	Deep focus
Duration	152 seconds	74 seconds	41 seconds
Distance	Long & Medium Shot	Medium Shot	Medium Long Shot & MS
Shot Angle	Eye level shot	Eye level shot	Eye level shot
Movement	Pan & track	Hand hold	Static & following
POV	Omniscient & first person	Omniscient	Omniscient
Sound	Environmental & Speech	Speech	Environment
Sequence	43	44	45

Time code	00:50:23	00:52:52	00:55:02
Frame			
Image	Path	Path	Node
Focus	Shallow focus	Deep focus →shallow focus →deep focus	Deep focus →shallow focus
Duration	150 seconds	130 seconds	112 seconds
Distance	Long & Medium Shot	Long , Medium Long& Medium Shot	Long & Medium Shot
Shot Angle	Low angle shot & Eye level shot	Eye level shot	Eye level shot & High angle shot
Movement	Static	Static & hand hold	Static & hand hold
POV	Omniscient	Omniscient	Omniscient
Sound	Music & Speech	Music & Speech	Speech & Music
Sequence	46	47	48
Time code	00:56:54	00:58:02	00:59:04
Frame			
Image	Node & Path	Path	Landmark
Focus	Deep focus & Shallow focus	Shallow focus	Deep focus

Duration	17 seconds	51 seconds	10 seconds
Distance	Long & Medium Shot	Long & Medium Shot	Long Shot
Shot Angle	Eye level shot & low angle shot	Eye level shot & low angle shot	Eye level shot
Movement	Static & pan	Static	Static
POV	Omniscient/ first person	Omniscient	Omniscient/ first person
Sound	Environmental & Music	Speech & Music	Environmental
Sequence	49	50	51
Time code	01:06:27	01:06:55	01:08:15
Frame			
Image	Node & Path	Node & Landmark	Path
Focus	Shallow focus & deep focus	Deep focus	Deep focus
Duration	28 seconds	80 seconds	14 seconds
Distance	Close, Medium & Long Shot	Medium Long Shot & Medium Shot	Medium Shot
Shot Angle	Eye level shot	Eye level shot	Eye level shot
Movement	Static & pan	Pan, track, static	Static
POV	Omniscient	Omniscient	Omniscient
Sound	Speech	Speech & Music	Music
Sequence	52	53	54

Time code	01:08:29	01:09:10	01:09:57
Frame			
Image	Path	Path	Node
Focus	Shallow focus	Shallow focus	Deep focus
Duration	41 seconds	47 seconds	17 seconds
Distance	Long & Medium Shot	Medium Long, Medium & Long Shot	Long Shot
Shot Angle	Eye level shot	Eye level shot	Eye level shot
Movement	Static	Pan, track, static	Static
POV	Omniscient	Omniscient	Omniscient
Sound	Speech	Speech & Environmental	Environmental
Sequence	55	56	57
Time code	01:11:39	01:12:54	01:14:04
Frame			
Image	Node	Path	District
Focus	Deep focus	Deep focus →Shallow focus →Deep focus	Deep focus
Duration	24 seconds	70 seconds	15 seconds
Distance	Long Shot	Long & Medium	Long Shot

		Shot	
Shot Angle	Eye level shot	Eye level shot	Eye level shot
Movement	Static	Static	Static
POV	Omniscient	Omniscient/ first person	Omniscient
Sound	Environmental	Environmental & Music	Music

In *Au Revoir Taipei*, the 57 sequences of the image of the city use different shot foci, such as a shallow focus, or rack focus, where the urban space is not always ‘in the focus’ - the filmmaker chooses to show some image of city clearly and some as a blur. In contrast to the deep focus of the camera in *Yi Yi*, the shot focus in *Au Revoir Taipei* is changeable. Deep focus can provide more information on the city environment, while shallow focus represents the control of the filmmaker. As it is known, shot focus is a means of specification and emphasis on the image - the filmmaker would like to guide the audience to focus on a special part of the image. There are basically two types of image of city in *Au Revoir Taipei*: clear and blurred. Based on Lynch’s image of the city theory, a legible city is identifiable and grouped into an overall pattern (Lynch, 1960). The blurred image of the city in *Au Revoir Taipei*, which is out of focus, is supported by shots of deep focus, such as in the establishing shots, forming an urban space overall image with blurred lights. The detailed list of shot foci is found in Table 3. Because the main story happens at night, all of the sequences are shot with night light (except the last empty shot of day break), which is different from the choice of both daylight and night in *Yi Yi*. The changeable mise-en-scène and point of view (POV) of the shot in *Au Revoir Taipei* are observed in Table 3.

4.2.2 *Mise-en-scène interpretation of focusing metaphors*

In the above research, the five elements of the image of the city have been identified from the film *Au Revoir Taipei*. Now I would like to go into detail. I have chosen 30 photograms as focusing metaphors for interpreting the mise-en-scène, according to the five elements of the image of the city.

4.2.2.1 Path: space of empathy

Bernard Rudofsky (1969: 20) wrote in his book *Streets for people*: ‘The street is the matrix: urban chamber, fertile soil, and breeding ground. Its viability depends as much on the right kind of architecture as on the right kind of humanity’. In *Au Revoir Taipei* more than one third of the plots happen on the Path, including the street of farewell, the lonely motorcycle on the road, the chasing in the dark alleys, the chasing along the path, the street in the night market, the way home in the traditional alley and so on. The ample depictions of the street, alley, and path give a vivid representation of the soul of the streets. Jacobs (1961) claimed that a city with vibrant ‘streets’ is full of vitality. The film supplies the images of people running, walking, and riding on the Path (here Path is a concept including all kinds of streets, alleys, and traffic roads), and thus in the following section I have chosen five types of focusing metaphor to interpret the Path image of Taipei.

Street of farewell - pathos of separation

Films and literature sometimes set the scene of farewell in an airport (e.g. *Before Midnight*, 2013), or in a train station (e.g. *Before Sunrise*, 1995), where the limited space and time compress the characters’ emotion and enhance the conflicts of the scene. Sometimes scenes of farewell are set in a large-scale open environment, like on the street in front of a hotel (e.g. *Conversations with Other Women*, 2005), where the contrast between the physical environment continues and the human characters’ ending story is constructed. In *Au Revoir Taipei*, the filmmaker has chosen the street as the setting of farewell, which is also the first time the protagonist Xiao-Kai is seen. The perspective of PG 1a²¹ shows the symmetry of the photogram, and the street environment is exposed as much as possible. Two characters are standing in the middle of the street surrounded by the quiet and quotidian streets and buildings. The same street appears in a similar scene at the end of the film: the scene of Xiao-Kai’s departure. Echoing the first scene where he sends his girlfriend away, this time Susi sends Xiao-Kai away to Paris to get back his ex-girlfriend’s heart (PG 2a). The similar frontal perspective is shown again, and the vanishing point is the blurred end of street, but this time the two characters stand at the golden section of the frame. The connection between

²¹ In order to distinguish from the photogram number in *Yi Yi*, I named the photograms (PG) of *Au Revoir Taipei* with an ‘a’ suffix.

Xiao-Kai and Susi has been constructed, and the beauty of pathos in this farewell is constructed as well. Unlike the former farewell scene, the farewell between Xiao-Kai and Susi is reflected from two sides. From Xiao-Kai's point of view, Susi stands alone in front of the street and stares after the departing Xiao-Kai silently. After the main character walks off, two establishing shots are formed - without the character the street is back to silence and emptiness (PG 3a, 4a). The feeling of separation and bitterness are transferred from the character's figure to the physical environment of street. This emotional transfer is constructed by the stability and consistency of the focused perspective. A street with sentiment is produced here in this film, using a time-span of 80 minutes to construct a metonymic sign of a 'street of farewell'.



Figure 37: Perspective of PG 1a Seq.7



Figure 38: Formal composition of PG 2a Seq.56



Figure 39: Perspective of PG 3a Seq.7



Figure 40: Perspective of PG 4a Seq.56

This street of farewell is constructed by the planimetric composition of the photograph as well. In PG 3a one sees the structure of this street in the dark night, and a symmetrical combination of six parts of the street image is shown. The light here is dim; a typical Asian residential area with a large amount of parked cars and motorcycles is in the frame. In PG 4a, because of the daybreak time, the darkness is thin and the structure of the street is divided in five parts. The skyline at the end breaks the symmetrical view of PG 3a, so the scene in PG 4a supplies an aesthetic clue of the reality. The symmetry of the total planimetric composition reflects the pursuit of aesthetic harmony in the quotidian street, enhancing the beauty of pathos from separation.



Figure 41: Planimetric composition of PG 3a Seq.7

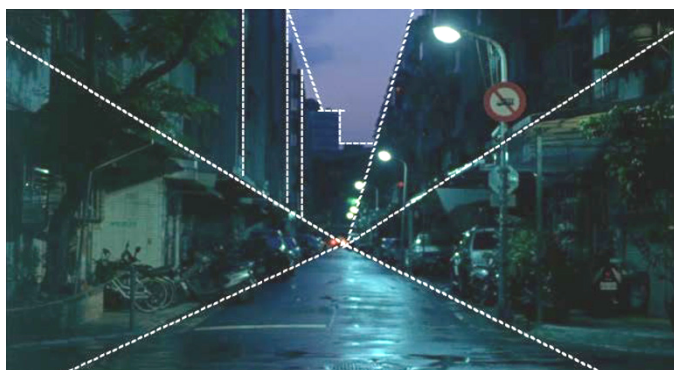


Figure 42: Planimetric composition of PG 4a Seq.56

Based on the above interpretation of perspective and planimetric composition, I conclude that the street scenes of farewell are enchanted with a sentiment of pathos, which imbues the normal streets in Taipei with a specific personality. The intimate neighbourhood reflects filmmaker's perception that Taipei is like a womb, enclosed and cosy. The pathos of separation between characters transfers to the environment, where it figures as Paths of separation from the home, the womb. This feeling is constructed both in the film's plots, and in the physical structure itself, as seen here and in the later interpretation of the diner on the corner. The empathetic space is produced. The aesthetic pursuit of this type of focusing metaphor is completed by its symmetrical structure. The street of fare-

well documents the Path image of the filmmaker - the street is the space for constructing empathy - for the first time.

Lonely road - pathos of being all on one's own

The second category of Path in *Au Revoir Taipei* is found in the scenes of Xiao-Kai's riding his motorcycle. There are four separate scenes related to this topic. The first one is shown in PG 5a, which is the first time the voiceover of Xiao-Kai expresses that he misses his girlfriend. When Xiao-Kai is riding on the wide Path in Taipei, he tells his girlfriend that he imagines he is walking with her on the street in Paris. Then in the second and third similar scenes of lonely road, Xiao-Kai still expresses his feelings of love for his girlfriend when he is riding alone (PG 6a, PG 7a). By the fourth time Xiao-Kai is seen riding, he has already received the breakup call from his girlfriend. The three scenes use the same one-point perspective and the similar planimetric composition.



Figure 43: Perspective of PG 5a Seq.8



Figure 44: Perspective of PG 6a Seq.9



Figure 45: Perspective of PG 7a Seq.11

The contrast between the lonely figure and the empty path is constructed within the frame. Xiao-Kai is always in the middle of the road and the perspective is always along the road's vanishing point. The pathos of being all on one's own is represented in these scenes of the lonely road. The broad path represents the vast expanse of the physical environment and the figure represents the emotion of longing for love, or rather, the longing for to not be alone. The width of the road is enchanted with the atmosphere of loneliness. Therefore the Path imbued sentiment appears again. The vast expanse of urban space and the intense urbanization enhances the helplessness of the human figure; in these four scenes of the lonely road, the emptiness of the large-scale of Path is shown and the empathetic

space of loneliness is constructed. The modern Path here presents its guiding role, which gives the character riding along it a definite direction. Although this directive characteristic of Path results from its physical structure, the filmmaker shows its clarity and certainty. The Path for the lonely actor is clearly provided in his route. The image of Path in modern Taipei is for the filmmaker imbued with a clear structure and strong position of guidance.



Figure 46: Planimetric composition of PG 5a Seq.8

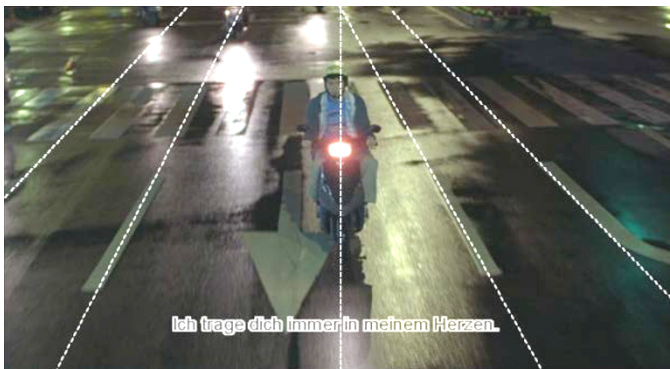


Figure 47: Planimetric composition of PG 6a Seq.9



Figure 48: Planimetric composition of PG 7a Seq.11

Streets inside the night market - enjoyment of bustling mobility

The night market is a core location in *Au Revoir Taipei*, because the key plot of meeting and chasing happens in this location and takes more than 10 minutes of the entire film. The conflict between Xiao-Kai and the hoods is revealed in this area, and Susi's involvement with Xiao-Kai is described. One of the first six establishing shots (sequences 1-6) is a scene from the night market. From PG 8a and PG 9a, it offers the basic structure of a night market here – both the two sides of street are lined with all kinds of snack stalls, and people walk in the middle street and choose what to look at, what to taste, and what to buy. There are several static scenes of the night market in the film and all of them are shot from overhead to show the crowd of people. The streets inside the night market could not be recognized in these scenes, but its bustling uniqueness is clear. The camera is static in most times because the people inside the frame are moving along the street; their mobility gives the streets vitality. The filmmaker still chose the one perspective way to shoot the streets inside the night market. When it comes to the chasing scene, there is no focused perspective, but just the documenting scene. The streets inside the night market lose their structure in the crowds of people but adapted their bustle. The atmosphere inside the night market is lively. Thus the groups of people sauntering on the streets of the night market endow the streets with a characteristic: the enjoyment of bustling mobility.



Figure 49: Perspective of PG 8a Seq.4



Figure 50: Perspective of PG 9a Seq.28

The two levels of the planimetric composition in the scenes of the night market maintain coherence in PG 8a, 9a and 10a. This kind of panoramic view satisfies the potential tourists' motivation to see everything, which reveals the tourist view of the filmmaker. The upper level of the shot is made up of the static elements of a city District, such as brands, lights, facades, and bridges; the bottom level includes moving elements of city District - namely, human beings. The contrast between the top and bottom is constructed in this composition, the static and the dynamic. The physical elements on top are the environmental support for the people walking below. The proportion of the upper and lower is approximately equal, but the static brands and related elements do take up slightly more

space. Thus the human beings could be seen as only the head part. This arrangement is made panoramic to include both the crowded human element and the city space; this panoramic pursuit is indicative of touristic motivations - to view the strange, unfamiliar objects as much as possible. The filmmaker's image of Taipei city is not only about city construction, but also about the crowded people in the city. The faces of the main stream of people point away from the camera, especially the ones who are nearest. This missing face and facial expression abdicate the first position to the ads and lighting fixtures. The lively atmosphere in Taipei city is what Chen chooses to express, and in his perception it is an expression of beauty according to the formal composition principles of the arrangement of the golden section point. In his tourist's view of Taipei, the city has quotidian beauty and that is what he shows in the film. However, the Path in the night market and the business walking street can also be seen as a District of the city. In the following interpretation of District, PG 8a and PG 10a will be interpreted once again as the elements of District.



Figure 51: Planimetric composition of PG 8a Seq.4



Figure 52: Planimetric composition of PG 10a Seq.3

Traditional alley - a maze of opacity and unexpected

Mazes of alleys connecting with each other are a characteristic of the traditional streets and lanes in Asian countries, and represent a typical 'landscape' of traditional Taipei. The alleys are narrow, full of quotidian things, thick with an atmosphere of life, hazy in the night. The depth of the alleys and the turns are hard to predict, which increases the enjoyment of this traditional structure of streets. In *Au Revoir Taipei*, key plot conflicts happen in the dark alleys: the Brown-Jacket's escape from the police as they chase him from different directions in the alleys, the meeting between Xiao-Kai and Brown-Jacket, and the Ji-Yong's chasing after Xiao-Kai. The overall theme of these plots is 'chasing in the dark alley'. In PG 11a and 12a, the perspectives show the characters appearing at the unrecognizable end of the alley, but the chasing activity is far from shallow, as the perspective transfers quickly within one scene (PG 13a, 14a) and shows the alleys different dimensions. When it comes to the plot point of Susi and Xiao-Kai being chased, the angular perspective starts to show the maze structure again. The two perspectives in PG 15a represent the condition of 'close-quarter fighting' within the physical structure of the alley. The opacity of the alleys is shown. The chasing behaviours between the characters make use of the unpredictable turns in this kind of traditional Path. The sudden turns construct the actors' behaviour and the storyline - that is, where they are heading to.



Figure 53: Perspective of PG 11a Seq.12



Figure 54: Perspective of PG 12a Seq.12

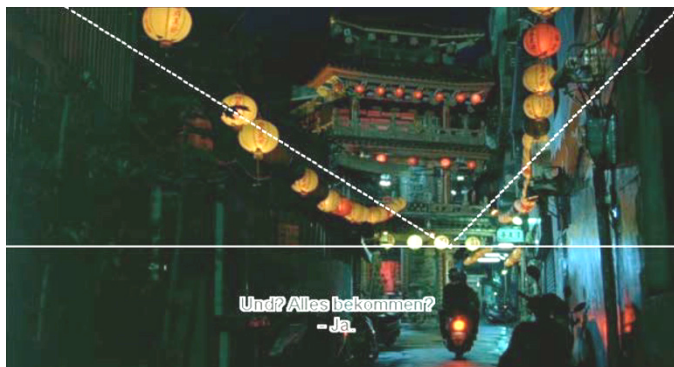


Figure 55: Perspective of PG13a Seq.12

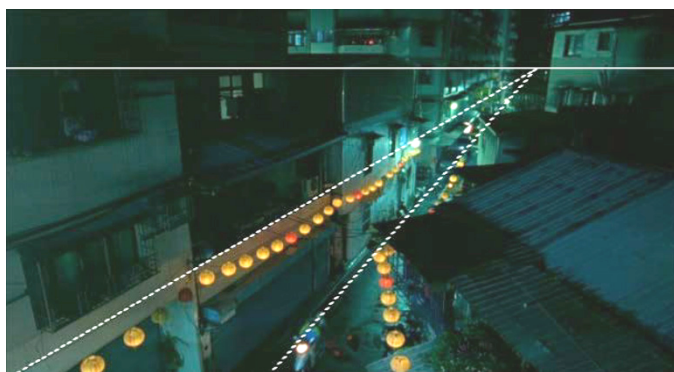


Figure 56: Perspective PG 14a Seq.25



Figure 57: Perspective of PG15a Seq.35

The total darkness and opacity represent the image of the traditional alley in the director's film language, and the alley is the place for 'something that will happen unexpectedly.' The tunnel vision of the alley is constructed by the architecture along both sides and reflected by the planimetric composition of the frames (PG 11a, 12a and 15a). The diversity of the dark alley is also produced - the traditional oriental temple and the hanging lines of lanterns (PG 12a, 13a and 14a). Therefore, the 'traditional alley' is used as a physical environment for pushing the development of plot points, and finally, the unpredictable and hazy maze of opacity and unexpectedness can be abstracted as the overall image of the traditional alley in Taipei city.



Figure 58: Planimetric composition of PG 11a Seq.12



Figure 59: Planimetric composition of PG 12a Seq.12



Figure 60: Planimetric composition of PG13a Seq.25



Figure 61: Planimetric composition PG14a Seq.25



Figure 62: Planimetric composition of PG15a Seq.35

Path in the metropolis - what course to follow?

Au Revoir Taipei presents the image of Taipei as a bustling metropolis at the beginning of the film and in the middle of the plots. The perspectives of the two scenes are both parallel: at the eye level are the blinking traffic lights, and the vanishing point is the blurring neon light area (PG 16a, 17a). The brightness of the path has been produced by the low perspective.



Figure 63: Perspective of PG 16a Seq.2



Figure 64: Perspective of PG 17a Seq.43

Ashihara (1983) claimed that when the height of the architecture (D) and the width of the street (H) is in a ratio of $D/H < 1$, it is a representation of the vast space of the street. In PG 16a, it can be recognized clearly that the architecture and the main path are framed in a ratio less than 1 (no matter how high architecture is in reality, the frame shows the part chosen by the camera). In PG 17a, there is a full span of overpass, and the height to width ratio is less than 1 as well; the horizontal overpass and the subgrade of the interchange cut the frame into four parts, which emphasize the width of the path again.

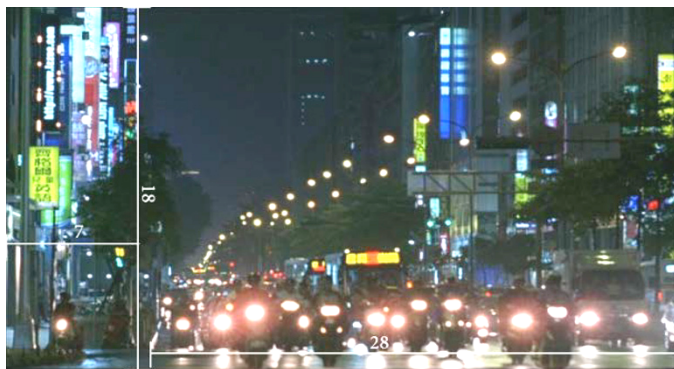


Figure 65: Planimetric composition of PG 16a Seq.2

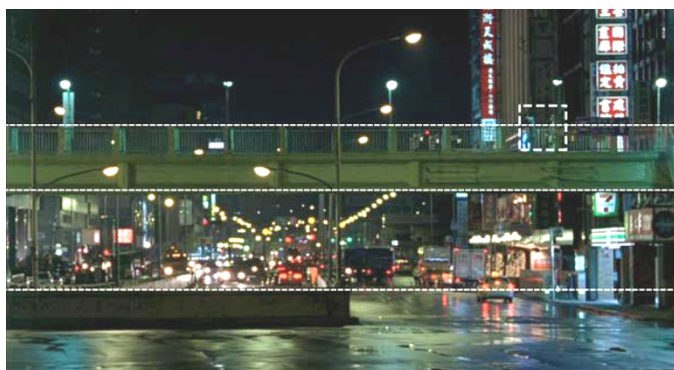


Figure 66: Planimetric composition of PG 17a Seq. 43

The perspective, planimetric composition, and the scenic choreography supply the image of Paths in a metropolis, which are wide and vast, blinking and blurring. This image is similar to the night scene in *Yi Yi*, but here there are clearer structural identities. The two characters in the frames show their tininess and their figures cannot be seen clearly (PG 17a, in the square). The contrast between the large scale of the metropolis and the tiny human figure is produced in the photogram. The pattern of Path representative of the metropolis is documented by its width and brightness. Yet the overpass provides a clear direction for the two characters' movements. Although they are helpless according to plot's situation and neither of them knows what to do next, they are nevertheless moving

along the path with a clear direction, characterized with the same clarity of the modern city space in the lonely path for Xiao-Kai's motorcycle. In both cases the movements of the characters are straight and orientated by the city Path automatically. The image of the modern city Path in Taipei is documented as being clear and having a strong guiding effect, although the characters in these situations are always without a clear destination themselves. The contrast between the physical structure and the characters' performances reflects the image of the modern Taipei Path in the filmmaker's mind: it is clearly structured to guide people's movement automatically when they themselves feel fragile.

The separate interpretations of each type work to illuminate the overall image of Path in the film, from the pathos of separation, the pathos of being all on one's own, the enjoyment of bustling mobility, and the maze of opacity and unexpectedness, to what course to follow. They are identified with the homology that Path is the space of empathy in the city of Taipei. Path provides the possibility for plots and situations in the city. What happens in the storyline happens according to the characters' encounters within the environment of Path, both the traditional alleyways and the modern streets. The contrast between the image of the traditional alley (opaque) and the modern street (directive) supports to the vitality of Taipei. The pattern of the perspectives, planimetric composition, and scenic choreography validate the close relationship between Path and the emotional impression of human activity in the film *Au Revoir Taipei*. Path in Taipei becomes the space of empathy in the filmmaker's perception.

4.2.2.2 Node: immediacy of intimate space

In *Au Revoir Taipei*, there are plenty of Nodes in the urban space represented by film language, including the park, metro station, snack stall at the corner, conjunction of alleys, entrance to the lane, and space under the viaduct. Compared with the Node depicted in *Yi Yi*, *Au Revoir Taipei* represents more complexity in the urban space of Node. At the beginning of *Au Revoir Taipei*, the fifth shot offers the Node scene of group dancing in a square; although the shot distance limits the recognition of the spatial structure of the Node, it is a hint foreshadowing later developments in the story. The detailed pictorial interpretation of the Node image follows.

The snack stall of Xiao-Kai's parents (the small diner) is an important Node establishing scene for the entire film. Around 5 minutes after the opening, with Xiao-Kai's voice over, a traditional snack stall is first shown from outside (PG

18a). This is the place where Xiao-Kai works temporarily and the place where Xiao-Kai's daily life is located. Then the close shot in sequence 13 gives a deeper description of the snack stall: a traditional diner with its specialty of traditional tasting of local food. Later, in sequence 18, another scene similar to sequence 10 (time code starts at 00:21:22), the snack stall remains present as in the first scene, but the narrative structure flows to Xiao-Kai deciding to go to Paris without telling his parents (PG 19a). This sequence of the snack stall, represented home left behind by Xiao-Kai's pursuit of love. After a long absence, the snack stall shows up again at the end of the film (time code starts at 01:11:39); Xiao-Kai takes Susi to this stall and cooks a bowl of noodles for her (PG 20a). Susi's company makes Xiao-Kai realize their mutual affection and the ending of the film is thus a happy one. The Node scene here becomes a symbol of getting back to the quotidian life, which hints at Xiao-Kai's final decision - to stay in Taipei. I choose the Node scene as a focusing metaphor because with the four Node scenes, a space of the quotidian, traditional, and intimate has been constructed. The formulation interpretation of PG 18a, 19a, and 20a falls into the same pre-iconography level - a diner on the corner in a residential area at night, the lights are on and there are people sitting in the diner. Although the similar mise-en-scène appears in the film at different times, the purpose of this Node image is a repetition, with the same outside shooting view, which is to say the same emphasis on the home environment of the protagonist and the traditional Node in the modern city of Taipei.

The snack stall is at the outside corner of the street, which is always lack of 'frontality' in city area (Ashihara, 1983). Ashihara suggested the use of 'frontality' to increase immediacy, in order to enrich the visual image of townscape. But in the mise-en-scène of the snack stall, the immediacy is not decreased because it is seen from the outside corner; on the contrary, the angular perspective of the camera greatly increases the immediacy of the outside corner. Unlike parallel perspective, an angular perspective of a shot has two vanishing points and is made objective through the separation of the audience and object. The angular perspective supplies the immediacy of the street in the right side and the building in the left foreground, as well as the 'frontality' of the snack stall. The light setting of these photograms is the same in PG 18a and PG 19a - the street lamp and the lantern from the diner - while in PG 20a the diner lantern is off and only the street lamp shines. The light is gentle, even dim, which puts the diner in a circle of darkness. The diner and the people are located in the center of the photograms, and the light from the diner shines towards the outside, especially in PG 20a. The 'womb' feeling of the diner is expressed by this structure - it is the home for

Xiao-Kai. The place of home and quotidian life for him is here where it is intimate, comforting, old, and unchangeable. The womb feeling of the small diner reflects the filmmaker's image of Taipei, a womb and a home. The human figures are small and enveloped by the light cover of the diner, thus symbolizing a shelter of intimacy and familiarity. For Xiao-Kai this diner on the corner is a place he would like to leave, while in the camera the light, the setting and the planimetric composition express a place of comfort, intimacy and stability – whenever he comes back, the diner is waiting for him. Moreover, the camera is always outside, away from the diner; shot from an angular perspective, in a panoramic way and evidences once again the filmmaker's tourist view.



Figure 67: Angular perspective of PG 18a Seq.10



Figure 68: Angular perspective of PG 19a Seq.18



Figure 69: Angular perspective of PG 20a Seq.55

The application of angular perspective of the Node scene is used again in sequence 54 (PG 21a), the convenience store where Xiao-Kai's friend Gao works. After being kidnapped by the hoods and rescued by Xiao-Kai and Susi, Gao hurries back to the place he works, where his secret love Peach is waiting for his shift. The two vanishing points show both the convenience store and the night snack stall as its neighbour. The visual immediacy of the Node space has been produced. The filmmaker did not choose the parallel perspective to arrange the scene of Gao's return, but use this angular perspective again to show the Node structure of the city. The static camera of these scenes allows the content to be recognized in a similar way. The still life, the static camera, the similar perspective, and the similar content of the scene reflect the immediacy of the Node space. Moreover, the visual immediacy of the Node is constructed by the three interfaces of the space, which is shown in Fig.71, 72 and 73. The two streets 'm' and 'n' cross in front of the outside corner. The golden section is the snack stall's front (in Fig.71, line 'a' is the golden section, in Fig.73, line 'b' is the golden section). Three interfaces are shown in the image, adding to the richness of the Node space. In all these three photograms, 'm' and 'n' represent the crossroads in front of the Node. The immediacy of Node image is thus evidenced by this layout.



Figure 70: Angular perspective of PG 21a Seq.54

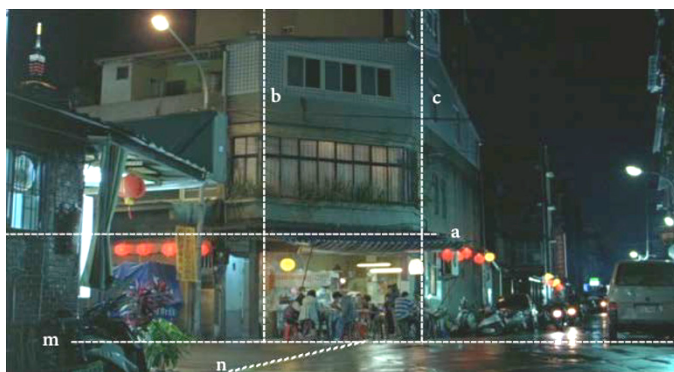


Figure 71: Planimetric composition of PG 18a Seq.10



Figure 72: Planimetric composition of PG 21a Seq.54



Figure 73: Planimetric composition of PG 20a Seq.55

This kind of immediacy appears in other Node scenes with parallel perspective in *Au Revoir Taipei*. In combination with the planimetric composition of the frame, the immediacy of the intimate space as orientation pattern in the film is recognized. The intimate feeling is constructed in the photograms by the perspective and the close relation between characters. PG 22a represents the immediacy of the space in a conjunction, and in this photogram an entrance to another alley is shown. Two characters stand in the right part of the frame while the vanishing point is at the left side, which is space (interface) C of PG 22a. The conjunction of roads M and N forms three interfaces: A, B and C; Xiao-Kai and Brown-jacket are meeting at the interface A, while the Brown-jacket is waiting

for the police to see his behaviour with Xiao-Kai when they catch up with them from interface C. Therefore, this node transfers the immediacy from A to C, along with the perspective of shot.



Figure 74: Perspective of PG 22a Seq.24

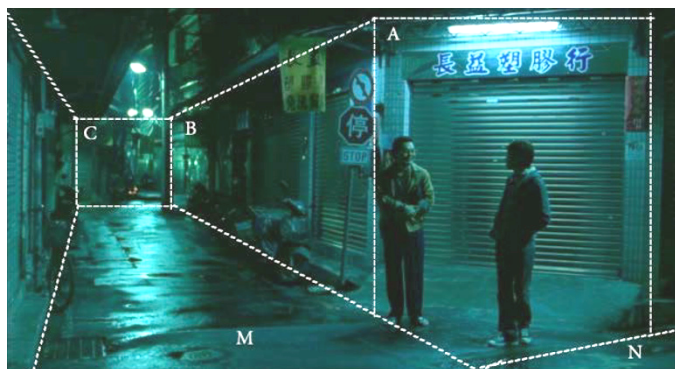


Figure 75: Planimetric composition of PG 22a Seq.24

The fourth time the conjunction of alleyways serves as a Node can be seen in PG 23a. Susi and Xiao-Kai escape being chased by the hoods, and then they walk into a dark alley and stand at the conjunction of alleys to sort things out. The perspective shows the vanishing point at Susi, who is trying to figure out what is happening by asking Xiao-Kai questions. This is the time that Susi and Xiao-Kai are figuring out what they should do after Xiao-Kai has told Susi what he knows.

The relation between the two characters is closer according to the narrative structure, and the place they are standing at is again full of intimate feeling. The immediacy is located in the background of road M, where the policeman Ji-Yong will show up later and yell at the Susi and Xiao-Kai to stop running. The perspective and the facade of the building, as well as the Path, construct the immediacy of the Node. This swing of the alley scene will be the subject of further interpretation in the next part on montage.



Figure 76: Perspective of PG 23a Seq.34



Figure 77: Planimetric composition of PG 23a Seq.34

The park as Node is represented in PG 24a. After the hint given in the group dancing scene in the sequence 5, the highlight of the group dancing happens

during the escape of Susi and Xiao-Kai. The narrative rhythm has been mediated by the two-minutes-and-thirty-two seconds' dancing scene, and it introduces a special Node space of the city of Taipei. Susi and Xiao-Kai run into a park, where they see a group of middle-aged women dancing in the middle of the square. In order to hide from Ji-Yong, Xiao-Kai drags Susi into the group to dance with them and during dancing the two forget they are being chased and seem to enjoy dancing in this group. After Ji-Yong's has gone away, Susi and Xiao-Kai run again, while the dancing group keeps dancing with music in the square. The perspective and the planimetric composition both emphasize the dancing group on the stage. The two directions that Ji-Yong and Xiao-Kai leave reflect the separation of the Node, while at the same time the dancing group keeps the concentration of the Node. With a tourist view that searches for strangeness, the park here serves as a Node space for a leisure activity which is a place identity for Chinese culture. The immediacy of the Node space is constructed by the dancing group and the inner structure of the square, such as the circles and descending stairs, and the intimate feeling is produced by the close proximity of the characters as they form a small group in the middle of the circle.



Figure 78: Perspective of PG 24a Seq.40

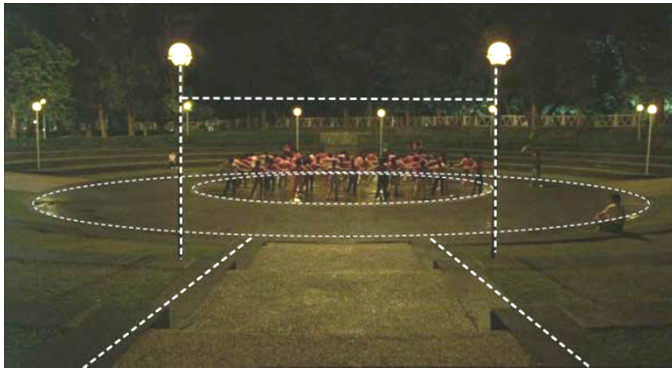


Figure 79: Planimetric composition of PG 24a Seq.40

The Node space under the viaduct is also shown to have secret and intimate characteristics in *Au Revoir Taipei*, as in *Yi Yi*. It is here that A-Hong asks Xiao-Kai to swap his friend Gao for the package. Xiao-Kai and Susi wait in the space, in a less panicked and more intimate mood (PG 25a). The perspective shows the immediacy of the space on the right side, and the light from above constructs a trapezoidal space A for Xiao-Kai and Susi. The dramatic conflict then happens within this Node space: the hoods come and hurt Xiao-Kai. The immediacy of space here continues: the hoods run away in the direction of the perspectival vanishing point, and Susi and Xiao-Kai run after them, leaving the space. The Node here is a stage for drama and its immediacy is constructed by the perspective, the planimetric composition of the scene, and the narrative structure. An impression of intimate space is produced by the trapezoidal light and the perspective.

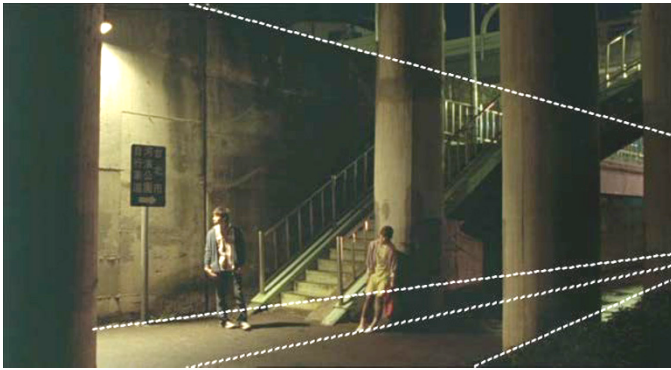


Figure 80: Perspective of PG 25a Seq. 45

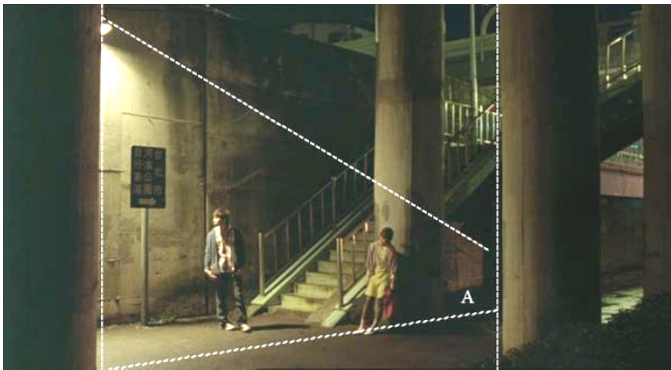


Figure 81: Planimetric composition of PG 25a Seq.45

To conclude, Node is taken as an intimate space of immediacy in the city at night according to the orientation pattern of Node in the film *Au Revoir Taipei*. This observation could be validated by the homologies among different connections and directions of the alleys, the park, and lanes shown. The impression of intimacy is produced in the Node space by the pictorial formal structure and narrative structure of the film. The complexity of meaning of Node in the film is characterized by the transcontrariness of the composition. Immediacy is another characteristic of a tourist view – to see more continuously in a novel place. Thus, the tourist view of the filmmaker is also evident again.

4.2.2.3 Landmark: Index of scenery space

Just as the Eiffel tower is always taken as the symbol of Paris, the skyscraper²² (sequence 1) is taken as the Index of the modern Taipei City. The first shot of the film is the scenery establishing shot of city District, with the Landmark Taipei 101. The filmmaker here uses the Landmark and District scenes as synecdoche for the city of Taipei – the city ‘should’ be recognized because of its Landmark and the filmmaker intends to make the viewer recognize the city. The first introduction scene gives the Landmark Taipei 101 the opportunity to express itself in the image of Taipei city, the vertical contrast between Taipei 101 and other buildings, and the concentration of shining lights in its body. The skyline of Taipei is described in this first shot, using a part to represent the entire city area. The Landmark here is the Index of the identifiable city and contributes to the first image of city offered by this film. Taipei 101 is not only shown in the first shot, and it is shot in the story within the story of ‘*Love of the Prodigal*’ (浪子情, Lang Zi Qing), which is a TV drama shown on all the screens in the film, on the televisions of the snack stall, Bao’s office, JiYong’s home and the reception of the motel. Taipei the city is both in the story within the story ‘*Love of the Prodigal*’ and in *Au Revoir Taipei*. The echo is from the application of setting a frame inside the frame, and the practical connection is the Landmark Taipei 101 in both (PG 26a, 27a). Therefore, Taipei 101 is treated as the key Landmark representing the image of Taipei City, which is due to an agreement between Chen and the director of the TV series *Love of the Prodigal*. The Landmark Taipei 101 becomes the ‘conjunctive space of experience’ (Mannheim, 1980, cited in Bohnsack, 2010); which means for the two directors that Taipei 101 is a symbol to deliver the geographical background information of Taipei based on their perception of the city and the perception of people who live or do not live in the city. Landmark is the image of Taipei to connect the place in *Au Revoir Taipei* and the place in *Love of the Prodigal*, and this connection emphasizes the meaning that ‘you must know this story happens in Taipei’, as it is identified by the two different directors’ design of scenes, both with parallel projection and the emphasis of the main body of the landmark.

In *Au Revoir Taipei*, the landmark is represented with a static camera and the static scene keeps the stability of the frame and reinforces the image which is seen. The first shot (sequence 1) is an Index of scenery space of the image of Taipei, which is the orientation pattern of habitus which the director used to offer

²² Taipei 101, the highest building in the right side of the photogram, which was the tallest building in the world from 2004 to 2010.

the audience the image of the city. The homology of this orientation pattern is testified to by the planimetric composition and scenic choreography. Landmark is the Index of the scenic space of the city in the film, and this role of Landmark is identified by Lynch (1960) and Jacobs (1961) in their respective research on the image of the city.



Figure 82: PG 26a from Seq.1



Figure 83: Taipei 101 in 'Love of the Prodigal', PG 27a

4.2.2.4 Edge: separation of mobility

Edge is taken as the separation of two sections of the city, as with the Tokyo railway scene in *Yi Yi*. In *Au Revoir Taipei*, the filmmaker uses the train to separate the first five establishing shots and the start of the story (PG 28a). The train runs from one destination to another. In the static shot sequence 6, a train goes from the lower left to the upper right corner, according with the diagonal line of the frame. The environmental sound of trains running supersedes the music. The duration of the static shot records the train's passing by way of the overpass.

The diagonal composition intensifies the contrast of the image: the motionless part in the upper left and the movement in the lower right. With the contrast, the movement of the train is emphasized. Moreover, from the perspective the vanishing point of the frame is in the lower left. The image of Edge in its formal structure exhibits inaction and mobility, staying behind and departure. This formulation composition leads to the start of the story: a farewell scene between a girl and a boy in a dark alley. The similar structure that the Edge represents the start of a plot also appears in *Yi Yi* with the Tokyo railway scene. The relationship between the boy Xiao-Kai and his girlfriend, who is going to Paris, echoes the scene of the train – departing and staying behind. This relation is the pre-setting of the storyline of a boy who wants to go to Paris to get his girlfriend's heart back. Hence, the city space of Edge projects the relationship between the first two characters, one who has mobility and one who does not, and an impression of separation is produced. The train passes by in front of the camera, and the building and chimney on the left are left behind. This kind of Edge in the film is endowed with the implications of social difference in the context of mobility, or in other words the different degree of mobility of different classes of people. Xiao-Kai's girlfriend has the opportunity to go to Paris, but Xiao-Kai doesn't – he does not have enough money and his parents don't think his going to Paris is a good idea. Then Xiao-Kai tries to construct his own chance to leave Taiwan, as an undergraduate student who is not employed. The way that he finds to support his mobility is to borrow money from Bao, and Xiao-Kai is thus involved in a hilarious criminal situation. This is the origin of the film's story. The differences in mobility between different social classes lead to a separation as well. Thus the Edge in the image of Taipei here is not just an Edge of different city spaces, but also a separation of mobility both in the cinematic space and in the social reality as it is perceived.



Figure 84: Planimetric composition of PG 28a Seq.6



Figure 85: Perspective of PG 28a Seq.6

4.2.2.5 District: quotidian beauty under exotic view

The first six shots at the beginning of *Au Revoir Taipei* directly show the images of the city in sequence. Four of them pertain to the image of District, with static camera movement. The scenes explain the spatial environment of the story, a city district, buildings, skyscraper, traffics, and crowded people on the street and in the night market. These four shots, from sequence 1 to sequence 4, are shot in the simplest way: static camera, 5-8 seconds, omniscient point of view, and with background music. The information in these four frames is exposed layer by

layer. The formulation of these photograms are: the photogram from sequence 1, the modern city in the night (an index symbol of Landmark: skyscraper on the right side); then a rush hour street, the blinking motorcycle lights and the neon advertisement boards; sequence 3, there is a pedestrian street seen from overhead; and, the same overhead view in a night market district, with crowds of people. These four sequences without interruption represent the environmental background of the film. Apart from these four photograms, there are another three photograms of images of city elements pertaining to District shown in the film, in the interest connecting the plot points of the preceding and the following narratives.

From the aspect of formulating structure, a pattern is revealed: the golden section of the frame in the image of the city District. Taking PG 28a as an example, the general skyline is on the level of the vertical golden section ($O\phi$ is the golden section point between lines 'a' and 'b'), therefore the composition of the upper night sky and the lower building area is in harmony; in the horizontal, $O\phi$ is the golden section point between lines 'c' and 'd', hence the right part of the frame with the higher skyscrapers and the emptiness of the sky in the left part of the frame is in harmony and keeps balance. The same planimetric clue is found in PG 29a and 30a, although the vertical and horizontal golden sections are combined (crossing) in a different way. The arrangement of the content of the image of the city is corresponding to the aesthetic composition of the golden section. Thus, aesthetic pursuit stands out in the filmmaker's production of the image of the city in *Au Revoir Taipei*. The filmmaker has tried to reflect the 'beauty' of the district more than anything. Each image is arranged to show the beauty of the scene, no matter if the 'beauty' is only a part of the reality or if it beautifies the entire city. These images are quotidian scenes without any special event, which means they are arranged to express the normal daily beauty of the backdrop city with an exotic view – the shot angle of seeing is not normal, it is omniscient and cannot be acquired easily in daily life. Therefore, the impression of quotidian beauty from an exotic viewpoint is revealed in this group of District images. An 'exotic view' usually belongs to tourists, coming into a foreign space not familiar to them in their daily lives, and they identify the 'strange' discrepancies between their homes and their destination during their travels. Considering the background of Arvin Chen, who was born in the USA and came to Taiwan for film shooting after college, it makes sense that these photograms express the exotic view of 'tourist'. The filmmaker's tourist view (or outsider view) has continued to identify the exotic in quotidian Taipei and to try to interpret the quotidian a beautifying way.

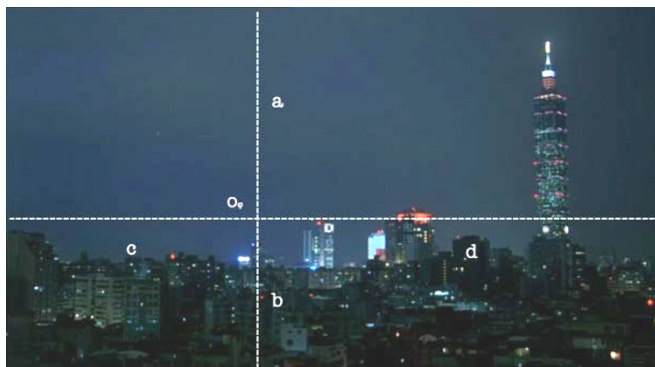


Figure 86: Planimetric composition of PG 28a Seq.1



Figure 87: Planimetric composition of PG 29a Seq.17



Figure 88: Planimetric composition of PG 30a Seq.57

As I mentioned in the interpretation of Path, the business walking street and the night market scene in the opening sequences also relate to the district of the city. In PG 8a and PG 10a, the perspective lines, the building facade line and the line of street lamps intersect in one point, the golden section point from the vertical and horizontal planes. The coincidence of the golden section point and the vanishing point reveal the definition of beauty, or one might say aesthetic feeling, from the filmmaker, located within the unknown blur of quotidian Taipei City. Arvin Chen's first short film about Taipei is named 'Mei' (which is the Chinese word of beauty, 美); here his manner of approaching of the image of Taipei is documented again in these photograms too. The filmmaker is searching for the beauty of quotidian Taipei as an outsider, and he composes the elements of city of Taipei into an image of beauty, which is the motivation of tourists. The crowds of people, the street, and the architecture are all arranged into the frames of the two photograms. The aesthetic pursuit of beauty is repeated in these empty shots. The camera is trying to provide a harmonious atmosphere within the quotidian city space in the interest of 'searching for beauty' at the beginning of the film's story.



Figure 89: Formal composition of PG 10a Seq.3 (Perspective locates on gold section)



Figure 90: Formal composition PG 8a Seq. 4 (Perspective locates on gold section)

An orientation pattern of the image of the city District is identified: the district image of Taipei in this film is of quotidian beauty under an exotic view, or to clarify it as a tourist view. The homology of this orientation pattern can be summarized as follows: from the outside, the city district appears static, while from the inside of the city, the city is crowded and lively. These two views are both reflected themselves in the quotidian Taipei. The formal composition of these District photograms all follow the pattern of aesthetic arrangement, which the

director employed in producing the image of Taipei, and it expresses about its quotidian beauty and strangeness from a tourist's exoticizing viewpoint.

4.2.2.6 Mise-en-scène in total: the space of empathy

To summarize, the five elements of the image of the city in this film – the quotidian district of beauty with an exotic view, the Index of scenery space, the separation of mobility, the immediacy of intimate space, and the space of empathy – are reconstructed from the filmmaker's own perceptions as they are projected in the story. The image of Taipei is quotidian but beautiful, indexable, with separation and immediacy, as well as vitality. The tourist's view of this compact image is elaborated in the above interpretation. The difference between the traditional and modern part of Taipei lies in their respective ambiguity and definiteness – the traditional image of Taipei is dim, intimate and enclosed, like a womb, while the modern part of Taipei is clearly structured and guiding. This contrast between the traditional and modern image of Taipei reflects the filmmaker's perception of the city space as dependent on the different emotional reactions of the environment. According to the design of the narrative structure, 'leaving home' is the motif of the protagonist, while the tradition he would like to give up temporarily is the carrier of intimate and cosy emotion and the modern Path he follows is the direction goes as he tries to figure out what he really feels. The emotional attitude is always related to the different city space. These characteristics of city are all reflected in the image of empathy of space, from one urban space to another. The city of Taipei in *Au Revoir Taipei* is not only a physical container, but also a space with all kinds of empathy, with human interest. The choice of this kind of mise-en-scène is the result of the filmmaker's background as a Chinese diaspora. Taipei is a home with the feeling of the womb, but also a place whose structure he experiences from a tourist's point of view. That is the role of the city: a place offering both home and strangeness.

4.2.3 *Reflective interpretation on Montage: swing with empathy*

The city, and especially the metropolis, establishes its attachment both with the inhabitants and with outsiders, and at the same time it evolves itself with the social development. To measure this evolution, there are two determinants: time and space. The image of the city is floating, continuous, because human percep-

tion of the city environment is interactive both in time and in space; interestingly, in film language, montage is one of the representations of this continuity of the image connecting time and space.

In *Au Revoir Taipei*, most of the sequences containing the image of the city are static, but the human figure in this stable physical environment is active. The habitus of its film language, or rather the habitus of the filmmaker, is to use 'standstill' to reflect the static outer structure of the city while using human activity to give the vitality to the space. This practice emphasizes human interest. The few straight cut or fast swish pans between scenes or within scenes are the special cases in which the city space supplies the possibility for human improvisational activities. To explicate this, the following montage from sequence 12 is chosen. The 24-second sequence reflects the physical spatial structure's dramatic tension, which offers the human figure the possibility of losing and finding his way in this traditional alley. Starting from a dark alley, the camera swings to another alley and a conjunction – the cutting of each shot is fast and short. The background drumbeat reveals the interesting aspect of this chasing sequence. The alley becomes a place where something will happen: its limited space, hazy atmosphere, and reaching out in all directions promise the dramatic tension. In this sequence, the swing of the camera from one alley to another represents the structure of the traditional alleys in Taipei, which also constructs the plot of chasing. The conjunction of the alleys is edited as a swish pan, the nervousness and panic escaping characters are transferred to the physical environment.

Another similar chasing sequence that uses montage is sequence 35. The first five seconds of this sequence focus on the far end of the dark alley, while the two people in the foreground are out of focus. The camera guides the attention to the direction of the specific alley with lights. The middle shot then changes into a long shot, in which the structure of the alley can be recognized in a full shot. This is followed by a two-second insert shot of the two main characters using a middle shot, and two seconds of long shot down the dark alley at which they are looking. Then it comes to the end of the sequence, but the beginning of another chasing activity – two seconds of a medium-long shot of the alley they run into, and another two seconds of the conjunction of alleys showing Ji-Yong's chasing. Unlike sequence 12, the camera movement here is static, not swish pan, but the effect of swing is completed by the short time editing of the scenes. It is another swing in the dark alley, from one alley to another, but the same pattern of montage is used. This orientation pattern of montage is the reflection of the image of the city of Taipei as a place with possibility to swing.

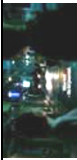





Table 4: Transcription of Sequence 12 in *Au Revoir Taipei*







TC: Time Code; BM: Background Music (‘-’=NONE); ES: Environmental Sound (‘-’=NONE; ‘~’=CONTINUE);
CM: Camera Movement (‘-’=STATIC)

TC	00:08:44		00:08:45		00:08:46		00:08:47		00:08:48		00:08:49	
BM												
ES	Siren		~		~		~		~		~	
CM	-		-		-		-		-		-	
TC	00:08:50		00:08:51		00:08:52		00:08:53		00:08:54		00:08:55	
BM												
ES	~		~		~		~		~		~	
CM	-		-		→		-		-		→	
TC	00:08:56		00:08:57		00:08:58		00:08:59		00:09:00		00:09:01	
BM									-		-	
ES	~		~		~		~		Barking		~	
CM	-		→		-		↓		-		-	
TC	00:09:02		00:09:03		00:09:04		00:09:05		00:09:06		00:09:07	

						
BM	-	-	-	-	-	-
ES	~	~	~	~	~	~
CM	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 5: Transcription of Sequence 35 in *Au Revoir Taipei*

TC	00:39:24	00:39:25	00:39:26	00:39:27	00:39:28	00:39:29
						
BM	-	-	-	-	-	-
ES	~	~	~	~	~	~
CM	-	-	-	-	-	-

TC	00:39:30	00:39:31	00:39:32	00:39:33	00:39:34	00:39:35
						
BM	-	-	-	-	-	-
ES	~	~	~	~	~	~
CM	-	-	-	-	-	-

TC	00:39:36	00:39:37	00:39:38	00:39:39	00:39:40
					
BM	-	-	-	-	-
ES	~	~	~	~	~
CM	-	-	-	-	-

The static physical environment and the human connect with each other in an organic way. The city is a container, but also a generator of human activity. This combination makes Taipei out to be a place with human interest, an emotional space, and a space of empathy. Then the transfer from one city space to another forms an order of swing, from the snack stall to the path, from the dark alley to the night market, from the path to the park, from the overpass to the alley, and back to the snack stall. This swing makes the city space like a stage of a dance, a simile first mentioned by Jacobs (1961). *Au Revoir Taipei* can be seen as a collection of dances in different spaces. Throughout the entire movie, dance is an important code of the drama: the group dance in the city park at night; Susi tells Xiao-Kai she is learning how to dance; Xiao-Kai and Susi dance with the group of middle-aged women in the park; and the last scene of the film in which Xiao-Kai and Susi dance together inside the bookstore with a large dance group. Unlike a Bollywood dancing movie, the dancing code in *Au Revoir Taipei* is part of the director's perception of the city life in Taipei: dancing to have fun. The last dancing scene inside the bookstore is unrealistic, but it echoes the exotic view of the tourist that anything is possible within the quotidian life and spaces of Taipei, which is a place that is strange and novel, but contains possibilities, such as in its standing as metropolis.

4.3 Text and sound dimensions of the image of the city

4.3.1 Text interpretation: the city space of empathy

The speech about the image of the city in *Au Revoir Taipei* only appears once in the entire film, when Xiao-Kai's voiceover is reading his first love letter to his girl friend in Paris in Sequence 7 and 8.

Transcription of time code: 00:01:24 -00:02:07

Am : Xiao-Kai

Am: Hello Faye! How are you? Is Paris nice? I am learning French for you. I want to be with you in Paris, but I have no money. Paris is the city of love. Taipei is so lonely without you; very very lonely. I work together with my Dad and Mom. Every day is the same. I must think about you all the time. I imagine us both walking on the street in Paris. You are my happiness. You are, forever.

Formulation interpretation of the text

OT: 00:01:24-00:02:07 *Love letter from Xiao-Kai to Faye*

UT: 00:01:24-00:01:37 *Xiao-Kai wishes to go to Paris with Faye, but he has no money*

UT: 00:01:38-00:02:01 *Daily life of Xiao-Kai, and his comparison between Paris and Taipei*

UT: 00:02:02-00:02:07 *Xiao-Kai's imagination of walking in Paris and his affection of Faye*

Reflective interpretation of the text

- 00:01:24-00:01:37 *Xiao-Kai wishes to go to Paris with Faye, but he has no money*

This voice-over starts from the greetings in the love letter. Xiao-Kai asks about Paris and expresses his willingness to go to Paris with Faye. He explains the situation: he could not go there because of the lack of money. This speech involves two cities: one is Paris, a city to which Xiao-Kai wants to go, and the other is the city in which he lives now, the one he wants to leave. His feelings about the two cities are decided by the presence of Faye, his girlfriend. 'I want to be with you in Paris' is a positive attitude towards the city of Paris; 'but I have no money' is the negative attitude towards his present life environment.

- 00:01:38-00:02:01 *Daily life of Xiao-Kai, and his comparison between Paris and Taipei*

Xiao-Kai compares the two cities: Paris is full of love, and Taipei is boring without Faye. He continues to describe his own daily life: 'every day is the same' and he is stuck in the routine. He needs to think about Faye. Taipei is once again expressed with negative emotions as being boring, in contrast with the Paris of 'love'. Taipei has lost its attractiveness in Xiao-Kai's perception. His life in Taipei has left him without interest, and the only cure for him is thinking about the girl.

- 00:02:02-00:02:07 *Xiao-Kai's imagination of walking in Paris and his affection for Faye*

Xiao-Kai starts to imagine walking with Faye on the street in Paris, while the actual picture in the film is him riding alone on a wet path. He has expressed his affection to the girl and told her that she is his happiness, which is not in Taipei. He still rides his motorcycle in the city that he wants to leave, where his

happiness is absent. The feeling about the city here is not related to the physical environment, according to Xiao-Kai's speech, but to the person he has feelings for.

Therefore, the city space of empathy is produced in the above text sequence: Paris is for love and Taipei is boring without the person he loves; the speech of Xiao-Kai transfers between Paris and Taipei, Taipei and Paris, swinging between the two cities. This different image of Taipei here in Xiao-Kai's love letter, and the image of Taipei in the pictorial dimension of the film constructs a contrast, which sets up the ending of the film, at which point Taipei is attractive, and Xiao-Kai chooses to stay after his experience of the night with Susi. The image of Taipei in Xiao-Kai's love letter is transcended by the pictorial dimension. The homology of the 'empathy of space' is validated by the love letter – whether the city is attractive or not depends on the emotional feelings of the people there.

4.3.2 Environmental and background sound: aesthetic pursuit and novel feeling for tourists

Looking back over the entire film, a very interesting pattern appears: almost all of the background music is arranged in conjunction with the outer urban space sequences, except for the ending fantasy sequence of dancing in the bookstore. This means that the city environment is treated in combination with a musical aesthetic pursuit, and the attractive city environment is an important role the filmmaker would like to emphasize. The first five sequences about the city, the diner, the chasing in the dark alley, the chasing in the night market, the chasing in the metro station and the main street, the dancing in the park square, the overpass and the city district are all combined with background music. Just like a dance with music, the activities of the characters in the urban space of Taipei are shown in a dramatic way. Different background music applies to different activities in different urban spaces, which renders the empathy of the physical environment, and the melody confirms the pursuit of aesthetic and novel feeling for tourists. The environmental and background music produce the orientation pattern of the pictorial dimension: the space of empathy from the view of tourist.

4.4 Overall interpretation of the image of the city in *Au Revoir Taipei*

The French title of this film means ‘Good bye Taipei, till we meet again’, which follows the motive of the protagonist Xiao-Kai as he wants to leave the city. The Chinese title of the film is 一页台北 (Yi Ye Tai Bei), which means literally ‘one page of Taipei’ and insinuates that there are more ‘pages’ of this city there. ‘Page’ (页) shares the same pronunciation of ‘night’ (夜) in Chinese, which produced an impression of ‘one night in Taipei’ - echoing with the fact that almost all the scene in the film is the night scene. Both the names emphasize the name of the city where the story happens, and the Chinese name documents the diversity and richness of this place. The film uses the swinging dance between the different city spaces, including elements of harmony, vitality, the quotidian, the traditional, and the modern, as well as the emotional reflections on separation, black humor, loss and sweetness. The title’s Goodbye Taipei (*Au Revoir Taipei*) reflects the motive of experiencing Taipei once more – dancing with it with empathy. The orientation pattern is validated by the homologies both in the pictorial and sound dimension and inside each element of the image of the city. The elements are all combined with the emotions of human beings, from boredom to panic, from hilarity to intimacy. Taipei city is produced as a space of empathy. Empathy is defined ‘as an affective response more appropriate to another’s situation than one’s own’ (Hoffman, 2000: 4). The concept of empathy (Einfühlung) in the city is also central to Benjamin’s much admired theory of experience in his writings on motifs in Baudelaire’s poems (Buck- Moss, 1989), and the city as a place of empathy for the people who live there is no doubt confirmed by *Au Revoir Taipei*. Jacobs has compared the order of the city as the dance:

Under the seeming disorder of the old city, wherever the old city is working successfully, is a marvelous order for maintaining the safety of the streets and the freedom of the city. It is a complex order...This order is all composed of movement and change, and although it is life, not art, we may fancifully call it the art form of the city and liken it to the dance - not to a simple-minded precision dance with everyone kicking up at the same time, twirling in unison and bowing off en masse, but to an intricate ballet in which the individual dancers and ensembles all have distinctive parts which miraculously reinforce each other and compose an orderly whole. The ballet of the good city sidewalk never repeats itself from place to place, and in any once place is always replete with new improvisations. (Jacobs, 1961: 50)

Taipei is not an old city with a long history but a city with a traditional quality, and just in Jacobs' saying, Taipei's order is complex. *Au Revoir Taipei* represents some of this order, not only the ballet dance on the sidewalk, but a swing dance from one empathy space to another, improvised and energetic. This image of Taipei in *Au Revoir Taipei* is reflected by its physical environment, such as the traditional dark alleys and their conjunctions, and its social identities, such as the pursuit of the younger generation to go abroad. In *Au Revoir Taipei*, the city that is left behind is shown to have plenty of sense of beauty. This aesthetic pursuit of the image of the city plays the role of promotion for Taipei. Unlike the pursuit of social reality in *Yi Yi*, *Au Revoir Taipei* represents a dramatic space of empathy, constructed for the needs of the tourist's view towards the exotic. The city here is promoted as a product by the film, by the swing of the space of empathy, as a dance show on the stage of the metropolis.

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5 City, film and destination: Comparative analysis on the image of the city between *Yi Yi* and *Au Revoir Taipei*

As an art form covering the range from pictorial, dramatic, narrative to music, film has been developed to be an economic commodity in contemporary society, the selling of a service that is essentially psychological in nature (Monaco, 2009). Whether one considers traditional films screened in the cinema or the increasingly common micro-films distributed via internet, the basic role of film as the supplier of visual objects has never changed. As a great source of information, the cultural communication mode of film influences human society deeply and broadly. Film connects to other social sectors intimately – one of these sectors is tourism.

Tourism and film both appeal to the public as sources for aesthetic appreciation; they can challenge or provide distraction, evade or embrace social reality, and perhaps aid in comprehending the needs of others (Hao & Ryan, 2013). Beeton (2005: 11) defines film-induced tourism as the ‘visitation to sites where movies and TV programs have been filmed’ as well as ‘tours to production studios, including film-related theme parks’. Film tourism is based on the construction of images derived from the imaginaries of cinema audiences and their fascination with the world of a film, and the subsequent deliberate actions of destination management agencies. In a Lacanian sense, every condition of mixing the real and the imaginary results in a Mirror experience, where the three intersecting orders ‘the imaginary, the symbolic and the real’ (Lacan, 1988) form a schema which is evident in the relationship between the interpretation of film images, the viewer’s imaginary, and the destination image. The destination image, as it relates to the image of the city, could be seen to take the place of ‘the real’ to elaborate the relation between film and tourism in a similar three-point circuit: the imaginary – the film image – the destination image. This schema will be elaborated later in this chapter.

Films offer an identity for place on the screen, and describe a space with its own narrative language. In order to satisfy tourists’ imaginaries, a destination marketing organization might try to promote the location image presented in the film as the main attraction of the destination, perhaps even constructing some of

the physical signs from this image (Hao & Ryan, 2013). In this case, the image from the film turns into the present reality and a hyperreality constructed by local people. Thus film tourism contributes to a situation in which the film forms, shapes, or influences the image of the location, thereby reconstructing the location itself within a context of tourism. The coincidence of film and tourism does not depend merely on the realization that they both supply a mobile 'gaze' (Urry, 2002) and generate an emotional attachment; rather, both of them provide an opportunity for humans to observe otherness elsewhere in order to establish their own identities, which is once again exemplification of Lacan's 'Mirror Stage'. Thus, the target of this chapter is to interpret the expression of image within the socio-cultural context of the two films, and to elaborate the construction of imaginaries from the symbolic form based on Lacan's theory that 'one finds a guide beyond the imaginary, on the level of the symbolic plane' (Lacan, 1988: 141). This analysis will then facilitate the discussion of the possible transfer of place attachment from the dream-like and mirror-like film to the viewers and potential tourists.

5.1. Positions of the city: protagonist or scenery

Tuan (1977) pointed out that as we look at a panoramic scene our eyes pause at points of interest, and each pause lasts long enough to create an image of place that momentarily looms large in our view. A film is an experiential archive for filmmaker's images of the city (when the shooting location is the city) – the filmmaker's own experiences of the city form images through abstraction into their film work. The film's role as this kind of experiential archive is easy to ignore because of the film's narrative or other entertaining characteristics. The visual and aural aspects of the film language represent the experiences that are accumulated from the perception of the external environment.

The city as the cosmopolitan space of 'the world' is treated differently according to the different habitus of the filmmakers. Edward Yang and Arvin Chen are both members of the Chinese diaspora (a diaspora is when large numbers of population are either dispersed from an original homeland to two or more foreign regions or expand outward from this homeland in search of work, in pursuit of trade, or in order to further colonial ambitions. Cohen, 1997: 26): Yang was born in Shanghai, grew up in Taiwan, and then moved to America; Chen's parents are from Taiwan. The roots or 'origins' of Chinese social culture are based on Confucianism, a way of adjusting to the outside, to the conditions of the world (We-

ber, 1951: 235); the city serves as a representation of 'the world', where human beings must adapt to the 'conditions' in order to live. This Confucianism has influenced Chinese people for thousands of years no matter where they are around the world, be it China, the USA, or Europe. Yang realized this theme and treated it in his earlier film, *A Confucian's Confession*. He tried to examine how people live in a fast, modernized Taipei with the cultural background of Confucianism. In *Yi Yi*, Taipei's image is treated with patience: the long establishing shots of the city environment, the daytime and nighttime scenery, the modern urban spaces with fast flows of traffics - this Eastern city itself is an adjustment to modernity and the developed outside world compared to the traditional Japanese city shown in the film. The influence of Confucianism in Taipei's character is evident in the city's efforts to adjust itself quickly to the conditions of the world - to be modern, even if this means erasing the old forms that are attached to fond memories. The place represents old time is in Japan, and director Yang chose to construct his nostalgia of Taipei by a mirror image there. At the same time, the contrast between the places in Taipei and Japan calls for attention: does Confucianism protect the city from being out of date, or it made the place lose its personality? This is a reflection on Confucianism, a reflection of the director's root.

Taipei in *Yi Yi* performs a leading role; it is a protagonist that actively participates in human beings' lives and influences their memories, emotions and behaviour. The case in *Au Revoir Taipei* is slightly different - the position of Taipei is not that of a protagonist, but of scenery. The time-space in *Au Revoir Taipei* is highly compressed; the city in the night is shown continuously in the entire film within a short time duration. The film shows that the modern face of Taipei is not the only image one might have of the city. The traditional side of Taipei occupies a large part in the film's narrative structure - the traditional neighbourhood, the night market, the ancient temple in the old lanes, etc. Even the modern Landmark is offered as an image of tradition: The skyscraper Taipei 101 stands in the first shot to represent present-day Taipei, however it also appears in the story within the story, '*Love of the Prodigal*', a TV drama which is shown on all the screens that appear in the film; in this way, this building passes through times and becomes a past recorded by television and a marker of Taipei's identity. The place identity is offered here as a 'tradition' of Taipei in visual works. Here 'past' does not refer to a large chronological distance in history, but a distance of conditions in a fast-changing society, just as, for example, the gaslight was a thing of the past for European people living in 1920s, yet was a novelty during their parents' youth (Buck-Morss, 1989: 65). Although there are some plots involving the modern city space in *Au Revoir Taipei* (e.g. the metro

station, the space under viaduct), the old parts of Taipei jump out in front of the camera more frequently. Tuan's assessment of the difference between the traditional and the modern seems appropriate for the interpretation of the different images of the city in *Au Revoir Taipei*; according to him, a traditional world has the ambiguity and richness of ordinary and ritual speech, while the modern world on the other hand aspires to be transparent and literal (1974: 141).

Reaching a conclusion regarding the position of the city in two case films depends on the detailed interpretation undergone in the proceeding chapters. In the pictorial dimension, the vanishing points of the photograms of the image of Taipei in *Yi Yi* are always located on the physical city environment, not on the human characters. In contrast, the perspectives of the photograms of *Au Revoir Taipei* are always located on the human character, meaning the human characters seen in the photograms are in the dominant position. The shot focus of *Yi Yi* is a deep focus throughout the entire film; the foreground is not regulated by human characters and the city space is not always in the background, so there is no distinction between the human beings and the urban environment. The shot focus in *Au Revoir Taipei* however is changeable, and a shallow focus and selective focus are found in most scenes, meaning the human characters are in the foreground of focus and the city is always in the background. In the text and sound dimensions, the Taipei of *Yi Yi* is independent with references to its own past (in its stated similarity to the Japanese city) according to the dialogue designed by the filmmaker, while the Taipei in *Au Revoir Taipei* is only the place setting of human characters' emotion (according to Xiao-Kai's voiceover). As discussed in the overall interpretation, *Au Revoir Taipei* makes the urban space into a stage of the swing dance performed in the entire film. The five categories of the image of the city, Path, Node, Edge, Landmark, and District work as settings of the stage - they stand by, ready to provide the setting for the ongoing dramas that take place in the city. Although the stage symbol of Path is used in *Yi Yi* at the beginning and the end, the city of Taipei there is more like an active participant in the drama and an observer of human life, which nevertheless has its own storyline and its own route from past to present.

Landscape is personal and tribal history made visible - just like the native's identity of his place in the total scheme of things (Tuan, 1977). Landscape in the city has the same effect. For the human characters in *Yi Yi* and *Au Revoir Taipei*, the urban environment of Taipei is their 'place in the total scheme of things': it constitutes the place of daily routine for NJ and Xiao-Kai. If we see them as 'natives', their behaviour of going to another place - NJ for a business trip and Xiao-Kai in an attempt to joint his love - falls into an obvious pattern. They both are involved in a breaking out of the routine of everyday life, followed by a sub-

sequent return to the quotidian. Therefore, both films offer an image of Taipei as a place for daily life; the difference is that in *Yi Yi* the city is one of the leading actors, with the urban space's role interweaving with human beings' activities, while in *Au Revoir Taipei* the city is a scenery of delicate arrangement; the latter film was sponsored by the Taipei Film Commission, which is an organization tasked with the promotion of Taipei city.

The points of view in the two films also indicate the different positions of the city. As stated before, the viewpoint taken in *Au Revoir Taipei* is a tourist's view, which means that the perceptions documented are the fleeting impressions of novelty from a tourist or visitor, not a native. For his part, Tuan (1974) stated that in fact only the visitor (and particularly the tourist) actually has a viewpoint - a visitor's perception is a matter of using his eyes to compose pictures and it is in this way that the picturesque city of Taipei is represented in *Au Revoir Taipei* as the city performs its scenery function as a backdrop for the story. It is easy to recognize the different urban spaces in Taipei in that film - for example the night market, the park, the old neighbourhood - because their novelty and an appreciation of their aesthetic value are acquired through the viewpoint of an outsider. In *Yi Yi*, by contrast, it is the complex attitude of the native of Taipei that is at work in the entire film (except the Japanese cities part, which is also approached from a tourist's viewpoint). The city of Taipei becomes a part of the natives' lives, a participant, involved with the natives' memory, and a measurement of time. Making up the background scenery is also one facet of the city in *Yi Yi*, but it is only a supplement to its main role of interweaving its own story and 'personality' with the human characters.

In conclusion, Edward Yang and Arvin Chen share the same habitus of Chinese Confucianism because of their family backgrounds as diasporic Chinese, yet their images of Taipei are different. Yang constructs Taipei's image from a native's viewpoint, while Chen presents an image of Taipei through a tourist's eyes. Therefore, an emphasis on aesthetic concerns and the novelty of the urban space is pursued in *Au Revoir Taipei* - an offer of a scenic gaze to outsider. In contrast, Taipei in *Yi Yi* is represented as a personified environment that calls for immersion and provides the 'texture of experience and the fabric of liberty' (Donald, 1999: 13) as the conjunctive space of experience merges into the communicative space of experience in the film's self recording. But whether as scenery in *Au Revoir Taipei*, or as protagonist in *Yi Yi*, both films create the archive of Taipei in a particular time. This position connects the physical environment to the mental perception and reflects the filmmakers' viewpoints, identities, and their particular constructions of the image of Taipei city. Yang produced his

Taipei, where he spent his entire youth, as a protagonist in his drama taking place at the end of 20th century; Chen treated Taipei - a city he visited as an outsider despite his Taiwanese roots - as scenery for his own story ten years after Yang. Taipei is a participant in Yang's life, shaping his perception and worldview, while the same city is the object of gaze for Chen, a way for him to understand his roots through seeing. They have different paths of diaspora: Yang is part of the diaspora directly from Mainland China, while Chen is part of the second generation of Chinese diaspora. One thing worth noticing is that after each generation of diaspora, the home city image retreats from a position of personification to an object of seeing.

5.2 The image of Taipei and symbolic construction of place attachment

Lynch (1960) is regarded as the pioneer of the study of people's perceptions of environment. His team tried to analyse the mental image of a city held by its residents using cognitive mapping, and in the process were able to outline five categories of the image of the city - a first for both urban sociology and environmental psychology. Although Lynch's research did not bring up the specific words of 'place attachment', the image of the city is relevant to both the emotional and physical aspects of place attachment, such as the familiarity of the city environment and the physical reliance on it. Humanistic geographer Tuan Yi-Fu is interested in the relationship between people and place, and the sense of place (1974, 1977). The formation and nature of positive attitudes and values are of primary concern in the affective bond between people and place or setting, which can be described as topophilia, a term coined and first studied by Tuan in the 1970s. The term topophilia refers to a coupling of sentiment with place which can take many forms and varies greatly in emotional range and intensity: 'fleeting visual pleasure; the sensual delight of physical contact; the fondness for a place because it is familiar, because it is home and incarnates the past, because it evokes pride of ownership or of creation; joy in things because of animal health and vitality' (Tuan, 1974: 247). With regard to symbolic meaning, Low (1992) has stated that place attachment is the symbolic relationship formed by people giving culturally shared emotional or affective significance to a particular space or piece of land that provides the basis for the individual's and group's understanding of and relation to the environment. In this way, the evolution from perception of the environment to symbolic relationship has been evidenced in the domain of geography. Considering the way that experience of an environment is treated as emotional territory, which means environment may be experienced emotionally (Holden, 2005), this section will elaborate on the emotional attach-

ment and symbolic construction of the physical environment as they are evidenced in the films.

As Cassirer argued, humans create a universe of symbolic meanings, and through symbolic forms attempt to understand self and world (Cassirer, 1957). The city is a place of meaning with many highly visible symbols (Tuan, 1977), such as the way the ancient Chinese city in the Shang dynasty was seen as the symbol of the cosmos (Wheatley, 1971). The image of the city from Lynch is actually a symbolic structure of the urban environment, and the image of the city can change from a mere fleeting perception to a sense of place through the five codes. Tuan (1974) has claimed that images of topophilia are derived from the surrounding reality. People pay attention to those aspects of the environment that command awe or promise change as people acquire new interests and power. Specifically, the appeal of cities is located largely 'in the juxtaposition of the cozy and the grand, of darkness and light, the intimate and public' (Tuan, 1974: 28).

Art is defined as 'the creation of forms symbolic of human feeling' (Langer, 1953: 96), and film as art connects human feeling and city with symbolic construction. The following symbolic interpretation aims to explore the construction of place attachment within the structure of the image of the city, and more specifically, the city of Taipei. The interpretation will attempt to answer the criticism of Lynch's image theory from urban semiotics, which is that the key point of analysis of the image of city should not be perception, but concept (Gottdiener & Lagopoulos, 1986).

5.2.1 Symbolic image of Taipei in Yi Yi

5.2.1.1 Modern Path - on the way, on the stage of city life

Yi Yi presents plenty of Paths in modern Taipei continuously: characters are always involved in the movement along Paths in the modern city environment while seeing, talking, and performing other behaviours. Edward Yang also constructs different types of Paths in Taipei for the camera with the use of editing: the Path with trees that mark out as a stage, the wide Path under the overpass and residential buildings, and the Path for connection from one place to another. Different plots happen on different Paths assigned to different characters. For NJ, the father and husband, Path is his routine way to work and home, it is where he talks with colleagues, and where he sees his wife leave home. For Ting-Ting, the teenage daughter, Path is the way she commutes between school and home, the

place of her social activities - meeting new friends and dating, and the way home after frustration of her first love. For Yang-Yang, the youngest son, Path is the way to find out about the real world on his own. For Min-Min, the mother, wife, and daughter, Path is the way she runs at midnight and the way she leaves home. These different plots infuse complex emotions into the physical construction of Path in Taipei. The wideness and openness of the large Path in modern Taipei and the old and wet streets in traditional Atami stand in sharp contrast. People get their memories back in a foreign city's streets and not Taipei's, which turns the Path in Taipei into a place of present-day life without the chance of recalling the past. The experience and unspeakable feelings of life are attached to Path in *Yi Yi*: everything is as fast as traffic, as if written in water, full of unpredictable possibilities, yet taking the form of the quotidian. The street where one lives is part of one's intimate experience (Tuan, 1977). Path becomes the symbol of modern life in Taipei, similar to other metropolises, arouses a sense of familiarity both in local people and visitors - here is the stage that represents city life.

5.2.1.2 Space under the viaduct - undefined youth

In *Yi Yi*, Yang depicts a very special Node space in the city, which is the space under the viaduct between the large pillars. The space under the viaduct becomes a communication place for the three young characters Lili, Pangzi and Ting-Ting. This Node is the symbol of intimacy and conflict, a space for communication without disturbance, and the characters behave as if they feel comfortable in this harsh and isolated place - they do not care about the cold cement. Yang has started to provide the image of this space, an intimate place with openness, already at the opening of the film. Different shot angles have been used, such as the bird's eye view and the ground view, in order to expose this intimate space for the audience. The camera is calling back a feeling of youthful intimacy in this space, arousing nostalgia. When the present city has lost its physical marks of memory, people start to construct them through similar emotions. Feelings and intimate experiences are inchoate and unmanageable for most people, but writers and artists have found ways of giving them form (Tuan, 1977). In the barren modern city space, Yang has tried to produce the feeling of youth. The sweetness, frustration, or other feelings related with youth are thus attached to the symbolic space. All of this recalling of feelings, forms a positive attitude towards the place, which represents the name *Undefined Youth*.

5.2.1.3 Residential neighbourhood - calmness of modernity

Tuan (1977) has suggested that neighbourhood - a small part of a large built-up area and unclear where one unit ends and another begins - is a concept depending on experience, but is not an inevitable consequence of experience. In *Yi Yi*, the residential neighbourhood is visible to both residents and outsiders: tall modern grid buildings in a highly regimented area, with a room for a guard and a lot of cameras. This neighbourhood bears traces of the 'rich neighborhood' of Tuan's description, where 'architecture is likely to show character and the grounds may be walled off, with a guard at the gate' (Tuan, 1977: 171). Yang gave lots of attention to this neighbourhood using different shot angles and shot distances, up close and at a distance, to convey the feeling of this place as a white-collar residential district of Taipei and to explore these residents' encounters, emotions, and decisions. The neighbourhood is the place where newcomers join in, where the family gathers, where young couples meet, and where accidents happen. Yang chose the neighbourhood as the site of the last murder - the ending of the newcomer's family story. In his film language, the residential building remains as calm as usual, although the yellow tape barriers rope off the space under the building. The residential neighbourhood combines with Path, Node, and District to form the symbolic image of Taipei, a place where people are eager for privacy instead of closeness, and where the surveillance of modernity keeps a calm watch over peoples' lives.

5.2.2 Symbolic image of Taipei in *Au Revoir Taipei*

Tuan (1977) stated that an architect has an intuitive grasp, a tacit understanding of the rhythms of a culture, and seeks to give them symbolic form. In *Au Revoir Taipei*, Arvin Chen works as an architect to give symbolic form to the city of Taipei with his film language - his construction of cinematic Taipei.

5.2.2.1 Night market - gaze at the cultural tradition

The market culture is normally an annual or daily reaffirmation of the community's territorial extent and a symbolic reinforcement of its town-centred structure, a tradition developed and upheld over several centuries in the Chinese context (Skinner, 1964). The night market in *Au Revoir Taipei* serves as an expression of

this tradition and a construction of place identity - the night market is a special place for local flavour, which is spectacular for the visitor. Chen spends many scenes capturing the night market: he uses it as the main setting for conflict, a stage on which the main characters meet each other. The filmmaker's tourist view is produced by the panoramic scene and the exoticizing viewpoint of the *mise-en-scène*. The enclosed structure of framing of the night market also signifies the intimate atmosphere and comforting security of the womb-like feeling.

The long duration of the shot time, and the high angel shot, or following shot, construct the identity of the night market in a way that symbolizes the intimate and cosy atmosphere of this traditional place. The filmmaker gives a detailed narration of the functional night market, to show the local flavour, the physical structure, and the function of this space, thus constructing the place dependence - here people can enjoy the local food and the convivial atmosphere of Taipei. The night market becomes the marker of Taipei's Chinese cultural traditions. This symbolic construction is entirely fit for the concept of place attachment, or in other words, *topophilia*. This attachment is constructed through the view of an outsider, but with intimate emotion. The tourist view makes the plot own its image easily, because this district of Taipei has a strong local identity and visual character in the filmmakers' film language.

5.2.2.2 Little diner on the corner - obsessive framing of quotidian beauty

The little diner of Xiao-Kai's parents occupies the Node position in a traditional district, which in the film becomes a symbol of getting back to the quotidian life. Within the four similar Node scenes, a space of the quotidian, of tradition, and of human touch is produced in the film. The static camera and same perspective reflect the immediacy of the Node space. This setting according to Chen is an artificial arrangement created especially for the film, which did not exist in reality at the time of shooting. This scenic setting appears four times in the entire film to show a home place in Xiao-Kai's life. The neighbourhood is attached to a feeling of familiarity in the little diner, the location of Xiao-Kai's home and his everyday life. The red lanterns and the top of Taipei 101 showing in the upper left corner of the photogram convey the place identity of Taipei, while the repeated angular perspective constructs the intimacy of the neighbourhood. Again Chen composes this scenery with an emphasis on the aesthetic, accentuating the beauty ignored by the people who live there. The place Xiao-Kai wishes to leave is constructed as an object of the gazed in search of quotidian beauty. Seeing

quotidian Taipei from an aesthetic view provides the attachment for visitors and local people both, because it arouses feelings of intimacy and cosiness and attributes positive value to the city with this gaze.

5.2.2.3 Residential neighbourhood - enveloped cosy womb

The Path in the residential neighbourhood, where Xiao-Kai sent his girlfriend off at the opening of the film and where he starts to leave for Paris at the end, is a street imbued with sentiment. The filmmaker employs a timespan of 80 minutes in which to construct a metonymic sign of the 'street of farewell'. This street is a space for letting people leave, but it is dominated by the sense of being in an enclosed and intimate atmosphere. The path and the buildings on each side construct an enveloped world, a place representing home. The cosy neighbourhood illustrates the filmmaker's perception of Taipei as a womb, enclosed and of closeness. The storyline is about leaving home to enter an outside world and the pathos of the separation of the characters transfers into the environment as Paths of separation from the home, the womb. This symbolic form constructs the attachment of Taipei's comforting, intimate familiarity once again. The tourist's viewpoint helps the film maker to locate the aesthetic symmetry of the scenery while the enclosed womb structure reveals Chen's habitus as a member of the Chinese diaspora. His arrangement of these neighbourhood scenes expresses the way he sees Taipei as a homey and traditional place, which stands in stark contrast to the modern parts of the same urban space. The neighbourhood belongs to the traditional part of Taipei, and its feeling cannot be represented in the modern part of the city. Thus, the residential neighbourhood in *Au Revoir Taipei* is representative of a symbolic theme of home.

5.2.3 Taipei as 'Heimat' - both in *Yi Yi* and in *Au Revoir Taipei*

Heimat, the German word for 'homeland', is imbued with sentimentality in modern times, and has been interpreted as follows:

Heimat is first of all the mother earth who has given birth to our folk and race, who is the holy soil, and who gulps down God's clouds, sun, and storms so that together with their own mysterious strength they prepare the bread and wine which rest on our table and give us strength to lead a good life...Heimat is the landscape we have experienced. That means one that has been fought over, menaced, filled with the his-

tory of families, towns, and villages. Our Heimat is the Heimat of knights and heroes, of battles and victories, of legends and fairy tales. But more than all this, our Heimat is the land which has become fruitful through the sweat of our ancestors. For this Heimat our ancestors have fought and suffered, for this Heimat our fathers have died. (Doob, 1952: 196)

Both *Yi Yi* and *Au Revoir Taipei* treat Taipei as the home for their protagonists (they both emphasize the image of the residential neighbourhood in the city environment). The images of Taipei in the two films always relate to daily life, the quotidian. Taipei is the homeland where their emotions and identity dwell. Attachment to the homeland is a common human emotion, whose strength varies among different cultures and historical periods (Tuan, 1977). In Chinese culture, 'root' (根) is the most important aspect for a Chinese adult; the idea that 'fallen leaves return to the roots' (落叶归根) is deeply ingrained in Chinese thinking, including for overseas members of the Chinese diaspora. The Oriental flavour, the familiarity of a local accent, or a particular way of greeting, is some examples of symbolic ties to the homeland. In *Yi Yi*, the monumental architecture of the wedding photo, the traditional Chinese wedding dinner, and the family relationships are still rooted in the modern Taipei, which is difficult to distinguish from other metropolises in the urban form. Tuan (1977) has pointed that the more ties there are, the stronger the emotional bond to a homeland. He perceives a homeland as having its Landmarks (e.g. monuments, shrines, a hallowed battlefield or cemetery), which may be features of high visibility and public significance; these serve to enhance a people's sense of identity and encourage awareness of and loyalty to place. The complex meanings interpreted from the images of Taipei in the two films are related to the nostalgia or the intimate womb feeling. Taipei in both films is as the home to leave, on a trip somewhere in search of love, but at the end Taipei is still the place to return to or stay. Edward Yang found his home nostalgia of 1960s Taipei in Japan, while Arvin Chen projects his feelings of rootedness into the representation of the cosy, enclosed Taipei neighbourhood. Both of the Chinese diasporic directors express their attachments to Taipei as a home land. Thus the homology between the images of Taipei in the two films is revealed. The overall image of Taipei in the two films is related to the concept of Heimat, for Chinese diaspora, full of everyday activities and a sense of familiarity.

5.3 The image of the city, tourist imaginaries, and destination image

The architect always creates a culture's image: a physically present human environment that expresses the characteristic rhythmic functional patterns that constitute a culture (Tuan, 1977). The image of the city, put in Tuan's word, is evoked by the imagery of the perceptive filmmaker as 'by the light of their art we are privileged to savor experiences that would otherwise have faded beyond recall' (Tuan, 1977: 148). Film induced tourism is based on the construction of image derived from the imaginaries of cinema audiences who become tourists, and their fascination with the world of the film. The imaginaries of film tourists are abstracted from 'visual consumption' (Berger, 1972; Jokinen & Veijola, 1994), which includes today not only film but also potentially other kinds of visual products. Currently film (in film tourism) remains the primary source for the construction of destination image and place identity (Jewell & McKinnon, 2008), and film language acts as the guidebook for audiences in shaping their imaginaries of the places, and also for the locations aiming to become the 'real places' depicted in films (Hao & Ryan, 2013).

5.3.1 *Location: reality and the imagination*

Why do fictional elements and places become so real, and even supersede the actual 'reality'? Baudrillard (1983) pointed out how in a consumer culture, images and signs begin to stand in for reality, and that the fake may in fact be so good that the original is no longer required. This is what he called 'hyperreality' (Baudrillard, 1983: 33). In Lefevre's view (1991), the space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate might overlay physical space, making symbolic use of its objects. In the context of tourism studies, the tourist's quest may for example be structured by a desire to find a society with harmonious social relations, or to discover what they imagine a 'functioning' community should be like (MacCannell, 1976). This authenticity might be seen as 'staged authenticity' (MacCannell, 1989) with 'front' and 'back' regions, a concept developed by Goffman (1959). In this sense, film language would describe the front region – the stage – for audience, which is made up of potential tourists. Thus the condition of authenticity I would like to clarify here is as follows: the authenticity of the image of the city coming from the representing producer (the director, the filmmakers) is at the same time the staged authenticity of the destination for potential tourists. The image of the city in the film could be seen as the real

'brought about by human activity working within specific cultural constraints' (Bryson, 1983: 10) because the selection and editing of film language, as well as the image of the city resulting from this, is from the representing producer's perception. It is an imaginary space created by the urban representations to be found as much in films and images as in any actual urban places, and there often emerges an impossibility of defining clear-cut boundaries between reality and imagination (Donald, 1999). The terrains of the imaginaries and the physical spaces themselves run into one another to the extent of being barely distinguishable (Ingold, 2010). Imaginaries are like 'place-myths', that is 'stereotypes and cliché's associated with a particular location, in the circulation of mediated images and representations of the place within a society' (Kim, 2012: 388). Selwyn (1996) emphasizes the idea that the tourist is someone who 'chases myths'. In this context myths are viewed as a means for resolving intellectual and emotional disharmony in order to provide a sense of stability and reasoning to our lives. Thus, place-myths are not necessarily faithful to the actual realities, but are a mixture of images and imaginations (Kim, 2012).

5.3.2 Filmmaker: attachment and viewpoint

The image of the city from the filmmaker represents their personal attachment to place, which is the object on the screen, and this then builds an 'emotional attachment' (Beeton, 2005; Buscher & Urry, 2009; Kim & Richardson, 2003) between the viewer and the place, supplying a place narrative (Chronis, 2012) and a sense of place (Stokowski, 2002). This means that prior to a visit the tourist becomes involved with the film storyline and experiences empathy with the story and its characters (Frost, 2010), thereby gaining an image of the place, and during a later trip tourists often make reference back to the film (Diekmann & Hannam, 2012). Symbolism from the films could be used to make the large nation-state seem a concrete place toward which people could feel deep attachment (Tuan, 1977). Films do offer an identity for the place on the screen, and describe a space with its own narrative language. In the context of tourism, the tourist becomes a 'cultural bricoleur', using the signs, symbols and artifacts of the different cultures through which they pass to creatively formulate a new identity (Holden, 2005). Jewell and McKinnon (2008) argue that film tourism creates new cultural landscapes, generating not only a desire to travel, but also shaping parts of place identity. Personal emotional engagement or involvement not only

forms place attachment, but also creates new touristic spaces and contextualized anticipated touristic experiences at the filmed locations (Kim, 2010).

The visitor's evaluation of environment is essentially aesthetic, which is indicative of an outsider's view because the outside judges by appearance, by some formal canon of beauty (Tuan, 1974). Tourists are selective when they construct their own imaginaries of a place, often looking only for the beautiful scenery. It is interesting that in *Yi Yi* Yang performed this touristic view in the plot of the Japanese trip - when NJ and A-Shui take a trip to Tokyo and Atami, they wander in the cities as tourists. This part of the plot shows destination images of these two Japanese cities in their aesthetic aspects, with the local attractions such as the seaside and ancient temple park dominating the images of the city. The characters' feelings of reunion and nostalgia are transferred to the physical environment: the railway leading to the past, the traditional street as the stage for re-enacting their love, and the green temple for reflection. These images of the Japanese city are indicative of a gaze on beauty, in other words they are the view of a complete outsider, in contrast to the 'insider view' that characterizes the image presented of Taipei, which is 'empathizes with the lives and values of the inhabitants' (Tuan, 1974). Tuan has cited Herbert Gans' study of Bostons' working-class district, the West End, to compare the differences between insider and outsider views. When the sociologist first saw the West End, he was struck by its conflicting aesthetic qualities; but after living there for a few weeks he became selective, turning a blind eye to the empty and decaying quarters for those that were actually used by people. According to Tuan (1974), this example illustrates how the outsider's view had depicted a world alien to the native resident. In *Au Revoir Taipei*, this selective outsider's view endures throughout the entire film in its emphasis on the quotidian beauty, the intimate feeling of the traditional district, and the panoramic view of attractions. Thus, the tourist imaginaries of the image of Taipei are different in the two films. In *Yi Yi*, the image of Taipei is modern and without many physical hints of tradition present in the urban space, while the image of a past Taipei is illustrated through the image of a Japanese city. Yang has produced an image of Taipei from past to present, although the time in the film is limited to the present of the shooting time. *Yi Yi* provides a modern image of Taipei around the year 2000, but fills the image with nostalgic longings. The image of Taipei in *Au Revoir Taipei* is a city space of empathy. Both modern and traditional Taipei are shown in *Au Revoir Taipei*, but with two different images - cosy but ambiguous vs. open and clearly directed.

The image of the city first is made visible on the screen by visual prominence in film. Then, in Tuan's words, the 'human places become vividly real

through dramatization', because the 'identity of place is achieved by dramatizing the aspirations, needs, and functional rhythms of personal and group life' (Tuan, 1977: 178). The images of Taipei presented in *Yi Yi* and *Au Revoir Taipei* have their architectural and time distinctions, but they both include a considerable intensity of dramatization. To build an attachment between people and place may require time, but just as Feibleman noted, 'It may take a man a year to travel around the world – and leave absolutely no impression on him. Then again it may take him only a second to see the face of a woman – and change his entire future' (1952: 55, cited by Tuan, 1977: 184). During the short durations of time in which the audiences as potential tourists are exposed to the images of Taipei in *Yi Yi* and *Au Revoir Taipei*, the symbolic constructions present within the films could very well cultivate their imaginaries of the city.

5.3.3 Potential tourists: symbols of the image on the screen

The modern space infused with the mood of nostalgia and the empathetic space are the two quite different images of Taipei presented in the films, but both could influence the emotional and physical attachment between tourist and the city, because 'the translation of the places' the films have made enter 'into the imaginary reality of our mental life' (Donald, 1999: 8). These two kinds of images of Taipei are put on the screens, supplying a set of symbols for the viewers as potential tourists. Tourism is particularly reliant upon iconic interpretation (for example the Eiffel Tower) to lend an identity to a place and to signify to tourists that there exists something worth seeing (Holden, 2005). The signifiers in the two films are signifiers for tourists. Especially in the tourist view of *Au Revoir Taipei*, a potential tourist can easily access information attached to the city of Taipei, such as the night market, the traditional dinner, and the landmark Taipei 101. Holden (2005) has pointed out how the sacred can be viewed as sites representative of strong emotions and strong beliefs, a type of 'social marker', essential to continuity and identity; landscapes can take on the properties of the sacred, representing something that is rooted and unchanging. He confirms that this type of 'therapy' happens through the cognitive consumption of images in photographs and paintings, and by the simple fact of knowing that they exist (2005: 147). Although the furnishing of an ideal world is a matter of removing the defects of the real one (Tuan, 1974), film sometimes provides a dream space by selecting elements relevant to the narrative structure. This selection is made by filmmakers at first, and then put together in front of the audience. We cannot

conclude that the tourist imaginaries are exactly the same as the images on the screen, but we can say that the image from the film is one of the possible (and likely) sources of the tourists' imaginaries. When we are able to identify the source, we are closer to solving the mystery of film tourism - why a film make people go to see the location and how. The most interesting part is that the semiotics of film language provides the iconic interpretation for tourism. Thus, the image of Taipei provides the markers of the place, such as the Path with traffic, the residential high rise, and the viaduct in *Yi Yi*, and the night market and traditional alley in *Au Revoir Taipei*.

As this research has shown, the underlying meaning of the image of Taipei in *Yi Yi* is associated with the nostalgia of diaspora, while in *Au Revoir Taipei* is the empathetic space is framed by the quest for aesthetic framing for tourist. These two images of city have been collected based on Lynch's five categories of image and interpreted using the documentary method of interpretation. Thus, these images of Taipei are attested to in an identical, homologous pattern within the two films in question, and both locate their potential powers of place attachment in their symbolic constructions. In *Yi Yi*, the modern space of Taipei is represented through the functional attachment of the insider: the cafe, cinema, paths, buildings, as well as the emotional link of Taipei, the deep nostalgia. In *Au Revoir Taipei*, the functional attachment depends on the different space of empathy, which means the emotional attachment is constructed within the functional attachment. These images imbued with place attachment are shown on the screen and seen by the audience, thus the next important step is to connect them to the tourist destination image to explore the relationship between the two and how the image in the film could relate to the destination image.

5.3.4 Destination image in the film: a humanistic space in persuasive media

Research on tourist destination image started with John D. Hunt in 1971 (Echtner & Ritchie, 1991). Hunt(1971) suggested that the destination image is made up of impressions that a person or persons hold about a state in which they do not reside; Fridgen (1987) defined it as an perception of a place. Because the tourist motivation is decided by the destination image (Mayo, & Jarvis, 1981; Gartner, 1993) and the cognitive and affective component is easily influenced by new information (Holden, 2005: 75), the tourism promotion and destination management offices have given it much attention. *The Lord of the Rings* film trilogy, which was filmed in New Zealand between 2001 and 2003, is frequently men-

tioned as a famous instance of film-induced tourism practice. With the global popularity of the James Bond and Harry Potter films, the United Kingdom has utilized film tourism as a very important component of destination promotion, and the organization Film London has claimed that films depicting the UK are responsible for attracting about 1 in 10 overseas tourists, who collectively spend around £1.8 billion a year there (Hao, 2014). Hou (2006) has suggested that the act of travelling to the idealized world represented by the site of the film generates an extra layer of emotion for tourists. But looking deeper into the phenomenon, what exactly is the nature of the organic images films provide? This question has already been explored in the preceding chapters of this dissertation. However, the bridge between the film image and the destination image needs to be constructed with the help of psychology.

Žižek (1992) has cited Lacan's schema to explain the Imaginary, the Symbolic, and the Real in viewing Alfred Hitchcock's work, but here I would like to apply this schema to elaborate on the constellation of film image, imaginary, and destination image: the first point concerns the film's ability to offer the pure semblance of the image of Taipei; the second point refers to the 'symbolization of the Imaginary' (Žižek, 1992: 8), such as in the space under the viaduct in *Yi Yi* or the street of farewell in *Au Revoir Taipei*; the third point pertains to an enjoyment materialized by image, like the nostalgia in *Yi Yi* and the novelty in *Au Revoir Taipei*.

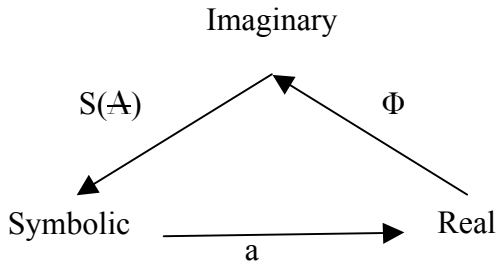


Figure 91: Lacan's schema of the Imaginary, the Symbolic, and the Real (reproduced by Žižek, 1992: 7)

Although the above explanation is irrelevant to the 'Oedipal journey' (Žižek, 1992: 8), this schema makes sense when we explore the film image, imaginary and the destination image, if we substitute the three bodies as:

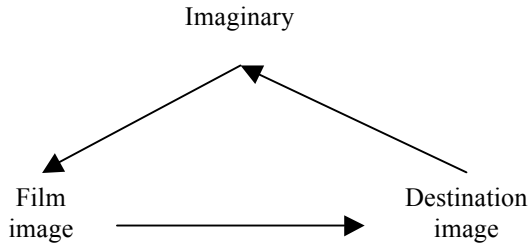


Figure 92: Schema of Film image, Imaginary, and Destination image

In the area of film tourism research, this functional schema amongst film image, imaginary, and destination has been incorporated into different statements, although almost all of them do not visualized the functional process within the schema. In their 2008 study, Mestre et al. suggested that pastiche films or pastiche scenes of fictional movies at tourist destinations connect to the objective reality through the spectator's knowledge and imagination about the represented tourist destination, which means that in this case pastiche enhances the previous stereotyped images of place in the minds of film spectators, who are at the same time potential tourists. Chronis (2012) has suggested that imaginaries are a social construct that envelops and shapes an otherwise unassuming physical space into an evocative tourist destination. Salazar (2012: 866) has asserted that empirical study of the relationship between tourist imaginaries and their broader contexts is a productive way of analysing tourism, while the only way to study imaginaries 'is by focusing on the multiple conduits through which they pass and become visible in the form of images and discourses'. Thus, we cannot ignore the imaginary from film images in relation to the destination image, but rather can conclude that the two kind of image in fact cannot be separated: the film image adds another layer of destination image, e.g. *Yi Yi* might add one image of Taipei, but this film image is the image of the city held by the filmmaker. When the viewer - the potential tourist - has received the film image altered by his/her imagination, then another layer of destination image is constructed. Like a pile of transparent plastic picture cards, each page has its own content, but with the addition of another page, a new image is created on the basis of the former image.

Returning to the images found in the two films, it could be concluded that the images from these two films are only some visual layers adding to the overall destination image of Taipei. The point is to elaborate the way that place attachment inside the image in film can infect the viewer's imaginaries and the destina-

tion image. Film reconstitutes the conditions of Lacan's 'mirror stage' through the screen (Altman, 1985: 521-524), and film is like a dream (Langer, 1953: 412): when viewing film as a mirror, it serves to reflect the place dependence, the physical world; when we treat film as a dream, it relates to place identity, the feelings of the dreamer.

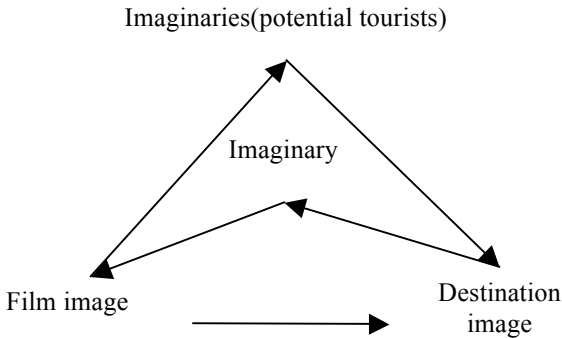


Figure 93: Schema of Film image, (potential tourists') Imaginaries, and Destination image

Eco (1976: 598) has pointed out that the 'codes of the unconscious' in film language are used particularly in 'persuasive media' because they permit certain identifications or projections and stimulate given actions. These codes of the unconscious are the implicit knowledge of the camera, the filmmaker. Thus, we could recognize that the implicit meaning of the image of Taipei in *Yi Yi* is rooted in the nostalgia associated with diaspora, while the implicit image in *Au Revoir Taipei* is the half traditional half modern city seen from a tourist's view. Tuan (1974: 65) offered a description of the 'fresh perspective' of the visitor: 'a tourist to the medieval part of a European city expresses delight over its dark cobbled streets, intimate nooks and corners, picturesque compact housing, and quaint shops without pausing to wonder how the people had actually lived'. In *Au Revoir Taipei*, the city is more like a destination for tourists than it is in *Yi Yi*, thus Chen's film is more like 'persuasive media' for a tourist destination. The city of Taipei in *Yi Yi* is more human-like, a place with memory and deep feelings, and this insider's view might infect the viewer in a more unconscious way in transforming their imaginaries of Taipei. These represent two very different

types of relationships existing within the film – imaginaries – destination image constellation, based on the differences between the two sets of film language. Tuan (1977: 202) has claimed that there is no need for long duration of time in order to form a lasting attachment to place, but he also questions how ‘people [might] promote the visibility of rooted communities that lack striking visual symbols?’ *Yi Yi* may offer a possible answer to this question: give a place its own position, present a ‘place as time made visible’ (Tuan, 1977: 179), as a humanistic space. This is also realized in the image of the traditional and intimately experienced neighbourhood in *Au Revoir Taipei*, although the entire movie is approached from a tourist’s view. But for the Taipei promotion department, the tourist’s view might seem an easier way to promote Taipei, as a district’s reputation depends far more on the propaganda of outside groups than of local residents (Tuan, 1977: 172), and the view from tourist reinforces the gaze through the signs and the markers in the image of the city in film.

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6 Conclusions and discussion

In 1926, one piece of Walter Benjamin's essay 'Naples' appeared in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. This essay is seen as an 'experiment' on 'how images, gathered by a person walking the streets of a city, can be interpreted against the grain of idealist literary style' (Buck-Morss, 1989: 27). As American philosopher Susan Buck-Morss (1989) has pointed out, the phenomena of buildings, human gestures and spatial arrangements are expressed concretely in the essay, and the city's social formation becomes legible within Benjamin's perceived experience. Nearly 90 years later, the mass transportation and the mass media offer the opportunity for people to easily travel - in geographical space or in spiritual imagination - to observe otherness. Correspondingly, the attention to the 'image' of the city in everyday life has developed in the 20th and 21st centuries. With the development of visual technology, the 'iconic turn' or the 'pictorial turn' (Boehm, 1994; Mitchell, 1994; Maar & Burda, 2004) has influenced qualitative social research as well (Bohnsack, 2009). Benjamin's attempt at interpreting the image of the city was not abandoned, but sustained.

For a video product (film, television series) to establish its locale in New York the famous skyscraper picture needs to be on the screen for only a flashing moment (Strauss, 1961: 9). For example, the film *The Apartment*²³ (Wilder, 1960) and the TV series *Drop Dead Diva*²⁴ (Berman, 2009-2014) feature a similar skyscraper profile of New York in their opening sequences despite the difference of a half-century between the two. Why do so many video products offer up images of the location so constantly? Dear (2000) has proposed that viewers are interested in travelling into the heterotopic cartography, the film's virtual geography. The image of the location in the film is a signal leading the viewers to enter the space of the film, as well as a shield protecting the manifest content of the plot. The milieu of the filmmaker influences the image in the film – the way he/she uses film language to express the image depends not only on the demands of the plot, but is also deeply rooted in their implicit knowledge of the location.

²³ An American film produced and directed by Billy Wilder in 1960.

²⁴ An American television series that debuted in 2009. The series was created by Josh Berman and produced by Sony Pictures Television.

Stout (1999/2011) claimed that the development of social science methodologies has helped observers of the urban milieu make sense of the revolutionary changes (both social and physical) in the realm of visual art, such as film. The film spectator must work to interpret the signs they perceive in order to complete the process of intellection, which is vital to the work of art and its resonance (Monaco, 2009). Thus, the main body of this research project has followed the documentary method of picture and video interpretation to search for the underlying homologies in of the 'modus operandi' behind the creation of the image of the city. City and drama has had a long-standing and close relationship, ever since the ancient capitals' beginnings as ritual centres required splendid architectural settings for the enactment of sacred dramas (Tuan, 1977). Thus in this research I have not attempted to separate the image of the city from the 'drama', but rather to interpret the image of the city within the drama.

6.1 Interpretation of the image of the city in *Yi Yi*

In *Yi Yi* there is no gap between the human beings and the city. The relationship between city and human characters comes from a place of quotidian or dramatic ritual (e.g. the wedding in the opening of *Yi Yi*, the group of human characters stepping on the stage of the boulevard). Thus, the social space is constructed in the physical environment by such relations and the image of the city of Taipei is attached with the emotion of the gaze, which in the case of *Yi Yi* is the nostalgia stemming from Yang's background as a member of the Chinese diaspora. The city is the product of human beings, and humans have become the product of the city as well. In the pictorial dimension of *Yi Yi*, 1) the absence of the human characters in some images of the sequences is a decision of the filmmaker, who chooses to give the city the total focus in the scene thereby emphasizing that the city is not only the background to this story, but has its own role, 2) the reflection of lights and shadows which connect people and the world, make the image of urban space into film scenarios, 3) the urban space constructs the subjective identity of the Chinese diaspora through nostalgia. The film language in *Yi Yi* is the gaze upon daily life in the city. This gaze comes from the unknown city environment (the omniscient view in the distance), as when for example the outside scenery of the restaurant gazes at NJ and A-Shui in the restaurant. The focus of the gaze (the perspective projection of the single photogram) represents the city and the human characters and their in a relationship of equal position: human characters get attentions for their active behaviours, while the static city merits attentions because of the perspective centre of the camera located on.

The scene of Chinese diaspora on NJ and A-Shui is very strong. A-Shui left her homeland to live in the USA, while NJ has stayed in Taipei – a place that has changed rapidly and lost its hints of the past – a criterion for whether a city is modern is the absence of memorials (Buck-Morss, 1989: 96). Except the sole shot of the wedding photo taken in front of a Chinese traditional gate, in the rest of the film *Yi Yi* there is no indication of the existence of memorials in the image of the city. From this point of view, present-day Taipei seems a ‘modern’ place for the filmmaker. Yet the modern space in Taipei is under a nostalgic gaze, which is supported by both a pictorial and text/sound interpretation of *Yi Yi*. The filmmaker uses two human characters’ encounter in Japan to rebuild an old image of Taipei. The similarity of the physical environment of Atami and old Taipei evokes past emotions and memories. The influence of the image of the city on human beings’ emotions and behaviour is thus represented here. In the two locations the spaces of both pedestrian crossings intersect under the united time dimension; the past and present are interwoven within different spatial environments. The similar elements of both cities and the simultaneous handholding behaviours of the two couples echo each other in this parallel montage. As the image travels between Japan and Taipei, the dialogues between NJ and A-Shui are heard throughout the sequences in both spaces. The audio-visual alternate exchange system enhances the similarity of the two scenarios, gradually expanding the memory in different spaces simultaneously. This dynamic symmetry of time and space reveals the complex meaning in the film language.

The landscapes of colonization carry director Yang’s nostalgia, which is also represented in another film of his, *A Brighter Summer Day* (1990). After the KMT had taken back Taiwan from the Japanese colonizers, about 1.2-2 million Mainland Chinese settled on in this island, especially in Taipei. Yang’s family was one of them. The retreat of the KMT made them construct this place as their new ‘home’ - though their original home is not far away from the strait. Yang grew up in these circumstances and he was familiar with the Japanese-style houses and streets in his childhood. In his films he expresses his nostalgia for an image of Taipei’s past. This image of Taipei is that of member of the Chinese diaspora towards a Japanese style of city. Film as a mirror constructs the ‘mirror stage’ for the image of the city Taipei and breaks the time-space limitation with Yang’s nostalgia. The locality of old Taipei is in Yang’s perception demonstrated in another place of the present.

Lynch’s five elements of the image of the city are all represented in *Yi Yi*, and they have formed their own rhythm in through film editing. Path in *Yi Yi* is represented as the Index of the city and used as a symbol of the stage on which to

show the city. Node is an Index of the communication space in the city and the symbol of intimacy and conflict. Landmark in the city takes on the characteristics inherent in the people who occupy the space; and the interaction between people and the Landmark is two-way: the physical Landmark labels the characteristics of the people there, while the people become the enchanters of an emotional space. Edge in *Yi Yi* is the Index of the image of Tokyo, and at the same time it is the symbol of flashing back into memories. District is produced by the blur of light, representing its own complexity and ambiguity. Yang tried his best to depict a holographic city, and every piece of the image can be seen to reflect the homologies of Taipei in his perception. The Path, Node, Landmark, Edge, and District construct the narrative spatiality in *Yi Yi*. The legibility of each element and the relations between them are evidenced by the deep focus of the film shots, but their spatial boundaries are never clear in the film. Taipei in *Yi Yi* owes its image to the chronological arrangement of the five elements, not their spatial arrangement. Lynch's theory is mainly based on the spatial arrangement of the five elements in cognitive maps, although he has mentioned the time dimension as important to the image of city. The cognitive maps could not reflect the time boundaries of the city directly. The film, in contrast, does not use its language in order to give a map according to the spatial arrangement. There are no clearly defined locations or boundaries of the city, neither Taipei nor Atami. Although it is quite easy to realize the boundaries and defined locations, a bird's eye view shot from above the city area is enough. Yet Yang did not employ this tool to construct the image of Taipei, but rather focused on detailed images of each element within the city environment. Yang adds the time dimension to the image of city in his use of the special film language technique of montage. Thus, Taipei according to his film language becomes a modern space full of nostalgia. The emotion of nostalgia spreads a human touch amongst the images of the city of Taipei. The emotional attachment to and of Taipei is therefore constructed. Taipei is not merely one of the metropolises of the world, but becomes a place with its own identity.

The insider view of the filmmaker towards Taipei and the outsider view towards Japanese cities in *Yi Yi* support the theory of place attachment and topophilia. Yang's attention to the quotidian Taipei is reflected in the moderate and repeating scenes of living and working environments, not particular to any metropolis. There is no panoramic view of Taipei, but only detailed perspective. The image of Japanese cities however, both Tokyo and Atami, are constructed through the novel view of outsiders. Yang is an outsider, as are the characters in the film. Thus, the representation of novelty is signalled through Landmarks.

Although they have a tourist's view, NJ and A-Shui feel a sense of the familiarity in their destination because of its similarities to a childhood home now lost to the past, and this familiarity was in fact experienced by director Yang himself. A place away from home becomes the place awakening the memory of home. Place attachment is constructed by the familiarity felt between the characters and the place in the film. The trip (for NJ and A-Shui, as well as director Yang) is a way to discover an unfamiliar destination, but when the unfamiliar place provokes feelings of the familiarity, a place attachment is constructed. Atami and Tokyo for Yang are the places like his home in Taipei when he was little, and he inserts the similar images into his film to reconstruct this past time.

The narrative structure supports the image of the city. The image of Taipei as a space with capital accumulation has been delivered. The city shows the characteristics of modern capital: the endless cars, the huge viaduct, the residential and office high rises, the blinking neon lightings, as in Tokyo, the row upon row of buildings and complex railroads. The city space reflects capital accumulation and the flexible citizenship characteristic of the Chinese diaspora. Underlying of the narrative structure is director Yang's place attachment to his home Taipei. His outsider view in another place combines with his insider view of home to form his own image of Taipei - a modern place in present-day reality, and a place of nostalgia in his perception. The changing urban environment, and the similarities between the different cities (like Taipei's and Tokyo's present, and Taipei's past and the small Japanese town's present), express the homologies of the image of Taipei as a highly urbanized city with a complex social structure, an urban space similar to other places, but one whose past identity is sustained in people's memories.

6.2 Interpretation of the image of the city in *Au Revoir Taipei*

Au Revoir Taipei emphasizes the locality of Taipei already with its name, and in this film the representation of the city in this film intends to offer a profile image of Taipei. Similar to the skyscrapers signalling New York in some films and TV shows, the opening of *Au Revoir Taipei* features the skyline profile of Taipei with background music and outlines the landmark Taipei 101 in the right part of the frame. The intention of the director is obvious - he wants to demonstrate the location of the film for the viewers, gives a first impression. However, when this obvious meaning is suspended, we can find that throughout the entire film the filmmaker illustrates its location city in an aesthetic way as an outsider: in the

use of the gold section in composing the frame, and the pursuit of panoramic and novelty views with which to portray the city.

Almost all the images of the city in *Au Revoir Taipei* are nighttime images (except sequence 57, which takes place at daybreak), and they concentrate on six city spaces: the dark alley, the snack stall (the diner of Xiao-Kai's parents), the night market, the main street, the metro station and the park square. The first three spaces are traditional urban spaces of Taipei which represent the historical image of city, while the last three spaces are modern urban spaces of Taipei which represent its present image as a metropolis. Therefore, there are both traditional images and the modern images of the city in this film, which itself is a mix of the traditional and modern, from the aspect of city space evolvement. Path is easily recognized in consideration of the rhythm of the image of the city in *Au Revoir Taipei*; it is shown continuously throughout the entire film, especially in the second half of the storyline. The chasing scenes provide a holographic image of the different Paths in Taipei: the main street with automobiles, the dark alleys full of branches and junctions, the street late at night, and the alley among the residential buildings. The quick shift from one Path to another is the main characteristic of the image of the city found in *Au Revoir Taipei*. This is in contrast to the image rhythm in *Yi Yi*, which most frequently depicts the element of District in the urban space. The mobility of Path expresses the 'swing' of camera among different urban spaces, from traditional to modern, from locality to universal similarity. Node is the second most frequently shown element of the image of the city in *Au Revoir Taipei*. The filmmaker uses Node as the urban space in which the plot is constructed, the encounters happen, and the story flows. Node appears as the 'scenario card' in each plot point, and this arrangement produces the impression of a 'swing' between urban spaces, where the feelings are projected onto the physical environment and the empathy of the plot transfers to the space.

Aesthetic interests are dominant in the filmmaker's production of the image of the city in *Au Revoir Taipei*. The filmmaker's desire to reflect the 'beauty' of the place takes top priority. Each image is arranged to show the beauty of the scene, no matter if the 'beauty' shown is only a part of the reality, or if it does not even exist in reality. The shot angles in the film are characteristic of an omniscient viewpoint and therefore cannot be experienced easily in daily life. Furthermore, the tourist (or outsider) view keeps on identifying the exotic in the scenes of daily life in Taipei and tries to represent the quotidian in a 'beautifying' way. The Landmark aspect in this film follows the two basic functions of Landmark: it is recognizable and navigable. Recognition and navigation of the physical space is the main demand of a tourist as an outsider wandering in a city

and in need of guides. In *Au Revoir Taipei* the Landmarks are all represented using a static camera and background music or environmental music. Landmarks are all Indexes of the scenery space in the image of Taipei, which is an orientation pattern that results from the way the filmmaker treats the audience as a tourist by offering the fantasy image of beauty. In the film, Node is taken as an intimate space of immediacy in the night city. The homologies of the different connections and directions of alleys, park and lanes validate this observation. The 'swing' of the Node constructs the storyline, as well as the immediacy of the space. The impression of intimacy is produced in Node space by the pictorial formal structure and narrative structure of the film. The complex meaning of Node in the film is characterized by the transcontrariness - the immediacy of pictorial composition. Immediacy is another characteristic of a tourist's view and desire to continuously see more in a novel place. Thus, the tourist view of the filmmaker is evidenced once more. Each type of Path in the film can be interpreted through their associations with the pathos of separation, the pathos of being all on one's own, the enjoyment of bustling mobility, or the maze of opacity and the unexpected. Path provides the possibility of plots and situations in the city. People's emotional encounters are projected on Path.

The image of Taipei in this film is quotidian but beautiful, indexible, immediate, intimate, and vital. The difference between the traditional and modern parts of Taipei lies in their respective ambiguity and definiteness - the traditional image of Taipei is dim, intimate and enclosed, like a womb, while the modern part of Taipei is clearly structured and guiding. The choice of this kind of mise-en-scène is the result of the filmmaker's habitus as a member of the Chinese diaspora as well. Taipei is a 'home' for him (or the place of his roots), but he also responds to the strong guidance it offers in directing his experiences of its structure from a tourist's view. The Taipei city in *Au Revoir Taipei* is not only a physical container, but a space with all kinds of empathy, projected by human interests. In *Au Revoir Taipei*, most of the sequences of the image of the city are static, but the human figure in this stable physical environment is active. The filmmaker uses 'standstill' to reflect the static outer structure of the city and in turn endows the space with vitality of through the depicted human activity, thus emphasizing the human-interest aspect.

A few straight cuts or fast swish pans between scenes or within scenes are the special cases in which the city space supplies the possibility for human improvised activities. The swing of space in the urban city is not only documented in the single sequences I have interpreted before, but also in the entire film, reflecting the director's impression of Taipei as a place with the possibility of

'swing'. The static physical environment and human beings connect with each other in an organic way. The city is a container, but also a generator of human activity. This combination makes the image of Taipei a place of human interest, an emotional space, a space of empathy. The rhythm of transfer from one city space to another space makes the city space take on the characteristics of a dance, and dance is an important code of the drama throughout the film. The homology of the empathy of space in the film is validated by the love letter's place in the plot - whether the city is deemed attractive or not depends on the feelings of the people there. Almost all background music in the film is arranged in combination with the outer urban space sequences, except for the ending fantasy sequence of dancing in the bookstore. Thus the aesthetic goals of the director make use of the musical element as well in the director's desire to portray the city as attractive.

The image of the city in *Au Revoir Taipei* appears as a swing dance from one empathetic space to another within the city environment, a dance that is improvised and energetic, with an underlying the sense of beauty. This aesthetic pursuit of the image of the city is easily connected with the promotion of Taipei. Unlike the attention to social reality in *Yi Yi*, *Au Revoir Taipei* represents a dramatic space of empathy that caters to the tourist's desire for the exotic. The city here is promoted as a product by the film, by the swing of the space of empathy, as a dance show on the stage of this metropolis that is both traditional and modern. The film language in *Au Revoir Taipei* is codified as an advertisement, to attract viewers, potential tourists, and to shape their images of Taipei as a destination. The view of the audiences would match easily with the tourist view evidenced in the film. This is because both the audiences and the filmmaker are outsiders to Taipei, and also because this film is supported by the Taipei Film Commission. Thus the filmmaker's language attempts to tell a story about this city in a way that makes the city look like in an attractive jar of sweets.

6.3 Comparison of the image of the city between the films and Lynch's research

Yi Yi represents a modern image of Taipei, with the image of the city's past constructed elsewhere, while *Au Revoir Taipei* mixes the traditional and present-day images of Taipei together, and the past is reflected in the city self. This is the main difference between the overall images of the city of Taipei offered by the two films. Table 6 offers a comparative breakdown of the appearance of each individual element of the image of city in the films.

Table 6: Comparison between the interpretation result of films and Lynch's research

	<i>Yi Yi</i>	<i>Au Revoir Taipei</i>	<i>Lynch</i>
Path	Index of city and Symbol of stage	Space of empathy	The channels along which the observer customarily, occasionally, or potentially moves
Node	Symbol of affair and Index of communication	Immediacy of intimate space	Points, strategic spots, concentrations and junctions, the focus and epitome of district, stand as symbol
District	Blur of complexity	Quotidian beauty under exotic view	The medium-to-large sections of the city, the observer mentally enters 'inside of', and has some common, identifying character
Landmark	characteristic inherent to people in the city	Index of scenery space	Point-reference, observer does not enter, symbolize a constant direction, clues of identity
Edge	Starting point of the flashing back memory	Separation of mobility	Linear elements, boundaries between two phases, lateral references

Taking *Yi Yi* and *Au Revoir Taipei* as the cognitive map of the two filmmakers respectively, they are drawn by the filmmakers' own film language. The underlying meaning of their image of the city of Taipei is revealed from an interpretation of their film language. It is clear from Table 6 that the five categories of the image of the city in *Yi Yi* are deeply rooted within nuances of the narrative struc-

ture and are symbolized by the main theme of the film. The formalization of the image of the city of Taipei is related to Lynch's research, but has more symbolic significance. Path is not only a channel for observing the city, the Index of the city, but also functions as a stage. Node is more than a junction and a concentration of physical city structure - it relates closely to human activity. District can be entered inside of, but its total impression is emphasized more than its form. Landmark does supply clues of the identity of the city, and reflects the characteristics of the human beings living there. Edge is the boundary between two phases, but its signification in *Yi Yi* is also affected by people's behaviour. The camera in *Yi Yi* works as a magnifying glass to zoom in to the insides of Taipei, to show how closely this city interacts with human beings. Thus, the view for Taipei in *Yi Yi* is that of a insider. Taipei becomes a place to create and participate in the story of city. It is modern, but with its own nostalgia. The city in *Yi Yi* is not a setting, but a protagonist.

The expression in *Au Revoir Taipei* is different. Path is a space of empathy and vitality, so not just a channel for observation. Node is an intimate space in the aesthetically motivated panoramic view, full of urgency to show more. District is shown as an exotic object of the gaze for outsiders, although it is also a quotidian space. Landmark symbolizes the location and works totally as a scenery index. Edge is a lateral reference and illustrates the topic of departure around which the entire plot revolves. Thus, the image of Taipei in *Au Revoir Taipei* relates less with Lynch's original definition of the five categories. This is because the view of this film is more tourist-oriented, from and for the outsider, while Lynch's research is mainly based on the cognitive mapping of insiders used to develop the meaning of the five categories. The city structure in *Au Revoir Taipei* is divided into two parts: traditional and modern. Lynch's research did not clarify the difference between the traditional and modern image of the city, but *Au Revoir Taipei* provides an opaque image for the traditional part and a sharper image for the modern Taipei. The camera in *Au Revoir Taipei* recalls the action of looking through a kaleidoscope rather than a loupe.

Therefore, the differences between the images of the city Taipei in these two films are clear. A new dimension could thus be added to Lynch's definition and meaning exploration of the image of the city: the narrative thinking (the storytelling) about human encounters in city life and their emotional appeal.

6.4 Turning the image of the city into the tourist imaginaries through place attachment

After exploring how film language constructs the image of the city in film through the documentary method, it is possible to give an elucidative deduction regarding how film affects the potential tourist's mental construction of the destination image. Because of the dream-like and mirror-like characteristics of film, the gaze of the spectators (the potential tourists) is identified with the camera when they are watching a film. The camera's expression of the city mixed with impressions from 'reality' therefore essentially becomes the tourists' imaginaries. This kind of imaginary is not only identified with camera, but also is inherent in the symbolic space of the film image. This means that the symbolic spaces constructed by film language are treated as really existing by spectators during the film viewing, no matter if they are in fact reality or fiction. Thus, film language produces an image of the city composed with symbolic construction in the spectator's mental dimension. If the film language constructs the image of the city from both place dependence and place identity (or topophilia, which is the positive emotional cognition attached with the physical environment), one can deduce that the filmmakers' place attachments to the shooting location are delivered via the screen to spectators in the way of image. The viewer's gaze on the city does not only coincide with the filmmaker's, but is also controlled, infected. Thus, the potential tourists' imaginaries become the destination image when combined with the catalyst of the filmmaker's place attachment. Normally film image is taken as the organic image of destination, but this research proposes that this 'organic' image is transferred in two steps: the construction of the symbolic space, and the empathy of place attachment. As regards the symbolic city image in *Yi Yi*, the modern Path, the space under the viaduct, and the residential neighborhood are the main codes for the film image of Taipei. Whether it is Yang's nostalgia or Chen's tourist view, the personal attachments between the filmmakers and the place influence the images in their films, which later infect the attachments formed between viewers and place. The nostalgia from the film might constitute the emotional attachment of the potential tourists, who look for the Path, the Node, the Landmark, the District, and the Edge they have seen in the film, although the object of this emotion is different than that of the filmmaker. Or, they do not inherit nostalgia at all, but only get an impression of the modern space of Taipei as a sightseeing place. The viewers (the potential tourists) insert themselves into the tourist's viewpoint offered by the filmmaker and then complete the fusion of horizons. Since the spectator identifies with the camera

(Baudry, 1985: 540), the place attachment (or topophilia) carried by the camera is transferred to the spectator, infects their imaginaries about the place, and finally shaping the destination image. In this way, they might accept the image offered on the screen and treat Taipei as a cosy place full of humanity and novelty - exactly what destination promoting organizations would want.

In *Au Revoir Taipei*, the city is more like a destination for tourists than it is in *Yi Yi*, and the film is more like 'persuasive media' for the tourist destination. In contrast, Taipei City in *Yi Yi* is more human-like, a place with memory and deep feelings. Such an insider's view of the city routine might infect the viewer's image of Taipei in a more unconscious. These are two different examples of the dynamic of film - imaginaries - destination image, based on two sets of film language.

Baudrillard (1988) talked about the cinematic city in the USA: 'The American city seems to have stepped right out of the movies. To grasp its secret, you should not, then, begin with the city and move inwards to the screen; you should begin with the screen and move outwards to the city' (1988: 56). This inwards and outwards movement is visualized and structured within the schema of film image, viewer's imaginaries, and destination image. Taipei in the two films is related to two different sets of images. Although there is some similar content, for example both offer images of residential neighbourhoods in Taipei, the underlying constructive meaning is different. Film does not only objectify the city under the tourist gaze, but controls the gaze through narrative structure and place attachment underlying the film language. No matter the viewer's geographical background, whether they come from China, Japan, or Western countries, their gaze and the camera are in the process of fusion during the film. Thus, the image of the city constructed by the film language 'anticipates' the gaze through signs, and enabling the gaze to be reproduced, recaptured, and redistributed over time and across space (Urry & Larsen, 2011). *Yi Yi* and *Au Revoir Taipei* represent two different manifestations of the construction of the gaze, and they generate very different symbolic images from which the viewers can form their imaginaries. The way that the filmmakers create images of the city influences these imaginaries, but the filmmaker's own attachments behind the scenes also inevitably infect the destination image. As this research has shown, if one endeavours to delve into the film as a cognitive map of the city, a source of complex and multi-faceted perceptions of the city may emerge.

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Appendix

Transcription of the interview with Director Arvin Chen

Time: 09.02.2013

Place: Berlin

Language: Chinese

Hao: The author, Chen: The director

Hao: In your last film *Au Revoir Taipei*, there are five shots of the city space at the beginning of the film, as well as your new film *Will you still love me tomorrow*. Are you fond of making the city space as one element of your film?

Chen: In fact, we had not decided the opening yet when we were shooting. The editor found some materials, empty shots. We thought that there should be some music at the beginning of the film, bring you into the world. When we were examining these materials, we would like to look at another Taipei. There are plenty of night scenes in *Au Revoir Taipei*, very romantic and very beautiful street scenes, very night life. This time (the new movie) we chose the morning scenes, the taste of neighbourhood. We would like to let the audience know that this is a day-light Taipei, and it is a very very ordinary world, everyday life, this kind of feeling.

Hao: Are you going to keep working on this kind of style? There are a lot of scenes of the description of the city in your films. Does it relate to your major of Architecture?

Chen: It seems that it should be breakthrough, because it feels like... Although this new movie is different from the urban space in *Au Revoir Taipei*, I still shoot the city. I should think about a different style (laugh). Because I feel so much...like magical realism and dancing, and the kind of humor I like. Although the theme of this new movie is totally different from *Au Revoir Taipei*, it still seems like it's my shooting, the kind of stuff I would shoot. But I need more sense of security, do not deal with it the same way.

Hao: Have you ever thought about, maybe the city environment in film could reflect some social conditions, social structures?

Chen: I am thinking about shooting some issue under discussion. Yet still under thinking.

Hao: The city scenes in *Au Revoir Taipei*, is it your decision or someone else?

Chen: There is a person, the director of photographer who we work with. Not only the photograph, a lot of things we discussed together. Because we still shoot Taipei, but the characters are different, the story is different, so this Taipei is different from last Taipei. So we would consider that what Taipei would look like this time.

Hao: This is exactly the question I want to ask, what is the relationship between the Taipei in your film and the Taipei in reality?

Chen: Taipei in my film comes from the observation of the reality, but film is film and it will be a little unrealistic. *Au Revoir Taipei* is the night Taipei, it is very easy to have that special atmosphere, and in fact even without shooting light, you can have the impression of night, for example the night market with a lot of natural lights. Because what we are shooting, is not the world of beauty. It is not like the pretty world in the drama. So this new film is even harder than *Au Revoir Taipei*, for example the office buildings, the residential area, the wedding gown store, you cannot see the pretty scenes directly. So how to make the scene to have the exact feelings is pretty hard.

Hao: Thank you very much for the interview.

Chen: Thank you.