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Contemporary Pan-Chinese Cinematic Urbanism in Taiwan and Hong Kong

By

Ying-Fen Chen

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

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in

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University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Margaret L. Crawford, Chair
Professor Greig Crysler
Professor Weihong Bao

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Abstract

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After World War II, Chinese films shot in Taiwan and Hong Kong began to play a significant role constructing and disseminating images of Chinese culture and its urban environments to pan-Chinese regions of the world and beyond. To comprehend the relationship between those Chinese films and their urban settings, particularly in Taipei and Hong Kong, numerous scholars in the field of Chinese cinematic urbanism engaged in analyses of the highly aestheticized spatial representations in the films, as well as on the cultural negotiation of Chineseness within a context of political tension, and the issues arising from the rapid capitalization of Chinese cities. However, from the 1990s, the global popularity of Hollywood movies threatened the film industry both in Taiwan and Hong Kong. Concurrently, Mainland China rose in stature to supplant Taiwan and Hong Kong as the seat of political, economic, and cultural "Chineseness". To respond to these changes, film industry executives in Taiwan and Hong Kong began to seek new ways to survive, sparking a process in which the relationship between cities and the film industries grew more complex. Numerous cinematic ventures were created to intentionally address considerations of film tourism, urban marketing, intervention in the urban process, and the formation of localism.

In 2008, for example, a popular Taiwanese movie *Cape No. 7* induced a fever of domestic tourism, drawing numerous visitors to its shooting locales. As a result of this phenomenon, local governments, in particular those of two major cities, Taipei and Kaohsiung, recognized the potential for a new type of relationship between the film industry, cities' imaginaries, and the promotion of cities as tourist destinations. They began to sponsor films that highlighted the appeal of special urban attractions in their cities—films intended to foster tourist activity and advertise a specially crafted urban imaginary. Meanwhile, film executives and the government in Hong Kong collaborated to produce a novel nostalgic film genre intended to foster the formation of localism toward Hong Kong. In these films, a specific historical architecture or neighborhood was chosen as the setting for films that evoked the Hong Kong spirit and collective memories of Hong Kong people, distinguishing this city's imaginary from the otherwise dominant image of Mainland Chinese cities. The films then attracted local audiences to visit the filmic locales, an experience which further developed the domestic audiences' local identity. In all of these cases, the distinctive imaginary of each city was

developed and distributed, and a new relationship between cities and cinema emerged, one with a powerful influence on the film industries, the development of physical urban environments, and the negotiations between Chineseness and local identities in Taiwan and Hong Kong.

This dissertation research offers an in-depth examination of this historical movement from the late 2000s to the present, though archival research, film analysis, and participatory observation, exploring the ways in which linchpin cities in Taiwan and Hong Kong, through cinematic production and representation, induced tourism and pursued alternative models for pan-Chinese urban development, in the process further constructing their local identities. Particularly, three cities—Kaohsiung, Taipei, and Hong Kong—and several specific movies that have had crucial effects on each city's urban imaginary and physical environment will be addressed. In the case of Kaohsiung, I examine the municipal government's initiation of the policy of film sponsorship through assisting a TV series, *Black & White,* and its sequel films. *Black and White* was used to publicize the municipal government's political achievements and transform Kaohsiung's urban imaginary from a postindustrial port city to a global harbor city with Taiwanese cultural distinctions, which further established Kaohsiung as a potential locus for the film industry. Following the achievement of Kaohsiung, the Taipei municipal government first established a similar policy of film sponsorship and later became the most important supporter for the present redevelopment of the Taiwanese film industry through quickly adjusting its film policies to suit the filmmakers' demands.

Furthermore, in Dadaocheng, a specific district of Taipei, these circumstances led to the transformation of a preserved historical district with a long and diverse political and cultural legacy into a popular tourist attraction as well as a popular filming location, as cinematic representations of Dadaocheng resulted in interventions in its spatial preservation and economic redevelopment process. Tracing both the failures and successes of cinematic interventions in Dadaocheng, this research attempts to capture the complicated dynamics among different agents—government bureaucrats, city planners, filmmakers, and existing urban communities— whose negotiations have had a vital impact in shaping contemporary cinematic urbanism and localism in Taiwan. In the meantime, as Taiwan's political, economic, and cultural counterpart, Hong Kong offers the comparison case that completes the discourse. The research of cinematic intervention in Hong Kong examines the effects of a government-sponsored nostalgic film, *Echoes of the Rainbow*, recalling the collective memory of developing Hong Kong in the 1970s. This movie was successfully deployed to halt an urban renewal project and persuade the government to preserve and renovate its main shooting location, a historical neighborhood in Central Hong Kong.

Building upon previous studies that provided the theoretical foundation for cinematic urbanism studies, this dissertation examines the novel phenomenon of contemporary pan-Chinese cinematic urbanism in Taiwan and Hong Kong to illustrate its agency in urban processes.

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Acknowledgements

In 2012, I moved from Taiwan to America with mighty academic ambitions and innumerable questions regarding the phenomenon taking place between cinema and cities in Taiwan and Hong Kong, two places I am deeply connected to, and I was eagerly anticipating my completion of a profound body of work based on these questions. Then, seven years passed. Though no dissertation could fully realize my dream and tell the whole story of contemporary cinematic urbanism in the pan-Chinese context, I did bring the puzzle pieces together, and in the process became deeply connected to my research topic and prepared to head into the next chapter of my life and academic interests. I could not have arrived at this point without so many people's help and support. All of the following people l would like to mention here shed light on my path during these past seven years and I believe their intelligence and wisdom will continue to guide me in the future.

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Ch 1. Introduction

It was a typical Taiwanese night in July, humid and warm, when I went to see the film *When Miracle Meets Maths* (2015)[1] at the Taipei Film Festival, the celebrated, annual event where most Taiwanese films make their debut. The movie, depicting a romance between a Taiwanese man and a Taiwanese woman who no longer live in Taiwan but meet while visiting their families in Taipei, awaited reviews from professional critics and festivalgoers before its general release in late 2015. While it would certainly not receive critical attention for aesthetic innovation, *When Miracle Meets Maths* marked a different type of cinematic achievement: a new form of cinematic intervention in the pan-Chinese urban development process. This phenomenon was initiated during the early 2000s, in response to the decline of the Taiwanese film industry and the competition among Taiwanese cities. At that time, numerous local governments in Taiwan and Hong Kong established film policies to subsidize and assist in the production of films expected to construct a certain urban imaginary that would develop the city's reputation and promote tourism. These film policies opened the window for a novel interaction between cinema and cities, unveiling potential alternatives to existing urban development processes, prompting cinematic historiography in filming locales, and contributing to the formation of localism. Each of these dimensions is fundamental to an understanding of contemporary pan-Chinese cinematic urbanism in Taiwan and Hong Kong.

This model of cinematic urbanism in Taiwan and Hong Kong was ignited by a unique case of film-induced tourism that took place in southern Taiwan when the aura created by the New Taiwanese Cinema and the filmmakers of the 1980s and 1990s had diminished, and the Taiwanese film industry was at its lowest point. In 2008, the Taiwanese movie, *Cape No. 7*[2], prompted a surge in domestic tourism, drawing visitors to its shooting locales. Unlike the contemporary Taiwanese movies that typically focused on aesthetics rather than the storyline, *Cape No. 7* depicts a common story about a group of rural residents who endeavor to save a local hotel from going out of business by forming a band and holding a concert to attract tourists. When it screened at the 2008 Taipei Film Festival, numerous festivalgoers posted positive reviews of the movie on social media. This then prompted large numbers of viewers to see the movie when it was released in theaters a month later, and eventually, *Cape No. 7* became the most popular Taiwanese movie ever made. Beyond its box office success, however, the movie's images of the idyllic rural Taiwanese landscape and traditional Taiwanese culture led to an unexpected boom in film tourism, as fans began sharing on the Internet pictures and stories of their visits to the filming locations in Southern Taiwan. Their postings essentially created online amateur guidebooks directing additional movie fans following the pilgrimage. As a result, *Cape No. 7* on the one hand refocused domestic Taiwanese audiences' attention on Taiwanese film, and on the other hand, was the catalyst for a new kind of relation between the film industry, cities' imaginaries, and the promotion of cities as tourist destinations in Taiwan.[3]

The success of *Cape No. 7* inspired local governments, in particular those of two major Taiwanese cities, Taipei and Kaohsiung, to sponsor films offering favorable representations of

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[1] Lin Chun-yang, *When Miracle Meets Maths*. Taipei: Green Film Production, 2015.
[2] Wei Te-sheng, *Cape No. 7*. Taipei: Ars Film, 2008.
[3] 王靖怡，范育菁，陳盈諭，《海角七號動人台灣味 票房紀錄 10 年打不破》。中央社 CAN: 2018/08/22
(https://www.cna.com.tw/project/20180822-cape-no7/index.html#slide1)

urban attractions in their cities—films with the potential to foster tourism. The first successful case can be found in Kaohsiung, the second most populated city in Taiwan. Located in southern Taiwan, Kaohsiung's service industry benefited from the tourism boom inspired by *Cape No. 7*, which spurred the Kaohsiung City Government to further develop the film policies it had begun in the early 2000s. In 2009, *Black & White*,[4] a TV series and subsequent film sponsored by the Kaohsiung City Government, created a semi-virtual urban stand-in—Harbor City—to publicize the municipal government's political achievements and further establish Kaohsiung as a locus for the film industry. *Black and White* depicts two policemen investigating criminal activity in Harbor City, offering occasions for grand car chases, explosions, and gun battles. These fictional events take place in a globalized, fantastical setting more like Gotham City than the post-industrial port city of Kaohsiung. This setting required the use of several major, newly built landmarks with a more modern architectural style to construct Harbor City. These included the latest shopping mall, the new rapid transit system, and the renovated Love river, all of which display a highly developed urban imaginary. To convince Taiwanese audiences that this urban imaginary will be realized in the future, actual political events in Taiwan and a number of distinctively Taiwanese urban elements such as local gangster culture, teenage subculture, and historical architecture, were also included, blurring the boundary between fictional Harbor City and real Kaohsiung. As a result, large numbers of domestic Taiwanese tourists visited the settings of Harbor City, and additional filmmakers began to move their projects from Taipei to Kaohsiung. While these events spurred the city's economic transformation from industrial production to a growing service and film industry, successive films shot in Kaohsiung continued to propel the urban imaginary and the real municipal actions toward achieving the virtual vision of Harbor City.

Kaohsiung's success put pressure on Taipei to step up its game in the field of inter-urban competition, prompting the municipal government of Taipei to establish a similar policy of film sponsorship as a location-marketing strategy. In 2010, Taipei's municipal government sponsored the production of the movie, *Au Revoir Taipei*,[5] targeting tourists from Taiwan as well as from pan-Chinese and East Asian countries. The movie not only presents everyday living environments as tourist destinations, but its production was accompanied by a companion cinematic tourist map published in multiple languages. The plot of *Au Revoir Taipei* dispensed with the conventional narrative employed by most contemporary Taiwanese popular films following the success of *Cape No. 7*, and instead depicts a single event, driven by characters from different backgrounds who meet in this small city. Hence, the movie has no main setting, but rather takes place in a series of locations in Taipei visited by the characters within one night. Most of these places are not tourist attractions, but rather everyday living environments typical of Chinese culture, such as a night marketplace or Taoist temple, and typical modern infrastructures of Asian cities, like a subway system and skywalk. To give these sites the draw of tourist destinations, a long shot is always used as an establishing shot, a kind of delicate postcard showcasing the locale's distinct appeal to the audience. In following scenes, various film techniques are used to defamiliarize the everyday living environments and transform them into tourist attractions. Moreover, the movie's companion map of Taipei's urban imaginary, updated every year with new film-induced tourist attractions, provides an additional narrative, introducing these virtual locales as accessible tourist destinations.

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[4] Cai Yuexun, *Black & White TV series*, Kaohsiung: Prajna Works, 2010.
[5] Arvin Chen, *Au Revoir Taipei*. Atom Cinema, 2010.

Unfortunately, some transformations of everyday living environments into film-induced tourist attractions were not well planned, and the impact of tourism led to conflicts between local residents and tourists. For example, Taipei's Shida Night Market was a small commercial district serving the nearby neighborhood and college. After it was used as one of the settings in *Au Revoir Taipei*, it became such a popular tourist attraction that local residents staged a protest appealing for a return to the quiet past. Rather than pushing the Taipei City Government to rethink its film-induced tourism strategy, this case reveals the complexity of the process, as well as some of the forces in urban development that cinema would confront in the contemporary pan-Chinese context.

In Hong Kong, a variety of film policies initially deployed to combat its film industry crisis later influenced its physical urban development. In 2004, the Hong Kong government published a cinematic tourist map combining the settings of popular movies and existing tourist attractions to provide the script for an alternative approach to travel. As film scholar Donald and Gammack (2007)[6] remark, however, questioning the efficacy of film settings for inducing tourism, the selected movies and film settings primarily served to spice up the presentation of existing historical attractions. Later, in 2007, a film-oriented urban imaginary-making process took form in Hong Kong, 10 years after Britain handed over the authority of Hong Kong to Mainland China. This produced numerous nostalgic films seeking to redefine local identity in opposition to British colonialism and Mainland Chinese governance. These nostalgic films are typically middle budget productions, some of which received subsidies from the government, not because of more direct urban place-marketing intentions, but due to a policy intended to protect the Hong Kong film industry from decline. Most of these films include scenes set in historical architecture that embody the local culture, creating a nostalgic appeal for the sites that further induces film tourism as well as localism construction through a particular cinematic urban imaginary.

For example, a 2010 Hong Kong nostalgic movie, *Echoes of Rainbow*,[7] not only recalled the collective memory of developing Hong Kong in the 1960s, but also blocked an urban renewal project and pushed the government to preserve a historical neighborhood in Central, Hong Kong with unique Tang Lau (唐樓) shop house style buildings. Representing the good old days in this historical neighborhood, the film provided a powerful cinematic language of protest through which an activist movement expressed its counter to the capitalist logic of urban development which many consider the inexorable future of contemporary pan-Chinese cities. *Echoes of Rainbow* led to the creation of a succession of nostalgic films set in historical architectures in Hong Kong, eventually becoming a genre produced to induce tourism, negotiate an alternative model for urban development, and shape local identity.

Following the rules established by the nostalgic film genre in Hong Kong, the movie *When Miracle Meets Maths* is an exemplary representation of contemporary cinematic urbanism in Taiwan and Hong Kong. This film was the first of a six-film project slated to roll out over two years to promote tourism and business in Dadaocheng, a historical preservation district in Taipei. Produced by Green Film Production, sponsored by the Taiwanese central government and the Taipei City Government, and directed by young Taiwanese directors, these feature films were intended to enhance the appeal of neighborhoods around selected Taiwan Municipal Railway

[6] Stephanie Hemelryk Donald and John G. Gammack, *Tourism and the Branded City: Film and Identity on the Pacific Rim*. Ashgate, 2007.
[7] Alex Law Kai-Yui, *Echoes of the Rainbow*. Mei Ah Entertainment, 2010

(MRT) stations. Although the main goal of *When Miracle Meets Maths* was to promote tourism, the movie exemplifies an effective model of contemporary pan-Chinese cinematic urbanism through its balanced approach of promoting both tourism and historical preservation while negotiating a new definition of Taiwanese identity.

The initial intention of this film project was to develop the tourism and film industries in Taipei through an effectively magnetic combination of public transportation, urban cultural distinction, and cinematic allure. *When Miracle Meets Maths* was created in order to promote Dadaocheng, a Han ethnic neighborhood built in the late Qing dynasty, which experienced economic prosperity under Japanese colonial rule. The film presents his historic district near the Daqiaotou MRT Station as an attractive tourist destination through scenes displaying its distinct architectural style and cultural attractions. The camera follows the protagonists, travelers from overseas, as they explore the city, taking viewers along to visit the historical district, offering images of street life against the backdrop of buildings with beautiful facades and unique interior decorations. As the Taipei City Government had previously designated Dadaocheng as a historical preservation district, most of the old buildings in this area have been renovated to display their historical value and are likely candidates for protection from ongoing urban renewal projects. Thus, in presenting Dadaocheng, the movie seemingly takes on an additional, perhaps more ambitious goal: revealing the urban fabric of the city in order to set forth an alternative to redevelopment.

Much of the historical preservation taking place in the cities throughout the pan-Chinese context has eliminated the traditional spirit of the structures, marked by the use of inappropriate materials and a lack of care in the curation of businesses inhabiting them. To prevent this from occurring in Dadaocheng, previously one of Taipei's major commercial districts, the question of how to address the conflict between historical preservation and economic redevelopment posed a considerable challenge for the government, local planners, and property owners. After a process of negotiation and renovation, this district has gradually developed to accommodate mixed usages of the preserved historical buildings, which became tourist attractions after being presented in the movies. Some of the buildings in Dadaocheng were restored as restaurants, hostels, cafes, and cultural and creative industry stores that preserve the historic character and function of the buildings; however, some of them still follow the design of a traditional marketplace, which was their main function before renovation. This juxtaposition of old and new usages offers not only physical evidence of an alternative approach for urban development that can be easily transmitted through film, but also a prime space for cinematic intervention in urban development, since Dadaocheng has become one of the most popular filming locales in Taiwan. In addition, after increasing numbers of films were shot in Dadaocheng, a guided film tour was created by a tourist agency established by local residents, introducing Dadaocheng's history in relation to its film representation and locations. Afterward, the global trend of film restoration led to the rediscovery of old films shot in Dadaocheng, contributing to the community's cinematic historiography and furthering the formation of Taiwanese localism embodied in this historical neighborhood.

Therefore, in Kaohsiung, Taipei, and Hong Kong—the three major cities in the pan-Chinese world, film policies have produced a cooperative model of film production among varied actors from the bureaucratic system, film industry, and filming locales, which initially aimed to restore the film industry and wield film as an effective urban-marketing tool. Ultimately, this

cooperative process has become one of the main drivers of contemporary pan-Chinese cinematic urbanism both in the virtual film setting and the real urban environment. This dissertation research identifies this important trend and focuses on the progress of this movement, from the late 2000s to today. It explores the ways that the linchpin cities of Taiwan and Hong Kong, through cinematic production and representation, have promoted tourism and confronted the existing forces of urban development, and, in the process, further empowering the localism that has grown in response to the rising political, economic, and cultural authority of Mainland China.

1.1 The Development of the Industries and Policies of Film Fund in Pan-Chinese Context

According to my description of the contemporary cinematic urbanism in Taiwan and Hong Kong, "the policy of film sponsorship" can be identified as the origin of the phenomenon this research addresses, including urban marketing through cinema, film tourism, cinematic intervention in urban processes, and the construction of localism spurred by cinematic historiography. Therefore, it is necessary to offer a brief history of the film industry in Taiwan and Hong Kong, the industrial development crisis of the 1990s, and the responding policy of film sponsorship established by the Taiwanese central government to elucidate the dynamics between Taiwanese and Hong Kong cinema, as well as to provide a broader background for the following discussion.

Notwithstanding several films produced in Taiwan and Hong Kong before World War II, the film industry was primarily developed in these locations after film companies and filmmakers retreated from Shanghai in the 1940s. In the beginning, immigrant filmmakers had to compete with the existing Taiwanese and Cantonese movies; however, their Mandarin film projects quickly dominated the Taiwanese, Hong Kong, and even Southeast Asian markets. In Taiwan, Central Motion Picture Corporation, supported by the government, had been the biggest film company on the island, employed to propagandize the Kuomintang (KMT) Party's political ideology and disseminate Mandarin education through cinema. Meanwhile in Hong Kong, Shaw Brothers Pictures International Limited had gradually created a cinematic empire and exported movies to Taiwan, Southeast Asia, and other Chinese diasporic locations around the world. In the 1970s, both the film industry and markets in Taiwan and Hong Kong were experiencing a period of transition. Cantonese movies had become popular in the domestic market and newly established film companies had replaced Shaw Brothers Pictures International Limited, bringing innovative creativity and styles into the film industry. The subsequent works produced by the Hong Kong New Wave were thematically well balanced, offering entertainment while also addressing social issues, and this became the recipe for Hong Kong film success in the pan-Chinese world. These movies, dubbed into Mandarin, dominated the film market in Taiwan. The attempt to compete triggered the birth of New Taiwanese Cinema, which sought to regain the public's attention through films that represented Taiwanese society and incorporated innovative aesthetic techniques (Mennel, 2008).[8] This marked the beginning of a close cooperative and competitive relationship between the film industries in Taiwan and Hong Kong.

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[8] Barbara Mennel, *Cities and Cinema*. New York: Routledge, 2008.

The Hong Kong film industry led the cooperation with Taiwan from the 1980s to the early 2000s. Taiwanese sociologist Lee Ding-zan (1996)[9] digs into this cooperative mechanism, offering the domination of Hong Kong movies in Taiwan in the 1990s to elucidate how localization and regionalization challenged the traditional model of capitalism from the margins. He compares the developments of importing films in Taiwan from Hollywood and Japan, the two traditional colonial/capitalist powers, and Hong Kong, the emerging entity in the global economic periphery, to draw an alternative approach of capital accumulation in global era. During that period of time, the Hong Kong film industry had developed a distinct system of "pre-selling" movies to overseas markets, especially Taiwan and a few Southeast Asian countries, to acquire the funds needed for production. Unlike the Hollywood model, local distributors could participate in the pre-production process of Hong Kong movies through the "pre-sale" system, ensuring that the plot, the actors, and even the dialog would satisfy local audiences. Sometimes, the movie would be edited in multiple versions to meet requests from different places. As one of the most crucial markets importing numerous Hong Kong movies per year, Taiwan developed an intimate partnership with Hong Kong under this film pre-sale and pre-production mechanism. In addition, the flow of film workers between Hong Kong and Taiwan reinforced this partnership and blurred the boundary between the movies from the two locations.

Taiwanese and Hong Kong movies maintained a competitive relationship not only in the domestic and overseas film markets, but also in various international film festivals and awards. Almost every year, newspapers published reports comparing the box office success of films from the two countries, and aside from the comparisons between Hollywood movies and Chinese-language movies, Taiwanese films versus Hong Kong films would always be placed in comparison. Moreover, in this period, the masterpieces of the Hong Kong New Wave and Taiwanese New Cinema gradually gained renown after receiving awards in various international film festivals, which eventually became another competitive arena for filmmakers. The competition was even more fierce for Taiwan's Golden Horse Film Award, as that is the only event dedicated specifically to recognizing outstanding movies in the pan-Chinese world (Chen, 2010).[10] This simultaneously cooperative and competitive partnership between the Hong Kong and Taiwanese film industries made them unique counterparts. Thus, although the industrial scale of the two places is quite dissimilar, the film industries had similar experiences in the late 1990s when each faced city development crises and the pressure from the rising Mainland Chinese film market.

Before the development crisis of the 1990s, Hong Kong and Taiwan were the two primary locales producing Chinese-language cinema. The movies shot in Taiwan and Hong Kong became the major media representing Chinese culture and urban environments to not only Chinese-speaking regions but also the entire world. Some scholars identify these movies as "pan-Chinese cinema" that creates a fantasy world based on homogeneous Chinese culture and history when Mainland China closed its door to the globe. Through the migration of Chinese diaspora, this pan-Chinese-ness embodies in the cultural products, traveling from Hong Kong as the center to the

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[9] Lee Ding-zan [李丁讚], "Marginal Empire : The Case of Hong Kong's Film Industry, with Hollywood and Colonial Japan Compared" [「邊緣帝國」：香港、好萊塢和（殖民）日本三地電影對台灣擴張之比較研究], in *Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies* [台灣社會學研究季刊], 1996.

[10] Chen Ying-fen [陳盈棻], *The Constructing and Changing of Cinematic Hong Kong through the Taiwanese Cult Followings' Eye* [觀影之城：台灣香港電影狂熱者建構的電影城市印象與轉型], Master Thesis in National Taiwan University, 2010.

world. Even though this concept has been quickly replaced by concept of "sinophone" and "Chineseness" after Mainland China's rise in the 1990s, in this dissertation, I continue using the term "pan-Chinese" on the one hand, to describe a domain consisting of Chinese places beyond Mainland China, and on the other hand, to emphasize the connection between Taiwan and Hong Kong, which used to be two crucial locales for the development of pan-Chinese cinema. While "sinophone" intends to decentralize the authority of Mainland China and "Chineseness" overwhelmingly focuses on Mainland China as the center, I expect that the concept of "pan-Chinese" could be a means of reframing the contemporary relationship among Mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and other cultural Chinese places.

In the 1990s, Hollywood movies became popular globally and threatened the film industry both in Taiwan and Hong Kong. Meanwhile, the rise of Mainland China replaced Taiwan and Hong Kong as the image of political, economic, and cultural "Chineseness". To face these challenges, some filmmakers in Hong Kong began to pursue the Mainland Chinese market by representing Hong Kong as one of the "Chinese" cities familiar to the Mainland Chinese audience. Other filmmakers attempted to construct a sense of localism toward Hong Kong through a specific film genre that employs a nostalgic story set in the historical buildings that are the embodiment of the Hong Kong spirit. This particular nostalgic film genre and its formation and influences will be addressed in chapter 4 where I examine how contemporary cinematic urbanism took place in Hong Kong. On the other hand, in Taiwan, the formation of localism through cinema was influenced by the phenomenon of film-induced tourism and local governmental film policy, indirectly responding to the pressure from Mainland China's rise. This will be examined in the latter chapters. In the cases of Hong Kong and Taiwan, "localism" is a more appropriate concept for comprehending the complex ideological products created in the process of cinematic intervention in urban process. In addition to promoting local identity, local culture, and local history, "localism" in Hong Kong is a social movement to preserve the city's local culture and seek for political autonomy. In Taiwan, the formation of "localism" began from the central government's policy of localization since the 1990s and continues in the present not only to respond to the pressure of the rise of Mainland China but also to support the development of cultural and creative industries. "Localism" in both the contexts of Hong Kong and Taiwan is not completely equal to political independence from Mainland China, but a negotiation process with Mainland China in the aspects of politics, economy, and culture.

Before the recent complicated development of film industry, in 1989's Taiwan, to restore the film industry, the central government first established a policy to subsidize films. This policy became the prototype for that municipal governmental sponsorship of cinematic urban promotion arose later in Taiwan and Hong Kong. This "Domestic Film Fund" (國片輔導金) began as a government intervention into the film industry crisis and immediately became a crucial resource for the development of the Second New Wave. This program supported today's famous Taiwanese film directors such as Ang Lee and Tsai Ming-liang, allowing them to complete the domestic film projects that were later used to build their reputations in international film festivals. However, from the late 1990s, the heat of Chinese-language films in international film festivals decreased, degrading the public evaluation of the Domestic Film Fund and further triggering a debate about how to balance the governmental subsidization of both art and commercial films (Chen, 1997).[11]

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[11] Chen Huei-ying [陳慧瑛], *A Study of the Guidance Fund for Domestically Produced Films* [我國電影輔導金制

In the meantime, the film industry crisis in Taiwan continued to increase the filmmakers' dependence on the Domestic Film Fund. In the 2000s, the central government provided additional categories to the Domestic Film Fund, including feature films, short films, and a film script award, making the Domestic Film Fund the main source of funding for Taiwanese movies.

Therefore, in 2003 when the impact of SARS brought the Hong Kong film industry to its lowest point, forcing the industry to seek support from the government, filmmakers cited Taiwan's Domestic Film Fund in their appeal to the Hong Kong government to provide a similar policy. Meanwhile in Taiwan, local governments deployed a similar film sponsorship to further induce tourism, assist in urban development, and propagandize Taiwanese localism. This prototype of governmental film sponsorship and the long-term close and complex partnership between the film industries in Hong Kong and Taiwan offers the lens through which I analyze and compare contemporary pan-Chinese cinematic urbanism in these two fundamental locales.

1.2 The Traditional Approaches of Cinematic Urbanism: Cinema as Mediator of Modernity and Postmodern Critic

After the 1970s, the urban environment became a crucial actor in both Hong Kong and Taiwanese movies. Hong Kong New Wave filmmakers shifted their filming locations from artificial studio settings, most of them owned by Shaw Brothers Pictures at that time, to physical urban spaces. Since that time, Hong Kong cinema and cities have developed a long-term relationship, in which the heterogeneous urban environments provided enchanted and multidimensional film shooting spaces, and the rich cinematic representations of the city created complicated texts that have been a popular topic for research of the political, economic, and cultural issues in Hong Kong. Similarly, in Taiwan in the 1980s, beginning from the New Taiwanese Cinema's interest in films reflecting social issues and the everyday lives of the underclass, and followed by the decline of the film industry in the 1990s, physical urban spaces gradually became the major filming locales. Particularly since the 1990s, scholars have engaged in an academic discussion of the film representations of urban spaces in Taipei as the embodiments of urban issues in the postmodern context. This earlier relationships between cinema and cities in different periods' Hong Kong and Taiwan can be situated in the broader map of cinematic urbanism in the global context particularly through two approaches.

The academic field of cinematic urbanism studies emerged in the 1970s when the concept of "spatial turn" provided a conjunction between a political economic approach and cultural research (Shiel and Fitzmaurice, 2001)[12]. In this interdisciplinary field, scholars from film studies, cultural geography, cultural studies, urban studies, and other related fields have engaged in a mutual discussion through their respective approaches. Traditionally, their research contends with two major issues that complicate the contract between cinematic urban representation and urban imaginary making—how cinema mediates the modern urban experience and how cinema reflects the postmodern critique of a highly capitalist urban environment. Specifically, in this field, the scholars use "cinema" to expand the discussion of traditional film studies into broader domain of

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度之研究], Master thesis in Shih Hsin University, 1997.

[12] Mark Shiel and Tony Fitzmaurice ed. *Cinema and the City: Film and Urban Societies in a Global Context.* Blackwell Publisher, 2001.

cultural and media studies, looking at the influences both of film representations and cultural activities in relation to films, namely cinematic activities. This usage began from the studies in the first approach that traces back to the earlier relationship between cinema and modern cities. The innovation of cinema was integral to the onset of the modern urbanization process in the late 19th century, an innovation that provided city residents not only a new popular entertainment but a way to makes sense of modern urban images represented and spread through the reel (Charney and Schwartz, 1996)[13]. The distinct relationship between cinema and the modern urban experience is an important topic explored by cinematic urban scholars (Bruno, 1997; Clark, 1997; Shiel and Fitzmaurice, 2003)[14] [15] [16]. Through examining the individual modern experience by watching films and going to movie theaters, the scholars intend to draw the analogy between film audiences and "flaneur", the crucial concept in the studies of modernization and urbanization, as well as comprehending their differences based on the comparison between thoroughly optic perception (film audiences) and haptic sensation (flaneur).

These relevant studies mainly focus on the 1920s' Berlin and American cities before the World Wars, cases that present a modernity and urbanization that is hegemonically and homogeneously Western. Investigations of cinematic urbanism in 1930s Shanghai expand the discussion of the Western context (Hansen, 1999; Zhang, 2005)[17] [18], exploring in particular how American modernity embodied in classic Hollywood movies was culturally and technically appropriated and modified in non-Western locales, a process referred to as "vernacular modernism." Building upon Hansen's theory of "vernacular modernism" that analyzes of the monodirectional transmission of cinematic production and techniques from America to the world, Krause and Petro (2003) suggest that, in the contemporary world, the global information flow is embodied in architecture, cinema, and even city planning, the three dominant cultural products transmitting ideologies around the world.[19] They further incorporate Appadurai's theory of the "social imaginary" (1996), which builds on the notion that various ideologies are easily transmitted through cultural products and negotiated on different levels to construct complex identities.[20] Since the late 1980s, Hong Kong movies, for instance, were mediating the ideology of the Chinese diaspora to the world's pan-Chinese regions including some located in Western countries, and were transmitting a more modern imaginary of urban Hong Kong to Taiwan and Southeast Asia by the early 2000s. This dissertation takes this idea further by considering this kind of adaptation as it enters into urban imaginary making, policy imitation, and film genre development between the crucial pan-Chinese cities of Taiwan and Hong Kong.

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[13] Leo Charney and Vanessa R. Schwartz ed. *Cinema and Invention of Modern Life*. University of California Press, 1996.

[14] Giuliana Bruno, "Site-seeing: Architecture and the Moving Image" in *Wide Angle* 19.4 (1997) 8-24.

[15] David Clarke ed. *The Cinematic City*. Routeledge Press, 1997.

[16] Mark Shiel and Tony Fitzmaurice ed. *Screening the City*. Verso, 2003.

[17] Hansen, Miriam, "The Mass Production of the Senses: Classical Cinema as Vernacular Modernism" in *Modernism/Modernity* 6.2 (1999) 59-77. The Johns Hopkins University Press.

[18] Zhang Zhen, *An Amorous History of the Silver Screen: Shanghai Cinema, 1896-1937*. The University of Chicago Press, 2005.

[19] Linda Krause and Patrice Petro ed. *Global Cities: Cinema, Architecture, and Urbanism in Digital Age.* Routledge Press, 2003.

[20] Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. University of Minnesota Press, 1996.

Another important and relevant domain of discussion about cinema and urbanism reflects postmodern criticism of the highly capitalist urban environment. This approach began with Jameson (1991)[21], who introduced the broader aesthetic issue of cinematic representation, an approach which was adopted by additional scholars examining the relationship between American film noir and the highly capitalized urban environments of New York and Los Angeles (Clark, 1997; Shiel and Fitzmaurice, 2003; Dimendberg, 2004)[22] [23] [24]. They emphasized film noir as a means of criticizing the problematic urban planning process in America (Dimendberg, 2004), and even as an alternative to modernity, specifically in the late 1970s, with the neo-Noir representation of ethnic issues (Nezar, 2006)[25]. In addition, Jameson (1992)[26] also used this analytical framework to look at the film representation of Taipei's urban fabric in Taiwanese New Cinema movies, attempting to expand the discussion of film aesthetics in relation to the postmodern urban condition in the world system. Even though some local scholars have attempted to redefine the individual distinctions of Taipei's urban situation and New Taiwanese Cinema (Chang, 2005)[27], Jameson's analytical concept still dominates most of the subsequent studies.

Extending both the geographical and historical context of such analysis, Prakash (2010)[28] expands the power of postmodern cinematic criticism to encompass a timeless notion of cinematic urbanism around the world. In his view, cinematic urban representation not only celebrates modernism but also criticizes the problem of capitalism. My dissertation research reveals that the contact between cinematic urban representation and the physical urban environment happens simultaneously in different cases. On the one hand, when the cinematic urban representation advertises an urban imaginary that matches the city's plan, the cooperative relationship accelerates urban development. For instance, in 2010, the Kaohsiung City Government successfully manipulated the image of "Harbor City" represented by the *Black & White* TV series to promote its urban revitalization achievements and further create economic benefits from film-induced tourism. On the other hand, cinematic urban representation can negatively impact the existing urban environment or positively challenge a problematic urban program when their expectations of urban development are quite different. The conflict between the nostalgic image of the historical buildings represented by *Echoes of the Rainbow* and the vision of the urban renewal program in Wing Lee Street are exemplary cases of this concept. Continuing this line of analysis, this dissertation research attempts to draw out additional relationships between cinematic urban representation and physical urban environments.

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[21] Fredric Jameson, *Post modernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991.
[22] David Clarke ed. (1997) -----.
[23] Mark Shiel and Tony Fitzmaurice ed. (2003) -----.
[24] Edward Dimendberg, *Film Noir and the Spaces of Modernity*. Harvard University Press, 2004.
[25] Nerza AlSayyad, *Cinematic Urbanism: A History of the Modern from Reel to Real.* Routledge Press, 2006.
[26] Fredric Jameson, "Remapping Taipei" in *The Geopolitical Aesthetic: Cinema and Space in the World System*. Indiana University Press, 1992.
[27] Yvonne Chang, "The Terrorizer and the Great Divide in Contemporary Taiwan's Cultural Development" in *Island on the Edge: Taiwan New Cinema and After.* Ed. Chris Berry and Feii Lu. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1992.
[28] Gyan Prakash, *Noir Urbanisms: Dystopic Images of the Modern City*. Princeton University Press, 2010.

1.3 A Novel Approach of Cinematic Urbanism: Cinematic Intervention in Urban Processes in the Global Era

In addition to ideologically mediating modernity and cinematically reflecting urban issues in the postmodern condition, a novel approach of cinematic urbanism appeared around the millennium, which influenced the physical environments through the impact of film tourism and the cinematic intervention in urban process. First, numerous studies of film-induced tourism appeared in Australia from the late 1990s. In 1992, Riley and Van Doren first began to discuss how several Hollywood movies shot in Australia motivated American tourists to visit the settings they saw in the movies.[29] Later, the tourist boom in New Zealand caused by the popular trilogy— *The Lord of the Rings* (2001, 2002, 2003)[30]— encouraged the fruitful study of film-induced tourism in Australia (Beeton, 2005; Carl, Kindon, and Smith, 2007; Buchmann, Moore, and Fisher, 2010; Croy, 2010).[31] [32] [33] [34] In this case, the films certainly do not focus on urban problems or directly address anxiety about changing environments, nor, more broadly, do they interpret urbanism, but instead they function as an effective promotional tool for destination marketing. The above-referenced Australian scholars, operating within the field of tourism studies, explore how film has become a crucial factor inducing tourism, tourist psychology, and the impact of tourism on the environment.

Particularly in the contemporary Australian experience, the first wave of film-induced tourism is linked to a storyline in which characters escape from the city to the country, with the landscape being a catalyst for personal growth. Beeton (2005) further identifies these cases as "on-location" tourism, which is engaged with the local community or historical attractions. In this case, when small towns consequently draw flocks of tourists, conflicts between films, tourists, and residents can become a major challenge. Beeton (2005) also categorizes "off-location" tourism, which features sets created at a studio theme park or otherwise relates to fantasy movies, as for example, in the case of *The Lord of the Rings*, which physicalizes the "Middle-Earth" of J. R. R. Tolkien's fantasy novels in New Zealand. Carl, Kindon, and Smith (2007) suggest that in the case of off-location tourism, audiences can in fact be satisfied with the hyper-real destination. When audiences have low expectations about the "authenticity" of the destination, they feel satisfied by both the images from the films and the beautiful scenery in physical destinations. Frost (2006)[35] remarks that in research about the interaction of historical films and heritage tourism in *Braveheart* (1995)[36] and *Ned Kelly* (2003)[37], story-based influences are found to be more important than visually based experiences. In these instances, the storyline effectively flavors the audiences'

[29] Roger W. Riley and Carlton S. Van Doren, "Movies as Tourism Promotion: A Pull Factor in a Push Location" in *Tourism Management,* 1992.

[30] Peter Jackson, *The Lord of the Rings.* New Line Cinema, 2001, 2002, 2003.

[31] Sue Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*. Channel View Publications, 2005.

[32] Daniela Carl, Sara Kindon, and Karen Smith, "Tourists' Experiences of Film Locations: New Zealand as 'Middle-Earth'" in *Tourism Geographies*, 2007.

[33] Anne Buchmann, Kevin Moore, and David Fisher, "Experiencing Film Tourism: Authenticity and Fellowship" in *Annals of Tourism Research*, 2010.

[34] W. Glen Croy, "Planning for Film Tourism: Active Destination Image Management" in *Tourism and Hospitality Planning & Development,* 2010.

[35] Warick Frost, "Braveheart-ed Ned Kelly: Historic Films, Heritage Tourism and Destination Image" in *Tourism Management*, 2006.

[36] Mel Gibson, *Braveheart.* Icon Production, 1995.

[37] Gregor Jordan, *Ned Kelly.*StudioCanal, 2003.

tourist experiences with the emotions communicated through the films. Beeton (2005) also sees the storyline as the driving factor in film-induced tourism. Riley, Baker, and Van Doren (1998)[38] focus on the cases in which they believe that the storyline often aids in the destination marketing of particular American cities. These studies, carried out within a Western context, initiated the discussion about the factors contributing to the efficacy of the most successful cases of film-induced tourism.

Another critical area for the study film-induced tourism centers on South Korea. Recently, South Korean television dramas have become popular not only in other Asian countries, but around the world. The focus of the studies about South Korean film-induced tourism is slightly different from those focusing on Australia. Because many people were not familiar with South Korean culture before it began to rise, most of the research about South Korean experiences focuses on the interactions between South Korean films and audiences who are from different places around the world, attempting to explain how the audiences get satisfaction from visiting the film locales. For instance, Kim, Lee, and Chon (2007)[39] demonstrate how Japanese tourism in South Korea was induced by a popular romantic television drama—*Winter Sonata* (2002).[40] Although the politics between South Korea and Japan are complex and sometimes fraught, this television drama bridged the divide and attracted audiences from Japan, especially females, to travel to the film settings in South Korea. Simultaneously, the "Korean Wave" rippled around the world. In addition to Japanese audiences, Taiwanese audiences are one of the major groups to catch this South Korean film-induced tourism fever. Su, Huang, Brodowsky, and Kim (2011)[41] analyze Taiwanese audiences' tourism in South Korea, emphasizing that product placement and consumer behavior is a magnet for Taiwanese viewers of South Korean television dramas. They concluded that "cultural proximity" is the major reason why South Korean television dramas effectively attract Taiwanese audiences from different backgrounds. This investigation of cultural exchange between films and audiences is the major contribution of studies focusing on Korean film.

Based on these earlier studies, the subject of film-induced tourism is one of the key concerns of this dissertation. This work connects promotional cinematic urban representation to its actual impact on physical environments. The approach developed by scholars of tourism studies in Australia and South Korea tracked in the literature review can partially explain the phenomenon concerned in this dissertation. However, more research is necessary to examine the unique context of contemporary pan-Chinese cinematic urbanism and explore the cases of cinematic intervention in urban processes. This part of cinematic urbanism studies is still underdeveloped, with the exception of British research that investigated how cinematic urban imaginary can revitalize a post-industrial city such as Liverpool, by fostering tourism and supporting the local film industry (Koeck and Roberts, 2010; Roberts, 2012).[42] [43] Therefore, one of the crucial contributions of this

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[38] Roger Riley, Dwayne Baker, and Van Carlton S. Doren, "Movie Induced Tourism" in *Annals of Tourism Research*, 1998.

[39] Kim Samuel Seongseop, Agrusa Jerome, Lee Heesung, and Chon Kaye, "Effects of Korean Television Dramas on the Flow of Japanese Tourists" in *Tourism Management*, 2007.

[40] Yoon Seok-ho, *Winter Sonata*. Pan Entertainment, 2002.

[41] Su Hung Jen, Huang Yu-An, Brodowsky Glen, and Kim Hyun Jeong, "The Impact of Product Placement on TV-induced Tourism: Korean TV Dramas and Taiwanese Viewers" in *Tourism Management*, 2011.

[42] Richard Koeck and Les Roberts ed. *The City and the Moving Image: Urban Projections*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

[43] Les Roberts, *Film, Mobility, and Urban Space: A Cinematic Geography of Liverpool*. Liverpool University Press,

dissertation is to further develop the field of cinematic urbanism, specifically focusing on its influence on physical urban development.

1.4 Research Questions: Urban Imaginary, Film Production, and Cinematic Intervention in the Construction of Localism

To draw the picture of pan-Chinese cinematic urbanism in contemporary Taiwan and Hong Kong, this dissertation attempts to explore the interactions between cinema and cities by answering these questions: what urban imaginaries have been represented in contemporary Taiwanese and Hong Kong movies sponsored by the Taipei, Kaohsiung, and Hong Kong local governments for the purpose of promoting the cities to pan-Chinese audiences in order to accumulate capital through tourism and urban development? How are the cinematic urban imaginaries constructed through negotiation among the major agents—governmental bureaucrats, city planners, filmmakers, and existing urban environments—express different ideologies of nationality, modernity, and urban vision? How are physical urban environments influenced by the urban imaginaries represented in the films? What specific characteristics of localism have been developed through cinematic urbanism in response to the "Chineseness" promulgated by the rise of the political economic, and cultural power of Mainland China?

The first section examines the similarities and differences in these urban imaginaries constructed by films. Are the similar urban imaginaries built upon the shared "Chinese" culture or hegemonic capitalism? Are the different cinematic representations of the cities influenced by local identity construction or the cities' history of modernization? To answer these questions, it is necessary to introduce an emerging academic concept—that of the urban imaginary. The urban imaginary is a collective mental map of a city in its modern condition, as constructed by various media representations of the city's space, society, and culture. These media can be physical and virtual, including architecture, city planning, literature, film, and so on. The concept of the urban imaginary is deployed by scholars to redefine the boundary of the modern city (Cinar and Bender, 2007),[44] to challenge western-centered modern urban discourse (Huyssen, 2008),[45] and to portray a specific city through interdisciplinary approaches (Linder, 2015).[46]

In the late 2000s, Cinar and Bender (2007) introduced the urban imaginary as a concept with the potential to create the boundary of a modern city that unlike its ancestor, the medieval city, is not defined by an enclosed wall. They drew the term "urban imaginary" visually from Lynch (1960)[47] and conceptually from Benjamin. In addition, Anderson's (1983)[48] theory of imagined communities is Cinar and Bender's main concern that they believe the boundary of a specific city is defined by the dwellers' collective imagination of that urban environment. This approach for locating the boundaries of modern city is highly influenced by the notion of the

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2012.

[44] Alev Cinar and Thomas Bender ed. *Urban Imaginaries: Locating the Modern City*. University of Minnesota Press, 2007.

[45] Andreas Huyssen ed. *Other Cities, Other World: Urban Imaginaries in a Globalizing Age*. Duke University Press, 2008.

[46] Christoph Lindner, *Imaging New York*. Oxford University Press, 2015.

[47] Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1960.

[48] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso, 1983.

contemporary nation-state. On the other hand, Huyssen (2008) has a different means of deploying urban imaginary as a concept to draw a picture of today's cities. He traces the scholarship of global urban discourse discussed primarily by Harvey (2003)[49] and Sassen (2001),[50] and criticizes this existing discourse of the global city as highly western centered and restricted by the approach of political economics. Attempting to construct an alternative modernity through various urban imaginaries, he further refers to two theories—Charles Taylor's social imaginary and Henri Lefebvre's social production of space—to form a critical position from which to reconsider the collective imagination of the modern city. Referring to the two approaches in the above, Linder (2015) offers a practical definition of urban imaginary as a mixture of a cognitive map and a physical environment. Through drawing multiple urban imaginaries that depict a specific city by means of various media, the urban imaginary of such city will be elucidated. Disregarding Cinar and Bender's intention of redefining the boundary of the modern city, as well as Huyssen's vision to construct an alternative modernity beyond the western centered discourse, Linder deployed the concept of urban imaginary as a tool, analyzing the relevant literature, film, architecture, and city planning, to capture the picture of New York.

Therefore, in this dissertation, the urban imaginary constructed by cinematic representation and city planning is the main concern that the notion of Huyseen's study indicating that alternative modernity is embodied in urban imaginary will be employed to consider the negotiation of various ideologies carried by the agents in the urban process in relation to cinematic intervention. However, comparing to their passive approach of approaching the modern city through urban imaginary, in the contemporary pan-Chinese cinematic urbanism of Taiwan and Hong Kong, an aggressive process of urban-imaginary making will be examined to reinforce the theory of urban imaginary.

The second group of research inquiries focuses on the material condition of the film-making and urban processes, in which various agents were cooperating and debating their ideologies in various dimensions, further creating different cultural productions both in the virtual cinematic world and physical urban space as the embodiments of such negotiations. Although a vast amount of studies has been conducted based on film analysis and historical archive research, few studies have looked at the conditions of film production that could provide a thorough map to understand the film industry. In 1985, Bordwell, Stainger, and Thompson conducted an important research of film production studies, exploring from an economic approach multiple aspects of Hollywood film production before the 1960s. They frame the onset of the film production system within the history of capitalization, which divided the labor of film making for purposes of technical standardization. Various management systems were created by film companies/studios in order to maximize profit. From the single director system to the package-unit system, film came to be a calculated commercial product rather than an artist's spontaneous work. It is imbricated in a complicated, profit-driven process, including pre-shooting work, shooting work, and post-shooting work.[51] Fifteen years later when the Hollywood film industrial model hit its turning point, Geunes (2000) examined these changes through anthropological observation and interviews with the film workers, arguing that today's Hollywood is not a place in which film aesthetics are

[49] David Harvey, *Paris: Capital of Modernity*. W. W. Norton & Co, 2003.
[50] Saskia Sassen, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.
[51] David Bordwell, Janet Staiger, and Kristin Thompson, *The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style and Model of Production to 1960*. Columbia University Press, 1985.

celebrated, but a factory for the pursuit of profits from distribution circuits rather than the theatrical box office.

In addition to these studies dealing with earlier models of the Hollywood film industry, in recent years, to maintain its advantage and reap profit, the Hollywood film production system has expanded as a global economic entity. Goldsmith and O' Regan (2005) consider the Hollywood film making-machine in this light, pointing out how some film studios, like international companies, have begun to erect shooting infrastructures in secondary cities beyond Los Angeles in order to save production costs through cheaper labor and government subsidies. These satellite studios cooperate with the local governments to develop film infrastructures as tourist attractions for that particular city. In this respect, the film production system is not based on an independent, traditional manufacturing model, but rather takes on some dimensions of a complex service industry.[52]

With regard to the literature review of film production studies, some concepts are useful in surveying the contemporary pan-Chinese cinematic urbanism in Taiwan and Hong Kong. However, the premises of studies focused on western/Hollywood film practice cannot provide an adequate foundation for comprehending the Taiwanese and Hong Kong film industry. In both locations, film production is mainly led by directors in the same manner as the production model deployed by early Hollywood movies. Therefore, the specifically pan-Chinese model for film production system could be conceptualized through the fundamental understanding of the earlier Hollywood movie as a prototype and the examination of the contemporary phenomenon.

The last section of the research questions how the physical urban environments are influenced by the virtual imaginaries in cinema. Following the previous research questions, if the localism embodied in the cinematic urban imaginary is formed through the complicated negotiation of different agents, how is that realized in the physical world? At the same time, when the cinematic urban imaginary attempts to intervene into the urban process, it is typically confronted with the complex forces of the development of the contemporary pan-Chinese city, such as urban renewal, historic preservation, and urban revitalization. This dissertation delves deeply into this complicated dynamic of the cinematic imaginary and the formation of physical environments, revealing the character and potential of cinema as a crucial actor in contemporary pan-Chinese urban development.

1.5 Methods and Chapters

To answer these questions, this study began with a series of archival research of newspapers and magazine articles, mapping the chronological events in relation to film-induced tourism, local governmental film policies, and compiling a list of crucial films having significant influence on tourism or urban process from the 2000s to the present in Taiwan and Hong Kong. This was followed by a close scrutiny of publicly accessible government reports which provided the details of their film policies and the results; several crucial on-line archives offering

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[52] Ben Goldsmith and Tom O'Regan, *The Film Studio; Film Production in the Global Economy*. Rowman & Littlefield Publisher, INC, 2005.

professional perspectives on governmental film policies, the development of the film industry, the popularity of film tourism, and films from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Chinese-language cinema. Government publications related to the topics of cinema and city and commercial publications about individual films and film reviews were also important references. An analysis of films either subsidized by governments or that had a significant influence on film tourism and urban processes in separate cities revealed the dominant urban imaginaries and the process of developing them. The research also included close reading and analyzing the films for the film techniques employed in developing urban imaginaries and inducing tourism, as well as comprehending the agency of films and filmmakers in the pan-Chinese cinematic urbanism. Moreover, my participatory observation in the sites of film tourism, numerous film screening events, cinematic events and exhibitions, guided cinematic tours, and community activities (particularly in Dadaocheng) helped me construct an understanding of each agent's involvement in the formation of localism.

As a result, the dissertation chapters are divided by individual cities, discussing cinematic urbanism from the beginning of government film policies in the city, to the analysis of the crucial films in relation to their influences on the city, to the impacts of film tourism and other cinematic activities in the urban process, and to the cinematic guided tour and the cinematic historiography affecting the formation of localism. Chapter 2 focuses on the case of Kaohsiung as the initiator of local governmental film policies enacted to spur urban revitalization through cinematic urban-marketing and the establishment of a film industry in the city. In 2009, the government sponsored TV series *Black & White* and consequential movies constructed a virtual "Harbor City" that in the beginning was manipulated to be an affective urban imaginary for attracting tourism and investment, but soon lost the enchantment after the films not screening in the theaters. This experience on the one hand induced Kaohsiung City Government's vision of developing film industry, which later bringing a trial-and-error process of Kaohsiung's film policies, and on the other hand ignited the inner-urban competition in the aspect of film policies between Taiwanese local cities.

Chapter 3 of the dissertation describes Kaohsiung's major rival—Taipei's film policies and achievements. To respond to Kaohsiung's success in manipulating cinematic urban imaginary to attract tourism, in 2007, the Taipei City Government established a semi-governmental sector, the Taipei Film Commission (TFC), in charge of cinematic policies. In 2010, the TFC successfully regained the public's attention to the cinematic Taipei by sponsoring several domestic and overseas film projects that deftly defamiliarize the audiences' everyday living spaces, transforming them to be attractive tourist spots. Moreover, the TFC held a cinematic exhibition that reformed a romantic and friendly cinematic urban imaginary for Taipei by advertising the movies sponsored by the TFC with consistent urban representations and retelling a history of cinematic Taipei through carefully selected movies. This exhibition later commenced an approach of cinematic historiography through exhibitions. As a result, some filming locations in these movies and exhibition have become the sites of film tourism. However, the overwhelming impact of film-induced tourism on the residential neighborhood eventually led cinema into a confrontation with forces opposing urban development, causing the TFC to shift its efforts from cinematic tourism to providing more resources to the film industry. Today, rather than concentrating its efforts on constructing Taipei's urban imaginary through a top-down approach, the TFC has been an active and powerful sector assisting both domestic and overseas film projects in shooting movies in Taipei and advertising Taiwanese films to the various international festivals and exhibitions.

Meanwhile, as Taiwan's close partner in the pan-Chinese film market, Hong Kong's cinematic urbanism is the focus of Chapter 4. In response to political pressure and the quickly disappearing old urban spaces, a novel nostalgic film genre chose to employ Hong Kong's historical buildings and neighborhoods as filming locations in anticipation of their demolition caused by the force of urban renewal. The government's film policies were intended to save the Hong Kong film industry from decline, but unintentionally became a crucial financial resource for this film genre. In 2010, the movie *Echoes of Rainbow,* filmed in an old neighborhood involved in a preservation movement against the urban renewal program, successfully stopped the program and pushed the government to preserve these buildings. This case demonstrates the powerful influence of cinema specifically in the urban process. Later, this historical neighborhood became a popular tourist spot because of the movie, and further inspired a guided cinematic tour of the surrounding area. Such cinematic guided tours have become one of the crucial cultural activities in relation to the formation of localism.

Different from the previous three chapters, the last chapter examines a community level case in Dadaocheng, a historical business district in Taipei. This neighborhood was designated as a historic preservation zone in the late 1990s, but the long-term building restoration process affected its economic development. Finally, in the 2010s, cultural and creative industry stores launched businesses in this location and a movie touching upon the history of the neighborhood was released in the Chinese New Year holidays. These events induced tourism boom, and the neighborhood quickly became one of the most popular tourist attractions as well as filming locales in Taipei. Various cinematic activities also highly influenced the redevelopment of Dadaocheng in both the virtual world and physical environment. In the meantime, Dadaocheng's history as a locale for Taiwanese cultural activities in the 1920s and 1930s has been manipulated by different agents through cinematic representation and cinematic guided tours in order to create historical narratives that benefit specific businesses or an individual's social status in the community.

The four chapters elucidate the model of pan-Chinese cinematic urbanism from the 2000s to the present in Taiwan and Hong Kong through discussions that begin with the governmental film sponsorship at the local level, followed by the film tourism boom and subsequent confrontation with other forces of urban development. Ultimately, the cinematic activities would intervene into the virtual and physical urban process, influencing the construction of urban imaginary, the planning and design of urban spaces, and the formation of localism.

Ch 2. Kaohsiung: (Re)making Past and Future Urban Imaginaries through Film Policy

Throughout the 2000s, in order to foster tourism, local governments in Taiwan, in particular those of Taipei and Kaohsiung, subsidized cinematic activities that highlight the appeal of special urban attractions. This endeavor became the catalyst for a new relationship between the film industry, cities' imaginaries, and the promotion of cities as tourist destinations in Taiwan. Originally, Kaohsiung's film policy was one of the cogs in the wheel of its urban revitalization program. The municipal government hoped that cinema featuring Kaohsiung as a new international urban imaginary would attract tourists and investors, and would develop the city's reputation as a locale for the film industry. To enact this plan, the Kaohsiung City Government established two official agencies, the Kaohsiung Film Archive and the Kaohsiung Filmmaking Assistance Center, through which to carry out a series of film policies. As a result of these policies, Kaohsiung has gone through a process of rediscovering its cinematic past and creating future urban imaginaries, both of which have had a significant impact on the cityscape and film industry.

The impact of Kaohsiung's film policy became most evident in 2009 with the airing of the TV series *Black & White*,[53] the first TV series subsidized by the Kaohsiung City Government. To publicize the municipal government's urban redevelopment achievements, the series was set in a semi-virtual urban vision—*Harbor City,* which transformed the imaginary of Kaohsiung from a post-industrial port city to an international harbor and surrounding metropolis. Through collaging scenes of idealized modern urban settings inside and outside Kaohsiung and intertwining historical events into its plot, *Black and White* presented *Harbor City* as the image of Kaohsiung's potential future. The series induced a tourist boom, attracting domestic Taiwanese visitors interested in exploring this new image of Kaohsiung, an image that surpassed their previous impression of the city. The resulting tourist fever lasted for a significant period of time, especially during the time this TV series was aired and subsequent movies were released. *Harbor City* stands as one of the most impressive cinematic urban imaginaries of Kaohsiung, promoting the achievements of the municipal government's urban revitalization program and demonstrating the visual potentials of this city as an attractive locale for the film industry.

Although the *Harbor City* depicted in *Black and White* convinced audiences of Kaohsiung's potential, the virtual representations of *Harbor City* in subsequent movies[54] [55] related to the *Black & White* TV series gradually deviated from the Taiwanese domestic audiences' expectation and its archetype in the physical world, the city of Kaohsiung. In moving from the TV series to movies, the filmmakers were eager to both expand the target audience to the pan-Chinese film market, as well as to implement more advanced film techniques. Therefore, they incorporated a large investment from Mainland China, intending to upgrade the level of film effects and the design of *Harbor City* as a highly developed metropolis. As a result, this newborn *Harbor City* depicted a typical model of contemporary Chinese cities in the process of globalization. Particularly through digital technology, the film urban settings evoked images more closely connected to the novel urban achievements of Chinese cities, factors that stood in contrast to Kaohsiung and its local Taiwanese distinctions. Taiwanese audiences no longer recognized or

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[53] Cai Yuexun, *Black & White* TV series, Kaohsiung: Prajna Works, 2010.
[54] Cai Yuexun, *Black & White Episode I: The Dawn of Assault*, Kaohsiung: Prajna Works and Beijing: China Film Group Cooperation, 2012.
[55] Cai Yuexun, *Black & White: The Dawn of Justice*, Prajna Works and Beijing: Hualu Baina Entertainment, 2014.

associated these settings with Kaohsiung's existing urban environment, which gradually weakened the connection between the physical Kaohsiung and virtual *Harbor City*. Meanwhile, benefiting from the municipal government's filming assistances, increasing numbers of TV series, movies, music videos, and advertisements produced by Hong Kong and Mainland Chinese filmmakers would be shot in Kaohsiung. Most of these films used Kaohsiung as the backdrop for a contemporary anonymous Chinese city, which decreased Kaohsiung's popularity in relation to film-induced tourism and the film industry. Kaohsiung's film policies faced a crisis of sustainability.

In 2016, through a joint effort of the Kaohsiung Film Archive and the local community, a guided tour brought a new opportunity for film-induced tourism. This guided tour led by a sophisticated guide knowledgeable in the local history and cinematic activities bring participants to visit the impressive cinematic locales in Yancheng, one of the oldest districts in Kaohsiung. During the tour, the guide not only points out the cinematic locations, but also introduces the relevant local history to the tourists, narrowing the distance between the film representations of this urban imaginary and the physical local environments. Rather than dominated by the sole imaginary of *Harbor City*, in this tour, Kaohsiung's urban imaginary of film-induced tourism has been rebranded, integrating its cinematic and physical heritages. Moreover, in order to advertise this guided tour, the Kaohsiung Film Archive created a short video incorporating a number of movie scenes shot in Yancheng, representing Kaohsiung as a transitional port city hybridized by novel and traditional landscapes. Through juxtaposing the scenes from different movies that focus on several crucial landmarks in Kaohsiung, this short film nicely demonstrates this city's potential as a location that provides a variety of landscapes in which to shoot films of different genres and styles. After developing the guided tour, the Kaohsiung Film Archive and Kaohsiung Filmmaking Assistance Center seemingly moved to a new stage, searching for more sustainable strategies for creating an attractive cinematic urban imaginary and appealing to the film industry in Kaohsiung.

In past years, these cinematic activities have had a significant impact on Kaohsiung's urban imaginary and development process. This chapter traces back the generations of Kaohsiung's cinematic urban imaginaries and their influences on film-induced tourism, urban development, and cinematic historiography. Through the analysis of this process, I argue that using cinematic activities to advertise a city is a complicated trial-and-error process that may rely on lessons learned from other cities' experiences but is highly influenced by the local conditions and the cooperation and negotiations among various stakeholders in the process. While Kaohsiung led the way in the process of developing film tourism, Taipei came soon after, followed by more and more cities in Taiwan. As an early architect of the process, Kaohsiung's experience elucidates the relation between film policies, the film industry, cities' imaginaries, and film-induced tourism, particularly in the Taiwanese and pan-Chinese context.

2.1 Cinematic Intervention in Post-industrial Kaohsiung's Local Government Revitalization Policies

Tracing back Kaohsiung's formative history, Jack Williams (2004)[56] identifies four eras of urban development that were highly influenced by the purposes of its port. During the first, the

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[56] Jack F. Williams, "The Role of Secondary Cities in Rapidly Industrializing Countries: the Example of Kaohsiung,

pre-colonial period (1660s-1895), numerous immigrants from China began their exploration in a virgin land, and Takao port (now known as Kaohsiung port) facilitated the import and export of products between China and Taiwan. The port's commercial activities spawned the development of a small Chinese settlement around it. In 1860, the Qing Emperor was forced to establish the Convention of Peking with the United Kingdom, France, and Russia, opening some Chinese ports international commerce; however, even though Takao port was one of them, its urban center remained underdeveloped. During the second era, the colonial period (1895-1945), the Japanese first transported sugar and other Taiwanese crops to Japan through Takao port. Later, recognizing the potential of Takao port to approach the South East Asian frontier of Japanese colonial power, the Japanese commenced a complete port development plan and pushed the Chinese settlement toward modernization and urbanization (Taylor, 2004)[57]. In the third era, the Martial Law era (1945-1987), Kaohsiung became the most important industrial city in Taiwan, prompting the Republic of China (ROC) to establish it as a Free Trade Zone in 1962 in order to attract international capital. In the 1970s, they began a series of construction projects, including a highway system, an electric railway, a dockyard, a steel mill, and a petroleum plant. Kaohsiung, preceded only by Taipei, became the second most successful metropolis in Taiwan. The economic success of Kaohsiung port was partly responsible for Taiwan's recognition as one of the "Four Asian Tigers"[58] at that time.

Historically then, Kaohsiung's economy was heavily dependent on its port; however, beginning in the late 1990s, like many post-industrial cities around the world, Kaohsiung's major economic activities of manufacturing and transit commerce began to decline. In 1998, to address this trend, Kaohsiung mayor Frank Hsieh[59] began his term by aggressively advocating for the redevelopment of the city as an international metropolis. Hsieh established a series of policies emphasizing recent projects such as the Love River reconstruction program, the rapid transit system, and the National Stadium in an effort to transform Kaohsiung from an industrial to service-based economy.

Mayor Hsieh was the first mayor who belonged to the Democratic Progressive Party (DDP), the major opposition party in Taiwan. Hence, his Kaohsiung redevelopment policy held the additional potential of demonstrating the DDP's ability to govern effectively. Moreover, this redevelopment policy also began a long-term competition between Kaohsiung and Taipei, a city governed primarily by members of the Kuomintang (KMT), the ruling party in Taiwan. The economic and political inter-urban competition (Harvey, 1989)[60] offered the impetus for this series of revitalization programs in Kaohsiung. Unfortunately, however, Kaohsiung remained, in the eyes of the Taiwanese public, an industrial city, based not only on its long-term economic nature but

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Taiwan" in *Challenges to Asian Urbanization in the 21st Century*. Dutt, A.K., Noble, A.G., Venugopal, G., Subbiah, S. (Eds.) Springer Netherlands, 2004.

[57] Jeremy E. Taylor, "Colonial Takao: the Making of a Southern Metropolis" in *Urban History*, 31, 1. Cambridge University Press, 2004.

[58] Four Asian Tiger are the four most powerful Asian countries in the 1970s, including Korea, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Taiwan.

[59] Frank Hsieh is the 2nd Mayor of Kaohsiung City after it established elections, who held office from December 1998 to February 2005.

[60] David Harvey, "From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism," in *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography*, *Vol. 71, No. 1, The Roots of Geographical Change: 1973 to the Present (1989), pp. 3-17*. Taylor & Francis Ltd.

also on the established film image of this city. As a result, the newly built facilities did not achieve the municipal government's goal of attracting investors. Therefore, in order to radically shift the image of Kaohsiung and attract investors, the municipal government decided to create a series of film policies, using film as a means of advertising that would transform the urban imaginary and further develop the film industry as one of the major economic potentials in Kaohsiung.

Before Mayor Hsieh was elected, the former Mayor, Den-yih Wu, had established an urban plan for economic reform focusing more on the traditional approach of infrastructure rebuilding (William, 2004)[61]. After defeating Mayor Wu, Mayor Hsieh attempted to demonstrate his ability to govern, retaining parts of Wu's plan and adding new projects, some of which incorporated elements successfully deployed in renovation programs of other post-industrial cities' around the world. These projects included waterfront reconstruction and the transformation of historical and cultural buildings. Moreover, under Mayor Hsieh, the municipal government embraced the contemporary urban development logic of liberalism, relying heavily on cooperation with the private sector and regulating mega-projects to create commercialized attractions for the city (Hall, 1988).[62]

Most of these projects emphasized aesthetically upgrading the residential and commercial environments. For instance, the municipal government first renovated the waterfront along Love River, a tourist destination in the north of Kaohsiung, cleaning the river of industrial water pollution and building the green belt in a more prosperous area of the city. Later, one tourist attraction, the Urban Spotlight Arcade, was built in the urban center along Wu Fu Street near Kaohsiung Central Park and some rapid transit system stations. The Urban Spotlight Arcade, constructed with the use of cutting-edge techniques and ecological materials, was inhabited by fancy restaurants and bars intended to attract commercial activities. In addition, the Pier-2 Art Center was transformed from a group of historical warehouses into a new art park for galleries and artists' studios. The municipal government further cooperated with the privately-owned Tungcheng Development Corporation to build the Dream Mall, which became the largest shopping mall in East Asia soon after it opened. These newly constructed facilities aimed to create a different Kaohsiung characterized by a services economy. Beyond these commerce-orientated facilities, the Kaohsiung municipal government also built a rapid transit system, upgrading Kaohsiung's image as an international metropolis superseded only by the capital city of Taipei, which boasted the first rapid transit system in Taiwan. Moreover, based on the newly built facilities and infrastructure, the Kaohsiung municipal government was awarded the opportunity to host the 2009 World Games, promoting Kaohsiung to the world. The 2009 World Games highlighted the National Stadium, designed by the architect Toyo Ito, creating a new Kaohsiung landmark that has continued to attract tourists (Liu, 2012; Lee, 2013; Tan and Ma, 2013)[63] [64] [65].

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[61] Jack F. Williams, ---.

[62] Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow* (3rd ed). Wiley-Blackwell, 2002.

[63] Jerry C. Y. Liu, "The Strategy of City Cultural Governance: 2009 Kaohsiung World Games and the Glocalized City Cultural Images" in *Journal of Leisure Studies*, 2012. Vol. 10, No. 1, 47~71.

[64] Cheng-Jong Lee, "Effects of sport mega-events on city brand awareness and image: using the 2009 world games in Kaohsiung as an example" in *Qual Quant* (2014) 48:1243–1256. Springer Science+Business Media Dordrecht. (Published online: 19 February 2013).

[65] Yue Tan and Shang-Min Ma, "Effect of Sports Sponsorship on Building International Media Agenda: A Study of the International News Coverage of the 2009 Kaohsiung World Games" in *Chinese Journal of Communication*, 6:2, 240-256. Routledge, 2013.

Figure 2.1 The poster of *Fly Up With Love*

Unfortunately, although Kaohsiung's transformation included physical and infrastructure improvements, the Kaohsiung City Government's effort did not efficiently change Kaohsiung's old image or attract the attention of investors. Kaohsiung was still perceived as a post-industrial city (William, 2004)[66]. This image was based not only on Kaohsiung's historical economic activities, but also the film images of the city in the old Taiwanese movies. In her master's thesis, Chao (2013) points out that before the *Black & White* TV series was released, Kaohsiung's most impressive imaginary for contemporary audiences was as an industrial city. The audiences received this urban imaginary mainly from one popular movie—*Fly Up with Love* (1978)[67], which depicts a female worker's romance and her struggles as a member of the lower class[68]. Kaohsiung was rarely a film setting at that time; however due to the protagonist's occupation, the movie opens with a montage of Kaohsiung. The images focus on the factory area and offer an impressive image

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[66] Jack F. Williams (2004). ---.

[67] Shu-Sheng Chang, 1978, *Fly Up with Love (Yi ge nu gong de gu shi)*, Taipei: Central Motion Pictures.

[68] Ting-wan Chao [趙庭婉], *Searching for the Harbor City the Aesthetic: The Representation of Kaohsiung in Cinema* [尋找港都美學：電影中的高雄再現], Master thesis in Taiwan, 2012.

of industrial Kaohsiung, establishing the dominant public perception of the city. As a result of its failure to change the public's perception, the municipal government realized it needed to change Kaohsiung's public image through a much more powerful promotional technique.

According to scholarly analysis of effective urban revitalization strategies aimed at post-industrial port cities in the Western context, rather than physical construction projects, these cities would ultimately rely on the cooperation between the public and private sectors in the effort to create a certain urban imaginary through multiple media (Ward, 1998; Hiller, 2000)[69] [70]. Similarly, the Kaohsiung municipal government focused its efforts on developing a novel urban imaginary, particularly through its film policy. This policy was inspired by the success of the South Korean government in marketing the Korean brand through pop music and drama. These efforts led to increased sales of Korean products around the globe and attracted tourists from around the world, especially Japanese and Taiwanese tourists, to the film settings there (Kim, Agrusa, Lee, and Chon, 2007; Su, Huang, Brodowsky, and Kim, 2011)[71] [72]. Unfortunately, however, the Kaohsiung City Government had fewer resources and a smaller budget than the South Korean central government. Intending to create a service economy and film industry via the power of cinematic transmission, the Kaohsiung municipal government began a long-term struggle to identify suitable regulations and projects through which to implement its film policy.

Initially, the municipal government attempted to mimic previous film policies carried out by central and local governments in Taiwan, specifically cities with features similar to those of Kaohsiung. For example, in 2001 the municipal government sponsored the Kaohsiung Film Festival and established the Kaohsiung Film Archive as a fundamental institution to conduct cinematic projects. In 2003, the "NT$10 million filmmaking incentive" was launched, subsidizing an average of 3 feature movies and two documentary films per year in 2007, 2008, and 2009[73]. In addition, if the films shot in Kaohsiung were chosen to participate in any international film festival, the municipal government rewarded the production team. Kaohsiung's original film policy was established from these old-fashioned subsidization regulations and cinematic activities.

This policy, however, did not work well during the time of Hsieh's governance because the subsidized movies were mostly art films and documentary films, whose limited audiences did not induce the public reflection and tourism fever they hoped for. For example, the first film rewarded the "NT$10 million filmmaking incentive" was the famous art film director Tsai Ming-liang's *The Wayward Cloud* (2005)[74]. The film is set in Kaohsiung, with scenes including Love River, one of the crucial projects in Kaohsiung's redevelopment plan. In an interview, Tsai Ming-

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[69] Stephen Ward, *Selling Places: The Marketing and Promotion of Towns and Cities 1850-2000*. Oxford: Alexandrine Press, 1998.

[70] Harry H. Hiller, "Mega-Events, Urban Boosterism and Growth Strategies: An Analysis of the Objectives and Legitimations of the Cape Town 2004 Olympic Bid" in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 24:2, 2000.

[71] Samuel Seongseop Kim, Jerome Agrusa, Heesung Lee, and Kaye Chon, "Effects of Korean Television Dramas on the Flow of Japanese Tourists" in *Tourism Management*, 2007.

[72] Hung Jen Su, Yu-An Huang, Glen Brodowsky, and Hyun Jeong Kim, "The Impact of Product Placement on TV-induced Tourism: Korean TV Dramas and Taiwanese Viewers" in *Tourism Management*, 2011.

[73] More information about these projects of film sponsorship policy are mentioned in the book, *All Eyes on Kaohsiung*, published by Kaohsiung Film Archive in 2010.

[74] Tsai, Ming-ling, *The Wayward Cloud.* Bruno Pésery, 2005.

liang explained that he chose Kaohsiung rather than Taipei (where he had produced his previous movies) because he was looking for an uncrowded, local Taiwanese city, and Kaohsiung was the ideal place[75]. Ultimately, although this film participated in the Berlin International Film Festival and grossed more than NT$20 million in Taiwan, it did not benefit Kaohsiung, either in shifting its image or in creating it as a tourism destination. In the meantime, the Kaohsiung Film Festival struggled to attract large audiences, situating itself between the Golden Horse Film Festival and the Taipei Film Festival, the two major film festivals in Taiwan.

After Mayor Hsieh's terms ended, the DDP continued its governance in Kaohsiung. The succeeding Mayor, Chu Chen[76], set the city's film policy as one of the top priorities. To realize the goal of promoting Kaohsiung through cinema and developing the film industry, Chen appointed Zhe Shi[77] first as the Director General of the Department of Information Service, and later as Director General of the Bureau of Cultural Affairs and Vice Mayor to conduct the film policies. Based on his experience in the TV and film industry, Shi made changes both to the regulations and organizational structure. First, Shi changed "NT$10 million filmmaking incentive" regulation by offering two opportunities for sponsorship. One was the "film investment project," which offered financial assistance to production companies planning to shoot in Kaohsiung, with the agreement that a percentage of the profits would be returned in order to maintain the government's ability to finance these projects. The other was an offer to subsidize the cost of the film crew's accommodations in Kaohsiung.[78] As a film producer, Shi understood that the cost of the film crew's accommodations accounted for a significant proportion of a movie's budget in locations where no crew were based. If the municipal government could cover this part of budget, he believed that more filmmaking teams would be willing to shot their films in Kaohsiung[79].

Second, in 2007, the Filmmaking Assistance Center became independent from the Department of Information Service. In addition to managing the sponsorship budget, it was further assigned the authority for filming assistance and conducting the development of the film industry. Accordingly, the Kaohsiung Film Archive was put in charge of the activities in relation to film education, promotion, and historiography. Particularly, it would be responsible for the annual Kaohsiung Film Festival programming, for a series of free public film screenings, and for developing the archive's film and book selections and Kaohsiung's cinematic history[80]. As a result, the Filmmaking Assistance Center and the Kaohsiung Film Archive became two crucial wheels supporting the municipal government's continuation of its film policy. Ultimately, nearly 10 years after the Kaohsiung City Government launched the film policy, the first successful film project sponsored by the municipal government offered a radically new and attractive imaginary of this city, attracting numerous tourists.

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[75] Film Kaohsiung webpage's interview of Tsai Ming-ling http://www.filmkh.com.tw/video.php
[76] Chu Chen is the Mayor of Kaohsiung City after Frank Hsieh, who had been in office from December 2006 to April 2018, which includes one term of office before Kaohsiung City and Kaohsiung County were amalgamated, and two terms afterward.
[77] Zhe Shi is a staff member of the DDP who was an experienced documentary film and TV series producer. This experience was the reason Mayor Chu Chen invited him to conduct the film and cultural policies in the Kaohsiung City Government.
[78] More details about the Kaohsiung Filmmaking Assistance Center are on the website: http://www.filmkh.com.tw/index_en.php
[79]林倖妃（2012） 史哲：為什麼那麼多電影都有高雄？《天下雜誌》，第 499 期。
[80] More details about the Kaohsiung Film Archive are on the website: http://kfa.kcg.gov.tw/

2.2 The Film-Induced Tourism Boom and Kaohsiung's Cinematic Vision: A Highly Developed *Harbor City*

The TV series *Black & White* was released in 2009, presenting the achievements of the municipal government's film policy through the globalized *Harbor City* as the effective urban imaginary of Kaohsiung. Depicting two policemen uncovering criminal activities in a city, *Black & White* was originally planned to be set in Taipei, the traditional locus for filmmaking. The director, Yuexun Cai, intended to produce an action genre TV series, with scenes that included explosions, car chases, gunfights, and so on—scenes no one had previously made in Taiwanese cinematic history. He began this project by designing several climax scenes, with a specific gunfight scene that would take place in a subway station and on a train. However, the Taipei Metropolitan Rapid Transit (MRT) Company denied the production company access, which compelled Director Cai to turn to the Kaohsiung City Government, who authorized use of the only other subway system in Taiwan. As a result, Cai received support from Zhe Shi, the Director General of the Bureau of Cultural Affairs, and Mayor Chu Chen intervened in the process, negotiating with the local Rapid Transit Company to make sure the project would be undertaken in Kaohsiung[81] and further, that the newly established Filmmaking Assistance Center would take this as their first exemplary project. In the book published by the Kaohsiung Film Archive, *All Eyes on Kaohsiung: A Record of Filmmaking and the City* (2010), Cai describes this experience, noting that in the beginning, he was supposed to shoot only the subway scene in Kaohsiung and then move back to Taipei to complete the film; however, the Filmmaking Assistance Center helped him find more and more suitable settings, and as a result, he decided to shoot the film primarily in Kaohsiung. Therefore, most of the settings of *Black & White* are in Kaohsiung, and *Harbor City* became the most powerful cinematic imaginary of this city, an imaginary that induced a subsequent tourism boom.

To surprise the audiences and establish a new perception of Kaohsiung as an international metropolitan *Harbor City*, several major newly built Kaohsiung landmarks were chosen for the settings. Specifically in the opening of the *Black & White* TV series, the first 10-second montage creates the basic image of *Harbor City* through film techniques that collage these landmarks. The first scene, filmed from a helicopter, features the Tuntex Sky Tower,[82] the tallest building in Kaohsiung, depicting the economic center of a metropolis. The next scene presents the National Stadium designed by Toyo Ito for the 2009 World Games through the same film technique. Both the skyscraper and the brand architect's building are the typical images of today's international metropolis, visually messaging the nature of *Harbor City*. Moreover, filming a single urban landmark from a helicopter focuses the audiences' attention on the landmark itself and away from the neighboring landscape, which is mostly occupied by four-to-six-floor buildings, and not representative of the international metropolitan image. Following the two landmark buildings is a series of landscapes of *Harbor City*, with images including a vast view of the port in the daytime, the Love River renovation project at night with attractive neon lights, a top-floor luxury mansion owned by one of the main protagonists, the prosperous commercial district with the helicopter and

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[81] 吳永家，聞遠書編，《痞子英雄：電視劇全攻略》，台北市：布克文化出版，2009。

[82] Tuntex Sky Tower is the only one high-rise building in Kaohsiung. The lower floors are occupied by a shopping mall and some expensive restaurants and the upper floors are used to be hotels. There is an observatory in the highest floor that visitors can see the city, especially Kaohsiung port, from Birdseye view.

the shade of skyscrapers in the background. Avoiding some residential or industrial areas in Kaohsiung, these scenes all indicate that *Harbor City* is a globalized metropolis.
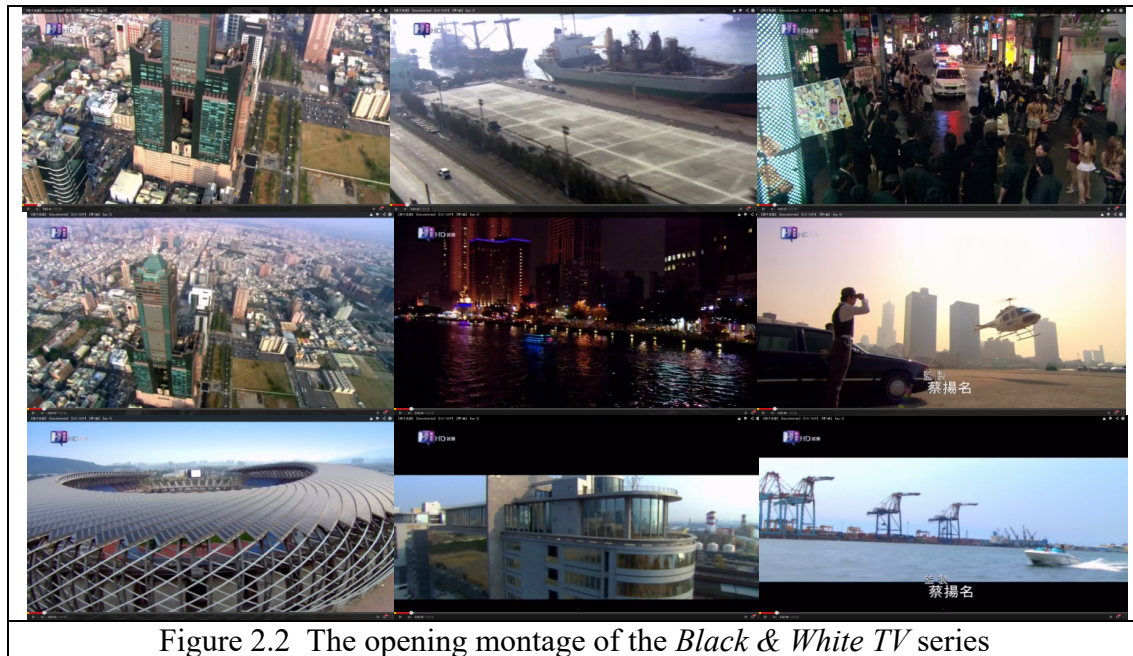
Figure 2.2 The opening montage of the *Black & White TV* series

Even though Kaohsiung became the shooting locale for the *Black & White* TV series, Director Cai's vision of *Harbor City* seemingly went beyond the physical Kaohsiung to pursue a more international metropolitan image. However, setting the entire film in this city, creating his ideal *Harbor City* upon the foundational Kaohsiung offered a new challenge. To solve this, he incorporated contemporary modern landscapes around Taiwan into the newly built facilities in local Kaohsiung. Accordingly, *Harbor City* was a collage of "on-location" and "off-location" (Beeton, 2005)[83] film settings, yet a gap remained between the physical Kaohsiung and the virtual *Harbor City*. It was understood that this gap might influence the effectiveness of the cinematic urban imaginary as a means to promote the city. To convince the audiences that *Harbor City* is a promising vision of Kaohsiung, besides the manipulation of filming techniques and collaging the settings, several historical events in Taiwan were interspersed in the plot of the *Black and White* TV series, and further localized to fit in Kaohsiung's urban environments. This hybridization of history and fiction, on-location reality and off-location fantasy provided the audiences a reliable analogue to Kaohsiung in the virtual world and broadcast *Harbor City* as a promising, post-revitalization vision of Kaohsiung.

Based on numerous studies of film-induced tourism in Australia from the late 1990s, Beeton (2005) identifies two categories of film locations to analyze the tourists' impacts[84]. Since 1992, when Riley and Van Doren first began to discuss how several Hollywood movies shot in Australia compelled American tourists to visit the movie settings, the mechanism of these films acting as a pull factor that promotes the tourist destinations in Australia to American audiences

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[83] Sue Beeton (2005). *Film-Induced Tourism*. Channel View.
[84] Sue Beeton (2005), ---.

has become the local scholars' focus[85]. As their research results mention, tourists visit Australia, particularly natural landscapes, not only for the beautiful scenery, but also in search of life-changing experiences such as those depicted on screen (Riley and Van Doren, 1992; Beeton, 2004; Frost, 2010)[86] [87]. Beeton (2005) identifies these cases as "on-location" tourism, which is engaged with local communities and historical attractions, mostly getting impacts from the tensions and the conflicts between tourists and residents. Different from the on-location settings and identified by Beeton (2005), "off-location" tourism is set in a studio theme park in relation to fantastic movies. For example, *The Lord of the Rings* physicalizes "Middle-Earth" of J. R. R. Tolkien's fantastic world in New Zealand. To understand the consequent film-induced tourism, Buchmann, Moore, and Fisher (2010) observe the audiences' search for "authenticity", which inspired pilgrimages to New Zealand[88]. Carl, Kindon, and Smith (2007) further reveal that audiences can in fact be satisfied with the hyper-real environment in the case of off-location tourism[89]. Especially when audiences have low expectations regarding the authenticity of the destination, they feel satisfied by both the images they saw in the films and the beautiful scenery they experience through the tours.

In other words, according to Beeton, studies of "on-location" tourism look at the interactions between tourists, residents in the communities, and the historical attractions used as film settings, while studies of "off-location" tourism examine tourists' satisfaction in relation to the level of authenticity they feel when they visit studio theme park film sets. Initiated by the field of tourism studies, most of the research in Australia examines the tourism that takes place in different locations. However, I would like to deploy the concepts of "on-location" and "off-location" to analyze the overall effect of *Black & White* on Kaohsiung as a singular city, and its revitalization process from the end of production to the film-induced tourism and beyond. To carry out this purpose, I have expanded the definitions of "on-location" and "off-location" from tangible spaces as originally identified by Beeton, to include intangible factors that highlight the characteristics of the two categories: "on-location" indicates history and reality; "off-location," fiction and fantasy. Therefore, in the case of *Black & White*, I argue that the "on-location" factors include the film settings in Kaohsiung and the sections of the plot referring to real historical events. In contrast, the "off-location' factors comprise the shooting locations outside Kaohsiung, the film studio sets, and the adaptations of the film stories. This bifurcated analytical framework will allow me to examine the formation of *Harbor City* both in the TV series and subsequent movies, as well as the resulting influences on tourism and the municipal government's film policy.

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[85] Roger W Riley and Carlton S. Van Doren (1992). "Movies as Tourism Promotion: A Pull Factor in a Push Location" in *Tourism Management.*

[86] Sue Beeton (2004). "Rural Tourism in Australia — Has the Gaze Altered? Tracking Rural Images through Film and Tourism Promotion" in *International Journal of Tourism Research.*

[87] Warwick Frost (2010). "Life Changing Experiences: Film and Tourists in the Australian Outback" in *Annals of Tourism Research.*

[88] Anne Buchmann, Kevin Moore, and David Fisher (2010). "Experiencing Film Tourism: Authenticity and Fellowship" in *Annals of Tourism Research*.

[89] Daniela Carl, Sara Kindon, and Karen Smith (2007). "Tourists' Experiences of Film Locations: New Zealand as 'Middle-Earth'" in *Tourism Geographies*.
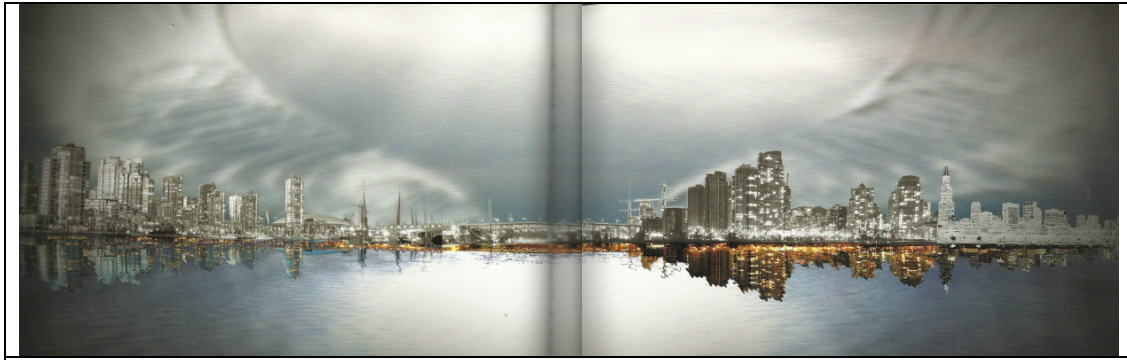
Figure 2.3 The skyscrapers along the waterfront in the *Harbor City* guidebook

Initially, the makers of the *Black and White* TV series promoted Kaohsiung as *Harbor City* through collaging the physical "on-location" and "off-location" filming locations. A virtual image (Fig 3.) of the skyscrapers along the waterfront in the *Harbor City* guidebook[90] precisely demonstrates the visual technique of collage. This image, on the one hand, emphasizes the highly developed nature of *Harbor City* through the display of an astonishing skyline, but on the other hand, causes a gap between *Harbor City* and Kaohsiung because some of the added high-rise buildings do not exist in the physical environment. Even though it is difficult to recognize the references of these buildings, they do look like the popular architectural design of residential buildings in contemporary Taiwan. Both in the TV series and the guidebook, *Harbor City* is collaged by the new facilities and modern buildings in Kaohsiung and other modern settings around Taiwan or even without references. These on-location settings in the *Black and White* TV series provide the connection between *Harbor City* and Kaohsiung, and were the major tourist destinations during the Kaohsiung tourist fever[91]. Before this TV series was released, these municipal government's newly built facilities were rarely visited by tourists and local residents, because the rapid transit system, for instance, was unfamiliar to the residents whose primary mode of transportation had been scooters. Moreover, the Dream Mall was a popular destination, but at that time not as crowded as it is now that its New Year's Eve Party attracts people from all corners of Taiwan; and the waterfront renovation projects were typically empty, but now those are popular with artists who want to display their works there. The film-induced tourism fever radically changed the popularity of these destinations, ultimately achieving the objectives of the Kaohsiung municipal government's redevelopment policy.

In addition to the above settings, the director included other famous and stylish places around Taiwan as the off-location settings to depict the highly developed metropolitan imaginary of *Harbor City*, which both satisfies the audiences' desire for entertainment and creates a vision of Kaohsiung. Nevertheless, collaging different places to fabricate one virtual city highlights the gap between physical Kaohsiung and *Harbor City*, which is not a faithful representation of Kaohsiung, but a fictional and idealized vision of this city. In the *Harbor City* guidebook, these off-location settings are clearly located by the addresses[92]. Most of them are newly built modern buildings around Taiwan, but one is the main commercial district in Taipei, the film setting where

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[90]吳永家，聞遠書編（2009），---.
[91]旅遊資訊王（2009），《跟著痞子英雄到高雄玩 偶像劇拍攝地點旅遊》，旅遊資訊王粉絲專頁 2009/07/08
（http://travel.network.com.tw/tourguide/mtravel/weekend/554.html ）
[92]吳永家，聞遠書編（2009），---.

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gangsters gather. Although the virtual *Harbor City* represents the municipal government's ambition to surpass Taipei (and even other eastern Asian cities) as an international metropolis and capital for the film industry, the filmmakers still used the recognizable landscape in Taipei to complete the puzzle of a highly developed virtual image. Therefore, even though *Harbor City* was gradually identified as the future version of Kaohsiung, the differences between *Harbor City* and Kaohsiung failed to change some audiences' perception of Kaohsiung.

Anticipating the gap between Kaohsiung and *Harbor City*, the filmmakers intentionally manipulated the plot of the TV series to ensure the audience would be immersed in the semi-virtual world embodied in *Harbor City*. The story begins with a criminal drug business, a circumstance most audiences would accept as common and believable. Afterward, increasing numbers of crimes are revealed, even including an arms deal with illegal commission between the Taiwanese military and foreign institutions, which is a historical reference to events of the early 1990s[93]. In the end of the TV series, the last and the most important criminal activity is to kidnap the president and his illegitimate son, who is one of the main protagonists. This relationship is borrowed from an unconfirmed rumor about one of the Taiwanese presidents of the 2000s. Intervening in the series of crimes, multiple abroad political and economic powers set in the TV series remind the audiences of Taiwan's earlier international position in the Cold War period. Because of these half-historical and half-fictional factors, audiences can easily accept that the story could have taken place in a nearby city such as Kaohsiung. In addition, the nature of physical Kaohsiung as a port city and the imaginary of virtual *Harbor City* as cosmopolitan provide the possibility that this city is a target of international powers. As a result, the boundary between Kaohsiung and *Harbor City* is blurred, and shifts the public perception of Kaohsiung from a post-industrial port city to the international *Harbor City*.

Through the balanced collage of on-location and off-location film settings and the hybridization of historical and fictional events in the plot, the *Black & White* TV series successfully constructed *Harbor City* as Kaohsiung's cinematic imaginary, which induced a boom in tourism. Ignoring the off-location settings in different places around Taiwan, large audiences chose to visit the on-location settings in Kaohsiung. To satisfy these tourists, the Tourism Bureau of the Kaohsiung City Government published a guide collecting these film settings on its webpage, and provided a promotion of hotel reservations[94]. Even the privately-owned rooftop mansion, set as the home of one of the main protagonists, was opened to the public during a specific time[95]. The popularity of the *Black & White* TV series and the fever of visiting Kaohsiung ultimately encouraged the filmmakers to announce subsequent movie projects that would continue to take place in Kaohsiung and would include more cooperation with the Kaohsiung City Government and the Filming Assistance Center, both in the aspects of film shooting and film tourism.

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[93] In the late 1980s, Taiwanese army bought a warship from France government, but some governmental officers got illegal commission in the process. Afterward, this crime has been revealed, but one Taiwanese general and six French correlatives were murdered during the investigation. This event has become a hug scandal to Taiwan and France.

[94] 葛祐豪、郭芳綺（2009），《痞子英雄帶動高雄觀光熱》，自由時報 2009/05/06
（http://news.ltn.com.tw/news/life/paper/300987）

[95] 蘇詩雅（2009），《「痞子英雄」爆紅！「陳在天」戲中豪宅開放朝聖》，TVBS 新聞網 2009/06/27
（http://news.tvbs.com.tw/entertainment/135070）

2.3 The Failure to Reproduce the Promising Urban Imaginary: Unbalanced Manipulation of On-Location and Off-Location Film Factors

In the end of the *Black & White* TV series, one of the protagonists decides to leave Taiwan to explore the world. The other protagonists gather in the Kaohsiung port to say goodbye to him as he jumps onto a sailboat heading out to the broad ocean. When he looks back at the city and his friends, a beautiful skyscraper along the waterfront presents the prosperous view of *Harbor City,* the city he leaves behind after the series of criminal activities he and his friends have eliminated. This scene is a powerful illustration of the Kaohsiung municipal government's conception of a revitalized Kaohsiung, as well as an indication of the filmmakers' plans to produce a series of movie sequels. In 2012 and 2014, the movies *Black & White Episode 1: The Dawn of Assault* and *Black & White: The Dawn of Justice* were released. However, the filmmakers were ultimately unable to maintain the balance between the "on-location" and "off-location" factors. *Harbor City* in the consequential movies gradually moved beyond its background city—Kaohsiung, when the filmmakers prioritized technical and market achievements through digitizing the urban spaces and incorporating funding from Mainland China. Meanwhile, the Kaohsiung municipal government's film industry policy met difficulties and the film-induced tourist fever declined. They struggled to reproduce the original successful model advertising Kaohsiung as a highly developed urban imaginary, the model that had promoted tourism and the service industry.

Based on the success of the *Black & White* TV series, the filmmakers planned to make a trilogy of movies continuing the two policemen's work in *Harbor City*. However, the investment from Mainland China affected the film settings in the pre-production process. As a result, the stories focus on one policeman's adventures that take place *before* the events of the TV series. To satisfy the expectations of the investors and the target audiences, most of them from Mainland China, a large number of the Taiwanese actors were replaced by Mainland Chinese actors and actresses, even including a protagonist who plays the role of the remaining policeman's partner[96]. Audiences easily identified the Mainland Chinese actors' accents and performance styles as a certain off-location factor that lacked the connection to Kaohsiung's local distinctions, further distancing the Taiwanese audiences. Beyond replacing Taiwanese actors with Mainland Chinese actors, the filmmakers shot scenes in additional off-location spaces in an attempt to create impressive action scenes and incorporate various film techniques, which then had a crucial effect on film-induced tourist activities. Different from the physical film locations around Taiwan used in the TV series, these off-location movie settings included film studios and digitized spaces. In the beginning, some audiences were attracted to the film studios built in Kaohsiung. However, when the filmmakers began to rely on digital techniques to enrich the globalized imaginary of *Harbor City*, the use of replacement landmarks further alienated Taiwanese audiences who were familiar with the virtual *Harbor City* as Kaohsiung's novel urban imaginary. Ultimately, the initial allure of *Harbor City* was lost.

In the movie *Black & White Episode 1: The Dawn of Assault*, the TV series' original settings are incorporated as silent shots to provide the ambience of *Harbor City.* Most of the scenes are set in the port area and in studios built by filmmakers in Kaohsiung and later opened to the

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[96]新浪娛樂（2010），《黃渤出演电影版《痞子英雄》"笑果"十足》，新浪網 2010/10/21
（http://ent.sina.com.cn/m/c/2010-10-21/16013120983.shtml）

public as tourist attractions. One setting is the interior of the South District Police Department where the protagonists work; one is the bar in the waterfront where a crucial gun battle takes place. The exterior of the South District Police Department is in fact an electrical company building located in central Taiwan, but scenes in the interior setting for the movie were filmed in a studio constructed near the waterfront in Kaohsiung. This studio setting is primarily glass, which is rarely used in police department buildings in Taiwan, but visually represents a distinctly modernist architecture. The combination of high ceilings, the cold metal color, and the large amount of transparent glass creates a stylish police department that establishes the metropolitan imaginary of *Harbor City* in the movie.

Figure 2.4 The studio of South District Police Department

After the filming was completed, the studio setting was transformed into a theme park where tourists could visit the protagonists' workplaces depicted in the film[97]. The transformed studio space also offered tourists the opportunity to visit the bar where the protagonists had gathered, now a working restaurant. These settings were intended to satisfy the tourists' desire to visit an authentic film setting in the physical world. Even though many tourists expressed dissatisfaction with the experience of visiting the studio (Lin, 2009; Wong, 2010; Tsai, 2010)[98] [99] [100], this destination offered evidence to the tourists in search of "authenticity" in the virtual film

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[97] 公視晚間新聞（2011），《痞子英雄場景開放 期帶動城市觀光》，公共電視台新聞網 2012/01/19

[98] Hsih-chieh Lin [林士傑], *The Effects of Involvement in the Film on Destination Personality and Travel Behavior* [戲劇涉入程度對其目的地個性與旅遊行為影像之研究], Master thesis in Taiwan, 2009.

[99] Chun-wei Wang [王淳薇], *A Study of Consumer's Attitude to Destination Image and Characters of Black & White-A Balance Model* [消費者對<痞子英雄>景點置入、劇中角色態度之研究-平衡理論觀點探討], Master thesis in Taiwan, 2010.

[100] Ya-ching Tsai [蔡雅晴], *Destination Placement and Tourism Intention* [景點置入策略與觀光意願關係之研究-以「痞子英雄」為例], Master thesis in Taiwan, 2010.

setting[101]. However, there was another studio settings was only used in the movie, the interior of the airplane in which the final battle between the protagonists and the hijackers[102] takes place[103]. While the setting of airplane in the middle nowhere on one hand achieved the filmmakers' technical dream of mimicking a Hollywood grand scene; on the other hand, it decreased the importance of the urban scenes embodied in Kaohsiung. In addition, although Taiwanese audiences have been exposed to incidents of airplane hijackings through international news reports and Hollywood movies, most had difficulty believing a similar incident could take place in Taiwan. As a result, this excessively fantasized plot fractured the original relationship between virtual *Harbor City* and physical Kaohsiung, which was based on a more balanced manipulation of on-location and off-location factors. Ultimately, the Taiwanese audiences began to feel alienated both from the story and the cinematic urban imaginary in the subsequent movies of *Black & White*.

The filmmakers' use of cinematic technology was more aggressive in the second movie, *Black & White: The Dawn of Justice*. In order to depict a terrorist attack in which a series of explosions cuts off the traffic connections between *Harbor City* and its neighboring areas, the filmmakers employed numerous digital effects. They first digitally added infrastructure to *Harbor City*, including a highway system, a light rail, and a long-distance bridge crossing a river. This approach of collaging new construction around Taiwan to advance the imaginary of *Harbor City* continued the technique used in the TV series. However, while the highway scene was shot on a new highway system constructed in 2013 in northern Taiwan, the light rail and the bridge were borrowed from references outside Taiwan and digitally added to the scene shot in Kaohsiung. And although the municipal government had been planning the light rail system since the early 2000s, the construction didn't begin until 2011 and was still ongoing when the movie was released. Because the movie is set earlier than the TV series, an explosion in the light rail system confused the audiences' understanding of both the old version of virtual *Harbor City* and the physical development of Kaohsiung. Moreover, audiences could easily identify the bridge as the Sai Van Bridge in Macau, a Mainland China ruling city that was colonized by Portugal. Created for the explosion scenes, these digitally-created facilities composed a completely different imaginary of *Harbor City* from that of the *Black & White* TV series, one with little connection to the physical Kaohsiung.

Pan-Chinese audiences, including those living in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Mainland China, often associate the name "Harbor City" with a shopping mall facing Victoria Harbor in Hong Kong, a recognizable landmark used as the setting in numerous Hong Kong movies. This is a seemingly cunning use of rhetorical coincidence, as it indicates that *Harbor City* may also be Hong Kong or another globalized pan-Chinese city other than the post-industrial Kaohsiung. Even though the TV audiences could identify *Harbor City* as potential Kaohsiung because of the manipulation of cinematized urban imaginary described in the previous section, they could also easily see *Harbor City* as a vision of any pan-Chinese city in the subsequent movies, especially as all pan-Chinese cities are undergoing a process of globalization through modern mega-projects. Cinar and Bender's (2007) term "urban imaginary" articulates a means by which we comprehend contemporary urban

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[101] This studio theme park has been closed since 2013 because the location has been planned as a station for light rail.
[102]新浪娛樂,《直擊痞子英雄 趙又廷陳意涵體驗飛機攝影棚》,新浪網 2011/02/18
（http://ent.sina.com.cn/m/c/2011-02-18/06083233085.shtml）
[103]公視晚間新聞,---.

conditions, accounting for the more nebulous boundary of the modern city, which stands in contrast to its ancestor, the medieval city, defined by enclosed walls[104]. However, defining a city's boundary through its urban imaginary, particularly in the case of Kaohsiung and *Harbor City*, is ironic when a powerful media such as cinema intervenes into the complicated imaginary-making process.

Figure 2.5 The broken bridge in the studio theme park
(http://pic.pimg.tw/rechal63/1422806952-3707378177.jpg)

The digital effects in *Black & White: The Dawn of Justice*, further influenced the manipulation of the film-induced tourist activities and its results in relation to the subsequent movies. In an exciting scene following the explosion on the bridge, one of the protagonists tries to rescue some passengers from a car that was trapped when parts of the bridge collapsed. To shoot this scene, the filmmakers built a temporary studio near Dream Mall in Kaohsiung, with parts of the broken bridge structure as the studio set. The filmmakers first shot the actors in this incomplete setting, and afterward, the entire environment was digitally created in the post-production process. Another scene of a battle on a high-rise rooftop was also completed through the same method[105]. While the movie was being screened in theaters, the filmmakers opened the studio to the public as a film-induced tourist attraction with the expectation that it would draw audiences' attention to the technical achievements of the film[106]. Though scholars have argued one of the major effects of

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[104] Alev Cinar and Thomas Bender ed. (2007) Urban Imaginaries: Locating the Modern City. University of Minnesota Press.

[105] The making of *Black & White: The Dawn of Justice* is collected in the movie's DVD.

[106] 愛玩客雜誌，《一秒變吳英雄！痞子英雄展登場 全台首創電影主題樂園》，三立新聞網 2015/02/27
（http://www.setn.com/News.aspx?NewsID=63276）

digital techniques is the immersive feeling they offer the audience (Prince, 2012)[107], the digital techniques used in *Black & White: The Dawn of Justice* instead distanced the audiences, including local Kaohsiung residents and the existing TV series audiences. Because the images differed from the audience's understanding of *Harbor City* as the vision of Kaohsiung, the unsophisticated digital film techniques neither brought a vivid representation of these two scenes in the film nor induced the fever of film-induced tourism that the TV series did. The overwhelming off-location settings ultimately transformed the semi-virtual *Harbor City* into a fantasy world incapable of continuing its earlier influence in promoting the physical Kaohsiung. Since the movies failed to depict *Harbor City* as Kaohsiung's analog in the cinematic world, they also failed to reproduce the original successful marketing model of cinematic urban imaginary and film-induced tourism in Kaohsiung.

In addition to the filmmakers' inability to maintain the effects of the urban imaginary of *Harbor City*, the Filmmaking Assistance Center was struggling to develop Kaohsiung as a film industry locale and to keep renovating the urban imaginary created by the *Black & White* TV series. This led to the decline of film-induced tourism and impeded the city's effort to shift its economic activities from industry to services. Specifically, the Filmmaking Assistance Center was established as an independent office so that the center could be fully authorized to negotiate with different departmental sectors in the filmmaking assistance process, and it could focus on developing Kaohsiung as a film industry locale. However, as a bureaucratic institute, the officers focused their working hours more on solving the problems faced by various filmmaking teams rather than creating strategies to develop the film industry. As an efficient office on assisting filmmaking, the center attracted numerous filmmakers from the pan-Chinese area, including Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Mainland China, to shoot various films—advertising videos, music videos, TV series, and feature movies—in Kaohsiung. However, most of the filmmakers were attracted by the center's ability to offer filming assistance and cheap film workers in Kaohsiung, rather than the local distinctions of this city. They only remained in Kaohsiung a very short time, filming some scenes then moving to other places for post-production. Kaohsiung was not their ultimate film production base.

As scenes including aspects specific to Kaohsiung decreased, the urban imaginaries of the city in these films became unrecognizable and instead offered an ambiguous setting for any pan-Chinese city. The attractive urban imaginary constructed by the TV series *Black & White* began to lose popularity in the later cinematic representations of Kaohsiung, resulting in a decline in tourism. How would the Kaohsiung City Government address this crisis? The next section will examine the changes to Kaohsiung's film policy that I argue illustrates a trial-and-error process in on an ongoing search for potential sustainable models.

2.4 A Trial-and-Error Game: Searching for a Sustainable Film Policy

Since Kaohsiung began the process of urban revitalization to participate in Taiwan's inter-urban competition of the late 2000s, cinematic intervention has had a significant effect on both the virtual urban imaginary and the physical city's development particularly through on main catalyst: film-induced tourism. Due to the popularity of *Black & White* TV series, the Kaohsiung City

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[107] Stephen Prince, *Digital Visual Effects in Cinema*. Rutgers University Press, 2012.

Government was able to realize its goal of promoting the city, which on the one hand, resulted in a huge influx of tourists to the film locations, and on the other hand, created a successful model of film industry development. However, the Kaohsiung City Government also began to face difficulties during subsequent projects such as the two *Black & White* movies and other films. Particularly, once the films were no longer screening in theaters, audiences easily lost interest in visiting the film locales, and the following films were unable to replicate the original aura of the cinematic urban imaginary. Accordingly, the Kaohsiung City Government recognized the need to implement new strategies to ensure the sustainability of its film policy. This process, from the time the municipal government launched the film policy, was a process of trial-and-error in search of the most effective strategies for the development of film tourism, cinematic urban imaginary, and film industry.

At the inception of its film policy, the Kaohsiung municipal government utilized governmental publications as a means to broadcast the idea of film tourism and to advertise some existing film tourist attractions. In 2006, the Kaohsiung Film Archive published a book, *Imaging City—Kaohsiung*, to trace back the change in Kaohsiung's cinematic images in the past. The book featured contemporary representations of Kaohsiung through movies that had been created with the government's film sponsorship, and presented film tourism as a romanticized way of visiting this southern city of Taiwan[108]. The book is a crystallization of the Kaohsiung government's goal of manipulating film representation and film tourism to develop a new imaginary of Kaohsiung as an international city. Specifically, in the preface to the book, Yu-Jeng Hsiao, the Director-General of the Information Office of the Kaohsiung City Government, offers his beliefs regarding Kaohsiung's film policy: "*Films are the most effective means for marketing a city.*" Afterward, Enid Hsien-Huei Liu, the Secretary-General of the Information Office of the Kaohsiung City Government, continues Hsiao's words and establishes the goal: "*In addition to satisfying film fans of all levels, this book hopes to combine tourism with cinema in order to fully realize the notion that film can be an effective marketing tool for the city.*" Moreover, a member of the executive team, Hsiu-Jing Chang, the Director of the Kaohsiung Film Archive, displays the city's ambition to construct a globalized urban imaginary through cinematic representations:

"*Kaohsiung has contributed many beautiful images to Taiwanese film. Through its excellent film policy, Kaohsiung City Government has been able to encourage quality productions such as The Wayward Cloud and Blue Cha Cha[109], despite the serious imbalance between Taiwan's northern and southern TV/film industries. Particularly in recent years, Kaohsiung has gradually been transformed into an international maritime metropolis possessing an abundance of culture and 'faces.' Kaohsiung is confidently ready to showcase their city for all of Taiwan and the international community to see.*"

Following this publication, in 2010 the Kaohsiung Film Archive published a second book, *All Eyes on Kaohsiung: A Record of Filmmaking and the City*, specifically after the TV series, *Black & White*, was broadcast[110]. Different from the initial book introducing the film representations of Kaohsiung, the second book focuses on the 10 years of cooperation between

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[108] 藍祖蔚主筆,《電光城市—看電影遊高雄 Imaging City—Kaohsiung》,高雄:高雄市電影圖書館,2006。

[109] Wen-Tang Cheng, *Blue Cha Cha*, Green Light Film, 2006.

[110] 胡文青、藍祖蔚,《影領風潮:高雄城市光影紀實 *All Eyes on Kaohsiung: A Record of Filmmaking and the City*》,高雄:高雄市電影圖書館,2010。

filmmakers and the government under Kaohsiung's film sponsorship. Through interviews with directors, producers, and actors/actresses about their experiences shooting films in Kaohsiung, *All Eyes on Kaohsiung: A Record of Filmmaking and the City* further depicts this city as an ideal film locale with varied geographical landscapes and historical buildings, as well as the efficient support provided by the Filmmaking Assistance Center. In the book's final pages, the Kaohsiung government draws a vision of the city in 2020 as the filmmaking center of Taiwan, with a certain urban imaginary of Kaohsiung as accumulated through the reels. According to this book, the development of the film industry became one of the municipal government's goals after the achievements of its film policy in previous years.

A comparison of the two books, *Imaging City—Kaohsiung* and *All Eyes on Kaohsiung: A Record of Filmmaking and the City*, offers evidence of the shift in the Kaohsiung film policy from the emphasis on film tourism as a means to stimulate service industry to directly developing the film industry. As Zhe Shi, the Director-General of Bureau of Cultural Affairs in Kaohsiung City Government, mentions in *All Eyes on Kaohsiung: A Record of Filmmaking and the City*: "*As for now, many people tend to equate the film and television industry with the so-called urban marketing. Nevertheless, I do not entirely think so; in fact, urban marketing is only one of the effects.*" As a major conductor of the Kaohsiung City Government's film policy, Zhe Shi seems to be predicting the later difficulties Kaohsiung would face after the original boom of film tourism and urban marketing spawned by the *Black & White* TV series. The urban marketing strategy that deployed cinematic urban imaginary to attract tourists quickly met a crisis. The tourist attractions induced by popular films struggled to remain sustainable after the initial heat of the film cooled. Because most of these buildings are registered as temporary structures and constructed with cheap and fragile materials, they last a very short span of time. Moreover, the tourists' interests in visiting these buildings are easily disappeared after the film being not popular anymore. For example, being the setting as police office in *Black & White* movies, the small theme park used to be popular for the tourists, who watched the TV series before visiting Kaohsiung, but lost the tourists' attention after it opened for one year. Even though the managers and the government tried to hold some events for bringing the tourists back, this small theme park has been eternal closed in the end. This experience further convinced the government that developing film industry would be a sustainable way for Kaohsiung's film policy.

However, the Filmmaking Assistance Center has gotten later frustrations when they were endeavoring to develop the film industry in Kaohsiung. First, the film technique companies refused to move from their original base in northern Taiwan to Kaohsiung, although the Kaohsiung government tried to provide tax incentives and cover relocation costs. This broke the center's earlier dream of attracting film production through assembling the fundamentally technical services. Unless a certain number of films were shot there, Kaohsiung could not become a worthy locale for the technical companies. Second, as described in the previous section, the Filmmaking Assistance Center was successful in attracting production companies from not only Taiwan but also Hong Kong and Mainland China, and as a result, the settings cannot be recognized as Kaohsiung. To break through this difficult situation, the Filmmaking Assistance Center established an annual award to subsidize film scripts that would and could take place in Kaohsiung after 2012. This award was intended to develop the film industry from the early end of production[111].

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[111] 王冠人（2015），《高雄市政府文化局長史哲的籃子──談影視產業、政策與創作》，放映週報第 507 期 2015/05/13 （http://www.funscreen.com.tw/feature.asp?FE_NO=1472）

Moreover, cooperating with Kaohsiung Film Archive, a novel program—Kaohsiung Shorts (高雄拍)—provides short films shot in Kaohsiung subsidization, screening opportunities, and consultation regarding participation in international film festivals. This program aims to distinguish Kaohsiung's specific sponsoring target from those of other local governments in Taiwan. With smaller budget requirements alongside a unique international market, short films are one of the potential sustainable models for the revitalization of Kaohsiung's film industry. Nowadays, the Kaohsiung City Government is focusing its efforts on developing the filmmaking assistance and film sponsorship as brands: "Kaohsiung Shorts (高雄拍)" is for short films and "Film Kaohsiung (高雄人)" is for feature-length films. The municipal government's objective in promoting the two brands is to place Kaohsiung in a prominent position in the Taiwanese and even pan-Chinese film industry[112].

Meanwhile, another cog in the wheel of the film policy is the Kaohsiung Film Archive, which is exploring the potential of revitalizing the film tourism in Kaohsiung. In 2016, in cooperation with local planners/historians, the Kaohsiung Film Archive designed a guided tour bringing tourists to the film locales in Yancheng district, one of the oldest neighborhoods of Kaohsiung. This guided tour was led by a sophisticated local planner/historian, Yi-Lin Xie[113], who is knowledgeable about the local history and the film activities that took place there. During the tour, he not only pointed out the film locations, but also provided the participants a broader picture of cinematic history that includes the history of Kaohsiung's cinematic activities and the history in relation to its cinematic representation[114]. For instance, the guided tour began at the Kaohsiung Film Archive offices located alongside the Love River. This allows the tour guide to introduce the film setting of the earliest movie shot in Kaohsiung. In the 1937's movie—*800 Heroes*, Love River was depicted as the Yangtze River in Mainland China where a story adapted from history a Chinese Civil War battle takes place[115]. This introduction nicely recreates the origin of Kaohsiung's cinematic history before *Fly Up With Love* (1978) and its post-industrial urban imaginary while demonstrating Kaohsiung's historical potential as a locale for the film industry.

In later stops along the tour of Yancheng, Xie would bring the participants to three categories of film attractions: recent film settings, past sites of cinematic activities, and the potential locations for future filmmaking. When introducing the recent film settings, he would incorporate the location's historical background with the film story. For example, when the group visited the locale where the movie, *I Can't Live Without You* (2009)[116], is the setting for the protagonist's worksite—a small street near a shipyard, Xie shared the history of Kaohsiung's shipbuilding industry, as well as the current urban environmental and industrial decline. Because *I Can't Live Without You* tells the story a low income single family and the separation of a shipbuilder from his daughter, Xie's historical narrative provided details intended to deepen the tourists' understanding of the protagonists' difficult situation. This introduction also connected the

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[112] 洪健倫（2016），《讓電影滲透高雄人的生活 史哲談「高雄人」、「高雄拍」與高市影視發展藍圖》，放映週報第 586 期 2016/12/21 （http://www.funscreen.com.tw/headline.asp?H_No=646）

[113] Yi-Lin Xie was born in Kaohsiung and after working in the film industry in Taipei, he moved back to Kaohsiung, devoting his efforts to the development of the service industry, especially cultural businesses including managing a traditional inn and an independent bookstore.

[114] The following examples of this guided tour are based on the observation of the tour I attended in July, 2016.

[115] 徐如宜（2017），《電影「八百壯士」中林青霞跳的其實是愛河...》，聯合報 2017/03/17

[116] Leon Dai, *I Can't Live without You*, Atom Film, 2009.

film space and the physical place. The guided tour bridges the gap between film representations and the physical local environments caused by the *Black & White* TV series and its subsequent movies. The film representations of Kaohsiung do not reflect the city's past history, future visions, or constructed imaginaries, but touch upon the contemporary urban fabric. Guiding tourists to the sites of past cinematic activities and potential future film locations further opens the space for Kaohsiung's cinematic historiography, promoting Kaohsiung as a film industry center of the future.
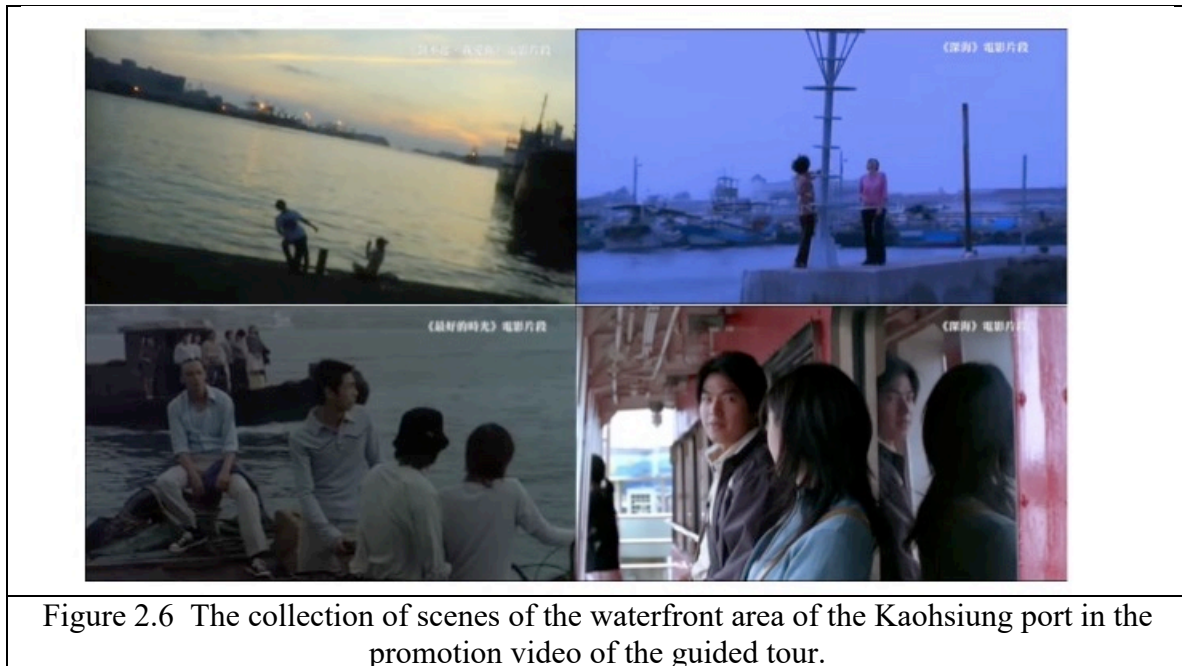
Figure 2.6 The collection of scenes of the waterfront area of the Kaohsiung port in the promotion video of the guided tour.

In addition to the guided narrative of Yancheng, the tour incorporates multiple media that provide opportunities for local cultural exploration and a bottom-up approach to historiography. First, to assist the guided tour and to reach more potential tourists, the Kaohsiung Film Archive published a cinematic tourist map, specifically marking and introducing the film attractions in Yencheng, allowing tourists to explore these locations whether as participants of the guided tour or by themselves. Cinematic tourist maps previously published by the Kaohsiung Film Archive as the appendices in the two books: *Imaging the City—Kaohsiung* and *All Eyes on Kaohsiung: A Record of Filmmaking and the City were* not well designed, including only basic information about the attractions, such as the addresses, traffic information, and simple descriptions. However this time, thanks to the cooperation between the Kaohsiung Film Archive and local planners/historians, this map offers a profound guide for a cinematic tour with a reasonable tourist route including selected attractions that are easy to locate. In addition, because local planners/historians with deep knowledge of the community and the films specifically selected these attractions, the maps conveyed an enthusiasm toward the local culture that tourists could feel even during self-guided tours.

Second, to advertise this guided tour, the Kaohsiung Film Archive created a short promotional video consisting of scenes from varied movies shot in Yencheng[117]. In this second

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[117] The video was published on the YouTube page of the Kaohsiung Film Archive:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ng6OjtBda1g

representation, the film images of Kaohsiung have been indexed and categorized by the specific locations and local cultures. Through the juxtaposition of different stylish scenes focusing on the same location or activity, the cinematic urban imaginary can be understood as the result of a complicated negotiation process rather than as a simple vision represented by a couple of popular movies. For instance, this short video begins with a collection of scenes of the waterfront area of the Kaohsiung port in different movies: a young couple is fooling around in the beautiful sunset, a mother and a daughter are playfully screaming at daybreak, a man and woman sail past each other on separate boats, and another man and woman stand side by side in a romantic scene on the ferry. All of these scenes take place in a similar location with a view of Kaohsiung port, but present dissimilar ambiances and feelings. This montage successfully demonstrates how films can be shot in the same space but with different results, demonstrating Kaohsiung as the ideal locale where magic can happen. Moreover, the top-down approach to creating an urban imaginary and narrative of the city's history such as that depicted in *Black & White* is challenged by the novel bottom-up re-representation of film locales, and by the juxtaposition of multiple historical narratives and fictional stories from varied movies. These complicated negotiation processes call for further observations and analyses in subsequent research, especially as this guided tour was initiated in the summer of 2016 and is becoming increasingly effective[118].

2.5 Conclusion: Kaohsiung as the Prototype of Film-induced Tourism in Taiwan

As the first local Taiwanese government to introduce cinema as an element of the urban regeneration process, the Kaohsiung government has been struggling to find a sustainable approach to marketing the city through cinema. Since the late 1990s, the Kaohsiung government has been involved in a series of renovation projects intended to transform Kaohsiung both economically and culturally from a post-industrial port city to an international maritime metropolis. Cinema has been playing a crucial role in this urban renovation process. The Kaohsiung government established a film policy to subsidize films shot in the city, and founded the Kaohsiung Film Archive to execute the plan. However, earlier movies sponsored by the Kaohsiung government were primarily art films that did not satisfy the government's objective of marketing the city through film. Finally, in 2009, in cooperation with the Kaohsiung Filmmaking Assistance Center, a popular TV series, *Black & White*, chose Kaohsiung as the shooting locale, creating a new urban imaginary of Kaohsiung, namely *Harbor City,* which induced a fever of film tourism. The popularity of the TV series led to the creation of two *Black & White* movies; however, the filmmakers prioritized film technical achievements and appealing to the Mainland Chinese Market, which transformed the film representations of *Harbor City* beyond the original setting. The imbalance of on-location and off-location film settings produced a gap between *Harbor City* and Kaohsiung, negatively affecting film tourism in the city.

Due to the decline in film tourism, the Filmmaking Assistance Center shifted its ultimate goal from sponsoring film and the film tourism to developing the film industry. Additional film regulations and projects were created as suitable and sustainable film policy approaches. However, Kaohsiung's film industry development policy shortly met some difficulties because Taipei has been predominant over the domestic film industry for long, and the filmmakers from the rising

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[118] The analysis of the film tourist map and the short promotional video are based on my participation in the guided tour in July, 2016.

pan-Chinese film industry only see Kaohsiung as one of the potential film shooting locations with government's filming assistance and cheap workers. Meanwhile, the Kaohsiung Film Archive established a guided tour of film attractions in cooperation with local planners/historians. This guided tour brought a new approach, which, on the one hand, bridged the virtual film representations and the physical urban environment, and on the other hand, created a potentially sustainable model in relation to cinematic urban imaginary and film tourism. Even though today's Kaohsiung is still going through the trial-and-error process of seeking suitable and sustainable film policies, its experiences offer a prototype for deploying cinematic urban imaginary, film tourism, and film industry in an urban renewal process, which later stimulated an inter-urban competition, based on the film policies among additional cities in Taiwan. Specifically, Taipei, the long-term locus of the film industry in Taiwan, has launched a series of film policies to maintain its advantage and further pursue its status in the pan-Chinese and global film markets. Furthermore, Kaohsiung's cinematic intervention in the contemporary urban process has become a crucial phenomenon, specifically in Taiwan and Hong Kong, the two major pan-Chinese film industry locales of the past, facing the challenge of Mainland China in the present.

Ch.3 Taipei: Top-down Strategies in Constructing a Cinematic Urban Imaginary, and the Consequential Conflicts

During the 1990s, the Taiwanese central government instituted city mayoral elections, which, along with a global trend toward entrepreneurialism, promoted an inter-urban competition that became one of the major catalysts for contemporary urban development in the country. In the previous chapter, I elucidated the process by which the main opposition political party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DDP), after its candidate became mayor of Kaohsiung, intended to demonstrate its ability to govern through incorporating cultural policies, especially film sponsorship and filming assistance, into Kaohsiung City's urban renovation program. The party's success in developing a novel urban imaginary and inducing a tourism boom through cinema ignited an inter-urban competition among major Taiwanese cities, particularly in the area of film policies. In the capital city of Taiwan, the Taipei City Government followed Kaohsiung's lead, participating aggressively in the competition in an attempt to both secure Taipei's advanced status in the Taiwanese film industry, and to promote Taipei through cinematic activities. To execute the film policies, a semi-governmental organization, the Taipei Film Commission (TFC), was established in 2007 with the chairman from the city's Cultural Affairs Bureau and the commissioners from the film industry.

Through cinema, the TFC attempted to construct a romantic and welcoming urban imaginary of Taipei that would increase the city's charm and change postmodern representations of Taipei in existing Taiwanese art films. It initiated this process by providing filming assistance and subsidization to movies that incorporated romantic images of Taipei. The first group of films that received assistance and subsidizations from the TFC were released in 2009 and 2010, and successfully captured the public's attention. This new approach of cinematic intervention into the urban imaginary-making process resulted in the creation of film-induced tourist spots, which further revitalized areas of Taipei. Most of these movies were shot in everyday living environments of Taipei. The stylized film representations of these ordinary spaces engendered an interesting dynamic between the movies, the local audiences, and the shooting locations. The audiences were fascinated by the cinematic tricks that transformed familiar urban corners into unfamiliar, more attractive spaces; many, as a result, attempted to pinpoint these locations while watching the movie, then visit them afterward. Several commercial and historical areas in Taipei have become popular as a result of this phenomenon.

In addition to sponsoring film projects, the TFC co-sponsored an exhibition with the Taipei City Government to promote its film assistance and subsidization programs and to redevelop a history about cinematic Taipei. These visual representations of Taipei's imaginary and history provided a more direct and comprehensible means of allowing audiences to see Taipei's past, present, and future. The movies included in this exhibition were carefully selected based on their fulfillment of the TFC's desired criteria – those that primarily emphasized romantic and visually appealing representations of Taipei from the past to the present. Because of the success of this exhibition, additional organizations conducted similar exhibitions. Highlighting different film representations of Taipei, those exhibitions were particularly based on the rediscovery of old movies and the recent global trend of film restoration. As more and more movies have been discovered and included in the cinematic historiography through public re-screenings, the urban

imaginary- making process, initially a top-down approach manipulated by the municipal government, offered new opportunities for a variety of agencies.

Film tourism induced by these the TFC-supported cinematic activities is a crucial side effect of the cinematic urban imaginary-making process. However, although film-induced tourism seemed like an effective marketing strategy, it sometimes brought fewer positive impacts to the individual film shooting locations. Some of the film-induced tourism locations encountered a variety of conflicts with the local communities. For example, after the gangster movie, *Monga*[119], was released in 2010, members of the community surrounding the shooting location complained that the activities in the movie would engender a negative perception of this neighborhood, even though the tourism boom resulting from the movie had regenerated the local economy. Moreover, in 2012, the Shida Night Market, one of the tourist attractions popularized by *Au Revior Taipei* (2010)[120], faced a crisis when residents, in a protest to restore quiet to their neighborhood, shut down the expanded commercial area. Therefore, rather than sponsoring specific cinematic projects, today's Taipei Film Commission is focusing on developing Taipei as a welcoming film shooting locale through various strategies including administrating film sponsorship, assisting filmmaking process, establishing film forums and workshops, and being a consultant for most of the cinematic activities taking place in Taipei. In addition to encouraging Taiwanese filmmakers producing films related to Taipei, the TFC is marketing aggressively toward overseas filmmakers, mainly from Hollywood and Europe, inviting them to shoot their films in Taipei. The TFC expected that both Taiwanese and internationally produced films would contribute to the construction of an overall romantic urban imaginary for Taipei and promote Taipei to the world, bringing the side benefits of tourism and diplomacy.

In this chapter, I will examine the earlier top-down strategies deployed by the TFC as it endeavored to construct a romantic and appealing cinematic urban imaginary for Taipei, particularly through assisting and subsidizing the first group of movies set in Taipei and the exhibition of cinematic Taipei in history. A close reading of the film *Au Revoir Taipei* will clarify how these movies recaptured the audiences' attention and induced a tourism boom through the film technique of "defamiliarizing." However, the comparison between the exhibitions conducted by the TFC and the other organizations challenge the top-down approach of cinematic urban imaginary making through analysis of the complicated cinematic historiography process. Moreover, the controversies caused by film-induced tourism boom reveal the in-depth conflicts when Taipei City Government deployed a top-down approach of constructing urban imaginary through cinematic and cultural activities, as well as commenced the afterward adjustments of its film policies.

3.1 Reacting to Inter-Urban Competition and the Cinematic Taipei not from Zero

As I mentioned in the previous chapter, the inter-urban competition between Taiwanese cities has become one of the crucial factors influencing the urban process since democracy, especially mayoral elections, emerged in Taiwan in the 1990s. To attract votes during elections, candidates attempted to offering the most compelling proposals outlining their vision of the city's

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[119] Niu Chen-zer, *Monga*. Honto Production, 2010.
[120] Arvin Chen, *Au Revoir Taipei*. Atom Cinema, 2010.

development. After being elected, each mayor endeavored to display their ability to govern under the two-party system, by focusing their efforts on surpassing other cities in specific aspects. Therefore, when Kaohsiung's Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) Mayor Hsieh announced a series of film policies in the early 2000s, the Taipei City Government, ruled by the Kuomintang Party (KMT), interpreted Kaohsiung's policies as threats to Taipei, the existing major locale for the Taiwanese film industry. In the following Taipei mayoral election in 2006, Hau Lung-pin, the candidate nominated by KMT, proposed to commence similar film policies if he was elected as a mayor[121]. As a result, Hau Lung-pin won the election and established the Taipei Film Commission, a semi-governmental organization, in 2007, to initiate suitable film policies for Taipei upon its existing urban imaginaries and cultural activities in relation to cinema.

As the capital of Taiwan, Taipei has always been the major location for all kinds of cultural activities including film shooting. The cinematic urban imaginaries of Taipei have changed over time, reflecting Taipei's urban process through different film representations, as well as the development of the Taiwanese film industry. Beginning in the 1960s when the Republic of China (ROC) government intended to conduct the development of cultural ideology through promoting mandarin language movies (國語片) in Taiwan, some of the movies set in Taipei unconsciously recorded the unpleasant and temporary living spaces of the immigrants that had moved from Mainland China after World War II. In his analysis of Li Hsing's *Our Neighbor* (1963)[122], Hung (2002) argues that even though the movie originally intended to show the hope of redevelopment after the war, the images of Taipei in this movie do not show evidence of the modernization progress made by the Japanese colonial government[123]. This pre-modern imaginary of Taipei was soon guided to another approach toward modernization and urbanization under the government of the ROC. Only the reels capture the transitions of the society, the urban spaces, and the film industry.

In the 1980s, to compete with the popular Hong Kong movies in Taiwan, the government-owned Central Motion Picture Corporation (CMPC) had begun to support some young filmmakers such as Edward Yang, Wan Jen, and Hou Hsiao-hsien, who later commenced the well-known rejuvenation of Taiwanese movies —the New Taiwanese Cinema. These directors and their movies became famous in the international film festivals, winning awards around the world. Due to the support of the CMPC, these movies, instead of being geared toward success in the market, tended to be art films and preferred to examine societal changes through cinematic aesthetics and realistic representations. This was also a time of rapid economic development, and the newborn middle class, embracing capitalism and consumerism, was transforming urban life in Taipei. In response, the New Taiwanese Cinema began to focus on various urban issues, including the emerging conflicts between the polarized societies of the city and the country (Yip, 2004)[124], the uncertain situations of the migrant workers who had left the countryside for the urban jungle (Hung,

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[121] Hau Lung-pin is the 4th and 5th Mayor of Taipei City after it established elections, who held office from December 2006 to December 2014.

[122] Li Hsing, *Our Neighbor*. 自立電影公司, 1963.

[123] 洪月卿，《城市歸零—電影中的台北呈現 City Zero》，台北市：田園城市，2002。

[124] June Yip, *Envisioning Taiwan: Fiction, Cinema, and the Nation in the Cultural Imaginary*. Duke University Press, 2004.

2002)[125], and the lost feelings of the middle-class experiencing the pressure of assimilating into commercial society (Chang, 2005)[126]. The young and talented filmmakers tried to dig into these urban issues through cinematic representations that depict the displacement of different kinds of urban spaces and offer critical perspectives toward modernist architecture in Taipei. Jameson (1992) offers the film aesthetics of the New Taiwanese Cinema as a quintessential example of the complicated postmodern condition of cultural production in the world system[127]. Even though Chang (2005) challenges Jameson's statement by reexamining Edward Yang's *The Terrorizer* (1986)[128] in the context of Taiwan's cultural development, the analytical scheme provided by Jameson still dominates academic discussions of the New Taiwanese Cinema and later, the Second New Wave, especially in the aspect of film representations of Taipei.

Since it was founded in 1998, the Taipei Film Festival (台北電影節) has been the vehicle for executing the Taipei City Government's cultural governance of cinematic activities, in relation to the empowerment of civil society and education of film aesthetics. The establishment of the Taipei Film Festival can be traced back to the conflicts between the novel independent film and the traditional feature film in 1980s' Taiwan[129]. Compared to traditional films, the independent movies in Taiwan were notable for the directors' talent and the creativity of the film aesthetics. In 1988, the China Times Express (中國時報) established a private film award to encourage the development of Taiwanese independent film, distinguishing itself from the existing Golden Horse Film Award (金馬獎) funded by the central government, which preferred to honor the year's outstanding films and filmmakers specifically in the pan-Chinese area including Taiwan, Hong Kong, Mainland China (began from 1996), and beyond. In 1996, the Taipei City Government had begun to sponsor this private award and ultimately became one of the major organizers in 1998 when Mayor Chen Shui-bian, belonging to the DDP, governed Taipei[130]. Following Mayor Chen's vision of cultural governance—empowering civil society through cultural activities, this private film award was renamed the Taipei Film Festival, de-emphasizing the awards and emphasizing the characteristic of a civil carnival (Chang, 2016)[131].

According to Wang's analysis (2003), beginning from the 1990s when mayoral elections began to take place in Taipei, the municipal government's cultural governance rose to a new level that intended to create a metropolitan imaginary of Taipei, demonstrating Taipei's multi-ethnic cultures, collective memories, and urban heritages through cultural industries and symbolic economies including civil festivals, public arts, and cultural landscapes[132]. The Taipei film Festival,

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[125] 洪月卿, -----.

[126] Chang. Yvonne, "The Terrorizer and the Great Divide in Contemporary Taiwan's Cultural Development" in *Island on the Edge: Taiwan New Cinema and After*. Ed. Chris Berry and Feii Lu. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005.

[127] Fredric Jameson, "Remapping Taipei" in *The Geopolitical Aesthetic: Cinema and Space in the World System*. Indiana University Press, 1992.

[128] Edward Yang, *The Terrorizer*. Central Motion Picture Corporation, 1986.

[129] These novel independent films have later been identified as New Taiwanese Cinema.

[130] Chen shui-bian was the 1st Mayor of Taipei City after it established elections, and held office from December 1994 to December 1998.

[131] Chang Chia-chen [張嘉真], *the Taipei Film under Cultural Governance* [文化治理下的台北電影節], master thesis at National Chengchi University, 2016.

[132] Wang Chih-hung [王志弘], "The cultural Governance of Taipei City, 1967-2002" [台北市文化治理的性質與轉變, 1967-2002] in *Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies*, 52:121, 2003.

no doubt, was one of the cultural activities that was taken over by the Taipei City Government in order to realize its goals of cultural governance. Therefore, after the Taipei City Government took over control of the organizing process, some awards for commercial movies were canceled, and some awards were created for non-commercial films, such as documentary films. Films in this category claimed the distinction of being radical, amateur short films that encouraged civil participation in Taipei's urban imaginary-making, featuring scenes of Taipei. These awards were specifically established by Mayor Chen's government and continued to be granted for several years, even after the KMT regained rule of Taipei in 1998.

In addition to empowering the civil society by creating new awards and emphasizing that portion of film festival, the Taipei City Government attempted to cultivate the audiences' knowledge and aesthetic taste of a city-based film festival. Particularly when the KMT-nominated Mayoral candidate Ma Ying-jeou[133] won the Taipei election in 1998, he established the Cultural Affairs Bureau of Taipei to strengthen cultural governance and assigned Lung Ying-tai[134], a senior essayist and cultural critic, to be the first Director. During her term as director, Lung, based on her knowledge of culture and experience living in Germany, launched several exceptional projects, including reforming the Taipei Film Festival. She took over complete responsibility for organizing the festival, incorporating the new theme "City in Focus," which chose a different city each year as the subject and "systematically guiding audiences towards international films through screenings and discussion forums."[135] In the following years, the increasing box office receipts proved that the reform efforts were successfully developing the market. It imbued the Taipei Film Festival with the status of educational films, especially on the topic of the relationship between cities and the cinema. For instance, although the process of choosing each year's theme city was primarily based on the festival directors' aesthetic tastes and Taipei City government's diplomatic relations (Chang, 2016)[136], "City in Focus" did help the Taipei Film Festival reach a certain potential, demonstrating that Taipei, as the capital of Taiwan, could be more flexible on cinematic diplomacy under the trend of globalization, especially when the complicated political situation influenced by Mainland China and its emerging film market.

From 2000 to 2007, the Cultural Affairs Bureau of Taipei contracted out the administration of the Taipei Film Festival. During this period, even though "City in Focus" cultivated certain audiences and developed the market, the Taipei Film Festival was facing several executive issues. First, through reviving every year's festival programs, the distinction between the Taipei Film Festival and the Golden Horse Film Festival was unclear. Other than "City in Focus," the categories of the two film festivals overlapped significantly. In this circumstance, because the

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[133] Ma Ying-jeou is the 2nd and 3rd Mayor of Taipei City after it established elections, who held office from December 1998 to December 2006.

[134] Before being invited by Mayor Ma to be the first director of the Cultural Affairs Bureau of Taipei City Government in 1998, Lung Ying-tai was living in Germany and writing cultural critiques in a newspaper column. She held office from November 1999 to March 2003. After this, she lived in different Asian cities and continued as a critic and writer. During Ma Ying-jeou's 2nd term as President of the Republic of China (Taiwan), the Council for Cultural Affairs was upgraded to a ministerial level as Ministry of Culture in 2012. Ma invited Lung again to be the first Minister of Culture of Taiwan. From May 2012 to December 2014, she continued to influence cultural policies at the central government level.

[135] This is quoted from the introduction section on the Taipei Film Festival's webpage in April 2019. For more information about this program and the list of selected cities and movies in the past, see Taipei film Festival's online archive at https://www.taipeiff.taipei/history.aspx

[136] Chang Chia-chen (2016), -----.

Golden Horse Film Festival had its tradition and status to represent Taiwan, the Taipei Film Festival was considered a "second-hand" film festival that could not attract premieres of either domestic or international films. As a result, the Taipei Film Festival struggled to compete against contemporary film festivals around the world. It was instead purely a domestic-oriented cultural activity, regardless of the potential of the Taiwanese film industry. Moreover, the Government Procurement Law in Taiwan required the Taipei City Government to hire contractors to produce the film festival, which limited the time available to plan the festival each year and created difficulties in establishing a long-term design. Therefore, some film critics and film festival workers proposed the establishment of an official agency to organize the Taipei Film Festival (Chang, 2016)[137].

As a result, in 2007 when Mayor Hau Lung-pin and his government took over the administration of Taipei, they decided to incorporate the Taipei Film Festival in their novel film policies. They first restructured a Taipei City Government-funded NPO (non-profit organization)—the Taipei Cultural Foundation—from an independent organization into a semi-governmental agency of the Cultural Affairs Bureau of Taipei[138]. This agency would be expected to manage some cultural heritage sites and execute the Taipei City Government's policies regarding creative cultural industries, including cinema. Initially, the organizing offices of the Taipei Film Festival and the Taipei Film Commission (the TFC) were two separate offices under the Taipei Cultural Foundation in charge of different film policies. The former focused its efforts on producing the annual Taipei Film Festival and Award; the latter began by subsidizing movies shot in Taipei and later launched a series of programs aimed toward developing the cinematic urban imaginary and the film industry in Taipei. Since the 2010s, cooperation between the two sectors increased. For instance, some Taiwanese movies sponsored by the TFC chose to premiere at the Taipei Film Festival in order to reinforce the festival's image as a film distribution platform, and at the same time, some movies awarded the Taipei Film Award received assistance from the TFC to seek overseas buyers. Before looking at the contribution of the TFC and the cooperation between the Taipei Film Festival and the Taipei Film Commission to Cinematic Taipei after 2010, I would like to step back to examine how the first group of films subsidized by the TFC helped the TFC create its goals and programs in 2009 and 2010.

3.2 Developing a Romantic Urban Imaginary for Taipei through Cinema

In addition to responding to Kaohsiung's film policies, there was another and more well-known story about the reason why Taipei City Government decided to establish the Taipei Film Commission in 2007. It was the time when the popular Hollywood action movie, *Mission: Impossible III* (2006), was looking for a shooting location in Asia. The movie first chose Taipei and the world's highest building—Taipei 101—as the setting and tried to contact the Taipei City Government for filming assistance and permission. Unfortunately, at that moment there was no

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[137] Chang Chia-chen (2016), -----.

[138] After Taipei Cultural Foundation has been reorganized as a part of the Taipei City Government in 2007, this semi-governmental institution has contributed to improving the development of art and culture in Taipei. Nowadays, its major mission includes organizing cultural events, support the domestic cultural professionals to build international connections, assisting the development of creative cultural industry, and operating cultural venues. See more information about Taipei Cultural Foundation at webpage https://www.tcf.taipei/English/index.html

specific sector of the Taipei government charged with addressing this type of request. As a result, the movie changed their target location to Shanghai, and Taipei missed the chance to be shown to the world through a Hollywood movie[139]. After Mayor Hau learned of this, he included the establishment of a film assistance sector as one of his key policies. This story might create a romantic beginning for the Taipei Film Commission and indicate that the original goal of the Taipei City Government in creating the TFC was to be able to respond to film industry requests. However, as I mentioned previously, when the TFC was established in 2007, Taipei had some preconditions regarding cinema: the inter-urban competition with Kaohsiung and other Taiwanese cities in the aspects of film policies, the existing postmodern urban imaginary haunting cinematic Taipei, and the development of the Taipei Film Festival as one of the essential activities for Taipei's cultural governance. To respond to these, the TFC first launched several programs that were similar to those of the Kaohsiung City Government, providing subsidization and assistance to movies filmed in Taipei.

Meanwhile in 2008, right after the TFC was founded, a Taiwanese movie, *Cape No.7*[140], achieved huge box office success in the domestic market typically dominated by Hollywood movies. This both regenerated interest in Taiwanese films and encouraged filmmakers and investors to produce more films with romantic, playful, and entertaining elements such as those in *Cape No.7*, rather than the realistic and critical perspectives that characterized New Taiwanese Cinema. This trend coincided with the TFC's vision of creating an attractive urban imaginary to promote the film industry and tourism in Taipei. Correspondingly, the subsidization provided by the TFC was crucial in supporting these filmmakers in making their movies. As a result, the TFC's subsidization quickly became popular for Taiwanese filmmakers and most of the earlier movies sponsored by the TFC are romantic genre movies, such as *Hear Me* (2009)[141], *Au Revoir Taipei* (2010), and *Taipei Exchange* (2010)[142]. Even other genres from that time include playful and entertaining elements, for instance *Miss Kicki* (2009)[143] and *Monga* (2010). In 2009 and 2010, these movies were released one by one, bringing cinematic Taipei back in the spotlight, especially with the romantic urban imaginary that on the one hand changed the cinematic image of Taipei created in the New Taiwanese Cinema and the Second New Wave films, and on the other hand provided incentives for film-induced tourism in Taipei. In addition to the romantic urban representation, these movies deployed different strategies for promoting Taipei, spontaneous in the beginning, but afterward, influenced by the TFC's film policies.

Taipei's romantic urban imaginary in cinema began from a mega-event promotional movie. Released in August of 2009, the romantic comedy, *Hear Me*, set the background of Deaflympics to receive subsidization from the Taipei municipal government to host that year's summer games in September. Fen-fen Cheng, *Hear Me's* director and screenwriter, was in the advertising industry before she began to produce short films in the 2000s. Her first feature film, *Keeping Watching*

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[139] 饒紫娟總編，《拍台北，歡迎光臨：台北市電影委員會五年有成 Action Taipei! the Taipei Film Commission: the First Quinquennium》。台北市：台北市電影委員會，2013。

[140] Wei Te-sheng, Cape No.7. ARS Film, 2008.
[141] Cheng Fen-fen, *Hear Me*. Trigram Film, 2009.
[142] Hsiao Ya-chuan, *Taipei Exchange*. Atom Cinema, 2010.
[143] Hakon Liu, *Miss Kicki*. Migma Film, 2010.

(2007)[144], was well-received, and was selected to screen in several international film festivals[145], which established her reputation in the industry. Based on these achievements, she applied for a subsidy from the Taiwanese central government to shoot her second feature movie, a romance between deaf people, but she was denied. She later learned that the Taipei City Government was going to hold the Deaflympics in 2009, and recognized the coincidence in the storyline of her movie. Therefore, she shifted her funding efforts toward pursuing support from the Taipei City Government and received subsidization from the mega-event, and assistance from the TFC. This movie ultimately had the chance to be born. Typically, in the case of a mega-event's promotional movie, the government might list specific requirements that would limit the filmmaker's creation and negatively affect the movie. Fortunately, the Taipei municipal government did not place any requirements on Fen-fen Cheng, except that the movie should be released before the Deaflympics started. She quickly adapted the original story to the background of Deaflympics in Taipei and finished the movie within the time limit. After its release, *Hear Me* achieved unexpected success at the box office[146], nicely promoting the Deaflympics and Taipei through an appealing story while romanticizing the everyday living spaces of Taipei in the reels.

This film depicts a romance between Tian-kuo, a kind-hearted young boy living with his parents and running deliveries for their restaurant, and Yang-yang, who is supporting her elder sister to participate in the swimming at the Deaflympics. When Tian-kuo first met Yang-yang, he believes that she, like her sister, is deaf, and communicates with her by sign language. Yang-yang then believes Tian-kuo is a deaf person. After they get to know each other more and feel the romantic chemistry between them, neither of them has the courage to commit to the relationship. Tian-kuo worries that his parents would not agree with him having a deaf girlfriend, and Yang-yang is afraid of having to take care of another deaf person in addition to her sister. Ultimately, Tian-kuo gets the support from his parents and decides to tell Yang-yang his feeling. Sitting by the side of a swimming pool at night, Yang-yang is dangling her legs in the water. Tian-kuo walks toward her and stops at her back. He thinks Yang-yang cannot hear him as he practices how to tell her his feelings. But as Yang-yang listens to his words, tears fall down her face, and the imagined obstacle between them disappears. The closing scene of the movie is of Tian-kuo and Yang-yang going to watch Yan-yang's sister compete in the Deaflympics in Taipei.

Looking at the film plot, the simply romantic story is well spiced with the background of Deaflympics and the difficult situation of deaf people is transmitted to the broader audiences via a romantic story. As a popular feature film and a mega-event promotional movie at the same time, *Hear Me* is amazingly balanced between the expectations of the filmmaker and the Taipei City Government. Furthermore, this movie opens a fresh approach for both the overseas audiences to experience Taipei's urban rhythm and the domestic audiences to revisit the everyday living spaces through film's magic. For instance, in the opening scene that depicts Tian-kuo delivering lunch boxes in Taipei, a city whose urban fabric is hybridized by small, traditional Chinese alleys and modern Western grid streets, the camera follows Tian-kuo's scooter from his parents' restaurant

[144] Cheng Fen-fen, *Keeping Watch*. Joint Entertainment, 2007.
[145] When *Keeping Watch* was released, the film market was severe for Taiwanese movies and the movie had very low box office. However, it was selected to screen in the 2007's Bucheon International Fantastic Film Festival in South Korea, and Hong Kong Asian Film Festival.
[146] Because Taiwan did not have an effective system to calculate the domestic movies box office before 2017, based on an online media's interview to the director, Cheng Fen-fen, *Hear Me*'s ultimate approximate box office is 2800 million NTD. The full interview in at the webpage: https://newtalk.tw/news/view/2009-11-02/1679

located in the dead end of an alley, along a short cut behind apartment buildings, littered with abandoned furniture, and ending on a busy main street, giving audiences a modern urban street view with an Taipei Metro station nearby. This series of shots captures Taipei through a human's eye view at a middle distance, accompanied by slightly high tempo background music that gives a joyful and friendly feeling to the city. Rather than using a bird's eye view to present the city's overall landscape, this scene offers a welcoming view of the essence of Taipei to overseas audiences. For domestic audiences, seeing the ordinary street on the silver screen lets them revisit a familiar space enhanced with cinematic enchantment, and inspires the desire for film tourism. In fact, the restaurant set as Tian-kuo and his parents' worksite in the movie, for instance, attracted lare numbers of tourists after the movie was screened in theaters[147]. Through the spice of a romantic story and cinematic techniques that inspire audiences to explore the ordinary face of Taipei, *Hear Me* constructs a romantic and friendly urban imaginary of Taipei that promotes the city's economic and cultural development.

In an online interview, Fen-fen Cheng[148] discusses the cooperation between the TFC and her film company. In her view, the TFC was very supportive in the filming process, especially in helping her negotiate with governmental agencies and obtain permission to film at their properties. The public swimming pool in the scene when Tian-kuo tells Yang-yang his feeling about her is an example of a government-owned property used as a shooting location, which created one of the audiences' favorite scenes in this movie. Based on these experiences, the TFC began to develop its services in assisting domestic filmmaking productions. In addition to assisting in negotiations, the TFC attempted to do more, including promoting Taipei as a film shooting-friendly locale to overseas filmmakers and advertising potential filming locations. In late 2008, the TFC published the first version of the *Taipei Cinema Location Guide* (拍台北影視勘景指南)[149] to achieve these goals. Besides listing a huge number of potential filming locations in Taipei, the appendix of this guide provides all the details about filming in Taipei, including production subsidies in Taiwan separately for the domestic and overseas filmmakers, the direction of the motion picture industry in Taiwan, government information services, foreign missions in Taiwan, and contracted vendors with the Taipei Film Commission. Most of the information is apparently targeting overseas filmmakers, although foreign production in Taipei was still rare at that time. The first cross-national production movie was Taiwanese-Swedish director Hakon Liu's first feature film, *Miss Kicki*, which was released in December of 2009 in Taiwan and February of 2010 in Sweden. Hakon Liu was born in Taiwan and moved to Sweden when he was seventeen years old. After that, he spent most of his time in Sweden and only visited Taiwan once or twice a year. When he decided to produce this film, his university advisor suggested he try to bring these characters to Taiwan, which eventually became the background of his move. Even though the movie projects a beautiful imaginary of Taipei, with a romantic yet despairing atmosphere, it did not capture much public attention in Taiwan. The movie's most significant contribution might be in providing the TFC the opportunity to implement the subsidies and foreign filmmaking assistance program in Taipei.

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[147] TVBS 新聞網（2009），《「聽說」票房破千萬 意外捧紅燒臘店》。TVBS News 2009/9/15 (https://news.tvbs.com.tw/entertainment/143879)

[148] 新頭殼 newtalk（2009），《聽說票房冠軍 聽看看鄭芬芬怎麼說》。Newtalk 2009/11/02 (https://newtalk.tw/news/view/2009-11-02/1679)

[149] 饒紫娟總編，《拍台北影視勘景指南》。台北：台北市電影委員會，2011。

The other important portion of the *Taipei Cinema Location Guide* is the list of potential filming locations in Taipei. According to the Commission Director, Rao Tzu-chuan, the TFC decided to categorize these locations by architectural style rather than the buildings' function, even though most local governments in Taiwan use the latter approach. This choice was based on Rao's long-term experience as a film producer, which gave her familiarity with the process of selecting film locations. She believes that it is easier for filmmakers to picture scenes by looking for the ideal architectural styles rather than the buildings' functions. Most of the communication during the film production relies on direct visual expression. Therefore, several pictures of each of the suggested locations are included in the *Taipei Cinema Location Guide*, and a short description of the locations' spatial distinctions. The guide is also updated every two years to assure the information is current. The TFC expects that this guide will simplify the filmmakers' process of finding suitable filming locations. Moreover, because most of the suggested locations are government-owned properties, the TFC can facilitate the process of obtaining permissions and can provide appropriate assistance. For instance, *Monga,* one of the first films sponsored by the TFC, is set in the Bopiliao Historic Block and its surrounding neighborhood, an area managed by the Taipei City Government, and listed as a potential filming location in the guide. In this case, the TFC facilitated the necessary traffic control to assist the filming in this district.

Moreover, in terms of promoting Taipei, *Manga*, as a gangster genre movie, does not directly contribute to the construction of a romantic urban imaginary, but makes the film locations more enchanting through highly stylized cinematic representations. After the movie was released in the February of 2010, visitors began to visit filming locations such as the Bopiliao Historic Block and a local traditional night market, which generated a revitalization of the old business district. The movie's title, "Monga" is the Taiwanese pronunciation of this old business district's name, pronounced "Bangka" by Taiwanese indigenous people before the Han ethnic group migrated from Mainland China during the Ching Dynasty. Afterward, Monga, based on its geographical advantages, became a critical location for people and commodities gathering before the KMT retreated to Taiwan in 1945. By the 1980s, the time period of the movie setting, Monga had become an outdated district where only Taiwanese traditional cultures and the local gangsters participated by lower classes youths. Accordingly, this movie focuses on these youths' stories and the dramatic lives of the gangsters, in an attempt to construct a nostalgic sense of that time period and the political and ethnic conflicts between Taiwanese communities and Mainland Chinese immigrants.

Even though the Taipei municipal government and the TFC could anticipate that the cinematic representations of Taipei in *Monga* would not fulfill their goal of developing a romantic and friendly urban imaginary, they chose to sponsor this film in order to promote tourism specifically in a group of historical buildings. These historical buildings were constructed in the Ching Dynasty and have maintained the architectural distinctions (town house style and brick surface) and the spatial relationship between the buildings and the alleys. In the 1980s, the government intended to expand an elementary school campus on this site; however, this project was dropped in the 1990s due to a distinct decrease of student numbers in that neighborhood. As a result, the government decided to preserve the buildings in the Bopiliao Historic Block, and commenced a process of revitalization. In 2010, right before the preservation process was

completed, the government-sponsored film, *Monga*, drew the audience's attention to this neighborhood, especially this group of buildings that establish the primary setting of the film[150].

Although *Monga* does not present the city as romantic or appealing, its image in the movie is evolved from the earlier film imaginary of Taipei developed by the New Taiwanese Cinema. *Monga's* director, Niu Chen-zer, began his career as a film actor and played leading roles in the movies *The Boys from Fengkuei* (1983)[151] and *Growing Up* (1983)[152], both of which are classic works of New Taiwanese Cinema. These experiences deeply influenced his later career and works. After acting for years, he became a successful TV series director. Later, he took the additional step to become a film director and in 2010, his second feature film—*Monga*— was released. His personal experience seemly influenced his work that audiences can easily recognize the references to New Taiwanese Cinema movies appearing in *Monga's* plot, characters, and settings. Particularly, the relationship between different gangs and some settings are similar to those in New Taiwanese Cinema master Edward Yang's *A Brighter Summer Day* (1991)[153]. However, in comparison to the realistic filming technique used by Edward Yang, these scenes in *Monga* are highly stylized by emphasizing the light design, changing the editing speed, and enriching the relationship between the image and the music. As a result, the representation of Taipei in *Monga* seems like an exaggerated reproduction of the city presented in New Taiwanese Cinema movies; however, these film techniques were deployed to create a tourist attraction rather than to touch upon social and urban problems.

Later in 2010, the other two romantic genre movies—*Au Revoir Taipei* and *Taipei Exchange*—continued the success of cinematic Taipei and film-induced tourism in Taipei. As the TFC's key project, *Au Revoir Taipei* not only achieved significant box office success, its unique film techniques also induced film tourism in the filming locations, a subject I will examine in the next section. *Taipei Exchange*, in another way, attracted even more attention from the film industry, bringing succeeding films to its filming locations: an appealing small café and its surrounding neighborhood. Daughter's Café and Fujing Street were even added to the TFC's *Taipei Cinema Location Guide* because of this movie. As a result, in 2009 and 2010 when these movies sponsored by the TFC were released, a novel urban imaginary of Taipei was gradually developed. This imaginary eliminated the earlier one constructed New Taiwanese Cinema movies that, as Jameson claims, dig into the problems of the postmodern city. Manipulated by the local government and the filmmakers, today's cinematic urban imaginary of Taipei is aiming to get draw domestic and global attention, spotlighting a specific face of Taipei for film tourism and urban promotion. With the exception of *Miss Kicki*, the four Taiwanese movies sponsored by the TFC were all nominated for the Best Feature Film in 2010's Taipei Film Award and screened in the film festival.[154] This result on the one hand acknowledged the TFC's efforts in film subsidization and assistance to Taiwanese films, and on the other hand indicated the potential for cooperation between the TFC and the Taipei Film Festival in the future. For instance, more and more Taiwanese movies that might be sponsored by the TFC would choose the Taipei Film Festival for their premier screening,

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[150] More details about the Bopiliao Historic Block can be found in Wang Chih-hung's "Heritage formation and cultural governance: the production of Bopiliao Historic District, Taipei" *in International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19:7.

[151] Hou Hsiao-hsien, *The Boys from Fengkue*i. Central Motion Picture Corporation, 1983

[152] Chen Kun-hou, *Growing Up*. Central Motion Picture Corporation, 1983.

[153] Edward Yang, *A Brighter Summer Day*. Central Motion Picture Corporation, 1991.

[154] the Taipei Film Festival online archive: https://www.taipeiff.taipei/history.aspx

which resulted in the film festival and award gradually becoming the most important event of the Taiwanese film industry. The TFC and its programs have also been one of the crucial governmental supports to the Taiwanese film industry.

3.3 Defamiliarizing Taiwanese Audiences' Everyday Living Spaces in *Au Revoir Taipei*

In this section, I will specifically analyze one contemporary Taiwanese film sponsored by the TFC, *Au Revoir Taipei* (2010), which was successful in its efforts to promote domestic tourism. Integral to that process was the production and distribution of a tourist map, published by the Taipei City Government in multiple languages, which highlighted cinematic locales. *Au Revoir Taipei* has no single setting, but the characters visit a series of locations in Taipei during the course of one night. At each location, an establishing long shot is always employed as the transition, lingering on the screen for a while, like a delicate postcard revealing the location's unique charm. In the subsequent scene, various film techniques are used to defamiliarize this everyday living environment, which would otherwise be very familiar to a domestic audience/tourist. Through the "defamiliarization" process, the setting is transformed into a tourist attraction. Moreover, by placing the cinematic locales on a map promoting tourism, a connection is created between the film setting and a tourist activity. The map provides a narrative, apart from the plot of the film, which takes the virtual locales and reintroduces them as appealing tourist attractions.

Produced by the world famous director Wim Wenders, *Au Revoir Taipei* is young director Arvin Chen's first feature film. Chen, whose previous short film *Mei* (2007)[155] won the Silver Berlin Bear Award for Best Short Film at the 2007 Berlin International Film Festival, was born in Boston and grew up in San Francisco. Although his parents are Taiwanese, Taiwan was an unfamiliar hometown for him. Like the director of *Miss Kick*i, Hakon Liu, Chen had only visited Taiwan a few times a year for family events before shooting the short film, *Mei*, in Taipei. The film, Chen's senior project at the University of Southern California, depicts the relationship between the daughter of a small noodle stand owner and a young man who works there, facing the dilemma of staying or leaving Taipei[156]. Originally, Chen chose to shoot this senior project in Taiwan only because it was cheaper to make a movie there than in America. After *Mei* was screened and began receiving awards around the world, he felt it was time to make his first feature film. Continuing the main theme about staying and leaving, Chen developed the plot of *Au Revoir Taipei* around the young male noodle stand employee in *Mei* (played by the same actor in the two films) and received Domestic Film Funds from the Taiwanese central government to complete the movie[157]. Later, Chen invited Wim Wenders to be the Executive Director, and the movie became the TFC's key project highlighting its filming assistance. In the production announcement, Wenders and Chen said that their goal was to represent a Taipei that had not been seen in previous movies; the Taipei City Government would help them to achieve this ambition[158]. Accordingly,

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[155] Arvin Chen, *Mei*, 2007.
[156] 台北市電影委員會，《〈一頁台北〉導演陳駿霖專訪》。台北市電影委員會最新消息 2010/03/10
(https://www.filmcommission.taipei/tw/MessageNotice/NewsDet/625)
[157] 曾芷筠，王思涵，《我在城市的夜裡談情說愛：專訪〈一頁台北〉導演陳駿霖》。財團法人國家電影中心放映週報 2010/04/02。
[158] 台灣電影網，《德國大師文溫德斯登台 揭開〈一頁台北〉序幕》。台灣電影網 2009/02/17
(http://www.taiwancinema.com/InfoNew/InfoNewContent/?ContentUrl=58023)

the plot of *Au Revoir Taipei* dispenses with the conventional narrative approach found in most contemporary Taiwanese feature films, which presents a complete story in linear fashion. Instead, *Au Revoir Taipei* depicts an event driven by characters who have different backgrounds, chasing varied goals by traveling the city for one brief night. Moreover, the delicate film language is nicely calibrated to introduce Taipei as a character in the movie and to "defamiliarize" the audiences' everyday living environments in Taipei, spotlighting locales as tourist attractions, in keeping with the Taipei City Government's expectations.

The plot o Au Revoir Taipei was developed in a transitional period when Taiwanese film industry has begun to shift from shooting art films to producing feature films. Before the release of *Cape No. 7*, the tradition of Taiwanese film was to foreground film language rather than present a conventional, complete narrative. That is one of the distinctions of New Taiwanese Cinema, easily discerned in Hou Hsiao-hsien and Tsai Ming-Liang's films. These films increased the status of Taiwanese cinema as art films in international film festivals but distanced general local audiences who wanted to see feature films in their leisure time, a phenomenon that contributed to the decline of the Taiwanese film industry. The popularity of *Cape No. 7* is attributable to its conventional plotline and easily understood narrative. After its success, most contemporary Taiwanese films, attempting to follow suit, emphasized the storyline, not film language and techniques. However, *Au Revoir Taipei* chose a different approach. The plot of this movie is about a young man's romance and his night of adventure before he leaves Taipei. The young man, Kai, is trying to salvage a long-distance relationship with his girlfriend studying in Paris. To regain the girlfriend's love, he decides to leave Taipei and visit Paris, but he doesn't have enough money. His father's friend, Bao Ge, suggests that Kai help him deliver a package to Paris to raise money for the trip. However, many people want possession of the package, including Bao Ge's employees and the police. When Kai gets the package on the night before he leaves Taipei, he is forced to escape from one predicament after another to protect it. In the course of these events, he meets a woman, Sushi, who works in the bookstore where Kai always reads French language materials. They experience an exciting night in Taipei together and feel the beginning of a new romance. Although Kai still heads to Paris the next day, the new relationship will blossom when he returns, in the conclusion of the film.

This simple plot leaves many questions open for conjecture. What's the story between Kai and his girlfriend? What's in Bao Ge's package? What is the fate of the characters? In particular, audiences were curious to know whether Kai and Sushi become a couple in the end: Kai returns from Paris and meets Sushi in the bookstore, but that scene quickly shifts to a fantastical closing shot of them dancing in the bookstore. This type of dancing shot was popular in classic Hollywood movies to indicate romantic communication or even sex between couples, but contemporary Taiwanese audiences were not familiar with this film technique. As a result, this closing shot and the loose ends in *Au Revoir Taipei* incited some harsh criticism, as well as furious discussion on social media, drawing additional viewers to the film out of curiosity.[159] And because the film won the Best Asian Film Award from the Network for the Promotion of Asian Cinema (NETPAC) at

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[159] Because *Au Revoir Taipei* was released almost right after *Hear Me*, which caused lots of comparison on the social media, especially PTT, the largest terminal-based bulletin board system in Taiwan. Comparing to the simple romantic story told in *Hear Me*, numerous people criticized that *Au Revoir Taipei* has the loose plot and unfinished story. Even though the representations of Taipei in *Au Revoir Taipei* were attractive and induced the afterward tourism fever, some people insisted that *Hear Me* touches the truly everyday living environments of Taipei.

the 2010 Berlin International Film Festival, audiences were intrigued. The popular film stars drew viewers as well. Some audience members did complain about the lack of resolution, but a great many were more fixated on locating the movie's cinematic locales after they watched the movie. In my field notes for this movie, I in fact recorded a number of viewers trying to pinpoint locales even as they watched the film in the theater. As a result, *Au Revoir Taipei* achieved huge box office success and became one of the most popular Taiwanese movies of 2010.[160]

Figure 3.1 The opening montage of Au Revoir Taipei. From top-left to bottom-right are the street section, entrance to the MRT, night market, people dancing in a park, an MRT line, and an alley section.

Just as the city of Vienna is a character in the romantic movie *Before Sunrise* (1995)[161], Taipei is a major character in *Au Revoir Taipei*. Viewers follow the characters as they walk by or through the city's memorable destinations. However, unlike *Before Sunrise*, which focuses primarily on the dialog between the two main characters during their wanderings through the city, *Au Revoir Taipei* is more intent on representing Taipei as a foreign city whose romantic appeal is on par with an imaginary typical of Kai's avowed destination, Paris. To introduce this major character in detail, the opening montage touches upon the sense of Taipei by presenting some typical locations: a busy street against the backdrop of Taipei's skyline, the entrance to the MRT

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[160] 鄒念祖，《一頁台北狂賣 2000 萬 意外捧紅高高》。自由時報 2010/04/16
(https://ent.ltn.com.tw/news/paper/388268)
[161] Richard Linklater, *Before Sunrise*. Castle Rock Entertainment, 1995.

(Taipei's subway system), the night market, people dancing in a park, the MRT high line rushing along the tracks, alleys in a residential section—every single shot is held for a while, showcasing Taipei's environments in the evening, giving the audiences time to recognize the locales, which then reappear in the movie as the stages where the story takes place (figure 3.1). When the movie begins, the first recognizable locale is a 24-hour bookstore in Taipei. Because it is not easy to take an establishing shot from a distance in an interior setting, the camera was placed behind the bookshelves to film the opening shot of this scene. This bookstore tableau (figure 3.2) is like a postcard of any famous bookstore in the world. Next, the noodle stand owned by Kai's parents, the lottery shop, the traditional temple, the real estate agency office, and so on—every locale is featured with the same appeal, as a stage set for viewers to admire before the characters arrive on the scene and then exit. These distant and still shots between scenes function not only as the transitions, but also as a kind of cinematic/tourist catalog demonstrating to audiences/tourists that their everyday living environments hold the charm and appeal of tourist attractions.
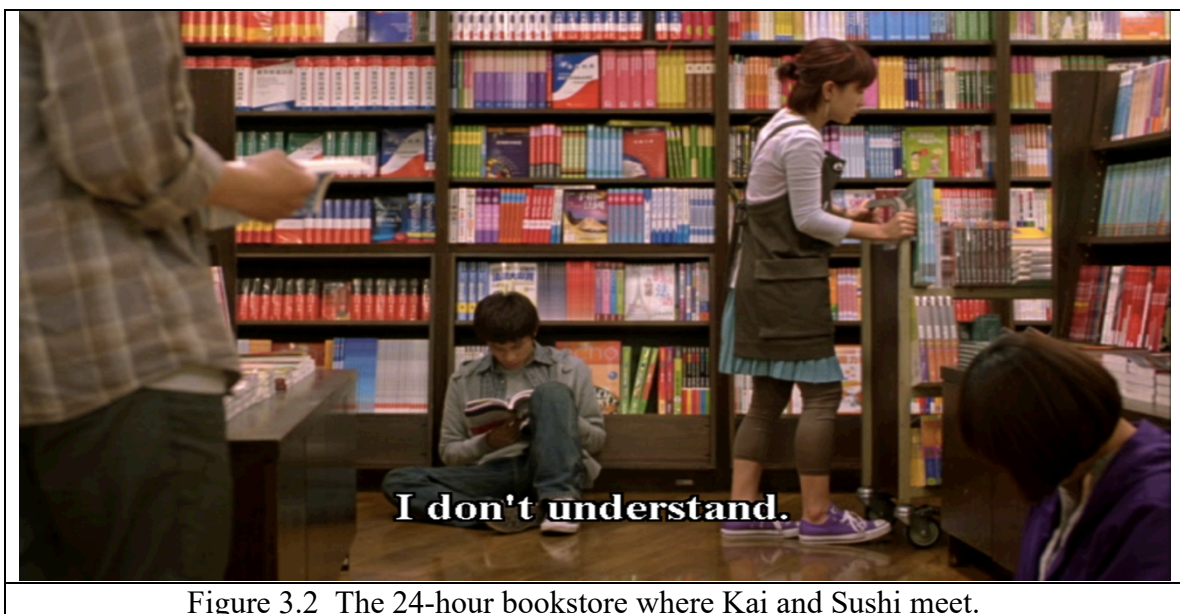
Figure 3.2 The 24-hour bookstore where Kai and Sushi meet.

However, this method alone cannot achieve the ultimate goal of film-induced tourism. Each site needs to be imbued with its own special flavor. Hence, following the establishing shots, a series of close-up shots are montaged in some scenes to display special details, features that most viewers may have overlooked or not appreciated when moving through the setting from day to day, without attention to its unique appeal. This movie particularly deploys this technique in the scenes shot in the noodle stand owned by Kai's parents, and in the night market. At the noodle stand, close-up shots focus on the dumplings and the movement of Kai's mother's hands as she prepares food figure 3.3). When the steam rises from the dumplings, the audience can imagine and appreciate the appetizing smell exuding from every general noodle stand. Moreover, the fluid hand movements emphasize the human touch of food preparation that viewers may have ceased to notice. Like those taken at the noodle stand, food shots in the night market can serve the same purpose (figure 3.4). The same charm-inducing effect can be observed in the lighting design of night shots. In order to create dazzling and romantic night shots, the director had the production team make the ground wet for almost every exterior scene. Because most of the roads in Taipei are paved with black asphalt, which is hard to shoot at night, wetting the road to create the reflection of lights

on the ground causes a delightful effect (figure 3.5).[162] Soulful close ups of food and slick streets glowing with light romanticize otherwise every day, even banal living environments in the movie. These stylish shots veil Taipei in a semitransparent gauze, increasing the city's attractiveness through "defamiliarization" of the audiences' everyday living environments.

Figure 3.3 The close-up shots in the noodle stand owned by Kai's parents.

Figure 3.4 The close-up shots in the night market.

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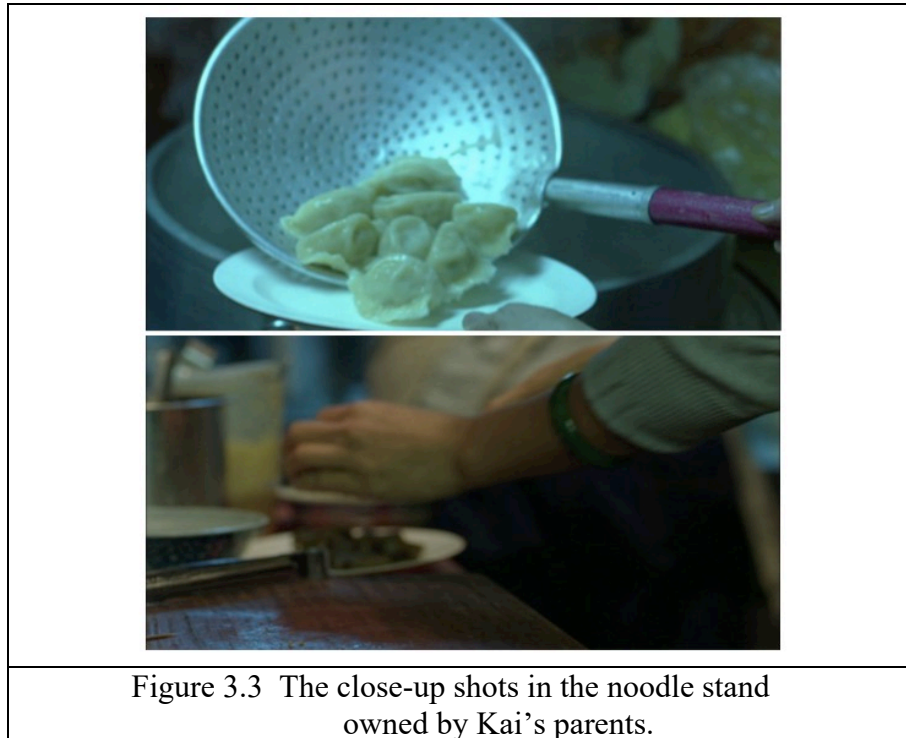
[162] The demonstration of how the technique of "wetting the ground" works is included in the behind-the-scenes video of *Au Revoir Taipei*.

Figure 3.5 The wet ground reflects the lights at night.

Moreover, the end of some scenes, offer a final push to seduce audiences: the camera takes up a novel angle, a vantage most viewers have never enjoyed for themselves. The classical film techniques introduced by Eisenstein (1929)[163] to create shock are used in this case to create wonder and interest. Considering three more unusual shots in the movie (figure 3.6), similar film techniques are common among them: shooting from a bird's-eye view, highlighting a marked contrast between the dark and the light parts in the frame, and the diagonal line crossing the shot. These techniques make well-trafficked locales not so easy to recognize, creating a game of identification for local audiences. Is this the same locale as that shown in the opening montage? Where is the camera positioned? Have I been to that noodle stand? Do these weird shots belong to the previous or the later scenes? "Defamiliarization" and "estrangement" are artistic devices that prolong the audience's thought process and create meaning through the audience's attempt to arrive at a gestalt (Shklovsky, 1918).[164] *Au Revoir Taipei* puts these techniques to use to invest every single shot with a delicate appreciation for place, inducing the audiences' desire to visit cinematic, teasingly familiar locales that the film has effectively transformed into places to discover.

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[163] Sergei Eisenstein, "The Dramaturgy if Film Form" in Taylor, Richard ed. *Sergei Eisenstein Selected Works*. I. B. Tauris, 1929.
[164] Viktor Shklovsky, *Theory of Prose*. Dalkey Archive Press, 1991.

Figure 3.6 The three unique shots in *Au Revoir Taipei*.

In addition to triggering the audiences' interest in visiting the film locations through these filming techniques, the cinematic map was used in this case to directly guide the film tourism in the physical world. Recently, film tourist maps have been employed as a means of promoting cities and their attractions. Such maps, generally published by local governments in collaboration with national film institutions, forge links between a city's imaginary and popular film texts. Hong Kong, for example, published a film tourist map in the early 2000s to ally tourism and film as part of a successful branding campaign, a case discussed by Donald and Gammack (2007).[165] This map marks popular Hong Kong movies' locales and existing tourist attractions around them in order to create a novel approach to tourism and flavor the trip with film ambience. Another example is highlighted by Les (2012), who remarks on how Liverpool brought revenue to the city with the distribution of a similar genre of map.[166] These instances, however, do not represent cases of film-induced tourism, per se, since, as Donald and Gammack point out in their commentary on Hong Kong's map, films are carefully selected according to existing tourist attractions rather than for their potential to publicize new destinations. Film-induced tourist attractions have not dominated the cartographical process in these two cases.

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[165] Stephanie Hemelryk Donald and John G Gammack, *Tourism and the Branded City: Film and Identity on the Pacific Rim.* Ashgate, 2007.

[166] Les Robert, *Film, Mobility and Urban Space: A Cinematic Geography of Liverpool*. Liverpool University Press, 2012.

On the other hand, a google map created by the Taipei City Government for *Au Revoir Taipei* is oriented in particular on film-induced tourist attractions. This map locates major cinematic locales in *Au Revoir Taipei* to satisfy the audiences' curiosity about where scenes were shot, spurring viewers to visit the destinations soon after watching the movie.[167] The Eslite bookstore, Shida Night Market, Da-an Forest Park, and so on—cinematic locales in *Au Revoir Taipei*—have thereby become popular tourist attractions. On the google map, audiences/tourists can find further information about popular restaurants near the featured settings (businesses selected by Taipei City Government), as well as existing tourist spots in Taipei. Because *Au Revoir Taipei* was promoted as one of the most romantic movies in 2010, these restaurants and nearby tourist spots were suggested to the couples as dating locations, emphasizing the romantic characteristic of this movie and Taipei's novel urban imaginary at the same time. Centered on the film-induced tourist attractions, this map diverges from previous film tourist maps in that it casts long established tourist attractions as supporting rather than lead characters. As a result, this map drew people to visit the marked locations, creating a new kind of tourist fever.[168]

Beginning from this google map, a series of film tourist maps published by the Taipei City Government continuously maintained film-induced tourism in Taipei as a reproducible place-marketing strategy.[169] Building on these successes, the government published a hard copy film tourist map in 2010, including the cinematic locales from several municipal government-sponsored movies and TV shows. Visiting these attractions has become a trend for the domestic audiences/tourists. Taipei's film tourist map has been updated and republished every year. Each time, new sites featured in the latest movies and TV shows are included, but at least one page is always dedicated to the major filming locales in *Au Revoir Taipei*, one of the first movies to be sponsored by the government, which created the trend of film-induced tourism in Taipei. In 2012, a Korean version of the map was published, and the Taipei City Government slated a Chinese version to target tourists from the pan-Chinese area, such as Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Mainland China; the Korean version would try to expand Taipei's tourist market to the East Asian area. Today, this map is published in Chinese, Korean, and Japanese, with hard copies and an online version to reach still more audiences/tourists. More and more new tourist attractions have been promoted in this way and Taipei finally has taken back its dominant position in the urban competition driven by film. In this film-induced tourism venture, maps are definitely an indispensable assistant, even a primary motivator. The fact of their efficacy is supported in Busby and Klung's survey (2010)[170] of the visitors to Notting Hill, which shows that more visitors there mentioned the Movie Map of Britain published by the British Tourism Authority as the motivator of their visit, rather than the movie Notting Hill (1999),[171] even though the movie was the original catharsis for tourism in this business neighborhood. The map is a primary focus and tool for tourists

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[167] The google map of *Au Revoir Taipei* 【一頁台北・戀愛城市】最心動的白色戀人地圖：
https://www.google.com/maps/d/u/0/viewer?msa=0&mid=zHQGWLhYCtbc.kUX6OSDumEss
[168] 鄒念祖（2010），《一頁台北戀愛地圖 網友瘋點》。自由時報 2010/03/31
(https://ent.ltn.com.tw/news/paper/383812)
[169] The latest on-line version of film tourist map published by Taipei municipal government refers to Taipei Department of Information and Tourism's webpage:
http://www.taipeitravel.net/frontsite/tw/intro/pubDetailAction.do?method=doPublishDetail&menuId=2010106&iscancel=true&contentId=3936
[170] G. Busby and Klug J., "Movie-Induced Tourism: The Challenge of Measurement and Other Issues" *in Journal of Vacation Marketing*. 7(4): 316-332, 2001.
[171] Roger Michell, *Notting Hill*, 1999.

and the connection to film may merely romanticize the attractions. In any case, films and maps work in tandem to effectively reinforce the place-marketing strategy.

3.4 Exhibiting Taipei's Urban Imaginaries, Film Policies, and Cinematic Historiography

In addition to constructing Taipei's novel urban imaginary through subsidizing and assisting the contemporary film productions, the TFC further co-organized an exhibition—*City Light and Shadow: Taipei in Films*—with the Department of Information and Tourism at Taipei City Government from February to May of 2010, presenting the history of cinematic Taipei and promoting the TFC's achievements in assisting film production. This special exhibition took place in the Discovery Center of Taipei located in Taipei City Hall, which space was intended to introduce and demonstrate Taipei's distinctions in the past and the present through permanent and special exhibitions. According to the Discovery Center of Taipei's webpage, the exhibition had five different parts. From a historical perspective, through displaying old movie posters, promotional flyers, and clips, this exhibition attempted to trace the chronological interactions between urban and cinematic developments in Taipei, creating a nostalgic atmosphere to attract visitors. To promote contemporary cinematic activities, the first films sponsored by the TFC, such as *Taipei Exchange*, *Monga*, *Hear Me*, *Au Revoir Taipei*, and others were highlighted in relation to the TFC's policies and achievements. Beyond the interior exhibition, the organizers held several film tours bringing participants to visit the popular filming locations in *Monga* and *Au Revoir Taipei*.[172] However, besides the short introduction online, there is little remaining record of the exhibition. Fortunately, from October of 2014 to February of 2015, an updated version of the exhibition was held again in the Discovery Center of Taipei, including more historical materials of cinematic Taipei and the accumulation of the TFC's works in these years.[173] Therefore, in this section, based on my observations and analysis of official documents and newspaper reports, I will focus on the new exhibition, aiming to comprehend how this exhibition contributed to the construction of a novel cinematic urban imaginary of Taipei. This exhibition furthered the process of cinematic historiography of Taipei that was highly influenced by the subsequent trend of film rediscovery and restoration.

Developed upon the original exhibition, the updated version of the exhibition, titled *Taipei in Films* (電影中的台北), was expanded to include seven parts, each looking at separate subjects of cinematic Taipei in history and the present works that had been achieved by the TFC. Near the entrance to the exhibition is a Film Events timeline from 1907 to 2014, pointing out the golden eras and key events (including the establishment of the TFC) that supported the development of domestic cinema. Some selected movie posters are chronologically arranged by the side on the timeline including some famous masterpieces in the past, *Monga*, and two 2014 released popular comedies that received assistance from the TFC. Near the Film Events timeline, a Movie Atlas of Taipei is displayed on an interactive monitor with a map of Taipei and the MRT routes on it. Visitors can touch the monitor to first choose an MRT line, and then select a specific station to see

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[172] The introduction of the exhibition "City Light and Shadow: Taipei in Films" on the website of Discovery Center of Taipei: https://discovery.gov.taipei/zh-tw/intro/activitydetail/9244. Because there is no official English translation of this exhibition, the title I use here is my personal translation from the Mandarin name—城市光影：電影中台北.

[173] The introduction of the exhibition "Taipei in Films" on the Discovery Center of Taipei website: https://discovery.gov.taipei/zh-tw/intro/activitydetail/9251

the introduction of a film and its filming location near that MRT station. In a nearby corner, Taipei: Action! joins the monitor of Movie Atlas of Taipei. The left wall introduces several filmmakers who filmed in Taipei with the TFC's assistance, such as Fen-fen Cheng (the director of *Hear Me*) and Arvin Chen (the director of *Au Revoir Taipei*). The world-famous French director Luc Besson was also on display, as his new movie *Lucy* (played by Scarlett Johansson) was being filmed in Taipei. On the right-side wall is a mosaic of photos recording the behind-the-scenes cooperation between the TFC and different movies. This part of the exhibition about filming in Taipei and the TFC's achievements ends with four screens. The biggest screen is playing the interviews of numerous domestic and overseas filmmakers about their experiences working with the TFC and shooting movies in Taipei.[174] The other three small screens are showing separate clips shot in Taipei from three crucial films from the 1990s' Second New Wave: Ang Lee's *Eat Drink Man Woman* (1994)[175], Tsai Ming-liang's *Vive l'Amour* (1994)[176], and Lin Cheng-sheng's *Murmur of Youth* (1997).[177] Beginning with a brief history of Taiwanese cinema and ending by demonstrating the TFC's works, the first half of this exhibition offers a Taipei-centered history of cinematic Taiwan.

The other side of the exhibition space showcases *Taipei Then and Now*, *Big Celebrities*, *Sounds of the Movies*, and *Interactive Posters*—the parts displaying the historical relics and a screen enclose the seating area of the Taipei Theater. *Taipei Then and Now* juxtaposes contemporary photos of several Taipei landmarks with their past images in the old films, displaying the changes the city has gone through and offering visual evidence of the function of cinema to record change. *Big Celebrities* is another interactive exhibit where visitors can take selfies with old film posters as the backdrop, creating the image that they are a movie star. *Sounds of the Movies* is a jukebox containing songs from popular Taiwanese movies. In the *Interactive Posters* exhibit, in addition to the posters hanging on the wall, a timeline with a lighting sensor is projected on the floor. When a visitor steps on a specific year, the representative film poster for that year is projected on the wall. Other small historical relics, such as old film guides and video cameras, decorate the remaining spaces in the Taipei Theater. Moreover, an old-fashioned ticket booth is set near the exit of the exhibition room with a board displaying showtimes. Four selected movies are screened during the exhibition: *The Guitar of the Township of Hot Spring* (溫泉鄉的 吉他)[178] is a 1966 Taiwanese Cinema (台語片) that records the past landscape of Beitou in Northern Taipei, a locale for film studios at that time; *Lovable You* (1981)[179], Hou Hsiao-hsien's early romantic comedy that captures Taipei's urban conditions in the 1980s; *Monga* (2010), directed by Niu Chen-zer and shot in a historical district with the TFC's assistance; and Niu Chen-zer's movie *Love* (2012)[180] set in contemporary Taipei. Consisting of varied historical relics and four movies representing Taipei in different moments in time, this section of the exhibition intends to construct a history of cinematic Taipei with a specific urban imaginary.

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[174] These interview clips could be watched on the TFC's old version website at the same time when this exhibition was taking place.
[175] Ann Lee, *Eat Drink Man Woman*. Central Motion Picture Corporation, 1994.
[176] Tsai Ming-liang, *Vive l'Amour*, 1994.
[177] Lin Cheng-sheng, *Murmur of Youth*, 1997.
[178] Zhou Xin-yi, *The Guitar of the Township of Hot Spring*, 1966.
[179] Hou Hsiao-hsien (1981), *Lovable You*. Central Motion Picture Corporation, 1981.
[180] Niu Chen-zer, *Love*. Honto Production, 2012.

In Joseph R. Allen's *Taipei: City of Displacement*, he examines a Taipei City Government-sponsored exhibition—*Old Map of Taipei*—which displayed a series of old maps of Taipei from the Ching Dynasty to the Japanese colonial period, to the Martial Law epoch, and to the present, celebrating the 120th anniversary of Taipei City in 1999. Examining the official documents, the representations of these maps, and the activities of this exhibition, Allen asserts that Taipei and the government were in the process of creating a novel historical identity that illustrates respect for multiple ethnic groups and the circumstance of displacement in relation to the urban spaces.[181] The similar analytical framework could be employed to examine the exhibition *Taipei in Films*, which further indicates the differences between maps and cinema as materials for historiography. Maps, initially drawn to represent geographical data, natural resources, and territorial boundaries, often expose the cartographer's ideology. In Allen's case, these old maps of Taipei, drawn at the behest of varied rulers from the past to the present, represent different political, economic, and cultural ideologies taking place during Taipei's urbanization process. When the DPP-ruled Taipei City Government held this exhibition in 1999 as a platform to gather these maps and the ideologies they carry, its intention could be identified as an attempt to develop an alternative history, one that challenges the dominant historical narrative that Taipei's urbanization and the cultivation of civil society was carried out by the KMT.

However, different from maps, cinema has complicated distinctions in the aspects of mediation and materiality. In other words, cinema can mediate modern feelings, represent postmodern criticism, and promote cities in the age of global competition all at the same time. Objective documentation and intentional representation can be juxtaposed in one film. Because of this, cinema, as the materials for historiography, is an effective means to create certain results, but has the potential to manipulated for totally opposite outcomes by different agencies. In the exhibition *Taipei in Films* for instance, the Taipei City Government, through the spatial arrangement of the exhibition room and the selection of films, intended to promote the TFC's film policies, as well as develop an alternative history of cinematic Taipei based on the romantic urban representations in past and contemporary movies. Therefore, to promote these policies, a series of movie posters from TFC-sponsored movies is displayed on the walls at the entrance to the *Film Events* exhibit. These posters create a strong impression of the TFC's achievements, while also evoking visitors' memories of the romantic urban imaginary developed by these movies over the past several years. On the center wall facing visitors as they enter, the big screen in the Taipei: Action! Exhibit plays interviews with filmmakers describing their experiences working with the TFC, making this the focus of the exhibit. Moreover, each interview ends with the filmmaker inviting people to shoot their movies in Taipei, providing a nonstop welcome and friendly image of Taipei as a filming locale.

To develop an alternative history of cinematic Taipei and the romantic urban imaginary, the movies included in this exhibition have been meticulously selected. Particularly, the absence of some classic movies from the New Taiwanese Cinema and the Second New Wave omits the cinematic representations of urban issues in the postmodern condition. Visitors, for instance, do not see any Edward Yang or Wan Jen movies in this exhibition, movies examining urban issues in Taipei and therefore recognized as representatives of New Taiwanese Cinema. Only the earlier romantic movies of two other masters, Hou Hsiao-hsien and Tsai Ming-liang, are chosen. *Lovable You*, Hou Hsiao-hsien's first feature film, is a typical romantic comedy set in 1980s' Taipei that

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[181] Joseph R. Allen, *Taipei: City of Displacement*. University of Washington Press, 2012.

shows the modernized urban landscape of the 1970s after the high-speed economic development. Tsai Ming-liang's *Vive l'Amour* depicts the aspiration for love in 1990s' Taipei, capturing scenes of Daan Forest Park, Taipei's biggest public park, just after its completion. Due to the absence of particular films and the selection of certain others, this exhibition does create an alternative history of cinematic Taipei focusing on the romantic urban imaginary not touched upon in earlier academic and general discussions. This alternative history created through cinematic historiography reinforces the TFC's intended image of Taipei as a friendly filming locale.

However, because of cinema's complicated nature as historiographical material, visitors were also exposed to the dark side of Taipei in this exhibition; for instance, the loneliness of living in a big city in *Vive l'Amour* and the dystopian representation of an anonymous Asian city in Luc Besson's *Lucy* (2014).[182] These various cinematic representations taking place in a single city on the one hand do assure that Taipei is a friendly city for filmmaking, and on the other hand, open the space for other agents participating in the process of historiography through cinema. Contributing to the narrative of Taipei's history, *Taipei in Films* is the first exhibition in relation to cinema held by the Taipei City Government that commenced the discussion of cinematic historiography in Taiwan. Rather than examining a certain historical time period through cinema, this approach focuses on a long-term, broader urban history based on film representations and cinematic construction. The influences of cinematic construction will be discussed in the next chapter when I look at the relationship between cinema and the identity of one of Taipei's oldest neighborhoods—Dadaocheng. In terms of film representation, two exhibitions in 2016 demonstrate how the rediscovery and restoration of old movies contributed to enriching the cinematic historiography of Taipei.

In 2016, two cinematic exhibitions were taking place in Taipei. Held by the Taipei City Archives, the first one was *The Prosperous Time of Cinema in Taipei* (台北電影的風華年代特展)[183], which demonstrated how movie going and movie theaters as a significant cultural activity and space influenced the urban landscape from the past to the present, particularly in the western district of Taipei.[184] This exhibition includes a section displaying a history of cinematic Taipei with written descriptions and old photos of the city. This history identified four periods of time of Taipei's urban development in relation to the cinematic representations. In the 1950s and 1960s, Taipei was the city for immigrants from Mainland China and Lee Hsing's *Our Neighbor* (1963) recorded their temporary living environments in this postwar Taipei. From the late 1960s, Taipei experienced urbanization and modernization. Edward Yang's *A Brighter Summer Days* (1999) presented popular memories from that period and Taipei's urban expansion was set as crucial background for the story. In the 1970s and 1980s, Taipei was in a process of high-speed economic development. The emerging New Taiwanese Cinema focused on examining the urban and social issues in this overwhelmingly capitalistic city. After the 1990s, the major issue of Taipei's urban development shifted from economic and physical constructions to cultural productions. The films of the Second New Wave and contemporary movies filmed with the TFC's assistance contributed to the formation of Taipei's identity.[185] Developing upon Taipei's urbanization process, this

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[182] Luc Besson, *Lucy*. Europa Corp, 2014.

[183] The title of this exhibition is my personal translation because that does not have official English title.

[184] 工商時報（2016），《〈瘋電影〉臺北電影的風華年代特展》。工商時報 2016/08/15 (https://www.chinatimes.com/newspapers/20160815000155-260204?chdtv)

[185] This description of the exhibition is based on my participatory observation and field notes.

exhibition seemed to bring back the films absent in *Taipei in Films* in order to create a more complete and objective history of cinematic Taipei, even though it might have benefitted from additional exemplary films and historical materials to confirm this historiography.

The other exhibition was held by the Taiwan Film Institute to celebrate the 60th anniversary of Taiwanese Cinema (台語片) through the display of historical relics and the screening of restored films. Because Taiwanese Cinema, under the pressure of Mandarin Cinema's popularity, was extinguished in the early 1980s, this event intended to re-introduce Taiwanese Cinema to the public, who might have forgotten or were never familiar with this unique film category. Therefore, the exhibit displayed historical relics and the culture of Taiwanese Cinema; the film screenings offered several representative and digitally restored movies[186]. Some of them capture the urban spaces of Taipei in the 1960s and 1970s. For instance, *Brother Wong and Brother Liu Tour Taiwan* (1958)[187], directed by Lee Hsing, records the area surrounding President Hall before it was developed based on a plan to modernize the city. Moreover, the 1969 movie, *Goodbye, Taipei*,[188] captures more modernized urban spaces including newly broadened roads, a skywalk, and outdoor furnishings. These restored movies supplement the cinematic representations of Taipei during the modernization process, a topic which was not discussed in the previous exhibitions. As a result, the trend of rediscovering and restoring old movies became a novel approach to displaying the cinematic historiography of Taipei's urban development. Later, in 2017, a private distributer organized a special screening of Edward Yang's digitally restored movies, which created further discussion of the 1980s and 1990s' Taipei that was avoided in the *Taipei in Films* exhibition.[189] The TFC even published a special map of Edward Yang's filming locations, both to promote the screening event and enrich the cinematic historiography of Taipei.[190]

3.5 Film-induced Tourism, the Consequential Conflicts, and Taipei's Contemporary Film Policy

Since 2010, the Taipei Film Commission has been a crucial actor in both the Taiwanese film industry and market. More and more films set in Taipei have applied for assistance from the TFC, which on the one hand continues the popularity of Taipei as a filmmaking locale, and on the other hand, attracts domestic and overseas audiences to the film locations[191]. The two famous examples are *Monga*'s filming location, the Bopiliao Historic Block, and the Shida Night Market, which was promoted by *Au Revoir Taipei*. These business neighborhoods quickly became the

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[186] See the website of 60th Anniversary of Taiwanese Cinema (台語片 60 週年) at http://taiyupian60th.weebly.com/ for more information.
[187] Lee Hsing, *Brother Wong and Brother Liu Tour Taiwan*, 1958.
[188] Hsu Feng-chung, *Goodbye, Taipei*, 1969.
[189] 葉萍（2017），《楊德昌導演系列作品重回台灣大螢幕！影迷盼了十七年！〈一一〉終於台灣首映》。新唐人 2017/07/04 (https://www.ntdtv.com/b5/2017/07/04/a1331954.html)
[190] To promote this special screen of Edward Yang's movies, the TFC held an activity to award some lucky audiences this film map by drawing lots. The information is at the TFC's Facebook page: https://www.facebook.com/taipeifilmcommission.org/posts/1549315328466996/
[191] According to Taipei Cultural Foundation published annual report, *The Driving Force for Taipei City's Culture + Arts*, in 2015, the numbers of films getting filming assistances from the TFC was increasing from 54 in 2008, the year when the TFC was established, to 635 in 2015, including 111 international projects. The amount kept increasing in the following years.

popular film-induced tourist destinations after the movies were released. However, as mentioned previously, the increasing popularity of these locations created conflicts with the surrounding communities, which influenced their development. Meanwhile, based on their earlier experiences, the TFC shifted its focus from sponsoring several key movies per year to providing filming assistance. In addition, the TFC increased its role in mediating between domestic and overseas filmmakers/institutions. Through these changes, today's TFC is not only a local governmental sector promoting Taipei through cinema, but also an important wheel supporting the current development of the Taiwanese film industry in global production and marketing.

Before *Monga* and *Au Revoir Taipei* were released in 2010, the Bopiliao Historic Block was a Taipei City Government assigned historical district undergoing restoration, and the Shida Night Market was a small business area with affordable restaurants, cafes, and bookstores serving the community near National Taiwan Normal University. The movies brought these locations into the spotlight and initiated the subsequent tourist promotions conducted by the Taipei City Government. In the case of the Bopiliao Historic Block, when *Monga* began to attract visitors in 2010, the Taipei City Government had been struggling to decide how these historical buildings would be used. An exhibition of the movie's properties was taking place in one of the historic buildings while *Monga* was showing in theaters. Most tourists would first visit this exhibition, and then explore the night market nearby, bringing new business to this declining old neighborhood. Initially, some local residents and merchants worried that *Monga* as a gangster movie would reinforce people's image of this area as a dilapidated criminal location, and affect the economic redevelopment of the area. Fortunately, however, their anxiety quickly disappeared.[192] The Taipei City Government later authorized the Taipei Culture Foundation to manage this historical district, which then brought cultural and creative businesses and exhibitions as new tenants in the Bopiliao Historic Block buildings.[193] Moreover, as a result of the efforts of the TFC, this historical area has become a popular filming location in Taipei, presenting the area as having a variety of attributes, and maintaining its popularity in the film industry and tourist market.[194] In 2018, the Taipei Film Festival held an exhibition and a series of film screenings in Bopiliao to celebrate the festival's 20th anniversary.[195] Since then, Bopiliao has also become a favored location for special events and film screenings sponsored by the Taipei Film Festival and Golden Horse Film Festival. From its beginnings as a filming location, the successful renovation of the Bopiliao Historic Block demonstrates the significant influence of film-induce tourism in Taipei.

Conversely, the Shida Night Market tells an extremely different story. After *Au Revoir Taipei* and the map of film tourism put the Shida Night Market in the spotlight, this business area quickly developed. To satisfy both local and nonlocal visitors including tourists from Japan, Korea, and Hong Kong, the original night market stands, restaurants, cafes, and independent bookstores first expanded their businesses. Soon, local real estate agents recognized the economic potential

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[192] More details about how Monga intervened into the heritage formation process and the afterward cultural governance in Bopiliao Historic Block can see Fuwei Chen and Christopher Mele's article "Film-induced Pilgrimage and Contented Heritage Space in Taipei City" in *City, Culture, and Society* 9 (2017) 31-38.

[193] See the website of Bopiliao Historic Block at https://www.bopiliao.taipei/EN/ to know more information and the recent cultural activities taking place there.

[194] Bopiliao Historic Block is listed in the TFC published *Taipei Cinema Location Guide* as one of the highly recommended filming location to both domestic and oversea filmmakers.

[195] See the webpage of the exhibition "Breaking the Rules: A 20-year Retrospective of the the Taipei Film Festival" at https://www.bopiliao.taipei/Event_News/Detail/6.

and convinced property owners to divide their first-floor shops and rent the new space for additional stores. However, only specific kinds of businesses such as clothing stores could survive in such small spaces, and some old businesses were forced to move out under the pressure of rising rents. The Shida Night Market experienced a swift gentrification and expansion.[196] Meanwhile, inspired by the success of film-induced tourism, the Taipei City Government decided to promote the Shida Night Market as one of popular business districts by sponsoring cultural and tourist-centered activities there.[197] As a result, the Shida Night Market reached the peak of its economic development in 2012. Specifically, during the weekends, every street or alley in this area was filled with visitors who spoke different languages, such as Mandarin, Cantonese, Japanese, and Korean. This overwhelming number of tourists and businesses ultimately ignited the anger of the residents, especially those who lived in apartments above first floor businesses. In an attempt to restore the neighborhood's original quiet and clean environment,[198] the residents began to hang handmade flags with protest slogans on the facades of the buildings, appealing to the Taipei City Government to shut down the businesses, and to citizens to report the illegal use of commercial spaces. Today, after losing numerous stores and visitors, the Shida Night Market has been set back to a local-level business area whose scale is even smaller than it was before the boom of film-induced tourism.

The developments of the Bopiliao Historic Block and the Shida Night Market demonstrate the extremely different potentials and results possible when promoting tourism in specific locations through cinema. The failure of the Shida Night Market might be the reason why the Taipei city Government discontinued promoting film-induced tourism in other locations. Meanwhile, applications from filmmakers for assistance from the TFC have increased dramatically, and it has become increasingly difficult for the TFC to sponsor such a large number of films given its annual budget from the Taipei City Government. The TFC seems to have had to adjust its earlier film policies to respond to contemporary issues. However, the TFC's Director, Rao Tzu-chuan, had additional ambitions and expectations about what the TFC could achieve in the future. Before working for the TFC, Director Rao was a senior film producer working for Central Pictures Cooperation, the biggest film company owned by the Taiwanese central government. She experienced the golden age of Taiwan New Wave Cinema, working with numerous internationally famous Taiwanese directors and participating in renowned film festivals around the world.[199] Because of these experiences and relationships with filmmakers from varied countries, she did not expect the TFC to be simply a passive film shooting assistant, but an aggressive participant in the process of promoting Taipei and even Taiwanese cinema to the world.

Under the management of Director Rao, today's TFC has decreased its subsidization to a single film production. For domestic movies, the TFC holds a film script competition to encourage film production from point zero, placing its efforts on subsidizing films shot in Taipei, and creating new methods for marketing and advertising films. First, the TFC provides most of the movies shot

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[196] PChome 新聞（2012），《【封面故事】誰殺了師大夜市！郝龍斌？房仲業？投資客？還是你與我？》(http://news.pchome.com.tw/magazine/print/po/new7/7055/132984000060635001001.htm)
[197] 黃朝盟，謝麗秋，《師大商圈爭議案，應慎謀與執行多贏方案》。財團法人國家政策研究基金會 2012/05/07 (https://www.bopiliao.taipei/Event_News/Detail/6)
[198] 黃耀暉、廖婉婷、謝郁玟、漳彥皓、李瑞庭，《商圈景象劇變 住商爭議下的師大夜市》。師大青年報 2016/02/12 (http://ntnuyouth.org/?p=8398)
[199] Rao Tzu-chuan's profile on the TFC website at https://www.filmcommission.taipei/tw/TalentSearch/ProducerDet/216

in Taipei free advertisements by displaying movie posters in the municipal government-owned bus stops and playing the movie trailers in the cooperative convenience chain stores. Moreover, the TFC holds special screenings for these movies, especially in the first weeks of their release, to guarantee box office receipts that would exceed the movie theaters' minimum amount required to continue the second week of screening. These two marketing approaches on the one hand cover a huge part of the expenses for each film's promotion, and on the other hand, lower the cost paid by the government when using public properties and resources. Moreover, the TFC has been participating in international film festivals in Berlin, Hong Kong, Busan, and France since 2009; in Annecy and Venice since 2012; in several American cities since 2014, introducing that year's exemplary Taiwanese films and promoting Taipei as a welcoming filming locale. The promoted films include those receiving any kind of support from the TFC during the production and marketing, and those choosing to screen their premier or being awarded in the Taipei Film Festival. The TFC intends to support the development of Taiwanese movies through these subsidiaries taking care of every single stage of film production. In addition, the TFC published the *Taipei Cinema Location Guide* to promote Taipei as a friendly filming locale and *Taipei Filmmakers* to introduce a complete list of the those who cooperate in these international film festivals.[200]

For the international cooperation, the TFC first signed a cooperative agreement with the Ile de France film Commission in 2010, helping the filmmakers from two places get special subsidiaries when shooting films in the other city and beginning the subsequent interactions with the European film industry and market. For instance, beginning from 2011, the Paris Project in the Festival Paris Cinema would provide a couple of seats for Taiwanese filmmakers to apply its subsidies.[201] Later in 2013 and 2015, the TFC and Festival de Cannes co-produced two film projects—*Taipei Factory I & II*—a collection of short films focusing on Taipei and directed by filmmakers from different backgrounds. In 2014, the TFC held an exhibition of Taiwanese cinema in the Festival Paris Cinema to promote movies from Taiwan and the TFC's film production subsidization in Taipei. This exhibition was later moved to several film festivals around the world including some American cities, with the hopes of expanding the TFC's target cooperative filmmakers and film institutions in North America.[202]

As a result, more and more promising film production companies have chosen Taipei as one of its shooting locales. The first project was Luc Besson's movie, *Lucy* (2014). Subsidized by the Taipei municipal government in the amount of approximately $1,250,000 USD, this movie presents Taipei as an unknown pan-Chinese city, but some recognizable landmarks, such as Taipei 101, subtly expresses the urban imaginary, or I will say, the symbolic architecture of the city, to the world.[203] As Director Rao believed, even though some critics judged that the film representation of Taipei and huge amount of subsidization for this movie are controversial, she considers *Lucy* to be a milestone which opened the potential of Taipei to attract more filmmakers

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[200] 饒紫娟總編（2013），-----。
[201] 饒紫娟總編，《台北市電影委員會三年紀事 2008-2010.11》。台北市電影委員會，2010。
[202] 饒紫娟總編（2013），-----。
[203] 自由時報，《花三千多願補助露西 行銷台北？ 評價不一》。自由時報 2014/09/05 (https://news.ltn.com.tw/news/local/paper/810695)

to shoot movies here.[204] As she hoped, Martin Scorsese's movie *Silence* (2016)[205] used Taipei and other natural landscapes in Taiwan to depict Japan in the late 17th century, offering further proof of Taipei's potential as a filming location with various faces.[206] Additionally, due to difficulties filming their movie in Mainland China, the production team of a Korean movie, *A Spy Gone North* (2018), turned Taipei and the surrounding cities into 1990s Beijing in order to complete the film.[207] In the meantime, some old and new TV series produced by HBO Asia and Netfix have been set in Taipei, for example *Fresh Off the Boat* season 3 (2015), *The Teenage Psychic* (2017)[208], and *A Taiwanese Tale of Two Cities* (2018)[209]. Through these TV series, a modern face of Taipei has been transmitted to audiences around the world.[210]

Moreover, in 2015 the TFC became involved in film education at varied levels, from a cinema school for teenagers to filmmakers' workshops for seniors, hoping to cultivate the next generation of Taiwanese filmmakers. Based on the TFC's filming assistance, Taipei has been used as a huge film studio for the students in the TFC's school and workshops. An urban imaginary of Taipei will be continuously developed and distributed in the process that began from constructing a homogeneous image to accumulating multiple film representations.

3.6 Conclusion: Cinematic Intervention in Taipei's Cultural Governance and Urban Process through Top-down Approach

In the beginning, Taipei's film policies were apparently a reaction to the inter-urban competition in relation to cinema ignited by Kaohsiung that deployed film promotion and tourism in the city's regeneration process. However, based on the earlier development of cultural governance and film industry in Taipei, Taipei Film Commission on the one hand needed to put more efforts into reconstructing a novel cinematic urban imaginary that would benefit to domestic film tourism, and on the other hand, had advantage to deeply influence the international expansion of Taiwanese film industry and the city-level diplomacy. For specific strategies, TFC has started from filming assistance and subsidization to certain films that contributed to the formation of romantic urban imaginary for Taipei. In 2009 and 2010, these films were released, recapturing the public attention on the cinematic Taipei and inducing tourism boom in different locations through specific film techniques that defamiliarize and enchant the domestic audiences' everyday living places to be tourist attractions. Furthermore, through organizing exhibitions that traced back the film representations of Taipei from the past to the present, TFC has commenced an approach of cinematic historiography. Even though TFC intended to promote its film policies and highlight the romantic urban imaginary of Taipei by reviewing the highly selected films shooting in this city,

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[204] 劉雯婷，*台北好藝術年報 The Driving Force for Taipei City's Culture and Arts 2013*。財團法人台北市文化基金會。

[205] Martin Scorsese, *Silence*. Barbara De Fina, 2016.

[206] 謝佩霓，*台北好藝術年報 The Driving Force for Taipei City's Culture and Arts 2015*。財團法人台北市文化基金會。

[207] Catchplay, 《〈北風〉9 招把台灣變北京！寶島團隊獨家揭秘變身魔法》。2019/02/15

[208] Chen He-yu, *The Teenage Psychic*. HBO Asia, 2017.

[209] Nelson Yeh, *A Taiwanese Tale of Two Cities*. Netflix, 2018.

[210] 鍾永豐，*台北好藝術年報 The Driving Force for Taipei City's Culture and Arts 2016*。財團法人台北市文化基金會。

the exhibitions of cinematic Taipei have eventually brought the participations of different agencies in completing the history of Taipei's urban development via cinematic representations and recordings.

As a result, affected by TFC's film policies, cinema has become both a crucial mediator of Taipei's urban history and an aggressive participant in this city's contemporary development. Particularly, rather than fully positive influence in the aspect of economy, the film-induced tourism boom in some locations of Taipei caused confrontation with other forces of urban development, such as historical preservation, environmental problems, urban renewal, etc. This phenomenon indicates the complexity of the cinematic intervention in today's urban process that will be deeply examined in the cases of Hong Kong and Dadaocheng in the following chapters. In this case of Taipei, the conflicts between film-induced tourism and the local communities seemly stopped some of TFC's policies focusing on deploying cinema to ignite local tourism and shifted its goal to expand the cooperation between the domestic film industry and the international counterparts. Through introducing Taiwanese films to different foreign cities and inviting the oversea filmmakers to shoot their films in Taipei, TFC is recently endeavoring to construct Taipei as a friendly filming locale for both domestic and oversea filmmakers, to revitalize Taiwanese film industry by expanding foreign markets, to create side benefit to Taiwan's diplomacy from the city level.

Ch 4. Hong Kong: The Nostalgic Film Genre, The Preservation Movement, and the Development of Localism through Cinematic Tourism

In 2007, 10 years after Britain handed over the authority of Hong Kong to Mainland China, a film-oriented urban imaginary process has taken form in Hong Kong, with numerous nostalgic films seeking to redefine local identity in opposition to British colonialism and Mainland Chinese governance. These nostalgic films are typically middle budget productions, some of which get subsidization from the government not because of more direct urban place-marketing intentions, but on account of a policy for protecting Hong Kong film industry from decline. Most of these films are set amidst architecture that embodies the local culture, creating a nostalgic appeal for the sites, a nostalgia that has prompted film tourism and contributed to the construction of localism through their particular cinematic urban imaginary.

One example of this type of film is the Hong Kong nostalgic movie, *Echoes of Rainbow* (2010) [211], which recalls the collective memory about economic development in the 1970s' Hong Kong. Portraying the unique "shop house" style of family business associated with the "good old days," the film's cinematic language provided a powerful expression of protest countering the capitalist logic of urban development, a seemingly inexorable course of action in contemporary pan-Chinese cities. In the end, this movie successfully halted an urban renewal project and pushed the government to preserve a historical neighborhood in the Central Hong Kong. An alternative model of urban development is purveyed through the medium of the films.

As a result of the historical neighborhood preservation conducted by the Hong Kong Urban Renewal Authority (URA), the buildings in the neighborhood were transformed into charity-based temporary housing, representing the idea of "borrowed place, borrowed time." At the same time, the travel industry, specifically in relation to the recent trend of film tourism in Hong Kong, have begun to manipulate these film represented urban images from the shooting sites and to develop an alternative historical narrative based on the cinematic clips and the collective memories they evoke. Such films have taken on the status of a specialized genre. Always set in historical architecture, they are reproducible as a means of encouraging tourism, offering an alternative model for urban development, and shaping local history and identity.

This chapter intends, first, to comprehend the distinctive characteristics of the contemporary nostalgic film genre utilizing historical spaces as the film setting through examining three Hong Kong movies shot in 2007. Second, the chapter will discuss the film-production policies developed by the Hong Kong government since 2006, and subsidized filmmaking as an expression of the conditions of Hong Kong society and specifically its film industry during that time period. Those conditions are the background in which the consequent nostalgic film genre and its intervention in the urban process take place. Additionally, this chapter will offer an in-depth analysis of the case of the preservation of historical Wing Lee Street in central Hong Kong to reveal the influence of the movie *Echoes of the Rainbow* on the processes of preservation, renovation, and reuse. Even though many in Hong Kong declared this case a success both for the preservation movement and for the development of localism, I argue that this case did not bring only positive results, but represents the tensions between Capitalism-driven urbanization and localism in contemporary, postcolonial Hong Kong. Finally, according to the filed research, I

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[211] Alex Law Kai-Yui, *Echoes of the Rainbow*. Mei Ah Entertainment, 2010.

predict that triggered by the unintended tourism boom this case propelled, the newborn business of guiding tourists to visit film shooting locales crates the space for the development of preservation movement and localism through the alternative historical narratives disseminated during tours of the sites.

4.1 Disappearing Hong Kong and the Nostalgic Film Genre after 2007

Since the Hong Kong New Wave of cinema in the 1970s initiated the trend of shooting movies in the city rather than in studios, Hong Kong's unique urban fabric has become one of the distinguishing elements of Hong Kong film, representing Hong Kong's specific political, economic, and cultural conditions. The film representation of urban Hong Kong before 1997, when Hong Kong was a British colony, an international trading port, and a cultural center of the Chinese diaspora, has been examined by scholars from varied fields, whether to investigate the potential of the relationship between cinema and city, or to comprehend the social anxiety brought on by the impending handover of political authority from Britain to Mainland China. Analyzing cultural products and political identities, Abbas (1997) describes Hong Kong as a "place of disappearance." He points out that because of its colonial history, its position in Chinese diaspora migration, and anxiety regarding the handover, Hong Kong cultural productions, including film and urban development, are imbued with a sense of temporality and uncertainty[212]. Similarly, the seminal account of cinema studies in Hong Kong, *Between Home and World: A Reader in Hong Kong Cinema* (Cheung and Chu ed., 2004), follows Abbas' theoretical framework and further expands the discourse, emphasizing Hong Kong's identity dilemma, caught between its image as a hometown of the Chinese diaspora and as an international metropolis. The urban hometown imagery holds the connection with Mainland China, the coming ruler after 1997; the latter one inherits the economic glory bestowed by the British colonial government. However, no matter which urban image was represented in the movie, they argued, it only existed in the temporary present and would disappear in the uncertain future of Hong Kong[213].

Abbas' concept has dominated most of the consequential studies looking at the relation between cinema and urban Hong Kong. Analyzing Stanley Kwan's famous piece, *Rouge* (1988)[214], Rey Chow (2001) echoes Abbas' argument and points out that the popularity of the nostalgic film genre around 1997 reflected social anxiety toward the present and uncertainty toward the future[215]. These nostalgic films often have two functions. On the one hand, these movies try to highlight Hong Kong's economic legacy of British colonialism by telling a 1960s' story; on the other hand, they strive to capture an image of the future of Hong Kong through emphasizing its connection with Shanghai, a previously international city similar to Hong Kong before it was taken over by the communist Chinese government. However, Natalia Chan Sui Hung (2000) argues that the nostalgic film genre in this period of time conforms to Fredrick Jameson's definition of "postmodern nostalgia" films that portray a nostalgic ambience through surface level filmmaking

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[212] Ackbar Abbas, *Hong Kong: Culture and the Politics of Disappearance*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997.
[213] Esther M. K. Cheung and Yiu-Wai Chu ed. *Between Home and World: A Reader in Hong Kong Cinema*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 2004.
[214] Stanley Kwan, *Rouge*. Hong Kong: Golden Harvest, 1988.
[215] Rey Chow, "A Souvenir of Love" in Esther C. M. Yau ed. *At Full Speed: Hong Kong Cinema in a Borderless World*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001.

techniques such as editing, filtering, and music.[216] The idea of "postmodern nostalgia" was widely manipulated in the system of "world cinema," particularly functioning to argue against the late capitalist condition (Jameson, 1991)[217]. In the case of Hong Kong, the nostalgic genre attracts overseas audiences through generalized nostalgic film aesthetics, and local audiences by evoking collective memories (Lai, 2001)[218]. Even though this surface nostalgic imagery may have only brought Hong Kong audiences aestheticized and manipulated collective memories (Lee, 2009),[219] the concept of "postmodern nostalgia" has dominated design and cultural production industries in Hong Kong (Huppatz, 2009)[220].

However, this phenomenon was gradually changed and challenged in the 10 years following the handover of Hong Kong from Britain to Mainland China. Vivian P. Y. Lee (2009) identifies a novel nostalgic film genre in the post-handover period and names it "post-nostalgic." In contrast to the depthless nostalgic cinematic representations in the pre-1997 nostalgic films, "the post-nostalgic is a serious attempt to regain a sense of history by a self-conscious grounding in the local popular cultural tradition, especially that of filmmaking" (11). To elucidate the function of the post-nostalgic imagery in post-1997 Hong Kong cinema, Lee's analysis focuses on art movies, such as Wong Kar-wai and Ann Hui's works, and some independent films directed by new filmmakers during the ten years after the handover. In this chapter, I utilize Lee's theoretical framework to examine three middle-budget Hong Kong popular movies released in 2007, arguing that "the sense of history" in these movies evokes collective memories and historical events as experienced in everyday life, which has prompted public discussion and the development of localism of Hong Kong[221]. Furthermore, these nostalgic popular movies have encouraged the construction of localism through their settings in historical buildings.

Funded by a Mainland Chinese production company, Samson Chiu's *Mr. Cinema* (2007)[222] depicts the life of a pro-communist leftist in Hong Kong from the 1950s to the present. Many historical events are included in this movie, evoking audiences' memories of Hong Kong's past. Kai Khiun Liew (2012) identifies this movie as an example of a cultural production of "juxtaposed nostalgia." He points out that through juxtaposing an older Hong Kong with a changing China in terms of politics, the everyday life represented in the film becomes a custodian of the indigenous urban legacy[223]. His argument seemingly explains in part the effects of the nostalgic movies I discuss here; however, I argue that a cinematic representation of old Hong Kong can be further juxtaposed with various aspects of changing social conditions. In fact, many local film critics

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[216] Natalia Chan Sui Hung, "Rewriting History: Hong Kong Nostalgia Cinema and Its Social Practice" in Poshek Fu and David Desser ed. *The Cinema of Hong Kong: History, Art, Identity*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

[217] Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. Duke University Press, 1991.

[218] Linda Chiu-han Lai, "Film and Enigmatization: Nostalgia, Nonsense, and Remembering" in Esther C. M. Yau ed. *At Full Speed: Hong Kong Cinema in a Borderless World*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001.

[219] Vivian P. Y. Lee, *Hong Kong Cinema Since 1997: The Post-Nostalgic Imagination*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

[220] D. J. Happutz, "Designer Nostalgia in Hong Kong" in *Design Issue*, 25:2, 2009.

[221] Because all the three movies were released in 2007 and touch upon the similar motives, some bloggers and film critics informally categorize them to be "the movies for 10th anniversary of political handover in 1997." In film critic, Mu tzu Lee's article in Inmedia, an online new media in Hong Kong, he compares the three movies and claim that these movies indicate the future of Hong Kong will be toward to look for opportunities in Mainland China (https://www.inmediahk.net/node/251643).

[222] Samson Chiu, *Mr. Cinema*. Hong Kong: Sil-Metropole Organisation Ltd, 2007.

[223] Kai Khiun Liew, "Intersecting Anglicization and Sinicization" in *Cultural Studies*, 26:5, 765-781, 2012.

argued that because of the protagonist's unique political leanings, the representation of the historical events in *Mr. Cinema* deviate from the common perspective of many Hong Kong citizens[224]. As a crucial subject of negotiation, the changing political conditions represented in this movie actually challenge the audience's respect for the represented collective memories. As a result, instead of acting as a custodian, this movie brings a pessimistic gaze toward the old days and its legacy.

The two other movies, projecting different political perspectives, juxtapose their nostalgic representations with different aspects of social change. Produced in cooperation between a Mainland Chinese production company and Hong Kong independent film director Chun-Chun Wong, the second movie, *Wonder Women* (2007)[225], attempts to provide a balanced perspective. The movie portrays three female protagonists' experiences during the past 10 years of social transformation under the rule of Mainland China. Working in the financial industry, the protagonists experience both good times and bad times, mostly influenced by economic events such as the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis, SARS, and CEPA. The third movie, a typical middle-budget film produced by Hong Kong filmmakers, *Hooked on You* (2007)[226] tells the story of the relationship between two fishmongers during the ten years from 1997 to 2007. This movie, set in an abandoned traditional market, represents the texture of the everyday living environment familiar to Hong Kong residents. However, even in the cinematic world, the market is eventually destroyed in order to make room for a high-rise building. A key concept explored in the movie, the word "miss" carries a dual meaning, both "to notice the loss of" and "to regret the loss of", a view that likely expresses the director's observation of Hong Kong society in the past 10 years.

In all three movies, the interpretations of Hong Kong's past represent various social ideologies, mainly influenced by the political perspectives held by the producing parties. In addition to different political tendencies represented in the movies' plots, which the Hong Kong audiences might agree or disagree with, all three movies employ the strategy of setting the movies in specific historical buildings and depict everyday living environments to evoke the audience's collective memories of Hong Kong. In *Mr. Cinema* for instance, the protagonist is a film projectionist and the representation of his workplace, a small local theater, which descends from prosperity in the 1950s to dilapidation in the present, recalls audience's experiences in this popular recreational space. Moreover, *Wonder Women* focuses on the Central District, the symbol of this city's economic success and a perfect stage on which to represent the crucial political and economic events of the 10 years between 1997 and 2007.

The nostalgic movie *Hooked on You* is set in an actual abandoned market in the local neighborhood of Fanling, New Territories. Named "Prosperity Market" in the film, the original market in that location, Luen Wo Market, opened in 1951 as a neighborhood grocery store. In the late 1990s, the government decided to build a new market nearby, and closed Luen Wo Market in

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[224] The representative criticisms of manipulating and avoiding some crucial historical events in *Mr. Cinema* can be seen in Ernest Chan's film review on the Hong Kong Film Critics Society website. (https://www.filmcritics.org.hk/index.php?q=node/85/), in Tang Zhenzhao's article in the Asia Times website (http://www.atchinese.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=35047&Itemid=91), and Lok Man Ng's paper in Cultural Studies, an online magazine published by Lingnan University (http://commons.ln.edu.hk/mcsln/vol42/iss1/5/). These criticisms are written in Mandarin.

[225] Chun-Chun Wong, *Wonder Women*. Hong Kong: Mandarin Films Ltd, 2007.

[226] Law Wing-Cheong, *Hooked on You*. Hong Kong: Milkyway Image, 2007.

2002 when the construction of the new market was competed. However, community members refused to allow this building filled with their collective memories to be destroyed, and began demanding its preservation[227]. While the film adopts the real story of Luen Wo Market as the background of the plot and uses the empty space as the shooting location, the release of *Hooked on You* did not influence the preservation movement, as the local community was already powerful and well-organized, and gradually pushed the government in the process of negotiating the future of Luen Wo Market. However, newspapers used the movie title in articles about Luen Wo Market to capture the public's attention. Afterward, historical settings became one of the fundamental characteristics of contemporary Hong Kong nostalgic films.

The subsequent trend of nostalgic film genre, through which Hong Kong people's collective memories are evoked through settings in historical places, has contributed to the localism movement in this city. The cinematic urban imagery of Hong Kong in these movies no longer struggle with the city's conflicting role as a hometown of the Chinese diaspora and also a successful international metropolis, but instead emphasize the specific spaces with Hong Kong flavor. For instance, most of Johnnie To's 2008 film, *Sparrow*[228], is set in old buildings in the Central and Sheung Wan districts of Hong Kong, prompting public discussion about the aesthetics of old architectural elements and about the high-speed urban development. Because director To spent approximately 2 years shooting the film, by the time the film was released, many of the buildings had been destroyed in accordance with the urban renewal policy. However, the movie nicely recorded many aesthetically pleasing spatial elements of the old buildings, such as the long and narrow staircase in the traditional shop house, the shape of metal banisters in balconies, the typical light green paint on the walls of houses, and the rectangular bricks with flower patterns on the wall and floor of tea shops, elements more commonly found in Hong Kong than in other pan-Chinese locations. Even though most of the old buildings in *Sparrow* have been destroyed, the localism embodied in the historical spaces represented in nostalgic films ultimately influenced the success of the preservation movement in the case of the Wing Lee Street and the movie *Echoes of the Rainbow* (2010), which I will analyze in the following sections.

Because movies in the nostalgic film genre are often targeted to specific audiences who share collective memories, these movies are more popular in Hong Kong than in other pan-Chinese film markets. As a result, over time, fewer and fewer Mainland Chinese production companies have been willing to fund them, which reduced the influence of pro-Chinese political ideology and opened doors for Hong Kong filmmakers to participate in the public discussion of localism. At the same time, the Hong Kong government's film sponsorship policies provided middle budget movies (most of the nostalgic films belong to this category) some space to survive in the wake of increasing competition from the expanding Mainland Chinese film industry.

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[227] For a brief history of the preservation movement of Luen Wo Market, see Naomi Ng's report "*Luen Wo Market among four more Hong Kong heritage buildings offered up by government for revitalization*" in South China Morning Post at https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/education-community/article/2049060/luen-wo-market-among-four-more-hong-kong-heritage

[228] Jonnie To, *Sparrow*. Hong Kong: Milkyway Image, 2008.

| Figure 4.1 Luen Wo Market after it was closed in 2002. (https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E8%81%AF%E5%92%8C%E5%B8%82%E5%A0%B4#/media/File:LuenWoMarket.jpg) | Figure 4.2 Luen Wo Market depicted as "Fortune Market" in *Hooked on You*. (https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E8%81%AF%E5%92%8C%E5%B8%82%E5%A0%B4#/media/File:Fortune_Market.JPG) |

4.2 Hong Kong Government's Policy of Film Industrial Sponsorship

Historically, the Hong Kong film industry dominated the global pan-Chinese market; however, it gradually lost status after the rapid development of the film industry in Mainland China in the late 1990s. Numerous filmmakers in Hong Kong began to appeal to the government to establish a mechanism of film subsidization similar to the policy instituted by the Taiwanese central government in 1990 to support its film industry. In 2003, influenced by the financial crisis and SARS, the Hong Kong film industry hit its lowest point. Finally, the government decided to assist the film industry by including it as one of the industries benefiting from CEPA (Mainland and Hong Kong Closer Economic Partnership Arrangement) and by planning to establish an official sector overseeing film subsidization. After years of preparation, this official agency, the Hong Kong Film Development Council, was launched in 2007, inviting senior filmmakers to oversee a series of regulations to support the redevelopment of the Hong Kong film industry. The Hong Kong Film Development Council supported the film industry through three regulations: Film Development Fund, Facilitation Services, and Special Effects Lenience. Particularly, the Film Development Fund was the major approach for the industrial redevelopment that included varied programs such as the Film Production Financing Project, the Film Production Grant Project, and other film-related projects[229]. As of 2018, 10 years after the Hong Kong Film Development Council was established, the Hong Kong film industry is seemingly still struggling with revitalization. Fortunately, the regulation of the Film Development Fund has assisted filmmakers in testing different kinds of film genres. As a result, more and more movies funded by the council include nostalgic characteristics that attract local audiences by responding to the desire for "localism" in present Hong Kong society.

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[229] The details of these regulations and how to apply for assistance are on the Hong Kong Film Development Council website http://www.fdc.gov.hk/tc/home/index.htm

The council's initial regulations mirrored the film subsidization policies launched by Taiwanese central and local governments. However, acknowledging Hong Kong's large-scale film industry in comparison to Taiwan's still developing industry, the Hong Kong Film Development Council ultimately decreed that the "Film Production Financing Project" would invest in films rather than subsidize them. To apply for financial support through this project, filmmakers would approach the Film Development Council as an investor, providing a thorough filmmaking and marketing plan. Theoretically, after the film was released, the Film Development Council would be repaid by means of the film's profits. However, most of the movies funded by the council did not make enough profit to pay back the investments, and the Hong Kong film market has continued to decline.

In the meantime, the film industry in Mainland China has been rapidly developing, attracting numerous filmmaking professionals from Hong Kong. Therefore, since 2010, the Hong Kong Film Development Council has offered a series of workshops for "other film-related projects"[230] providing training in various roles in filmmaking including producer, director, screenplay writer, photographer, and so on, to fulfill the immediate need for human resources. After being trained, these professionals satisfy the demands of the film industry both in Hong Kong and Mainland China. When many established film companies moved their businesses from Hong Kong to Mainland China in the late 2000s, some of this new generation of filmmakers who chose to stay in Hong Kong have become essential to the Hong Kong film industry's redevelopment. However, the continuing decline of the Hong Kong film industry has limited the opportunities for new filmmakers to produce their own projects. Therefore, the Film Development Council launched an additional program, the First Feature Film Initiative, to provide grants to directors who were preparing to shoot their first feature film. Between 2013 and 2018, the council has held five competitions and awarded two to three film projects each time. The three movies that won the first competition have been released, garnering good reviews, box office returns, and awards in different international film festivals[231]. Moreover, to address the criticism about the Film Production Financial Project, the council established the "Film Production Grant Project" in 2015 to subsidize movies without the need for repayment. All of the ten movies that received this subsidization are in the production process. The results will be examined in the future.[232]

An analysis of the movies funded by the Hong Kong Film Development Council provides evidence that nostalgic and local characteristics dominate the cinematic motives. Almost two thirds of the movies subsidized by the Film Production Financing Project[233] touch upon Hong Kong audiences' collective memories of everyday life or are set in ordinary urban spaces filled with local culture. In 2009, the first year of the Film Production Financing Project, the council accepted seven movie applications. One of these seven movies, *Echoes of the Rainbow,* is typical of the nostalgic

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[230] In addition to film workshops, other film-related projects include subsidizing filmmakers to participate in international film festivals, holding cinematic forums in Hong Kong and beyond, inviting foreign filmmaking professionals to visit Hong Kong and to give talks, etc. The list of the projects and the amounts of subsidizations are posted on the webpage: https://www.fdc.gov.hk/tc/projects/other_film_related.htm

[231] See the webpage https://www.createhk.gov.hk/fffi/tc/ for the competition details and a complete list of awarded films.

[232] The complete list of subsidized movies is posted on the website of Hong Kong Film Development Council: https://www.fdc.gov.hk/tc/projects/film_production_grant_projects.htm

[233] The information of invested movies is listed on the webpage: https://www.fdc.gov.hk/tc/projects/film_financing.htm

genre, successfully arousing the local audiences' collective memories, generating film tourism in the shooting locale, and further protecting the neighborhood of the film's setting from urban renewal. Aside from *Echoes of the Rainbow*, only three other movies from that year—*McDull: Kung Fu Kindergarten*[234], *Claustrophobia*[235], and *Lover's Discourse*[236]—are slightly relevant to localism of Hong Kong since *McDull* is a representative animated character created by Hong Kong designers and the other two movies tell the stories of ordinary people's lives in the city. However, after 2012, two years after *Echoes of the Rainbow* was released, most of the movies funded by the council include the characteristics of nostalgia and localism. Some of them try to evoke the Hong Kong Spirit; some of them respond to contemporary social issues. For example, mainly set in specific Hong Kong local urban spaces like tea restaurants and the minibus, the famous director Fruit Chan's controversial movie, *The Midnight After* (2014)[237], creates a Si-Fi dystopian allegory to reflect Hong Kong's contemporary political condition. With 1980s' movie stars in leading roles that engender audiences' nostalgic empathy, *This is 50/Wonder Mama* (2015)[238], *Tomorrow is Another Day* (2018)[239], and *Men on the Dragon* (2018)[240] evoke the Hong Kong Spirit through their portrayal of grassroots situations. Based on their nostalgic ambience, *The Merger* (2015)[241] and *The Moment* (2016)[242] attempt to deliver warmth and courage to audiences. These movies demonstrate that deploying nostalgia and localism in movies is increasingly popular. No matter what the story is, when these nostalgic and local characteristics are projected onto the big screen, audiences' collective memories are consolidated, further influencing the development of localism in the present Hong Kong society.

A similar phenomenon occurred as a result of the First Feature Film Initiative. The three released movies that won the first competition offer evidence of the characteristics of nostalgia and localism embodied in the historical settings. Adapting the true story of Hong Kong's first baseball team to win a league championship, *Weeds on Fire* (2016)[243] is the first released movie funded by Hong Kong Film Development Council's First Feature Film Initiative. The movie begins during the time period of the Sunflower Movement taking place in Admiralty. After a night of riots, the frustrated protagonist is wandering the messy streets, recalling his glorious past in middle school when he was a member of the baseball team. This movie is set in Sha Tin, a prominent new town developed by the British colonial government in the New Territory in the 1970s to relieve the pressure of the growing population. Many of the old public housing buildings are featured in the movie as home to the protagonists, and even where they practice baseball on the rooftops. When the camera is directed up at the small piece of blue sky visible from the courtyard enclosed by the tall public housing buildings, local audiences recall the shared ambition specific to the people who grew up in this kind of new town: the belief that the ability to "get out of public housing" was the measure of a successful life. The old public housing buildings are the

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[234] Brian Tse, *McDull: Kung Fu Kindergarten*. Hong Kong: Bliss Picture Ltd, 2009.

[235] Ivy Ho, *Claustrophobia.* Hong Kong: Runaway Films Production Ltd, 2008.

[236] Derek Tsang and Chi Man Jimmy Wan, *Lover's Discourse.* Shift Media Group Ltd, 2010.

[237] Fruit Chan, *The Midnight After*. Hong Kong: The Midnight After Film, 2014

[238] Clifton Ko Chi-Sum, *This is 50/Wonder Mama.* Hong Kong: Pegasus Entertainment Holdings Limited, 2015.

[239] Chan Tai-lee, *Tomorrow is Another Day*. Hong Kong: Pegasus Entertainment Holdings Limited, 2018.

[240] Sunnyhahaha Chan, *Men on the Dragon*. Hong Kong: One Cool Film Production Limited, 2018.

[241] Lu-tian Hua, *The Merger*, 2015.

[242] Kowk-fai Huang, *The Moment*. mm2 Entertainment Hong Kong Limited, 2016.

[243] Steve Chi-fat Chan, *Weeds on Fire*. Hong Kong: Golden Scene Company Ltd,2016.

embodiment of nostalgia and collective memories in this movie, corresponding to the contemporary Hong Kong crisis that induced the Sunflower Movement.

Moreover, the other two movies deftly imbue the representations of old urban spaces with Hong Kong localism to express concerns regarding grassroots political and social issues. *Mad World* (2017)[244] depicts the tension between a father and son who begin to live together after the son is discharged from prison. Because the father had abandoned his family, the son had had to take care of his mother, who suffered from dementia. Under the pressure of looking after his mother, the son accidentally killed her, and as a result, was sent to prison. Due to the son's psychological state after his release, the father is requested to take care of him. This movie is set in an old and dilapidated neighborhood to show the father's social status and the son's inner anxiety. Their small room in a sub-divided flat contains only a bunk bed and a small table, and they share the bathroom and kitchen with other tenants in the flat. This was a typical living space for Hong Kong people when the society was underdeveloped, evoking the audiences' collective and nostalgic memories in relation to a contemporary social situation. The third movie, *Somewhere Beyond the Mist* (2017)[245], is a crime film digging into the dark side of humanity through the story of a female police officer trying to understand the thoughts of a couple of teenagers who killed the girl's parents. Although this movie does not focus on the characteristics of nostalgia and localism, the comparison between the female police officer's neat, modern apartment and the teenagers' dilapidated living space in the countryside of New Territory indirectly touches upon the social issues filled with localism. These films funded by the council offer evidence of the preference for stories imbued with nostalgia or local flavor, set in the historical places of Hong Kong.

While the prototypical Taiwanese film policies require sponsored projects to include local characteristics in the movies, the Hong Kong Film Development Council does not. Why then, are the filmmakers in Hong Kong tending toward the characteristics of nostalgia and localism as the cinematic motifs? It may be influenced by the social condition, the limit of Hong Kong market and budget, the filmmakers' personal concerns regarding localism, or, I argue, the success of *Echoes of the Rainbow*, which demonstrated the potential for movies to influence urban, cultural, and political processes.

Intending to reflect Hong Kong's contemporary social anxiety, in *Echoes of the Rainbow* director Alex Law looks back on his childhood life and the good old days of Hong Kong. One of the famous directors in the Hong Kong New Wave, Law has produced several popular movies exploring Hong Kong's social conditions during particular historical moments. His earlier movie, *Painted Faces* (1988),[246] portrays the Chinese diaspora and the development of the Hong Kong film industry in the golden age of the 1980s, telling the story of Jackie Chan and his colleagues' transformation from apprentices in the Chinese Opera to substitute actors after their master emigrated to America. His most famous work, *City of Glass* (1998),[247] provides a romantic but complicated gaze on the dissolution of British colonialism in Hong Kong through depicting an extramarital affair between two Hong Kong elites who graduate from Hong Kong University and live dual lives, both in Hong Kong and Western countries. After making this movie, Law retired

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[244] Chun Wong, *Mad World*. Hong Kong: Golden Harvest and Shaw Brothers Ltd, 2017.

[245] King Cheung, *Somewhere Beyond the Mist*. Distribution Workshop (HK) Ltd, 2017.

[246] Alex Law Kai-Yui, *Painted Face*. Hong Kong: Golden Harvest and Shaw Brothers Ltd, 1988.

[247] Alex Law Kai-Yui, *City of Glass*. Hong Kong: Golden Harvest, 1998.

and emigrated to Australia, following in the footsteps of many other Hong Kong residents facing the uncertainty of the political handover in 1997 (Abbas points to these emigres as contributing to the concept of "place of disappearance"). However, a few years later, Law returned to Hong Kong and began the nostalgic film project, *Echoes of the Rainbow*.

Echoes of the Rainbow is a typical middle budget production funded by the Hong Kong Film Development Council. The movie, set in a dilapidated neighborhood in Sheung Wan, depicts the nostalgic story of a poor family in 1960s Hong Kong. The 12 old buildings in the neighborhood were traditional *tong lou* (tenement) housing structures, images evoking the nostalgic atmosphere and memories of the colonial past. However, caught in the long process of urban renewal negotiation, these buildings were in line to be destroyed. While some of them were occupied by original residents, some were empty, creating the space in which to shoot the film. Law originally selected this neighborhood only because he had shot *Painted Face* there, but the location perfectly portrayed his vision of the neighborhood in *Echoes of the Rainbow*. Fortunately, the movie earned an award at the Berlin Film Festival before it was released in Hong Kong. According to Mr. Wellington Fung, the Film Development Council and the director had not decided whether or how to promote the movie through emphasizing the award. The Hong Kong Information Service Department distributed news of the award to the media, contributing to the nostalgia and tourism fever. Ultimately, *Echoes of the Rainbow* convinced the government to stop the urban renewal project and preserve the buildings in Sheung Wan. This case cemented the relation between the nostalgic film trend and the public discussion of localism.

4.3 Cinematic Intervention in Wing Lee Street's Urban Renewal Project

As previously mentioned, *Echoes of the Rainbow* (2010) was shot in the historical neighborhood of Wing Lee Street, Sheung Wan, Hong Kong Island, and was the subject of long term negotiations between the urban renewal project and the preservation movement. The film depicts a stereotypical Hong Kong family in the 1960s: the silent father, a shoemaker, always focused on his work; the astute mother who manages everything from the business to housework; the extraordinary, hardworking older brother who is successful in the famous high school, even though he is from a poor family; and the mischievous younger brother, who as the story teller, shares nostalgic memories with the audience, many of whom experienced the good old days in the 1960s. While at that time the economy was in the beginning stages of development and most citizens of Hong Kong were poor, modern urban life had not segregated the neighbors, who help each other to pursue a better life. Through the story about everyday life in the past and its evocation of shared memories, Hong Kong audiences can identify emotionally with the nostalgic atmosphere created by the film, further supporting the preservation movement for protecting their nostalgic memories. Finally, the film influenced the public's perception of the buildings on Wing Lee Street, which in turn persuaded the government to preserve the historical buildings.

The influence of the film *Echoes of the Rainbow* in the preservation of the historical buildings in Wing Lee Street indicates the progress of cinema's role in urbanization. According to Steve Pan and Chris Ryan (2011), this movie thoroughly changed the media's perceptions of the controversy between urban renewal and preservation in Wing Lee Street. Pan and Ryan analyze the frequency of certain keywords in the newspaper reports about this case from the time the urban renewal program was launched to the date when the government decided to exclude the 12 *tong*

lou (tenement) buildings on Wing Lee Street from the program. They found that particularly after this movie was released, the majority of the newspaper reports had shifted focus from the overall progress of the urban renewal program to the nostalgic representations in the film and the filmmakers' support of preservation. This change placed pressure on the government, and eventually resulted in the preservation of the buildings[248]. To further examine how the film offered an alternative language to counter the original capitalist representation of the spaces facing the urban renewal project, I tracked the newspaper reports in the Hong Kong Apple Daily Newspaper[249] to qualitatively examine the changing focus of the public discussions about the Wing Lee Street preservation movement from the past to present, and to offer evidence of the negotiation between the capitalist image of dilapidated place and the cinematic evocation of nostalgia through the historic neighborhood in this specific case.

During the 1950s in the US, urban renewal policies were created in the attempt to address the declining urban centers after the massive migration from cities to the suburbs. However, the consequent gentrification transformed the goal of urban renewal from reconstructing cities as livable places to increasing real estate values. Veiled behind the livable environmental discussion, the ultimate goal of redevelopment is to construct a container for the global capital flow. Recently, the desire to attract the global capital flow (especially investment from Mainland China in the case of Hong Kong) has intensified the demand for redevelopment, spreading this concept to numerous cities, including Hong Kong. In urban renewal logic, the old buildings in sites targeted for redevelopment are presented as dilapidated, dangerous, dirty, and even criminal environments.[250] Therefore, completely destroying the existing buildings and constructing new ones -- "creative destruction" -- is the only way to create a better living place. This concept of representation of space, addressed by Lefebvre (1974, 1991)[251], is an appropriate theoretical framework not only for understanding how the urban renewal policy uses language to manipulate the identity of the old urban district and buildings, but further to discuss the capitalist logic about the relation between redevelopment and capital accumulation. However, in the case of the Wing Lee Street preservation, the cinematic representation of the historical neighborhood provided the preservation groups an alternative language, both challenging the original capitalist logic and redefining the dilapidated environment as a nostalgic "home."

Reviewing the archival records of news articles unveils the changing public focus and the controversial issues that arose after the Land Development Corporation, the predecessor the Urban Renewal Authority (URA)[252], announced the H19 urban renewal project in 1998. The H19 project included Bridge Street, Staunton Street, Aberdeen Street, and Wing Lee Street, a complete block, which would add to the efficiency of the redevelopment plan. According to the urban renewal model in Hong Kong, the government pays the owner for the properties, then chooses a private

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[248] Steve Pan and Chris Ryan, "Film-induced Heritage Site Conservation: The Case of *Echoes of the Rainbow*" in *Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Research*, 37(1), 125-150, 2013.

[249] In this chapter, I only use the news reports from Hong Kong Apple Daily Newspaper (on-line version) because the Apple Daily is the only newspaper that does not require a subscription for researching archives. The Apple Daily, one of the major mainstream newspapers in Hong Kong, provides a general public discussion of contemporary issues.

[250] In Hong Kong, the Urban Renewal Authority transmits the negative image of the old buildings and living environment through a well-designed exhibition room in the Urban Renewal Exploration Center, depicting a stereotype of dilapidated housing to the public.

[251] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*. Wiley-Blackwell, 1974.

[252] A governmental institution for redevelopment, conservation, and preservation projects.

developer to address the redevelopment project. However in the case of the H19 project, the owners entered into negotiations over the property values with the government, delaying the general urban renewal project several years. Recently, private developers have begun to participate in this game, buying the properties in a specific project site, then selling them at a higher price to the government, or forcing the government to choose their company as the future developers. According to newspaper reports, the controversy surrounding the H19 project was a result of negotiations between the government and several specific private developers.

Figure 4.3 Poster advertising *Echoes of the Rainbow* (Taiwan Version).

From 2001 to 2010, before *Echoes of the Rainbow* brought public attention to the preservation movement, most of the relevant articles discussed one private developer who successfully convinced the government to exclude his properties from the H19 project, and instead built pricey housing. Moreover, several articles focused on the struggle between the property owners and the tenants; however in general the tenants discussed in the articles express a willingness to accept the government's offer to move into public housing, a traditional symbol of a qualified and reasonable living environment in Hong Kong. These reports are an obvious display of the logic of capitalism: even though the residents' goal is to pursue a livable environment, the language they use to bargain with the government is based on the price. The housing, losing its

original function as a "home", is commercialized as a product exchanged on the real estate market. This kind of representation of housing space dominated the early dialogue of urban renewal policy, typically excluding the preservation movement from the public discussion. A few newspaper reports focused on some participants in the preservation movement, but the reports only mentioned them as anonymous private building owners who refused to be included in the urban renewal program because they had kept the *tong lou* buildings in good repair by themselves and were appealing to the government to preserve the historical distinctions of these *tong lou* buildings.

Figure 4.4 The site plan for the H19 urban renewal project.
Section A is the preserved Wing Lee Street neighborhood.
(Source: Urban Renewal Authority website)
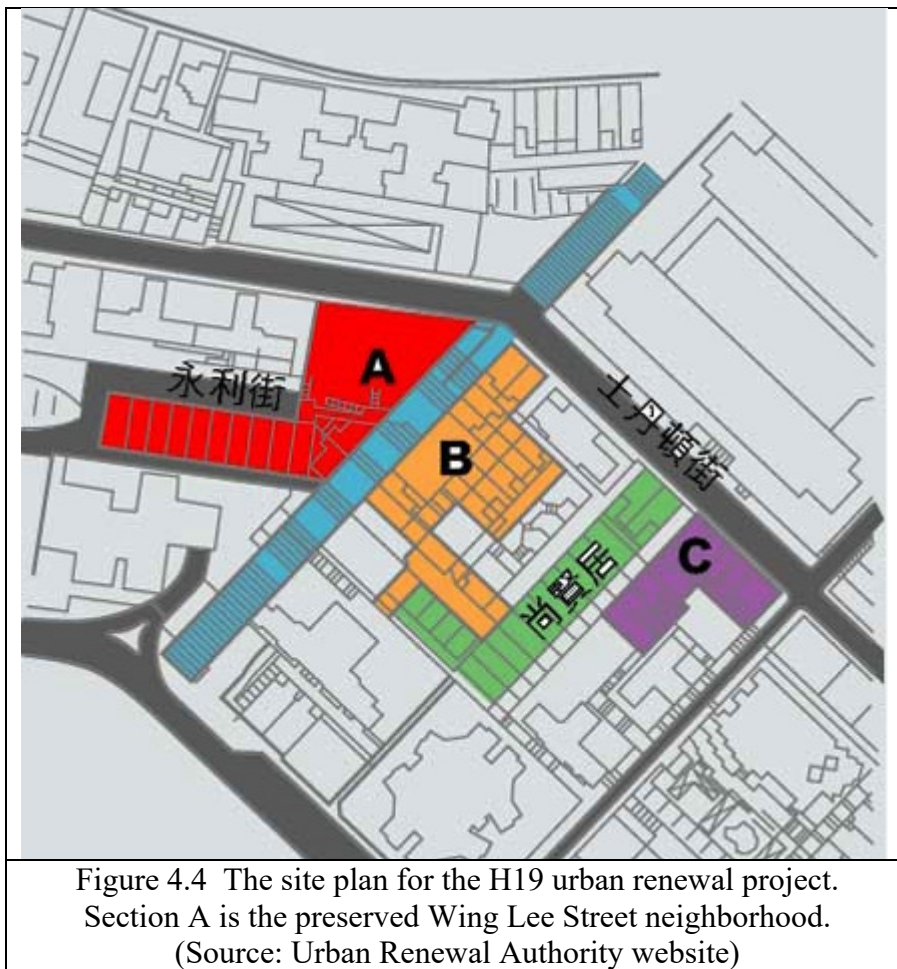
On February 21st 2010, the film *Echoes of the Rainbow* won the Crystal Bear Award in the Berlin Film Festival and afterward, was released in Hong Kong. The newspaper reports began to pay attention to the film and its cinematic representation of Wing Lee Street. Meanwhile, the filmmakers, including the producer, the director, and the leading actor and actress, all expressed their support for preservation of the neighborhood during movie-related interviews. Thanks to their support, the preservation movement became one of the main focuses of the media reports for approximately two weeks, resulting in the government's announcement that it would exclude the historical buildings in Wing Lee Street from the H19 project as a preserved neighborhood.

During those two weeks, the perceptions of this old neighborhood as expressed in the media changed from disdain to concern. Rather than reporting on the dynamics among different real

estate holders, the media shifted its focus to the residents. Various figures became popular in the news reports. For instanc, Mr. Lee, the owner of the old printing shop located at the entrance of Wing Lee Street, symbolized the time when the neighborhood was a hub for the printing industry. He wanted the neighborhood preserved in order to memorialize its role in the history of printing. Another enthusiastic property owner, Mr. Chao, had spent considerable amounts of money on maintaining his buildings and had persistently rejected the urban renewal project to protect the family's properties. Mrs. Lu chose to live in this low-rent neighborhood because it offered an affordable place to live while raising her autistic nephew. Although Mr. Lee and Mr. Chao had been active in the preservation movement for a long time, the mainstream media had not addressed them as important characters in previous reports. Mrs. Lu and her nephew were characterized as the typical miserable residents in the dilapidated buildings, ironically presenting the supportive power of the old community. These reports emphasized the value of neighborhood in the old place, as depicted in the nostalgic setting in *Echoes of the Rainbow.*

The film representations of the old buildings created an alternative language used by the preservation movement and mainstream media to challenge the original capitalist narrative that evaluates buildings primarily by price in the urban renewal process. Specifically in the movie's crucial dinner scene, when all of neighborhood families eat dinner together on the street, sharing dishes with each other, viewers do not see the lack of interior space in the buildings, rather, they get to participate in the nostalgic memory of supportive neighbors in the good old days. The film does not tell the audience who is the property owner or who is the tenant, but the audience can guess from the fact that the older brother always uses the telephone in the tailor's office. When the older brother helps other residents read the English letter, the boundary between the owners and the tenants is blurred. They do not compete with each other, as do the stakeholders in the contemporary urban renewal structure, in pursuit of capital; instead they maintain the cooperative network in order to transform the unattractive environment into their sweet home. Because of the warm representation of the neighborhood in the film, the mainstream media and the public redefined these historical buildings not as a dilapidated environment, but as a valuable space filled with nostalgia.

Echoes of the Rainbow also highlighted the spatial feature that became the decisive reason for the government to preserve this neighborhood. There are 12 "tong" buildings on Wing Lee Street, a unique architectural form of tenement building built in the 1950s in Hong Kong, Macau, and southern China[253]. These buildings were the initial, primary impetus for preserving the neighborhood; however, in the H19 urban renewal site and other areas of Hong Kong, *tong lou* buildings are easily found, although the number of buildings is gradually decreasing with redevelopment. To strengthen the argument for preserving this neighborhood, the movie emphasized the spatial relationship between the buildings and the semi-closed street, a form and function similar to the cul-de-sac in American suburbs[254], which provided the public space in front

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[253] See Frank Leeming's book, *Street Studies in Hong Kong: Localities in a Chinese City* (1977) published by University Press to know more details about tang lou in relation to people's everyday life in the 1960s and 1970s.
[254] Cul-de-sac is a special design of street in American suburban area that its pattern is a curved forked street from the main one and the other side of the street is closed. The cars always park out cul-de-sac or slowly drive in to this street. Hence, this street can be the public space for the neighborhood, especially the playing field for the children.

of the buildings as a stage (臺)[255], where the residents set their tables for dinner. This spatial pattern and the residents' usage of it are clearly understood through the visual representation in the film.

Figure 4.5 The dinner scene in *Echoes of the Rainbow* portrays the close relationship among neighbors in the good old days.

On March 16th 2010, the URA announced its decision to exclude the 12 "tong lou" buildings and the "Tai" enclosed by these buildings from the H19 program and to consider proposals for future reuse programs for the preserved neighborhood. The cinematic representation of Wing Lee Street had been effective not only in creating the symbolic concept of "home" to evoke the public's nostalgic memories about the good old days in the 1960s, but also in offering the visual experience of a spatial feature that convinced audiences of the feature's historical value. Both the symbolic and spatial representations effectively challenged the capitalist logic of space and achieved the goal of preservation.

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[255] The facades of the buildings are like the background of the stage where can be used for different community activities.

Figure 4.6 The 12 "tong lou" buildings and the "tai" in front of them on Wing Lee Street (photo was taken in 2013 during the process of renovation).

4.4 Film-Induced Historical Preservation and the Reuse Programs

When the government announced its decision to preserve the Wing Lee Street neighborhood, the cooperation between cinema and social movement achieved a new successful peak. Cinema, as a mediator, had actively jumped into the complex relationship among the government, the developer, and the planner, introducing the residents and the social movement

actors to participate in the decision-making process of urban policy. However, in the consequential reuse programs, the government still had authority to conduct the plan. Even though *Echoes of the Rainbow* led to the reevaluation of the historical neighborhood, in this specific case, it was not the residents, but the structural safety and the reuse programs that were the URA's major concerns. Therefore, the URA continued to evict the residents who had been represented as the spirit of Hong Kong's collective memories in the movie, and bureaucratically commenced the construction of structural repair and some tentative reuse programs. Interestingly, in this process, the cinematic representation did not lose its powerful effects and both directly and indirectly influenced the renovation process of Wing Lee Street. Ultimately, different from most of the historical preservation cases in Hong Kong that reuse the preserved buildings as museums or stores of creative industry, the URA has separately rented these preserved buildings out to charities to provide temporary shelters for varied low-income people. The conditions of their short-term residency seem similar to that of the residents in the movie, complete with complicated feelings about their uncertain future.

Even though the beautiful dinner scene presents Wing Lee Street as a nostalgic "home" that specifically embodies the distinct spatial form consisting of the 12 *tang lou* buildings and the enclosed "tai", the film design in Wing Lee Street also indicates an anxiety that shades the following stories both in the cinematic and physical worlds. In the film, the shoemaker's family does not live in the *tang lou* buildings, but in a 2-storey small temporary structure designed by the filmmakers and located at the end of Wing Lee Street. This small structure looks like it was built not by a professional architect or artisan, but perhaps by the shoemaker himself: the slabs were cut in multiple sizes and combined as the walls; the paint sticks unevenly on the slabs; the handwritten shop sign is a little bit messy. Inside the house, the combination of the business area and the living area presents the shoemaker's pre-modern identity as an artisan, not working in the modern society after the industrial revolution. The 2-storey structure is actually one and a half stories: the business area is on the ground floor and the top floor is a multi-functional space where the two brothers to do their homework and which the family uses as a bedroom. The kitchen is seemingly located in the back, and the camera does not tell the audience where the bathroom is. Although the handmade characteristics make the house look unsafe from the outside, the interior displays a cozy and warm atmosphere while the family enjoys their time together. Especially when the red neon light displaying the word "shoes" is turned on at night, the scene offers a sense of comfort and a nostalgic homey feeling to the audience.

However, the opposite feeling occurs when a typhoon nearly destroys the small house, foreshadowing the death of the older brother and the father. Before the typhoon scene, when the father sees the older brother's atypically bad grades and finds the younger brother selling movie stars' pictures with fake autographs, his anger interrupts the dinner, one of the symbols of the neighbors' imitate relationships and the neighborhood's homey feeling, foreshadowing the coming shift. The small house cannot withstand the powerful natural disaster; the slabs are blown away. the windows shatter, and the shoe display cabinet collapses. Finally, the parents try to use their bodies for protecting their children and the fragile roof. This behavior connects the symbolism of the father with that of the house and the nostalgic home, which is ultimately left in the memory of the younger brother, the narrator, after his father passes away in the end of the film. The small house, losing its basic function as a home—protecting the family—during the typhoon, reveals the uncertainty of a temporary shelter. This typhoon scene also prompted numerous discussions among

viewers who had vivid memories of typhoons in the 1960s, events that resulted in serious damage due to the underdeveloped urban environment. The typhoon scene in *Echoes of the Rainbow* not only represents a crucial collective memory but also reminds the audience of the dark side of the nostalgic good old days.

Furthermore, after the typhoon, while the family attempts to restore the environment together, the older brother suddenly falls down in a faint. His cancer has become the shadow of the family and the semi-destroyed house. The parents decide to send him to see the doctor in Beijing. When the mother, the younger brother, and the older brother are leaving the house to the doctor, the father stands in front of the small house, worriedly watching them leave. The small house no longer portrays the cozy atmosphere it had in the beginning; it is now a dilapidated structure. Afterwards, the older brother grows sicker and is sent to live in the hospital. The neighborhood and the small house lose the symbol of the glorious time, the older brother; and the joyful dinner scene never reappears. The following scenes in the small house mainly focus on the lonely father continuing his work. Even though the parents try to rebuild their family by repairing the house, this symbolic home ultimately faces the death of the older brother and the father as an ending.

| Figure 4.7 The family tries to protect the roof of their small house when the typhoon hits (image captured from the movie). | Figure 4.8 The damage to the small house after the typhoon, showing the frustration and uncertainty of the family (image captured from the movie). |

This uncertain atmosphere even permeates through the cinematic space into the real world, predicting and affecting the subsequent preservation and reuse process in the Wing Lee Street neighborhood. First, after the shooting was complete, the shoemaker's small house, the major scene embodying Hong Kong people's collective nostalgic memories, was destroyed since it was only a temporary film setting. However, as the most important nostalgic symbol of the film, the small house had become a film tourism attraction. Its absence, therefore, was disturbing to the tourists who visited the neighborhood hoping to see it. Moreover, when some of them turned to explore the *tang lou* buildings, they could only observe them from the outside, rather than seeing the interior parts that had been occupied by the residents. As a result, most tourists spent very little time visiting the area. They simply took a walk along the street, photographing the exterior of the

historical buildings as well as taking selfies. Although some newspapers tried to introduce other attractions, such as famous restaurants and shops near Wing Lee Street to enrich the tourist activities, the fever of visiting this film locale did not last long. Accordingly, the public attention toward the Wing Lee Street neighborhood disappeared shortly after the government announced its decision to preserve it. Because of the lack of public attention and the uncomfortable atmosphere both in the cinematic and physical Wing Lee Street, the government delayed the preservation and reuse program for two years without any progress.

During the two years from 2010 to 2012, the relevant reports of this case in the mainstream media primarily concerned structural safety problems and the plan for reuse. The former issue was seemingly extended from the cinematic anxiety caused when the shoemaker's small house was hit by the typhoon in *Echoes of the Rainbow*. Meanwhile, most of the discussions focusing on the reuse projects disregarded the residents, even the existing tenants whose benefits much decreased after the preservation plan was announced. Not having ownership of the buildings, some tenants were still forced by the government to move away without being given public housing because they had lost the right to that once the neighborhood was no longer an urban renewal project. Similar to the shoemaker's house after the typhoon and the deaths, the Wing Lee Street neighborhood was stuck in limbo. The government did not propose any reuse program and the residences were uncertain about their future. When more and more residents could not afford the situation and decided to leave, the increasing empty spaces as dark hollows diminished the homey aura created by the movie.

Figure 4.9 The ruined environmental condition of buildings in Wing Lee Street (photos were taken in 2013 during renovation).

Ultimately, the increasing reports of fallen concrete debris from the historical buildings' façades forced the government to commence the restoration construction near the end of the two-year period. In 2012, the URA gradually moved most of the residents out of this area, using the excuse that the unsafe buildings had to be thoroughly repaired. Some of the buildings, owned by the government, have been repaired with historical exteriors but modern interiors and the elimination of certain spatial distinctions. Meanwhile, some other buildings, owned by the original landlords, have maintained both the old texture and the ruined environment, reminding Hong Kong people's nostalgic homely memories on the one hand; on the other hand, expressing an unpleasant

atmosphere. The juxtaposition of the repaired and dilapidated buildings along a short street has further emphasized the peculiarity and anxiety of this neighborhood.

The URA considered some tentative programs for reuse during the repair process. A few previously restored buildings were rented to different organizations—Hong Kong Arts Center rented building No.5 to accommodate visiting international artists under the Artist Home Base program; buildings No. 7 and No. 8 housed the Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups' WL Residence, halfway houses accommodating young people with family problems and criminal records who were transitioning back into society; building No. 9 was occupied by Hong Kong University as a space for a course in which students explored the potential preservation and reuse programs in Wing Lee Street. In the duration of these tentative reuse programs, "tai" was a crucial space where numerous activities were held, such as art exhibitions, community gatherings, an open-air classroom, etc. Each organization was attempting to recreate the nostalgic atmosphere of the cinematic Wing Lee Street in the actual environment, and to re-attract the public's attention back to Wing Lee Street[256]. The influence of *Echoes of the Rainbow* was still powerful in this period. However, when most of the government-owned buildings had been repaired, rather than incorporating public opinion, the URA arbitrarily ended the rental contracts with most of the organizations and called for proposals for future projects specifically from charities. The URA did not elaborate the reason for choosing charities as the target participants in the reuse plan. Ultimately, only the Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups and its project of WL Residence were allowed to stay, and other organizations were asked to leave.
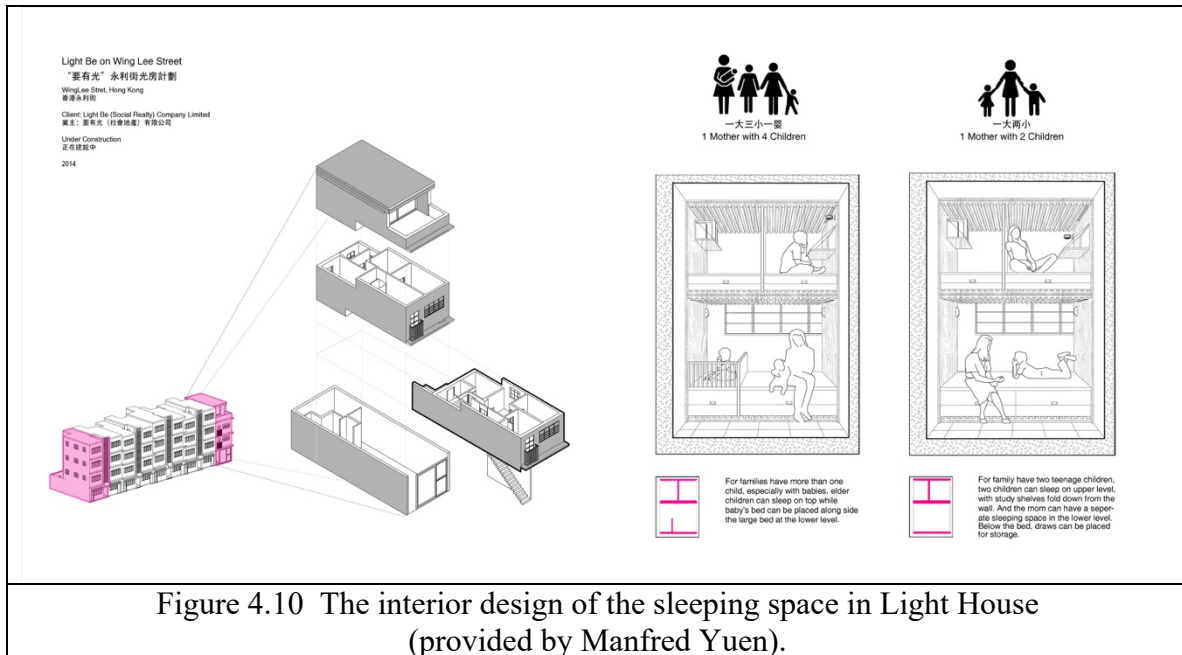
In the end, different charity organizations rented the preserved buildings on Wing Lee Street as halfway homes that, I argue, create a temporary and uncertain living space, similar to that represented in *Echoes of the Rainbow*. The four charities using the preserved buildings include Light Be, which manages the temporary affordable rental apartments for low-income families and empowers them to be capable of moving to general public or private housing; the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Hong Kong, which provides short-term accommodations for young people participating in their employment training courses; the Hong Kong Federation of Youth Group continues to run the WL Residence project; and Reconnect Environmental Institute offers courses and workshops educating students on the ideology of environmental protection[257]. Interestingly, these reuse programs still follow the spatial representation in *Echoes of the Rainbow*, using the preserved buildings on Wing Lee Street as temporary residences, an uncertain accommodation with an unusual atmosphere. According to the charities' rules, the new residents' stay must be short and they are assumed to leave the low-income or non-socialized situation when they move out of these residences. During their stay, on the one hand, the temporary residences provide them a home-shelter; on the other hand, the uncertainty of the future and the time pressure of moving out make it clear that they are not home there.

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[256] The tentative reuse projects and events used to be posted on URA's website, specifically the webpage that introducing heritage preservation and revitalization in Wing Lee Street in June 2014 when I visited the website. But, this webpage has been replaced by one that introduces the formal reuse projects in Wing Lee Street since the URA eliminated the previous projects.

[257] The list of reuse projects and more details about the present Wing Lee Street ate posted on the webpage: https://www.ura.org.hk/en/project/heritage-preservation-and-revitalisation/g7%20centre%20at%20wls

Figure 4.10 The interior design of the sleeping space in Light House
(provided by Manfred Yuen).

In addition to reusing these *tang lou* buildings as halfway housing, the strong influence of *Echoes of the Rainbow* further intervened in planning for the interior design of one organization's temporary residences. To efficiently accommodate numbers of low-income families, specifically single mothers and their children, into small rooms of *tang lou* buildings, Light Be hired a Hong Kong architect, Manfred Yuen, to design the interior spaces. After receiving architectural training from the University of Hong Kong and the University of Cambridge, Yuen began his career as a founder of Groundwork Architecture + Urbanism in London in 2007 and soon attempted to expand his business to Mainland China. However, he was too arrogant and sure that he would become a superstar in this field, and was ultimately unsuccessful in Mainland China. He decided to move back to Hong Kong in the early 2010s, shifting his focus from big projects to the cases in various scales that are mostly in relation to local culture of Hong Kong. He has since taught in the Hong Kong Polytechnic University School of Design and Hong Kong University SPACE architecture program as a visiting lecturer, gradually becoming an influential architect in the city. In 2015, he accepted the invitation of Light Be to design the interior spaces for low-incline families as an honor that he indented to contribute to the society by charging a low design fee. When he began this project, beyond considering the spatial demands of low-income families, he recalled the nostalgic feeling of watching *Echoes of the Rainbow*. He was particularly struck by the shoemaker's small house and the dinner scene, as he pointed out, which represent how poor Hong Kong people use the limited space to satisfy multiple purposes. This idea from the movie later became the major design concept that prompted Yuen to include movable walls and foldable furniture to create a multi-functional living room that is shared by more than one family living on the same floor. Moreover, the form of the shoemaker's small house in the movie inspired Yuen to design a sleeping space that is separated to two levels: the upper level for older children and the lower level for mothers and younger children, especially babies that need the mother's consistent care. Both the upper and lower levels could be further divided into two sections by means of movable slabs that can provide privacy or storage space. In this case, the impressive film settings, beyond

affecting urban policy regarding preservation, influenced the consequent reuse program, even including the spatial design of the interiors in the renovation process[258].

The above case demonstrates how the movie *Echoes of the Rainbow* has been powerfully influential in the preservation and reuse of the Wing Lee Street neighborhood. However, the negotiation between the cinematic effects and the other human participants was complex and did not always lead to satisfying conclusions for everyone. In this case, even though the *tang lou* buildings were preserved, the original residents and the intimate relationships presented as the essence of the good old days in Hong Kong people's collective memory were destroyed when the URA moved most of the neighbors out of this area. In the end, the URA decided to rent the restored buildings to charity organizations as halfway housing, replicating the feeling of uncertainty represented in the film setting, and subsequently haunting the physical Wing Lee Street neighborhood. This result ironically echoes Abbas' description of Hong Kong cultural productions as portraying a "place of disappearance," which may be contradictory to the contemporary function of the nostalgic film genre—the development of localism, a more solid and eternal ideology of Hong Kong society. As the successor of the Land Development Corporation of the British colonial government, the URA has continued the colonizer's logic of accumulating capital from the colonized territory. The real estate value is the URA's only concern. Once Wing Lee Street had been preserved and left the capitalist game, the URA had no efficient mechanism for creating a future plan for this neighborhood, but kindly followed the indication from the film, maintaining the atmosphere of uncertainty in this place. Through comparing the film representation and today's reuse projects in this case, the economic and cultural tensions between the URA and the public on the aspect of urban development in relation to nostalgic film genre and localism are crystalized.

Figure 4.11   Wing Lee Street in 2016. Most of the buildings have been renovated and are being used by the charities. Only some of them were still under construction.

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[258] Manfred Yue's design of Light House was reported by numerous newspapers and magazines.

4.5 The Cinematic Guided Tour and Alternative Historical Narrative

A review of the preservation movement, renovation, and reuse plan regarding Wing Lee Street offers evidence that the romanticized representation of the neighbors' use of "tai" as a distinct space in the movie *Echoes of the Rainbow* provided an alternative language to counter the capitalist logic of urban development. Ultimately, the film as a powerful media helped the residents to achieve their goal of preserving these historical buildings. However, in the processes of renovation and reuse, cinema seemingly lost its influence, as the URA made decisions according to its original capitalist orientation and removed the residents from the buildings. The new tenants, the charity organizations, developed the spaces as halfway housing, spaces imbued with the uncertainty and anxiety represented in the dark side of the movie. Fortunately, however, the tourism boom resulting from the film *Echoes of the Rainbow* led to the creation of a novel tourist-oriented business offering tours that combine cinematic landscapes and local culture. These guided tours not only challenge old approaches toward film tourism in Hong Kong, but also emphasize the role of film as an archived material that can be easily edited to express an alternative historical narrative, in this particular case, a narrative that is essential to the development of localism.

Since the 1980s era of prosperity in the Hong Kong film industry, cinema has been used as a tool for promoting tourism in Hong Kong. However, scholars have criticized the Hong Kong government's film tourism strategies as inefficient in luring large numbers of tourists and furthering the contrast between varied cultural images of this city. For instance, the Hong Kong government used to publish a map of the shooting locations of some popular movies and the neighboring tourist attractions, such as famous historical buildings and shopping areas, particularly in the Central and Shang Wan districts. However, the maps included detailed information only about the neighboring tourist attractions. There was scant description of either the film shooting locations or the connections between the two types of tourist attractions. The map, in the end, seemed to create a gap between the cinematic Hong Kong and the tourist locations, which prevented the tourists from feeling the lure of the other image of Hong Kong (Gammack, 2007)[259]. Another example of the government's ineffective strategy occurred when the Hong Kong government invited the world-famous movie star, Jackie Chan, to be Hong Kong's Tourism Ambassador. In order to promote the identity of "being flexible," his global performance emphasized the city as an international tourist locale, an image that countered the characteristics of traditional Chinese culture traditionally used to promote tourism (Pang, 2007[260]; Lee 2011[261]). These examples indicate that even though the Hong Kong government has continued to use cinema as a tool to promote tourism, the cinematic image of Hong Kong in governmental advertisements is seemingly blowing in the wind, lacking a grounding that appeals to both foreign tourists and local residents.

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[259] John G. Gammack (2007) *Tourism and the Branded City: Film and Identity on the Pacific Rim*. Ashgate.

[260] Li-Kwan Pang, "Jackie Chan, Tourism, and the Performing Agency" in Gina Marchetti and Tan See Kam ed. *Hong Kong Film, Hollywood and New Global Media: No Film is an Island*. London and New York: Routledge, 2007.

[261] Vivian P. Y. Lee, "Contested Heritage: Cinema, Collective Memory, and the Politics of Local Heritage in Hong Kong" in Kinnia Shuk-ting Yau ed. *East Asian Cinema and Cultural Heritage: From China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, to Japan and South Korea*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Hong Kong cinema holds a special place in Taiwanese culture, and in the 2000s, a Taiwanese fan group devoted to Stephen Chow and his comedies developed a bottom-up approach toward Hong Kong film tourism. In the 1980s to the early 2000s, before it was replaced by Hollywood cinema, Hong Kong cinema dominated the film market in Taiwan. At that time, film distribution techniques had been perfected, providing multiple channels through which Hong Kong cinema became rooted in the everyday life of Taiwanese audiences. Some first saw Hong Kong movies with family and neighbors at movie theaters in the countryside, and others, in front of a community temple when film screening was a popular, novel activity included in the temple's traditional festival. Whether in the movie theater and in front of the temple, watching Hong Kong movies was an extremely popular recreational activity, as these films offered novel film techniques, meaningful screening locations, and attractive settings (most of the Hong Kong movies at that time were shot in Hong Kong, a more modern urban space than the living environment of the Taiwanese audiences). Later, the popularity of VHS and cable TV brought Hong Kong cinema into the home, which allowed audiences to view a movie several times in a private space, creating a specific type of intimacy between the movies and the audience. Even after Hong Kong cinema lost its position in the Taiwan film market, Taiwanese audiences could watch popular Hong Kong movies over and over on Chinese movie channels broadcast on cable TV. Specifically, Stephen Chow movies were extremely popular in movie theaters in the 1980s, and have been consistently replayed on cable TV, developing a significant Stephen Chow fan culture in Taiwan.

Alongside improved film distribution techniques, the Internet and social networking provided movie fans a means of sharing their thoughts with each other, which eventually led to the establishment of an unofficial Stephen Chow fan club. This fan club began to sponsor participation in different activities including private film screenings, public events when Stephen Chow visited Taiwan, and most important, travel to film shooting locations in Hong Kong. Some of the fans made efforts to locate the places where the films had been shot and then shared the locations on the Internet and through social networking. Some fans began to visit these locations in person, bringing back information and additional film shooting locations, as well as photos taken in the sites—photos in which they often mimicked a scene from a Stephen movie. These activities seemed to satisfy the fans' deepest desires, and as a result, became popular among various fans of pan-Chinese cinema. Their film pilgrimage did not refer to any other cases around the world, but was naturally based on the cult of Stephen Chow and the slapstick humor (無厘頭) that was fully developed in Stephen Chow's nonsense comedies in the 2000s and later became essential in Hong Kong popular culture. In 2008, the core members of the unofficial Stephen Chow fan club published a book, *Next Station, Stephen Chow (下一站，周星馳)*[262], listing all of the film shooting locations of Stephen Chow's movies, recording some of their tours of film pilgrimages, and teaching readers how to take photos replicating Stephen Chow's acting. Because of the popularity of Stephen Chow and his comedies in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Mainland China, this book has been widely distributed and indeed influenced the subsequent development of cinematic tourism in the Chinese cinematic world, particularly by amateurs.[263]

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[262] 九姑娘，梁無雙，下一站，周星馳：星爺當導遊，你們說好不好玩啊？ [Next Station, Stephen Chow]，台北：漫遊者文化，2008。

[263] See my master thesis (written in Mandarin) *The Constructing and Changing of Cinematic Hong Kong through the Taiwanese Cult Followings' Eyes* to know the film watching and film location visiting experiences of the Taiwanese fans of Hong Kong cinema, as well as how do they create the consciousness of the imaginary Hong Kong through the intertwined experiences of cinema and tourism.

Cinematic tourism in Hong Kong then, is a development spawned from fan culture, targeting the cult of Hong Kong cinema when the industry was in decline. In 2009, an Hong Kong amateur writer, Chi Fu (奇夫), published *Traveling to Film Locales: Hong Kong Island*[264] （*電影現場之旅：港島篇*) [265], the first cinematic tourist book collecting a huge amount of movies and their shooting locations in Hong Kong Island. As the famous film critics Chia Ming (家明) and Chi Fu wrote in the preface of the book, Chi Fu is neither a professional filmmaker or a film critic. He is a fan of Hong Kong cinema and urban culture, growing up at the time when the Hong Kong film industry was prosperous. Rather than identifying this book as a tour guide for cinematic Hong Kong, he prefers to "describe himself as a Hongkonger who tries to write down his *flaneur* notes that combines the experiences of visiting the film shooting locales and growing memories" (9). Therefore, this book not only points out the shooting locations, but also includes Chi Fu's personal thoughts about the movies and their locations. The writing style of private narrative further creates a unique nostalgic atmosphere that specifically attracts the readers who either have similar background with Chi Fu or are fans of Hong Kong cinema and urban culture. Gary Wong, the owner of the blog, *Film Pilgrimage*, is one of Chi Fu's followers. Based on Gary Wong's personal introduction on the blog, he was inspired by Chi Fu and decided to begin a blog in 2010, intending to expand Chi Fu's work specifically in the areas beyond Hong Kong Island[266]. In the beginning, Gary Wong identified himself as a fan of cinema and tourism. Afterward, through accumulating articles on the blog and publishing two books—*Film Pilgrimage (電影朝聖)* in 2011[267] and *Film and Dine (電影美食朝聖遊)* in 2014[268]—both of which focus on Hong Kong, Gary Wong further began his career as a freelance journalist in the field of cinematic tourism. He later established an online journal—*Film Pilgrimage,* introducing film shooting locations in East Asian (including Hong Kong, Taiwan, Macau, and Japan), published *Film Pilgrimage: Taiwan* (電影朝聖—台灣) in 2017[269] focusing on cinematic tourism in Taiwan, and created a Facebook page sharing articles originally posted on his blog and reporting the cinematic events he participated in. Thanks to Chi Fu and Gary Wong's efforts, cinematic tourism in Hong Kong has gradually become a distinct field, having plentiful data, particularly for fans of Hong Kong cinema.

Cinematic tourism in Hong Kong became part of mainstream culture after the movie *Echoes of the Rainbow* prompted a tourism boom in the shooting locale, Wing Lee Street, in 2010. Even though, as mentioned previously, this film-induced tourism boom only lasted a short time, it introduced cinematic tourism of Hong Kong and the interconnected collective memories and preservation movement to a wider audience. Cinematic tourism is not limited to specific fan groups, but is rather a popular recreational activity for the general public, indirectly inspiring a novel travel agent business in its aftermath. In 2013, aiming to guide tourists to experience the lesser-seen sides of Hong Kong, Paul Chi-yuen Chan and his partners began a new kind of travel agency in Hong Kong similar to agencies in Western countries, especially in Britain and Australia. Their

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[264] This book does not have an English title. "Traveling to Film Locale: Hong Kong Island" is my translation depending on the Chinese title and the motive of this book.
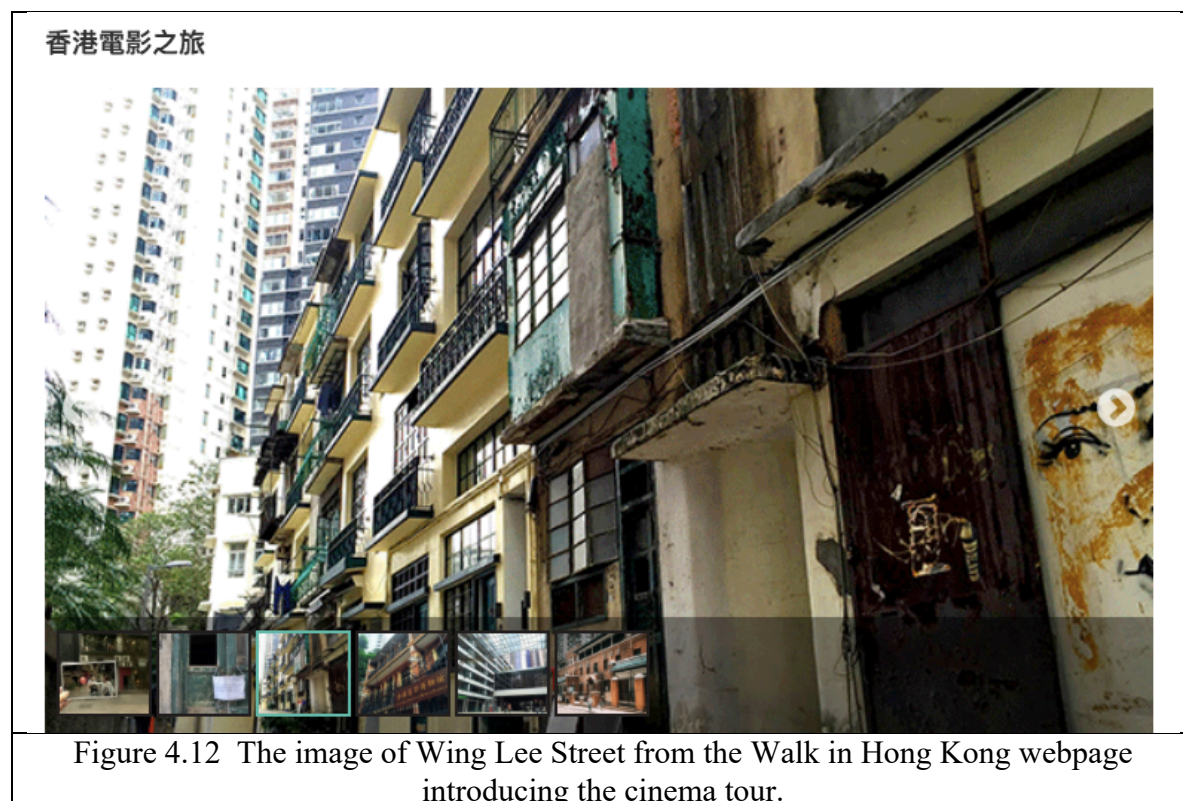[265] 奇夫，《電影現場之旅：港島篇》，香港：三聯書店（香港）有限公司，2009。
[266] The webpage of Film Pilgrimage: https://film-pilgrimage.com/
[267] 王冠豪，《電影朝聖 》[Film Pilgrimage]，香港：青森文化，2011。
[268] 王冠豪，《電影美食朝聖遊 》[Film and Dine]，香港：朝影社，2014。
[269] 王冠豪，《電影朝聖—台灣》 [Film Pilgrimage: Taiwan]，香港：朝影社，2017。

company—Walk in Hong Kong—provides culture-focused guided tours, including historical architecture tour, market hopping, LGBT landscape, cinematic tourism, etc.[270] Specifically, the tour of cinematic Hong Kong first began from the cooperation between Walk in Hong Kong and Chi Fu in 2014, bringing participants to visit crucial film shooting locations in different districts of Hong Kong Island during the Hong Kong International Film Festival. Afterward, based on this cooperation, Walk in Hong Kong individually designed a regular tour of Hong Kong cinema focusing on the Central and Sheng Wan districts. They chose this area for the cinematic tour because they had provided other kinds of cultural tours in the same area, which helped them become familiar with the local history and cultures. To prepare this guided tour, Paul Chan and his partners selected movies and determined the shooting locations, planned the route, created scripts for each location, and purchased the copyrights for the film clips they would show on site via an Apple iPad Pro. Ultimately, this guided tour of Central and Sheng Wan Hong Kong cinema was launched in the summer of 2016. Paul Chan initially planned to run this project for only a year and end it when the demand for cinematic tourism decreased. However, this project has become one of the fundamental guided tours offered by Walk in Hong Kong.

Figure 4.12 The image of Wing Lee Street from the Walk in Hong Kong webpage introducing the cinema tour.

During the guided tour, besides bringing participants to visit some film shooting locations of popular Hong Kong movies, the guide uses the film stories and the historical buildings on site to provide an insider's narrative of Hong Kong history. Importantly, nostalgia and historical preservation are dominant in the guide's narrative. For instance, the guided tour starts from an office building in Sheng Wan, which is the site of a crucial death scene in *Infernal Affairs* (2002)[271],

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[270] For more information about Walk in Hong Kong and the details of cinema tour go to: http://walkin.hk
[271] Andrew Lau and Alan Mak, *Infernal Affairs*. Hong Kong: Media Asia Films, 2002.

the first movie in one of the most important trilogy films in 2000s' Hong Kong. This trilogy achieved astonishing box office success at a time when the Hong Kong film industry was at a severe low. In the aspect of film representation, through depicting the extreme situations of two police officers, one who is working undercover into a triad and the other who is hiring by the triad to be a spy in police office, this trilogy not only reflects Hong Kong's colonial history, but also indicates the contemporary dilemma faced by the government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (Law, 2007).[272] Beginning the tour in this location recalls the participants' memories about both the past glory of Hong Kong cinema and the social transformation in the crucial recent past.

From this starting point, the guide leads the participants to several film shooting locations. Some of them are in preserved historical architectures; some of them, in completely updated urban spaces from which the old buildings have disappeared. In the preserved locations, the guide will add relevant historical narrative to provide the participants the connections between the cinematic and physical worlds. Particularly in the Wing Lee Street historical neighborhood, for example, the guide first talks about the architectural distinctions of a typical old Hong Kong tenement house and immigrants' living environment in the 1960s, and then briefly discusses the tourism boom and the subsequent preservation influenced by *Echoes of the Rainbow*. In the later sites, the guide will emphasize the change through showing film clips that record the old urban landscape, and certain micro and local history will also be told to give the participants a thorough picture of the urban process in Sheng Wan and Central Hong Kong. In the end, to finish the tour, the guide leads the participants through a short tunnel of staircase between two high-rise buildings. Once everyone has passed the staircase, the guide reveals that this is one of the film shooting locations for world famous Hong Kong director, Wong Kar-wai's *In the Mood for Love* (2000)[273]. This area used to be full of old Hong Kong tenement houses when the movie was shot. An impressive slow-motion scene happened here in which the leading actress, Maggie Cheung, is wearing a cheongsam and going down the staircase (the one the participants just passed) to look for dinner in a group of food stands in front of the old buildings. In the dim evening lighted by yellow streetlights, with the rising steam from hot food diffusing into the air, Maggie Cheung's body movement evokes erotic oriental aesthetics, and the jazz music in the background creates a dazzling feeling—these film techniques romanticize and reinforce the cinematic image of the good old days of 1960s Hong Kong. Given the comparison between the old urban space as recorded and romanticized in the film, and the current empty staircase, by the end of the tour the participants feel deep nostalgia and regret for the missing urban landscape[274].

Through the cinematic guided tour, Paul Chan and his partners' enthusiasm toward nostalgia and preservation seems to be nicely transmitted to the participants. Besides focusing on the Central and Sheng Wan areas, Walk in Hong Kong continues to cooperate with the professionals of cinematic tourism—Chi Fu and Gary Wong[275]—and some middle budget Hong

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[272] 羅永生，《殖民無間道》，香港：牛津出版社，2007。

[273] Wong Kar-wai, *In the Mood for Love*. Hong Kong: Jet Tone Film production, 2000.

[274] This observation of the cinema tour is based on my participation in a tour conducted in September 2016.

[275] In 2018, Gary Wong began a regular cinematic guided tour in To Kwa Wan, Kowloon, which is one of the areas facing gentrification and urban renewal. In addition to introducing the film shooting locations, Gary Wong specifically focuses on the disappearing unique buildings and local cultures, intending to transmit the concept of historical preservation.

Kong movies that emphasize the local culture and landscape. Based on their cooperation, the special cinematic tours are launched on the one hand to promote the movies, and on the other hand to introduce cinematic locales in additional areas. Moreover, Walk in Hong Kong is playing as one of the main participants in the ongoing State Theater preservation movement in North Point, Hong Kong Island. Rather than running the business of cultural tours, this company has further inherited the activist spirit from the case of Wing Lee Street, using cinema as a soft power to influence the urban process in Hong Kong. According to these efforts, cinematic tourism in Hong Kong has been deeply associated with the preservation movement and localism development. The films and the shooting locales have been manipulated as archived materials, recording the change of the urban spaces and further influencing people's perceptions of urban process and cultural identities.

4.6 Conclusion: Cinematic Interaction with the Factors of Contemporary Pan-Chinese Urban Process

As one of the most crucial cities in the pan-Chinese world, Hong Kong is always a representative example for examining different phenomena in the aspects of politics, economy, and culture. Therefore, even though the original goal of film policies established by Hong Kong government in 2006 was to redevelop film industry, the sponsored films have quickly created a specific genre that intended to attract audiences through incorporating with the recent social and urban issues, further interacting with the variety of factors in the contemporary urban process. This genre of nostalgic film has begun from the early 1990s when the society of Hong Kong was experiencing the uncertainty and anxiety caused by the handover of political authority from Britain to Mainland China in 1997. Most of the nostalgic movies in this period of time were trying to rediscover the connection between Hong Kong and Mainland China through representing the early lives and cultures of the immigrants moved from Mainland China in the post-war time. Afterward, beginning from 2007, a group of nostalgic movies shifted their focus and started to examine the change of the society in the past decade after handover, as well as participating in the forming process of localism. To control the budget and to respond to the society's concern of rapidly changed urban environment, some of these nostalgic movies preferred to use historical buildings to be filming locations before they were demolished. This approach on the one hand distinguished them from the previous nostalgic film genre, and on the other hand, opened the space for cinema intervening into the contemporary urban process through particular angle.

The most effective instance was that a government sponsored 2010's nostalgic movie, *Echoes of the Rainbow*, successfully pushed the government to preserve a historical neighborhood, the Wing Lee Street in the Central of Hong Kong Island, from the shadow of urban renewal program. The nostalgic subject in this movie is the good old days in the 1960s when Hong Kong was colonized by Britain and in the earlier stage of economic development, which attracted people's attention on the preservation movement by representing the historical neighborhood as an embodiment of people's collective memory and the Hong Kong Spirit. However, the existing regulation and the bureaucratic logic could not preserve the physical buildings and the community at the same time. As a result, the government moved out the original residents, restored the historical buildings, and commenced the reuse projects. Interestingly, the movie continued to affect the reuse project and part of the design. Furthermore, the film-induced tourism in Wing Lee Street inspired the initiation of film guided tours and cinematic historiography in relation to the

construction of localism and the preservation movement around Hong Kong. I nthis circumstance, cinema has become a crucial actor to participate in today's urban process of Hong Kong, interacting with varied factors such as urban renewal, historical preservation, cultural tourism, and construction of localism taking place in urban settings. Through analysis of the relationship between cinema and these factors of urban process in the past decade of Hong Kong, the complexity of cinematic urbanism in the pan-Chinese context would be clarified.

Ch. 5 Taipei Again: A Bottom-Up Model of Chinese Cinematic Urbanism in Dadaocheng Historic Neighborhood

In 2006, the movie *Cape No. 7*[276] initiated the trend of film-induced tourism in Taiwan. Since then, local governmental film policies and the resulting carefully designed cinematic urban imaginaries have become the tools of inter-urban competition in Taiwan (Harvey, 1989)[277]. This top-down approach deploying cinematic productions as a means to facilitate urbanization gradually empowered participants beyond the bureaucratic system, including filmmakers, local planners, residents in film locales, and others, ultimately establishing a bottom-up model of film tourism that motivated localism. One example of this phenomenon occurred in Dadaocheng, an old neighborhood in Taipei, whose old business model, traditional cultural fabric, and numerous well-maintained town houses led to its designation as a special historic zone.

Dadaocheng's history began in the Qing Dynasty when the Han ethnic group migrated to Taiwan and settled in the area, which served as a trading port with Mainland China. To house the growing community and its commercial activities, the settlers constructed along the Danshui River a series of town houses with features typical of those found in south China. Later, during the Japanese colonial period, Dadaocheng became the most crucial location for economic and cultural development. To demonstrate the shops owners' wealth and attract consumers, these town houses were renovated with luxurious facades hybridized by various architectural styles such as western classical, baroque, Japanese modern, and traditional Taiwanese. Accordingly, the town houses in Dadaocheng have become architecturally unique and distinct from other structures in Taiwan. In the 1980s, Dadaocheng experienced an economic decline, spurring a debate between those who supported radical redevelopment and those who supported preservation. Ultimately, the Taipei City Government chose preservation, and designated the district the "Dadaocheng Historic Special-Use Zone." An alternative approach to urban development in contemporary Taiwan has been experimented in Dadaocheng.

Initially, the redevelopment progress was slow due to the long-term process of renovating the historical buildings amid the decline of traditional businesses. However in 2014, a comedy for Chinese New Year (賀歲片), *Twa-Tiu-Tiann*[278], induced a tourism boom in Dadaocheng. *Twa-Tiu-Tiann* is a time-travel story with a 1920s' historical narrative depicting the economic and cultural prosperity of this district. Although most of the scenes were shot in reproduction town houses in Yilan County's National Center for Traditional Arts, the scenes and the use of the Taiwanese pronunciation of the name of this district recalled the public's memory of Dadaocheng's economic prosperity in the past and ignited the audiences' curiosity about today's Dadaocheng after preservation, spurring the transformation of Dadaocheng into a tourist attraction. Eventually, Dadaocheng became a popular locale for both film production and tourism. For instance, Green Film Production, which produced *Twa-Tiu-Tiann*, continued making films related to Dadaocheng, thereby further influencing the redevelopment of the district. This process of film production and promotion complicated the relationship between cinema and the locale, both of them forming the future of Dadaocheng.

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[276] Wei Te-sheng, Cape No.7. ARS Film, 2008.
[277] David Harvey, "From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism," in *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography*, 1989.
[278] Nelson Yeh, *Twa-Tiu-Tiann*, Green Film Production, 2014.

Moreover, cinema has been involved in the historiography of Dadaocheng in relation to pro-Taiwan localism. Initiated by the real estate/cultural manager, Mr. Jou Yi-cheng, and further disseminated by the movie *Twa-Tiu-Tiann*, the cinematic representation of Dadaocheng in the 1920s has been manipulated to construct a certain historical narrative that intended to benefit businesses and promote the specific political ideology. Meanwhile, film guided tours established by the local historians and residents offer an additional historiography, on the one hand introducing a more complete version of the history and cultural distinctions of Dadaocheng, and on the other hand, embodying the recent competition between community groups in the debate of different historiographies. Later, the global trend of film restoration led to the rediscovery of representations of Dadaocheng from a variety of historical periods, which enriched the process and the products of the historiography. In this chapter, through examining the interaction between cinema and Dadaocheng from 2014 to the present, a complicated model of bottom-up cinematic urbanism will be elucidated.

5.1 Cultural and Creative Industry Revitalizing Historical Preserved Dadaocheng

Different from the Wing Lee Street neighborhood occupied primarily by residential spaces, Dadaocheng, as one of the oldest commercial districts in Taipei, has gone through ups and downs, specifically in terms of its economy. Between the Qing Dynasty and the present, Dadaocheng has experienced numerous stages of development: one of the earliest habitats of the Han ethnic group from Mainland China, the major locale for Taiwanese economic and cultural activities in the Japanese colonial period, a wholesale business base in the 1950s and landing point for migrant workers; economic decline and the historical preservation debate of the 1980s; the Chinese New Year Shopping Boulevard of the 1990s, and today's economic and cultural renaissance as a hub for the cultural and creative industry. While each of these stages has contributed to the richness of this neighborhood, the architecturally distinct, historic town houses in Dadaocheng have on the one hand provided a home for the cultural and creative industry, and on the other hand motivated a transformation of Taiwanese political identity. During the process, cinema has played a crucial role.

During the Qing Dynasty, the Han ethnic group developed Dadaocheng into an important port along the Danshui River (淡水河), exporting Taiwanese tea to Mainland China, and importing Chinese medical herbs and luxury commodities from Mainland China. Upon arriving from Mainland China in the mid 18th century, the Han ethnic group first chose Monga (艋舺) located along Hsigndien Creek (新店溪) as their home due to its advantageous location offering a waterway that connected the ocean and the mountain areas of Taiwan. Soon, competition for economic resources led to conflicts among different groups of Han immigrants, and after being defeated in an armed confrontation, one of the groups moved to Dadaocheng, a territory along the Danshui River downstream from Hsingdien Creek. The new residents first built temples in both the north and south ends of the area, consecrating the gods whose statues they had brought from their home in Mainland China. Between the two temples, a series of town houses were built along the river, and the main streets were constructed on the other side of these town houses parallel to the river (Chang, 2011)[279].

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[279] Chang Chih-ya [張智雅], *Study on the Socioeconomic History of Dalongdong and Dadaocheng of North Taiwan*

Also known as a shop house and originally popular in southern China, the town house was introduced to South East Asia by the Han ethnic immigrants. Town houses have distinct architectural features in different locations based on the needs created by the local weather and landscape. In Taiwan, town houses are one to one-and- a-half-floor narrow, rectangular buildings with a long body. Typically, the first-floor front of the building, which functions as a commercial space, faces the main street and the rear opens toward the river, enabling efficient movement of goods shipped via the water routes. One or two open-air sections in the middle of the building separate the body into two or three parts and allow sunlight to enter the long interior space. The upper floor is used as residential space. The arcade in front of these buildings is a distinct characteristic built in response to the strong sun and rain experienced in the area, but also provides a semi-public space that can be a pedestrian walkway, an extension of the shop, temporary space for religious and ritual activities, a children's playground (Lee, 2019)[280]. Today, arcades adorn the buildings on most of the preserved main streets of the old economic centers built during the Qing Dynasty, including Dadaocheng. As the economy developed in Dadaocheng, additional town houses were built on the two sides of the main street, creating a complete district consisting of buildings with similar architectures. Eventually, the continuing economic development of Dadaocheng brought additional architectural characteristics to the buildings, making this area unique among old streets around Taiwan.

In the 1860s, the Qing Empire began trading with Western countries and designated the Danshui River as one of the treaty ports. Monga and Dadaocheng became the two major stops in the global trading system along the Danshui River. However, the muddy river and the residents' unfriendly attitude toward foreigners hindered trade to Monga, and Dadaocheng gradually became the primary habitat and hub of economic and cultural activities of the Han ethnic group in northern Taiwan. Alongside the town houses, numerous western businessmen built *hongs*, or business houses, in Dadaocheng and brought the architectural characteristics of Western-style building to this area (Chen, 2002)[281]. These are typically two-story buildings constructed of brick and wood with a highly decorated parapet on the rooftop and the name of the business on a board hanging on the façade. Over time, these Western-style architectural characteristics began to merge with the existing spatial patterns of the town houses, particularly emphasizing the decorated façade in the newly built architectures. On some existing town houses, the owners even added a stylized façade to the old building (Lee, 2019)[282]. As a result of the merging of these styles, the town houses in Dadaocheng became architecturally distinct from similar structures both in Taiwan and China.

During the Japanese colonial period of the late 1890s, Dadaocheng became one of the most prosperous districts in Taiwan. Taiwanese tea and Chinese medical herbs were still the two major export commodities, but Japan replaced the western countries to be the major export destination and foreigners from western countries had been forced to leave Taiwan under pressure from Japan.

in Qing Dynasty [清代北臺大龍峒和大稻埕之社會經濟史研究]. Master thesis, Taipei: Chinese Culture University, 2011.

[280] Lee Dong-ming [李東明], *The Town House* [街屋視野：看店迪化街的時光軌跡，走進百年建築演進史], Taipei: Pestle Digital Media, 2019.

[281] Chen Mei-yun [陳美雲], 台北市大稻埕地區都市景觀自明性之研究. Master thesis, National Taiwan Normal University, 2002.

[282] Lee Dong-ming (2019), -----.

Japan was Taiwan's main trading partner, in addition to European countries that had a trade relationship with the Japanese colonial empire. Because of Japan's preference, agricultural products and textiles turned into increasingly popular here, gradually becoming the most essential imported commodities. Amid Taiwan's economic growth and Japanese colonial modernization, teahouses, theaters, and art salons were established in Dadaocheng. Cultural activities in the district were not purely Chinese traditional, but hybridized with Chinese, Japanese, and Western influences. Embodying in the architectural design, to show off the companies' wealth and to attract more customers, numerous shop owners began to rebuild the facades of the town houses with exaggerated decorations that combined various architectural styles including the Western classicalism, Chinese tradition, Japanese modernism, and so on (Zhuang, 2012)[283]. Because the Japanese colonial government designated Taiwan as the "Japanese architects' experimental site" at that time, numerous Japanese architects went to Taiwan with the intention of building their reputation by participating in the design of public architectures. Some of them contributed to remodeling the facades of Dadaocheng's town houses (Huang, 2018)[284]. Furthermore, the Japanese colonial government carried out an urban reform plan in Taipei, which in Dadaocheng resulted in broadened streets and highly decorative, renovated façades of nearly every building (Huang, 2015)[285]. These ornately decorated facades of the town houses in Dadaocheng are extraordinary among similar buildings in other Asian countries.

During the 1950s, Taiwanese tea, Chinese medical herbs, produce, and textiles remained the four main categories of commodities; however the increasing mud in the Danshui River was preventing easy shipping access, causing merchants in Dadaocheng to abandon the port and shift the mode of commercial transport to the rail system. The workers taking trains from rural areas to seek opportunities in Taipei arrived Dadaocheng as their first stop of the city and some of them found work as shop apprentices. After an extended apprenticeship, many took ownership of the shops, and by the 1980s, these former migrants had become pillars of the community. In the late 1970s, however, Taiwan's economic transformation and the development of other parts of Taipei led to a decline in Dadaocheng's commerce. In an attempt to boost the economy, the Taipei municipal government and local property and shop owners offered a proposal to regenerate the district through broadening the main street, Dihwa Street (迪化街), and radically transforming the town houses on both sides of the street into high-rise apartments. However, some residents, architectural students, and city planning institutes voiced concern that the historical value and existing urban fabric of the neighbored would be lost in the regeneration project, and therefore advocated for preservation of the historical buildings and the street. In 1998, after many years of debate, the government ultimately designated the area the "Dadaocheng Historic Special-Use Zone (大稻埕歷史風貌特地專用區)" and declared that most of the unique historical architectures and

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[283] Zhang Yong-ming [莊永明], 台北老街(新版). Taipei: China Times Publishing Co, 2012.

[284] Huang Lan-shiang [黃蘭翔], *History of Taiwanese Architecture: Taiwan and Its Others* [台灣建築史之研究：他者與台灣], Taipei: Spatial Native Language Foundation of Arts and Culture, 2018.

[285] Huang Lan-shiang [黃蘭翔], "Historical Development of the Taiwan Shop-house before and after Japan's Colonial Implementation of Urban Planning Act" [台灣店屋的歷史溯源及其在近代都市改造下的轉化] in *Cities and Design* [城市與設計)]. 6(22), 2015.

the spatial patterns between the buildings and the major streets should be preserved and restored (Liou, 2006)[286].

In the early stages of the restoration and preservation process, the immense cost of restoration delayed the process, as property owners were unwilling to invest in renovating their buildings. In response, the Taipei City Government established regulations under the Urban Renewal Act, offering financial assistance to the building owners. One crucial aspect of the regulations was the provision that property owners were permitted to sell the extra building capacity that the building had before it was declared historical, to the area planned to be high density zone, and then dedicate part of the profit to the cost of restoring the building (Huang, 2004).[287] Another aspect of the regulation declared that after subsidizing the restoration of the building, the municipal government would in turn receive the building's usage rights for a set period of time and would place a URS (urban renewal station) there, demonstrating to other property owners the result of restoration and reuse of the historical buildings through renting the spaces to government-selected organizations (Kao, 2012)[288]. These two methods finally pushed the commencement of the restoration process in Dadaocheng. However, the initial delay in the process intensified the economic crisis in the area. During the period of delay, the shop owners and Taipei City Government held a variety of events intended to revitalize the business in Dadaocheng. However, from the late 1990s to the early 2000s, only the Chinese New Year Shopping Boulevard attracted customers interested in purchasing groceries at wholesale prices, and the Annual Taipei Dadaocheng Firework Festival has been popular since 2005. Most of the time, however, Dadaocheng was struggling economically because the two short-term events could not sustain the economy in the long term (Chang, 2011)[289]. In 2010, when the restoration of some historical buildings was completed and they began to be used for different purposes, Dadaocheng began to head into the next stage of redevelopment.

Before 2012, various individuals and organizations in Taipei had tried to introduce cultural and creative industry to Dadaocheng. None of them succeeded, however, as most Taiwanese knew Dadaocheng as a locale for the wholesaling of Taiwanese tea, Chinese medical herbs, groceries, and fabrics. In 2012, to support the introduction of new businesses to Dadaocheng, the real estate and cultural manager, Jou Yi-cheng, decided to create a narrative connecting the city's history with popular Taiwanese ideology, hoping to spur a change in the public's perception of Dadaocheng. Having worked in the Democratic Progressive Party's propaganda office in the past, Mr. Jou had specific cultural and political preferences and a vision that helped him create this historical

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[286] Liou Nai-syuan [劉乃瑄], *Study to the Regeneration of Ta-Tao-Chen Historical District: Introspection for the Space Management* [大稻埕歷史街區復甦研究：對公共空間經營之省思]. Master thesis, National Taipei University, 2006.

[287] Huang Shun-ming [黃舜銘], *A Study on the TDR Mechanism for Da-Dao-Cheng Historical District* [大稻埕歷史風貌特定專用區容積移轉機制之研究]. Master thesis, National Taiwan University of Science and Technology, 2004.

[288] Kao Ju-hsuan [高如萱], *Culture-led Regeneration in Taiwan: A Case Study of Urban Regeneration Station in Dadaocheng* [台灣地區文化帶動區域再生之研究－以「都市再生前進基地」進駐大稻埕為例]. Master thesis, Tainan National University of The Arts, 2012.

[289] Chang Yu-Mai [張鈺玫], *Merchant"s Cognition and Participation Attitude on Tourism Development in Di-hua Street, Da-Dao-Cheng* [大稻埕迪化街商家觀光發展認知及參與態度之研究]. Master thesis, Feng Chia University, 2011.

narrative based on pro-Taiwan localism. He asserts that the most glorious moment in Dadaocheng's history was in the 1920s, when the facades of these town houses were redesigned to be unique, cultural activities blossomed, and the prototype of Taiwanese democracy was proposed under Japanese colonialism. Even though the exact peak of Dadaocheng's economic and cultural activities was in the 1930s, Jou decided to spread this historical narrative and exaggerated the social condition in the 1920s through connecting Dadaocheng with the experiences of other cities during the Golden Twenties around the world.[290] He believed that this historical narrative of 1920s' Dadaocheng would be easily understood by both domestic and foreign tourists. Following up this historical narrative, he intended to reconstruct contemporary Dadaocheng with a 1920s' flavor as a means of alluring tourists.[291] Therefore, he rented restored town houses and subleased different floors and sections to businesses he selected based on specific criteria, creating a series of what he called Great ArtYards.[292] Most of the businesses are cafés, restaurants, bars, handicraft stores, bookstores, and so on. Jou chose businesses whose products or styles were vintage, particularly in relation to 1920s' nostalgia, or local, specifically belonging to the four main categories of the existing commodities.[293]

Figure 5.1 inBlooom Pattern & Print store in Dadaocheng.

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[290] 林相美，《周奕成打造小藝埕 重振大稻埕》。自由電子報，2012/10/14
(https://news.ltn.com.tw/news/local/paper/622605)
[291] The development of the 1920s' historical narrative of Dadaocheng and the business model of the Great ArtYard are from Mr. Jou's lecture on May 6th 2016 in the Institute of Building and Planning at National Taiean University.
[292] See https://www.artyard.tw/ for more information about the Great ArtYard.
[293] 白舒樺，《周奕成的人生革命！大稻埕賣小藝 找回 1920 年的風華》。三立新聞網，2015/10/29
(https://www.setn.com/News.aspx?NewsID=102873)

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For example, the first town house managed by Jou was occupied by *Bookstore 1920's*, *Luguo Café*, *inBlooom Pattern & Print*, and *Thinkers' Theater*. Located on the first floor of the building, *Bookstore 1920's* played the role of information center, mediating the concept of the 1920s through its name, and introducing Dadaocheng and Taipei's history through its selection of books. The interior design of the second floor *Luguo Café* created a nostalgic atmosphere, imitating a 1920s' Japanese café (喫茶店), and the third floor's *Thinkers' Theater* was intended to revive cultural activities in Dadaocheng. Near *Bookstore 1920s'*, *inBlooom Pattern & Print* was a startup company carefully selected by Jou to be included in this building (Tsai, 2012)[294]. Established in 2008 by four young Taiwanese fabric designers, *inBlooom*'s products fully satisfied Jou's standards[295]. First, the fabric business is one of the four main categories of the original wholesale commodities. Second, the patterns of the fabrics sold in *inBlooom* are inspired by Taiwanese vintage artifacts such as local ceramic tiles, stylish frosted glass, and distinct natural resources. Today, *inBlooom* has two stores in Dadaocheng (one is located in Jou's building and the other is not), one in Taichung, one in Ksohsiung, and a Tokyo store will open soon. This case on the one hand illustrates Jou's selection standards, and on the other hand indicates the success of economic regeneration in Dadaocheng, demonstrated by the rapid expansion of *imBlooom*'s business[296].

Nowadays, Dadaocheng is one of the most popular commercial districts in Taipei, attracting domestic and foreign tourists to its beautiful historical buildings, traditional businesses, novel cultural and creative stores, and local Taiwanese culture. During the process of redeveloping Dadaocheng, cinema has played a crucial role, inducing the film tourism boom, influencing spatial marketing and design, and creating the space for a new Taiwanese localism. In the following sections I will discuss the relationship between cinema and Dadaocheng particularly after 2014. Rather than getting sponsor from the local government or accidentally intervening into the urban process that happened in Kaohsiung and Hong Kong, the cinematic urbanism in Dadaocheng has begun from a conscious intention of reforming Taiwanese localism through cultural process, and afterward caused a complicated cooperation and negotiation among different agents to influence the political, economic, and cultural redevelopment in this locale.

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[294] Tsai Pei-chun [蔡佩錞], *Tending the Cultural Landscape in Dadaocheng: The Brokering and Bricolage in Cultural Entrepreneurship* [大稻埕變大藝埕：文化創業者的中介與拼湊作為]. Master thesis, National Chengchi University, 2012.

[295] 金康嵐，《再造大稻埕 20 年代風采／周奕成為傳統注入新意》。中時電子報，2015/10/12 (https://magazine.chinatimes.com/taipeipictorial/20151012003574-300605)

[296] See https://www.inblooom.com/ for more information about inBlooom.

Figure 5.2 Contemporary Dadaocheng.

5.2 *Twa-Tui-Tiann* Prompting Cinematic Tourism and Localism

Even though the government was able to implement legislation to support owners in the restoration of the historical buildings in Dadaocheng, the business there had lost the original advanced position since the 1990s. The popular commodities of the old environment had become dated and unattractive. However, when Mr. Jou began to create a historical narrative and introduce cultural and creative industry in 2012, the situation in Dadaocheng turned hopeful. Afterward, the historical comedy movie, *Twa-Tui-Tiann*, was screening during the Chinese New Year holidays in 2014, which not only succeeded in the box office[297], but also induced a fever of visiting Dadaocheng, the setting of this film. Being Taiwanese pronunciation of Dadaocheng, "Twa-Tui-Tiann" is the tile of this movie that directed public attention toward this redeveloping old commercial district and emphasized its richness in terms of its history and Taiwanese culture. As

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[297] 聯合影音網，《大稻埕砲房破 2 億元 褒貶聲四起》。2014/02/16 (https://video.udn.com/news/80951)

mentioned previously, the movie was shot primarily in the National Center for Traditional Arts, a theme park in which the buildings are replicas of the traditional town house in Taiwan. However, comparing to the "off-location" film setting in the theme park, the "on-location" Dadaocheng attracted more tourists after the film was released. This phenomenon blurs the boundary and complicates the relation between "on-location" and "off-location" film settings in the existing discussion of film-induced tourism. In this case, through the film plot and architectural representation, those "off-location" buildings play as the access in the virtual world, welcoming the audiences to explore the "on-location" Dadaocheng in the physical environment. As a result, the film-induced tourism in Dadaocheng accelerated this old district's economic revitalization process and began the popularity of Dadaocheng to be a filming location.

In 2012, Jou's efforts stimulated an economic resurgence in Dadaocheng; however, lacking a distribution tool, his historical narrative could not easily reach a large audience and attract them to this district. Then, in 2014 the nostalgic comedy, *Twa-Tiu-Tiann*, was released during the Chinese New Year holidays, polishing the brand of 1920s' Dadaocheng and creating a tourism boom. The director, Nelson Yeh, grown up in Dadaocheng and indeed cared about the neighborhood even after he had relocated. When Dadaocheng's redevelopment process began, he decided to produce a movie touching upon the history of his hometown.[298] With Mr. Jou as one of the plot consultants, the movie attempted to transmit the historical narrative of 1920s' Dadaocheng to the domestic audiences through its humorous and melodramatic story.[299] The movie depicts the protagonist as a college student who neither has a vision of his future nor cares about the history of his community. One day, while visiting Dadaocheng with his history professor, the two accidentally time travel to the Japanese colonial Dadaocheng in the 1920s. During his time there, the protagonist gets to know his ancestors' lives and struggles, experiences several crucial historical events, and eventually finds the courage and passion to go back to his own time. In general, this type of plot welcomes the audience into the protagonist's shoes so that they can easily accept that the historical story is based on facts, transforming the audience's understanding of a specific time and place. In this case, the history of 1920s' Dadaocheng has been broadly transmitted in Taiwan since *Twa-Tiu-Tiann* had extraordinary box office success. Mr. Jou's historical narrative of Dadaocheng has become well known, like a famous brand attracting curious audiences to the locale.

Besides developing "Dadaocheng" into a popular tourist brand by using the neighborhood's name as film title, the movie, *Twa-Tiu-Tiann* attempts to mimic the previous nostalgic film genre in Hong Kong and Taiwan, introducing the local attractions, particularly the historical architectures and environmental quality, to the audiences. However, Dadaocheng has gone through significant changes since the 1920s. Although most of the scenes from the movie are set in the 1920s; only a few are set in contemporary times. As mentioned previously, the film was shot primarily in the National Center for Traditional Arts, where the main street of 1920s' Dadaocheng was built upon the existing reproduction town houses. Located in Yilan County, a

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[298] 王昀燕，《追本溯源，重建台灣人的自信：專訪〈大稻埕〉導演葉天倫》。放映週報，2014/01/20 (http://www.funscreen.com.tw/headline.asp?H_No=496)

[299] In the book recording the production and behind scenes events of *Twa-Tiu-Tiann*, Mr. Jou contributes his thoughts in a foreword that elaborates his concept of 1920s' Dadaocheng, as well as his vison of introducing the history of that particular time and space to people in the present, helping them rethink the contemporary situation of Taiwan.

rural area in northeast Taiwan near Taipei, this center was built to archive and exhibit traditional Taiwanese arts and culture. Open to the public, Yilan Park consists of different reproduction Taiwanese traditional buildings, including a group of two-floor town houses similar to the buildings in some well-known old districts such as Dadaocheng, and creates two complete blocks enclosing an old street space. This street was the filming location for *Twa-Tiu-Tiann*, specifically the settings of the main street and the protagonists' work and living spaces. To construct a convincing image of Dadaocheng's main street, the filmmakers hung signboards with the names and logos of businesses from several well-known old shops on existing buildings in Dadaocheng, hybridizing the authentic objects with the virtual film location. Moreover, the camera angles were limited to include only the part of the buildings below the rooftops, because the decorative parapets in Dadaocheng are much more elaborate and luxurious than those of the reproduction town houses[300].

Due to the filmmakers' efforts, the main street of Dadaocheng is nicely represented in the movie, igniting the audiences' desire to visit the film location. Already an exhibition park, the National Center for Traditional Arts opened the film settings as a tourist attraction during the time that *Twa-Tui-Tiann* was screening in theaters[301]. However, while the National Center for Traditional Arts only offered mostly empty buildings, the authentic Dadaocheng, with its numerous cultural and creative industry and traditional wholesale stores, was more attractive to tourists. This phenomenon bascally echoes the analytical concepts of film-induced tourism in Beeton's discussion of "on-location" and "off-location" filming sites. As discussed in the chapter 2, Beeton (2005) defines two categories of film-induced tourist locations based on the Australian cases[302]. The concept of "on-location" focuses on the real neighborhoods used as filming sites and the subsequent conflicts between communities and tourists. The studies of "off-location" examine the tourist's satisfaction in relation to the level of authenticity of the filming sites constructed in a theme park or film studio. These two categories of film-induced tourist sites are intended to offer a framework for analyzing separate cases. However, in the case of Kaohsiung, I discussed how the TV series *Black & White* (2010)[303] manipulated the two categories of filming locations to create the virtual *Harbor City*, and afterward to induce tourism both in the "on-location" sites and "off-location" small film studios in Kaohsiung. In this discussion of *Twa-Tiu-Tiann*, in addition, the relation between the "on-location" filming site and the "off-location" film setting is more complicated. In the film, they are combined to present the image of 1920s' Dadaocheng, but in the subsequent period of film-induced tourism, they became rivals competing to attract tourists.

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[300] See http://www.px-sunmake.org.tw/index/index.html for additional information about the National Center for Traditional Arts.

[301] 林采韻，《重返大稻埕 文創加持傳藝變身》。兩岸文創誌 2014/03，(http://tccanet.org.tw/article-107.html#.XPAkotNKhbU)

[302] Sue Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*. Channel View, 2005.

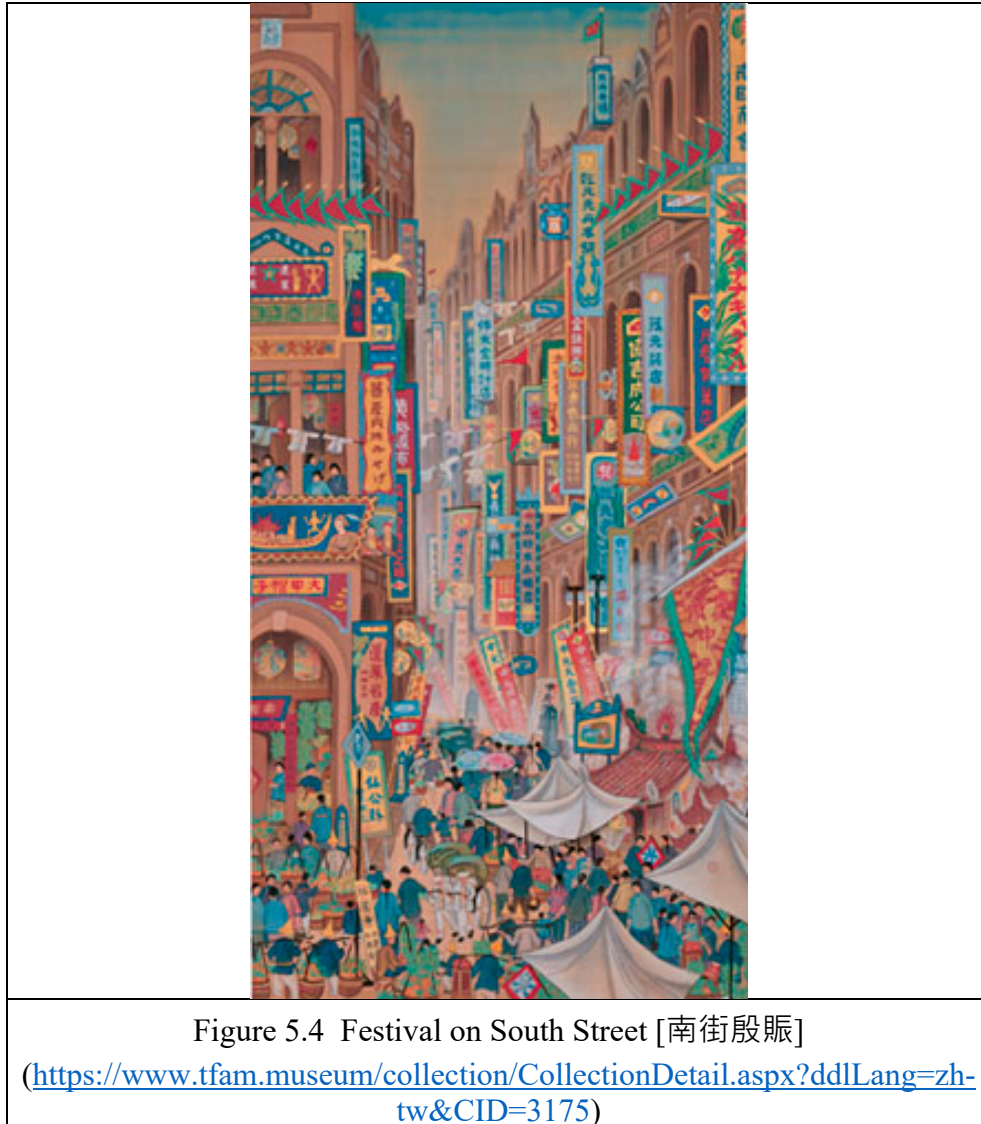[303] Cai Yuexun, *Black & White* TV series, Kaohsiung: Prajna Works, 2010.

Figure 5.3 The film setting of *Twa-Tiu-Tiann* in the National Center for Traditional Arts with the shop signs copied from Dadaocheng. (https://char.tw/blog/post/40703482)

Apparently, the real Dadaocheng is more attractive to tourists than the reproduction theme park in Yilan. Projected onto the silver screen through *Twa-Tiu-Tiann*, the reproduction town houses in the National Center for Traditional Arts was constructed to offer a look into 1920s' Twa-Tiu-Tiann and invite tourists to explore today's Dadaocheng at the same time. Different from earlier cases examining "off-location" sites that were transformed into tourist attractions after filming, in this case, the National Center for Traditional Arts does act as a medium between the different times periods of one district, between the virtual world in the movie and the physical neighborhood in Dadaocheng, and between people's two identities—as the audience and the tourist. This mechanism of mediation is the function of cinema that is manipulated in the contemporary film-induced tourism in Taiwan, which is also demonstrated in *Twa-Tiu-Tiann* in its storytelling approach of time traveling. In the movie, during the protagonist's visit to contemporary Dadaocheng, they visit a historical museum displaying the famous painting *Festival on South Street* (南街殷賑). Painted in 1930 by an eminent Taiwanese artist, Kuo Hsueh-hu (郭雪湖), the painting depicts a religious festival taking place in a street view of prosperous Dadaocheng[304]. Attracted by the painting, the protagonist decides to take a photo of it, and as he presses the shutter button, he is suddenly drawn into the painting and transported to 1920s' Dadaocheng. This process indicates the shared nature being medium of *Festival on South Street* in the movie and the National Center for Traditional Arts in the physical world, which motivates the protagonist/audience to explore Dadaocheng no matter in which epoch as a participant/tourist through the equipment—

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[304] This painting is in the collection of the Taipei Fine Art Museum. The introduction webage is
https://www.tfam.museum/collection/CollectionDetail.aspx?CID=3175&ddlLang=en-us

camera to take photo/shoot movie. When the protagonist travels back from the past to the present, he arrives in today's Dadaocheng and it is the first time that the street view of the actual Dadaocheng appears in the movie. This short glance at the street view does not provide the audience a complete picture of Dadaocheng after redevelopment, further inspiring the audience to visit the real Dadaocheng to satisfy their curiosity.

Figure 5.4 Festival on South Street [南街殷賑]
(https://www.tfam.museum/collection/CollectionDetail.aspx?ddlLang=zh-tw&CID=3175)

Particularly in Dadaocheng, only one of the historical buildings managed by Mr. Jou was used for shooting *Twa-Tiu-Tiann*. This is the first time that a restored interior space of a town house in Dadaocheng was represented in a movie. But, in order to demonstrate a specific historical atmosphere, the interior space was temporary decorated with old furniture during the filming process. As a result, the audiences might not recognize this building as the film locale in their visit. Meanwhile, after the movie received significant public attention, numerous reports in newspapers and magazines began to introduce the local attractions to the audiences interested in visiting there. In these reports, the select attractions are not highly related to *Twa-Tiu-Tiann*, but are the local famous stores, temples, and food stands. The absence of spatial and local details in the film

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representation creates the possibility that tourists will be dissatisfied when they visit. However, through the historical events being represented in the movie, Dadaocheng is constructed as the birthplace of Taiwanese democracy (no matter that the movie actually displaced these events to realize Mr. Jou's historical narrative of 1920s' Dadaocheng). Different from *Echoes of the Rainbow*, which evoked Hong Kong people's collective memories about the good old days, *Twa-Tiu-Tiann* rather creates a collective imagination of the good old days in the 1920s by embodying a semi-fictional historical story in an old neighborhood, which has been renovated to display its nostalgic atmosphere and historical value. Therefore, visiting Dadaocheng provides tourist additional satisfaction about exploring the concept of Taiwanese localism that is embodied and also beyond the historical architectures and street. Furthermore, the popularity of *Twa-Tui-Tiann* and Dadaocheng later attracted additional filmmakers to keep digging into the district's fruitful history as their inspirations and shooting the films in such gorgeous historical neighborhood.

5.3 *When Miracle Meets Maths*, Cinema Intervening into Spatial Marketing and Design

After *Twa-Tui-Tiann's* success in the film market and in redeveloping Dadaocheng in the tourism market, the district became a popular locale for the film and cultural and creative industry. Director Nelson Yeh and his production company, Green Film Production, produced additional films as well as a TV series set in Dadaocheng, while increasing numbers of other filmmakers set their works there, delving into the district's history or simply using the preserved buildings and rich atmosphere mixing old and new as the backdrop. These circumstances complicated the interaction between cinema and the neighborhood. In the beginning, cinema had a powerful influence in promoting Dadaocheng through representing its restored exterior and interior spaces to a movie audiences and tourists. For instance, the romantic story in Green Film Production's second movie *When Miracle Meets Maths* (2015)[305] set in Dadaocheng, nicely portrays the newly renovated Dadaocheng. Afterward, when Dadaocheng had become a popular tourist attraction, the location itself became the driving factor employed by the filmmakers to promote their work. The latter two TV series produced by Green Film Production prominently feature the renovation of some town houses and cultural events in Dadaocheng. In the process, cinematic representation became intertwined with the physical spatial construction, forming Dadaocheng's future, both in the real and virtual worlds.

Produced by *Twa-Tiu-Tiann*'s director Nelson Yeh, subsidized by the Ministry of Culture under the program of high definition television, and directed by young Taiwanese directors, the "Metro of Love" project shot six films between 2014 and 2016 intended to enhance the appeal of neighborhoods around selected MRT stations.[306] While one of the main goals of this series was to promote new tourist attractions along the MRT lines in Taipei City and the New Taipei City area, the first released movie, *When Miracle Meets Maths* (2015), continued director Yeh's preference for Dadaocheng and further represents the renovated and redeveloped spaces in this area through the young director Lin Chun-Yang's viewpoint. This nostalgic movie depicts a romance between two overseas Taiwanese men and women who are destined to meet each other during a brief visit

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[305] Lin Chun-yang, *When Miracle Meets Maths*. Taipei: Green Film Production, 2015.

[306] Maple，《專訪〈西城童話〉導演葉天倫：從「捷運愛情系列開始」，用電影說出屬於台灣自己的故事。》

娛樂重擊，2016/12/28 (https://punchline.asia/archives/37702)

to their hometown, Dadaocheng. Following the exploration of the district by the protagonists, who are kind of travelers here, the camera takes audiences along to dig into the historical district, showing street life against a backdrop of the buildings' beautiful facades and unique interior decorations. The movie begins with an arrival of the two protagonists by the MRT to Dadaocheng to have a short-term visit to their families. The leading male, Xiong, is a Taiwanese American working in Silicon Valley as an engineer; the leading female role, Hui, was growing in Dadaocheng but now is staying in Japan to pursue her career as a photographer. Because they are all around the age when Chinese tradition expects them to get married, their parents schedule a series of blind dates for them during their visit. Following these blind dates that take places in the newly opened cafés and restaurants in the renovated historical town houses, the camera first introduces the audience to this redeveloped Dadaocheng, which is different from the public's previous image of the area as an old and dilapidated neighborhood.

Figure 5.5 Interior scene of renovated town house in *When Miracle Meets Maths*.

Because the majority of the audience has never lived in Dadaocheng, they have not had access to the interior spaces of these town houses. As customers or visitors, they would likely have stood on the street, telling the shop owners what they would like to buy and getting the products from the owners. They might have studied about the architectural distinctions of these buildings in a history class and learned that the basic plan of the town house. However, few of them ever had a chance to visit the interior of a town house in person or to see the inner courtyard. Therefore, when watching the scenes set in the interior spaces of the newly opened cafés and restaurants in the renovated town houses, the audience is exposed for the first time to the beauty of the interiors of the historical buildings. Several of the blind dates set in the second-floor spaces of the renovated town houses are shot from the interior and capture the huge rectangular windows and the seating in front of them. The light coming through the windows from the exterior darkens the edges of the

scenes but highlights certain parts of the building: the shape of the window, the texture of the wooden frame, and the old-style furniture in front of the window. When the camera shifts focus, framed by the windows, a vague image of the facades of the town houses on the other side of the street gradually becomes clear. This filming angle is restricted by the town house's narrow floor plan, which offers very little space in which to set the camera. As a result, although the movie intends to highlight the interior of the town house, the restricted filming angle leaves many spaces beyond the scenes, which ignites the audience's curiosity and desire to see more.

To further spark the audiences' curiosity, there are scenes that include additional interior sections of the town house, and specifically the open-air yard. To create the demand for an interior setting, the story was written so that Xiong, having difficulty communicating with his father, refuses to stay in his father's house in Taipei. However, in his desire to get to know his father better, he chooses to stay in a hotel in Dadaocheng, his father's hometown. Fortunately, the hotel is owned by Hui's mother. For the sake of the storyline, this coincidence provides Xiong and Hui the space and time to get to know each other; for the audience, it offers the chance to look into the inner spaces of the town house where the hotel is located. Particularly, Xiong and Hui spend a lot of time in the open-air yard, which in the movie is a semi-public space also used by the neighbors. The older neighbors often gather here in the morning to play Chinese traditional instruments. Due to the dynamics among the older neighbors, the representation of the inner courtyard further evokes feelings of nostalgia. The function of this open-air courtyard is similar to that of the "Tai" in *Echoes of the Rainbow*, providing a semi-public community space for the neighbors, which might recall the audiences' collective memory or create a nostalgic atmosphere. Moreover, this space gives the characters a stage where the climax events take place. In *When Miracle Meets Maths*, the climax occurs when the protagonists decorate the open-air yard as a party space for the oldest neighbor's birthday. Because this open-air yard is a square shaped space enclosed by corridors, they hang decorative lanterns from the corridors on the second floor. On one side of the yard, a granolithic concrete stair case connects the two floors and creates an open space underneath. The protagonists set a piano in front of the space, which is planned to be the stage for the birthday activities. At night, the decorative lanterns light the small yard, adding romance to the protagonists' relationship, and sending the message to the audience that their nostalgic imaginations can be accommodated in this space. However, the neighbor passes away right before the party. Unlike the deaths of the older brother and the father in *Echoes of the Rainbow*, this death does not strongly shade the development of the romantic relationship between the protagonists in the movie but seemingly indicates the transition of Dadaocheng in the physical world, especially during a time when the swift commercialization and gentrification are taking place in Dadaocheng.[307]

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[307] The hotel and open-air yard space located in one of the ArtYards managed by Mr. Jou. In the physical world, the open-air yard separates the hotel and a restaurant space that different owners are subleasing from Mr. Jou. Most of the time, the open-air space is used as a pass through, which, in my opinion, indicates the difficulty to create a better spatial quality in reusing the renovated historical buildings through Mr. Jou's business model.

Figure 5.6 The open-air yard scenes in *When Miracle Meets Maths*.

In addition to the interior of the town houses, this movie also displays the streets, the beautiful facades, and the town houses' exterior parts in a provocative way. In the movie, Hui does not intend to visit Dadaocheng for blind dates, but for work, as a Japanese fashion magazine has invited her to take a series of photos in this old area. When she rejects her mother's plan of a blind date, she wanders on the street, randomly taking photos in order to find some inspiration. Those photos capture the beauty of the renovated neighborhood, with exterior scenes familiar to the audience. Actually, the director shot these photos and short film clips while preparing for this project. As an outsider to the community, director Lin, who used to be a cinematographer, spent two nights in Dadaocheng to get a sense of the neighborhood. During his stay, he created these

images that were edited to become the montage of Hui's work and some transitional scenes in the movie.[308] As a result, compared to the scenes shot in the renovated town houses, these exterior scenes more easily recall the audiences' nostalgic feelings toward Dadaocheng because of the shared experience of being outsiders between the audience and the director. Representing both interior and exterior architectural distinctions of today's town houses in Dadaocheng, *When Miracle Meets Maths* functioned as a supplement to *Twa-Tiu-Tiann's* historical view of this neighborhood. Ultimately, a renovated image of Dadaocheng became well-known, which contributed to the promotion of tourism and afterward films.

Figure 5.7 The exterior transition scenes in *When Miracle Meets Maths.*

After making two successful movies set in Dadaocheng, director Yeh and his team, Green Film Production, chose to spread the ideology of Taiwanese localism through films by setting additional stories in Dadaocheng. This decision might have been influenced by Nelson Yeh's childhood experience and the company's political ideology developed through the previous movies produced by the Green Film Production. Established by Nelson Yeh's father, Green Apple Production is the predecessor of Green Film Production. In 1999, Green Apple Production established the political ideology of this film production company when it produced the movie *March of Happiness* (1999)[309], adapting the history of the 228 Massacre in post-war Taiwan to depict the tension between the KMT's authority and the pro-Taiwan ideology in that time. In 2004, the company was restructured to become today's Green Film Production. The first movie produced by Green Film Production is *Blue Brave: The Legend of Formosa in 1895* (2008)[310]. This film was sponsored by

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[308] 王志欽,《拍片怎麼算？--專訪〈愛情算不算〉導演林君陽》。放映週報 2015/11/02 (http://www.funscreen.com.tw/headline.asp?H_No=589)

[309] Lin Cheng-sheng, *March of Happiness*. Green Film Production, 1999.

[310] Hong Zhiyu, *Blue Brave: The Legend of Formosa in 1895*. Green Film Production, 2008.

the Hakka Affairs Council at Executive Yuan to depict the history of the Hakka ethnic groups who fought the Japanese invasion.[311] Even though this movie seems to address the conflict between Hakka ethnic groups and Japanese colonialism, through setting the protagonist's father as an irresponsible runaway who immigrated from Mainland China, the movie subtly propagandizes the anti-KMT and pro-Taiwan ideology. However, these early movies representing politically significant historical events were not effective in disseminating the company's political ideology in contemporary Taiwan. Today, rather than producing films that touch upon serious historical topics, director Yeh embeds this political ideology in stories occurring in everyday life, contributing to the pro-Taiwan localism through cultural activities and media such as film. Hence, the later TV series directed by Yeh are about people's dreams and struggles in the different epochs in Dadaocheng. Moreover, in filming and promoting the two TV series, the cinematic activities gradually influenced the redevelopment of this neighborhood.

Figure 5.8 The two pictures are the counter in *La Grande Chaumière Violett.*

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[311] 張冠倫,《焦點影評:〈一八九五〉:好一部反戰的戰爭電影》。放映週報,2008/11/07 (http://www.funscreen.com.tw/review.asp?RV_id=373&period=182)

Figure 5.9 This is the remodeled counter in the renovated town house.
(https://m.facebook.com/G.C.V.SET/photos/pcb.680650362094210/680648038
761109/?type=3&source=48)

Adapted from a published memoir,[312] Green Film Production's first TV set in Dadaocheng, *La Grande Chaumière Violett* (2016),[313] not only depicts the first generation of Taiwanese modern artists' experiences, but also captures Taiwanese culture and democracy in 1930s' Dadaocheng. To shoot a TV series set in the past, director Yeh intended to follow the previous approach he had used to produce *Twa-Tui-Tiann,* selecting the historical buildings and spaces around Taiwan as the filming locations. However, one day, before shooting for the TV series began, director Yeh was wandering in Dadaocheng and bumped into the owner who was visiting the site of a preserved historical building undergoing restoration. By the end of the conversation, the property owner had given Yeh permission to use the restored interior space to create one of the main sets in the TV series, a Japanese style café (喫茶店).[314] This café is a place where artists often gather and many important scenes take place. To construct the ideal historical café, the production team designed a vintage bar counter, which was later remodeled to be used as furniture in the town house.[315] In this

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[312] 楊媛婷，《小說變戲劇 謝里法〈紫色大稻埕〉重現黃金年代》。自由時報電子報，2016/04/11
(https://news.ltn.com.tw/news/supplement/paper/978031)

[313] Nelson Yeh, *La Grande Chaumière Violett*, Green Film Production,2016.

[314] Yeh described this fortunate experience of finding a filming location in Dadaocheng in a public lecture held by the Taipei Film and Drama Union on May 22nd 2016, in which he shared the production process of *La Grande Chaumière Violett.*

[315] In December 2016, the filming location of the Japanese café was ultimately renovated and opened to the public. The first floor was a retail store selling different kinds of rice to exalt the Taiwanese rice culture, and the upper

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case, the film production set ultimately breaks the boundary between the virtual and physical worlds, participating in the space-making process in the film locale.
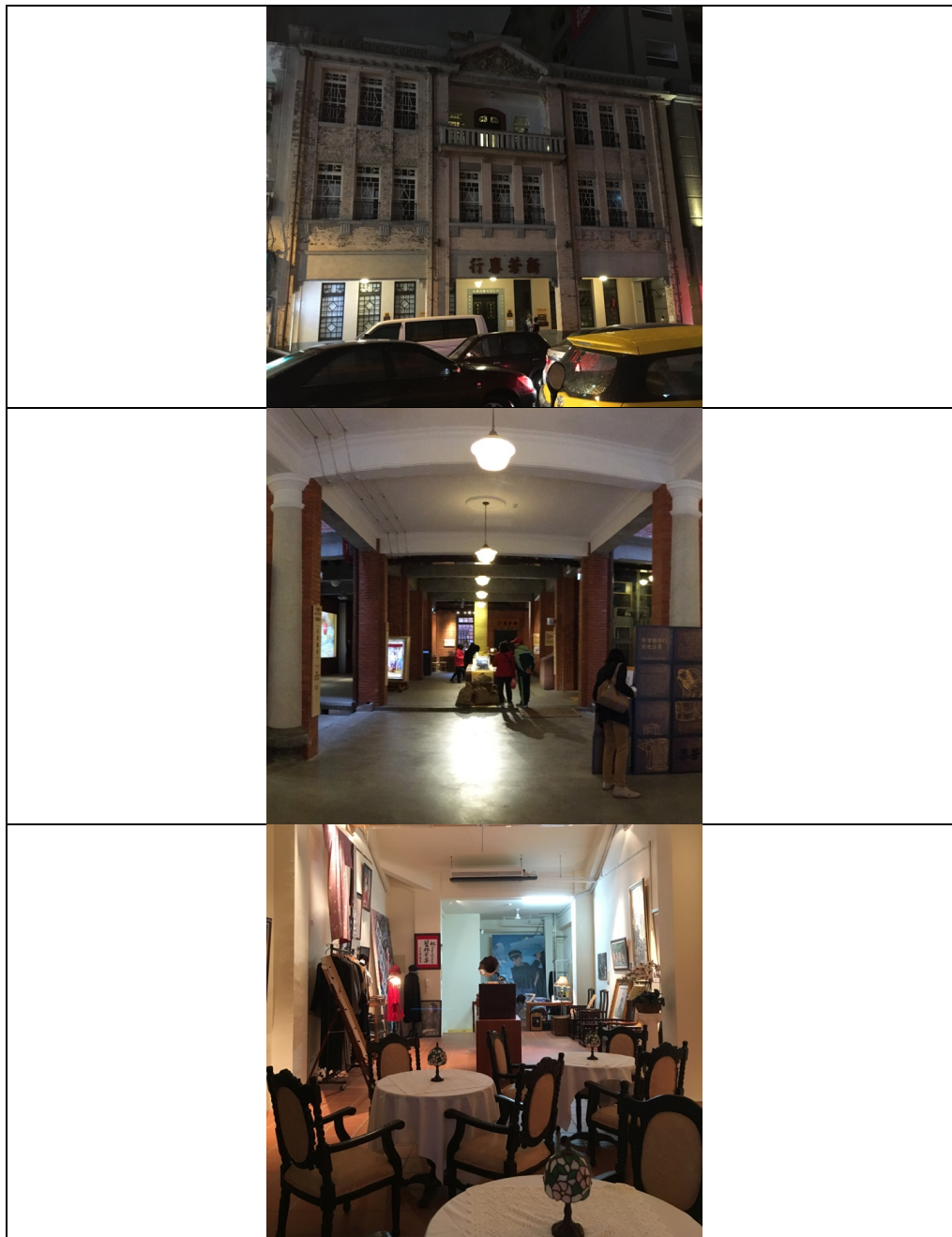
Figure 5.10 The exterior and interior of Sin Hong Choon Trade Co. and the exhibition of film properties from *La Grande Chaumière Violett.*

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floors were used as co-working space. When the retail store opened, the Facebook Page of *La Grande Chaumière Violett* shared the photos of this historical building and pointed out the counter of bar in a picture as one of the protagonists' counter. Even though the remodeled counter was concrete rather than wood in the TV series, its location and the decorations on the wall behind the counter were keeping the original pattern whose design could be recognized as inspired by the film.

Moreover, this TV series and popular tourist attraction shifted the typical pattern of a one-way promotion of Dadaocheng through cinematic representation to mutually beneficial advertising. For instance, the historical monument of the Sin Hong Choon Trade Co. was used as a filming location in *La Grande Chaumière Violett* in the meantime between its restoration was completed and it was ready to open to the public.[316] Based on the quality of this historical monument, the spatial atmosphere and people's lives in a 1930s tea trading company are authentically represented in the TV series, which later became the advertisement for the monument's opening to the public as a museum of tea culture in late 2016.[317] At the same time, the opening of the monument also reminded people of this TV series that was being rebroadcast on TV. In addition, to promote the TV series, the filmmakers participated in the 1920s Costume Parade of the Tua-Tiu-Tiann International Festival of Arts,[318] as well as the actors wearing costumes while visiting important temples and historical sites in Dadacheng.[319] These activities could be interpreted as advertisement for the TV series on the one hand, and on the other hand, the celebrities' appearance in Dadaocheng brought the public's attention to the physical location as well.

To shoot the second TV series, *A Taiwanese Tale of Two Cities* (2018),[320] director Yeh employed a similar strategy of hunting for a filming location and subsequent advertising activities. However, one of the major filming locations, a restored Chinese medical herb store, maintained the film setting and was temporarily opened to the public during the time this TV series was being broadcast.[321] This store quickly became the most popular tourist attraction in Dadaocheng, magically creating an access point for visitors to go back and forth between the virtual and physical worlds. Today, the building has been reverted to a private space prohibiting tourist, but the front section of the building looks similar to the way it did in the TV series. Every day, the front door is open in the daytime, letting people take photos from the street. In this case, it is hard to tell if the cinema influenced the outcome of the spatial restoration or vice versa.

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[316] 三立電視台，青睞製作，《紫色大稻埕：繁華之夢的時光旅圖》。台北：圓神出版社有限公司，2016。

[317] For more information about Sin Hong Choon and its exhibitions, check the Facebook Page at https://www.facebook.com/pages/category/Community/%E6%96%B0%E8%8A%B3%E6%98%A5%E8%A1%8C%E7%89%B9%E5%B1%95-1119304481426235/

[318] Co-founded by Bookstore 1920s, Thinking Theater, and Chiang Wei-shui Cultural Foundation, the Tua-Tiu-Tiann International Festival of Arts has been held since 2015 to develop Dadaocheng as a locale for cultural activities though reviving the concept of 1920s and 1930s' glory. Now part of the festival, the 1920s Costume Parade was originally held in 2013 to propagandize Mr. Jou's 1920s' historical narrative and attract tourists. According to my field notes, in 2016 when *La Grande Chaumière Violett* was broadcasting on TV, director Nelson Yeh participated in the parade and broadcast a Facebook live video during the parade. For more information about the Tua-Tiu-Tiann International Festival of Arts and the 1920s Costume Parade, check the webpage at http://www.tttifa.com/en/index.html.

[319] 大紀元，《柯佳嬿穿古裝逛大街 拜月老羞問另一半》。大紀元，2016/05/30 (http://www.epochtimes.com/b5/16/5/30/n7943417.htm)

[320] Nelson Yeh, *A Taiwanese Tale of Two Cities*. Green Film Production, 2018.

[321] 台北旅遊網，《跨國影集〈雙城故事〉中藥行場景復刻再現，追劇必來！邀你走進大稻埕追劇追愛追美食》。2018/10/15 (https://www.travel.taipei/zh-tw/news/details/18489)

Figure 5.11 Left photo was the setting of *A Taiwanese Tale of Two Cities* before the film was shot there, and the right photo was taken during the it was opened to the public with film design and properties.

Meanwhile, increasing numbers of films made by other filmmakers were being produced in Dadaocheng or with plots related to the neighborhood. Rather than promoting Dadaocheng as a tourist attraction, these films used Dadaocheng's name recognition as advertisement. For instance, in 2014, a TV series, *Pure Pure*,[322] was released. Depicting a famous Taiwanese singer's life and the birth of Taiwanese pop music, this TV series received sponsorship from the Government Information Office of Executive Yuan and though assistance of the Taipei Film Commission, built a small studio to represent 1930s' Dadaocheng on an abandoned military site.[323] However, the director did not manage the finances and was saddled with debt after the production. She later opened a café in Dadaocheng, decorating it with the film properties and posters of the TV series, hoping to combine the lure of cinema and Dadaocheng to rekindle her career.[324] These types of activities complicated the relationship between virtual cinema and physical Dadaocheng. When tourists get lost in the two worlds while visiting Dadaocheng, I would argue that the cinema here has gradually become a crucial participant in the redevelopment process, cooperating with different agencies to form the future of this historical neighborhood.

5.4 Urban Cultural Tour: Cinematic Narratives, Historical Narratives, and Taiwanese Localism

Cinema has been a crucial participant in Dadaocheng's revitalization. The film, *Twa-Tui-Tiann*, first induced a tourist fever through representing the political, economic, and cultural glory of 1920s' Dadaocheng and setting the film locations in one of the renovated historical buildings there, which later became tourist attractions. Afterward, many films selected Dadaocheng as their shooting locale and often used the buildings under renovation. After the shooting was completed, some buildings owners kept the film properties to enrich the interior spaces. In these cases, cinema stepped in to participate in the physical process of architectural design and Dadaocheng's current development. However, as discussed above, the intervention of cinema in Dadaocheng not only influenced its tourism and physical development, but also ignited the formation of Taiwanese localism, contributing to the debate between different approaches of historiography that reflect the competition among varied participants in the community. Therefore, cinema is further used as archival film materials when increasing numbers of community participants have begun to manipulate various representations of Dadaocheng to create specific historical narratives that benefit their economic and cultural status.

Beginning in 2012, Jou created a legend about the 1920s' Dadaocheng to attract attention toward his business. This historical narrative was developed and distributed by the movie, *Twa-Tui-Tiann* in 2014. However, some film critics, local historians, and older residents did not fully agree with this narrative and pointed out several historical inaccuracies, especially in the movie.[325] They further argued that the most prosperous era of Dadaocheng's economic and cultural activities

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[322] Twu Chia-ming, *Pure Pure (or The Songs of Soils)*, 2014.

[323] 台北市電影委員會最新消息（2011），《〈歌謠風華〉開拍 重現大稻埕風采》。台北市電影委員會網站，2011/11/04 (https://www.filmcommission.taipei/tw/MessageNotice/NewsDet/1832)

[324] See the website of this café (純純電影咖啡) at http://si.secda.info/fungart265/ to learn more.

[325] Emery，《張飛打岳飛？談電影〈大稻埕〉考據問題引發的歷史爭議》。The News Lens 關鍵評論網，2014/02/13 (https://www.thenewslens.com/feature/film/2014)

was in the 1930s when Taiwanese folk music, modern art, and recreational facilities had become popular there. The cinematic representations in the two TV series, *La Grande Chaumière Violett* and *Pure Pure*, were often used as the examples to support their statement, as well as transmitting this historical narrative to the public through mass media. The competition between two historical narratives in relation to the specific cinematic representations illustrates the confrontation between two major local participant groups: the newcomers introduced by Jou, and the old residents, most of whom were traditional businesses owners and local religious groups. When in 2015 along-term resident, Mr. Chiu Yi, designed and commenced a novel style of guided tour that focuses on a deeply cultural exploration of the city, the owners of a cinematic tour of Dadaocheng researched the old films shot in this neighborhood and developed an alternative historical narrative based on those visual records. As a result, both the old and new films set in Dadaocheng have become archival materials that different community participants can employ to enrich their version of the historical narrative of Dadaocheng. This complicated negotiation among varied historical narratives, particularly based on cinematic materials in this case, has been crucial in developing today's Taiwanese localism.

Due to Mr. Jou's strong political preference for Taiwan's independence, the historical narrative of 1920s' Dadaocheng identifies the 1920s as the beginning of Taiwanese democracy under Japanese colonialism. Specifically, in the film *Twa-Tui-Tiann*, the ultimate climax scene depicts Taiwanese residents on the main street of Dadaocheng protesting for their political rights as the Japanese prince's inspection parade passes by. This scene is adapted from a real historical event that took place in 1923 when Chiang Wei-Shui, an outspoken advocate for Taiwanese democracy, steered a political appealing to the prince to allow Taiwanese people to participate in congress. After the protest, Chiang Wei-shui was arrested by the Japanese government. However, in order to dramatize the story, the movie changes the order of these historical events, depicting Chiang Wei-shui' being held by the Japanese government in an underground jail when the protagonist rescues him so that he can participate in the protest.

After the movie was released, local historians pointed out the inaccuracy of this setting. While establishing himself as tour guide with deep cultural knowledge of Dadaocheng, Mr. Chiu Yi became essential in communicating Dadaocheng's history to the public, who were able to quickly identify the film locations and the locales of historical events from his blog.[326] In this blog article, he points out the inaccurate order of the historical events about Chiang Wei-shui and the misrepresentation of the prison space in the movie. Moreover, Mr. Chiu argued that some Taiwanese popular songs and the theater performance culture used in the movie actually occurred in the 1930s, when Taiwanese popular culture had become prosperous. These songs and plays should not have appeared in a movie set in the 1920s. In the meantime, another famous local historian, Mr. Zhuang, a popular Taipei City culture and history tour guide, strongly criticized the historical representations in this movie. Because his historical interest in Dadaocheng was the

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[326] After *Twa-Ti-Tiann* was reased, Mr. Chiu Yi posted three articles on his personal blog, which was the predecessor for the webpage of the Taipei Walking Tour when Mr. Chiu's cultural guided tour business had not developed. In the three articles, Mr. Chiu introduces in detail most of the cultural activities, historical events, local heritages, filming locations, and crucial participants in the history in relation to this movie. He also points out numerous historical inaccuracies. This historical data comparing the film representations later became part of his guided tour and the evidences used by the residents to oppose to Mr. Jou's historical narrative and to criticize the movie. Check the articles in the blog--邱董的老台北家鄉味: http://chiuyi800405.pixnet.net/blog.

1930s' cultural activities and the development of Taiwanese popular songs, he also believed that the most prosperous period in Dadaocheng was the 1930s when the cultural activities, including modern art and folk music, were reaching their peak. Numerous art institutes, playgrounds, and theaters were located there, not only providing people recreational facilities, but also supporting the development of Taiwanese culture. On various occasions, he publicly criticized Mr. Jou's historical narrative about 1920s' Dadaocheng as fake history[327].

Both Mr. Chiu's comparison of the actual historical locales and the film settings and Mr. Zhuang's historical narrative focusing on the cultural prosperity of 1930s' Dadaocheng affected the older residents' perceptions of the film representations and the 1920s' narrative. Based on my observations in the community, some older residents, particularly the owners of the traditional businesses, often expressed their viewpoints during public events, referring to the local historians' narratives about 1930s' Dadaocheng to criticize Mr. Jou's. Although most of them appreciated that *Twa-Tui-Tiann* brought tourists to Dadaocheng, they still disliked the historical narrative of 1920s' Dadaocheng. It was because that they could not personally see the connection between themselves and Mr. Jou's version of Dadaocheng's history (and even the future, perhaps), and they considered Mr. Jou and his business responsible for the recent gentrification of the neighborhood. Even though their businesses had not seriously affected by Mr. Jou, they believed that the way Mr. Jou rented the buildings and then sublet to the fancy stores and restaurants had affected the existing relationship between the old neighbors through the competition for rental space. Therefore, supporting the 1930s' historical narrative against Mr, Jou's 1920s' Dadaocheng allowed them to negotiate the radical regeneration of Dadaocheng led by Mr. Jou. Meanwhile, this historical narrative of 1930s' Dadaocheng inspired filmmakers to produce two TV series: *Pure Pure* (2014) and *La Grande Chaumière Violett* (2016). After the director of *Pure Pure* opened her café in Dadocheng decorated with film properties and posters, she began to aggressively participate in the activities organized by the old residents. This further strengthened the criticism of Mr. Jou's 1920s' historical narrative in the community.

Moreover, *La Grande Chaumière Violett,* directed by Nelson Yeh, was released in 2016 as a well-known TV series. During the time this TV series was being broadcast, most of the old stores in Dadaocheng were willing to advertise the TV series by hanging the posters in the stores and inviting the filmmakers and main actors/actresses to participate in activities in the locale. Director Yeh also held a small parade, bringing the popular actors and actresses in period costumes to attract the tourists to visit Dadaocheng, and exhibited the film properties in a government owned historical building as a film attraction on site.[328] In 2018, when his second TV series, *A Taiwanese Tale of Two Cities*, was broadcast, he participated in cinematic guided tours with Mr. Chiu, introducing the film locations and the local history to the participants. The interaction between director Yeh and the Dadaocheng community demonstrated a model of cooperative advertisement for both the film and the shooting locale. Interestingly, because Yeh's films, *Twa-Tui-Tiann* and *La Grande*

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[327] According to my field notes and some blog articles regarding Mr. Zhang's guided tour, he has very strong opinions about Dadaocheng's history and usually uses the inaccurate historical narrative and film settings in *Twa-Tiu-Tiann* as the example to deliver the "authentic" history to the public.

[328] 高妙慧，《日治時期女高中生都穿什麼？這個連續劇團的細心，演活台灣最美麗的年代》。風傳媒，2016/07/01 (https://www.storm.mg/lifestyle/136341?srcid=7777772e73746f726d2e6d675f66333535373034616235616333353134_1559345776)

Chaumière Violett, depict either 1920s' or 1930s' historical moments in Dadaocheng, and therefore separately satisfy the historical preferences of the different groups, Yeh, as a filmmaker not living in Dadaocheng, was the one person who could cooperate with both sides at the same time. Director Yeh's experiences illustrate the flexibility and complexity of cinema as a participant intervening in the process of revitalizing a historical neighborhood in relation to historiography.

Figure 5.12 In the guided tour of cinematic Dadaocheng, the tour guide tried to compare the film clip with the filming location today. This is the setting of Hou Hsiao-hsien's *Dust in the Wind*.

In addition to using contemporary films as the materials for constructing varied historical narratives, the cinematic tour guide, looking at film settings in Dadaocheng, rediscovered old films that record Dadaocheng in different times and expanded the historical narratives going beyond the 1920s and the 1930s. The Taipei Walking Tour is a novel guided tour agency established in 2014 by a long term Dadaocheng resident, Mr. Chiu Yi, who began to design a cinematic tour in 2015. Mr. Chiu had been working in the traditional tour industry as tour guide for many years and was

interested in developing an alternative business model, providing deep cultural guided tours. The revitalization of Dadaocheng, his hometown, gave him an opportunity to experiment on his ideal guided tour beginning from the neighborhood he was familiar with. Relying on his local network and experience as a resident of Dadaocheng, he started a series of guided tours bringing domestic tourists from Taipei and other places around Taiwan to see a different Dadaocheng. Instead of offering the traditional guided tour focusing primarily on tourist attractions such as the famous temples and the fabric market in Dadaocheng, Mr. Chiu led tourists go through the small alleys and sometimes the neighbors' backyards to see the environmental fabric of this historical district. [329]

After gaining public attention and establishing a stable business, the Taipei Walking Tour began to invite different local historians and professors to design special tours in relation to unique topics. This cinematic tour in Dadaocheng was a cooperative effort first between the Taipei Walking Tour and the Taipei Film Festival in 2015 and intermittently continued in the following years. According to Mr. Chiu, the office of the Taipei Film Festival contacted him directly in 2015 and invited him to design a series of cinematic tours as one of the special activities for the annual festival. Because the film festival was held in Ximen, the office of Taipei Film Festival originally expected Mr. Chiu to simply invite a senior film critic as the tour guide introducing the cinematic environments, including film shooting locations and old theaters, particularly around Ximen district. Dadaocheng, as a district in proximity to Ximen and also the base of the Taipei Walking Tour, was chosen and designed by Mr. Chiu as an additional location in this project[330]. As a result, Mr. Chiu collected a number of contemporary and past films for this cinematic tour, expanding the discussion focusing on *Twa-Tui-Tiann*'s 1920s and the local historians' 1930s, to broader timeframes.

Mr. Chiu's cinematic map of Dadaocheng began from his blog article about the film locations in the movie *Twa-Tui Tiann*, which later become a major part of the tour. However, to complete the historical and film narratives in the guided tour, Mr. Chiu rediscovered some earlier films shot in Dadaocheng to demonstrate the neighborhood's relationship with cinema from the past to the present. For example, *The Sand Pebbles* (1966), produced by Hollywood filmmakers in the 1960s, [331] first used Dadaocheng as the setting of a Mainland Chinese port because they were not allowed by the People's Republic of China, the Mainland Chinese government, to shoot the movie there. This Hollywood film nicely recorded the beauty of the historical town houses in the 1960s' Dadaocheng, during the time period before the buildings that had become dilapidated in the 1980s were replaced by high-rise buildings, and before the Taipei City Government implemented the historical preservation program. Moreover, *Dust in The Wind* (1986),[332] a movie by the famous Taiwanese director, Hou Hsiao-Hsieh, selected a town house in Dadaocheng as the workplace of the protagonist, a migrant from the countryside. This movie not only captures 1980s' Dadaocheng, but also emphasizes the history of migrant workers from the countryside to Taipei, which is a collective experience shared by some of the old store owners. I heard some of the business leaders narrate this experience when they introduced themselves and their relationship to

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[329] More information about the Taipei Walking Tour can be found at: https://www.taipei-walkingtour.tw/en001.

[330] Lavie 行動家,《活在電影裡!台北城市散步 x 台北電影節 城市漫遊電影導覽》, 2015. (https://www.wowlavie.com/action/event.php?id=569)

[331] Robert Wise, *The Sand Pebbles*, 20th Century Fox, 1966.

[332] Hou Hsiao-hsien, *Dust in The Wind*, Central Motion Picture Corporation, 1986.

the neighborhood during public events, describing their long-term apprenticeships before eventually taking over the businesses from their masters. However, no contemporary film representation touched upon this experience. The discovery of *Dust in The Wind* provided them a potential means of identifying themselves through the contemporary trend of creating historical narratives through cinematic materials. [333] In 2016, although Mr. Chiu did not continue participating in this project, the Taipei Film Festival found another tour guide to follow Mr. Chiu's design, holding a couple of cinematic tours in Dadaocheng. Furthermore, the restored version of *The Sand Pebbles* was screened in the festival as a special event related to the cinematic tour.

In tandem with the current worldwide trend of cinematic restoration, some old masterpieces relevant to Dadaocheng have been rescreened, further influencing the process of historiography about Dadaocheng through cinema. Specifically, in 2017, the movie *Taipei Story* (1985)[334] by the famous Taiwanese director Edward Yang, was restored and rescreened in theaters.[335] Before this, Edward Yang's works were almost extinct in Taiwan due to copyright issues. In *Taipei Story*, Director Yang uses numerous shots at night focusing on the dilapidated facades of the town houses in Dadaocheng, depicting the uncertainty of the protagonists and the city of Taipei when facing the crucial period of urban transformation in the 1980s. Moreover, some scenes allow the audience to follow the protagonists into the messy interior spaces of these town houses, and the frustration of the old businesses in Dadaocheng embroiled in the debate between redevelopment and preservation is well depicted in the dark and dilapidated spatial representation. After this movie was rescreened, some online articles began to identify the film locations in Dadaocheng. The Taipei Film Commission also published a film map marking the film locations in Edward Yang's movies in which Dadocheng is one of the crucial locales. Therefore, the rescreening of *Taipei Story* defiantly enriched the discussion and completed some missing parts of the previous discussion.

In this particular case of Dadaocheng's revitalization process, the cinematic productions were used not only as a promotional tool, manipulated by the government, the filmmakers, and the community to develop certain urban imaginary and pursue tourist benefit, but also in the city planning and architectural design, blurring the boundary between the physical and film spaces. Furthermore, cinematic productions mediated varied historical narratives in the negotiation of local identity. In this process, the cinematic productions were archival materials that on the one hand, were selected and edited by particular agents in order to gain cultural and economic benefits, and on the other hand, challenged the existing historical narratives as more and more old films in relation to the locale were rediscovered. As a result, cinematic participation in the urban development in contemporary Taiwan would be a complex, nonstop process, contributing to the negotiation of physical architectural spaces, the virtual urban imaginary, and further ideological historiography and identity.

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[333] A detailed report about the cinematic tour in Dadaocheng that marks all the film locations is on the blog of 2015's Taipei Film Festival: http://taipeiff2015.pixnet.net/blog/post/53965644-%E3%80%90%E5%9F%8E%E5%B8%82%E6%BC%AB%E9%81%8A%E5%B0%8E%E8%A6%BD%E6%B4%BB%E5%8B%95%E3%80%91%E5%A4%A7%E7%A8%BB%E5%9F%95%E4%B9%8B%E9%9B%BB%E5%BD%B1%E5%A0%B4%E6%99%AF%E7%89%B9%E6%90%9C

[334] Edward Yang, *Taipei Story*, Central Motion Picture Corporation, 1985.

[335] 新唐人電視台,《楊德昌導演系列作品重回台灣大螢幕!影迷盼了 17 年〈一一〉終於台灣首映》。2017/07/14 (https://www.ntdtv.com/b5/2017/07/04/a1331954.html)

5.5 Conclusion: A Bottom-Up Model of Cinematic Urbanism, A Cultural Project

The case of cinematic intervention in Dadaocheng's preservation and revitalization process is definitely one of the most distinct examples to the contemporary cinematic urbanism taking place in Taiwan and Hong Kong. Being different to the cases I discussed in the previous chapters that are mostly based on the mechanism of getting filming assistance and subsidization from the local governments to promote certain urban imaginaries or to induce film tourism, the cinematic intervention in Dadaocheng's redevelopment is motivated by the agents beyond the bureaucratic system, especially the professionals and ordinary participants in the community. through a bottom-up approach, this process began from a historical narrative made up by a local real estate/cultural manager to provide an enchanted background for the cultural and creative industry he introduced to this district. Produced by an earlier resident, a consequential comedy, *Twa-Tiu-Tiann*, successfully spread this historical narrative of the 1920s' glory of Dadaocheng to the public. Through using the name of the district as the movie title and nicely combining the "off-location" and "on-location" settings to ignite audiences' curiosity about today's Dadaocheng, this movie immediately caused tourism boom after it was released in the Chinese New Year of 2014, as well as making this district that is filled with astonishing historical town houses and Taiwanese traditional cultures to be a popular filming locale.

After the second movie, *When Miracle Meets Maths*, that is produced by Nelson Yeh, the director of *Twa-Tiu-Tiann*, and his company, Green Film Production, was shot in newly renovated town houses and nicely introduced the redeveloped Dadaocheng to audiences, Green film Production has begun a long-term and close cooperative relationship between film production and the preservation process of Dadaocheng's historical buildings. In the afterward projects of TV series set in Dadaocheng, the Green Film Production usually deployed a particular filming strategy that took place in the restored town houses before them opened to the public. This strategy not only enriches the films with authentic architectural and cultural details, but also benefits to the films and the historical buildings at the same time through the mechanism of mutual promotion. Sometimes, the designs for film shooting would be kept on site, further influencing the spatial development of Dadaocheng in both virtual and physical worlds. In this case, cinema is not only an on-way means of place-marketing, but also involves in more complicated relationship with its filming locale particularly in a non-stop and reproducible process of place-making.

Meanwhile, these films set in different periods' Dadaocheng have been manipulated as archival materials to develop certain historical narratives that reflect the competition between varied community groups and individuals. This debate has later been dissolved by guided film tours that bring more films set in this district to broaden the discussion, and the trend of film restoration, which continues discovering Dadaocheng's forgotten history recorded on the reels. During this process of cinematic historiography, rather than developing the community localism, Dadaocheng has gradually been constructed to be an embodiment of pro-Taiwan ideology that particularly emphasizes the political preference for democracy and Taiwan independence. This phenomenon demonstrates the complexity of cinematic intervention in the revitalization of Dadaocheng, a place having preconditions of rich historical and cultural soils, being a locale for abundant earlier films, and preserving a huge group of historical buildings. As a result, cinema in

the contemporary Dadaocheng is playing multiple roles: a trigger for film tourism, a mediator representing and spreading the beauty of the historical buildings on site, a participant in the preservation process and environmental design, a material for historiography and pro-Taiwan ideology, and a catalyst that help such complicated cultural project taking place in Dadaocheng could be reproducible and sustainable.

Ch 6. Conclusion

Through examining a decade of interactions between cinema and cities in Taiwan and Hong Kong, this research offers a new understanding of contemporary pan-Chinese cinematic urbanism, expanding the discourse of cinematic urbanism studies to include film-induced tourism and cinematic intervention in urban processes. While earlier discussions of cinematic urbanism studies have examined the ways in which cinema ideologically mediates modernity and pictorializes urban issues in postmodern conditions, this new approach, beginning from the research of film-induced tourism, forms a way to comprehending the contemporary phenomenon, in which cinema is shown to have additional means of influencing the evolution of urban spaces. Building on Beeton's research conceptualizing "in-location" tourism demonstrating the conflicts arising from tourism in local neighborhoods and historical attractions used as filming locales, the contemporary pan-Chinese cinematic urbanism discussed in this dissertation pushes the discourse further, examining the ways in which cinema affects physical urban spaces before, during, and after film shooting.

The intertwined relationship between cinema and cities in this model of pan-Chinese cinematic urbanism was spawned from local governmental film sponsorship. Two primary forces led to the establishment of these filmic policies: the decline of once-lucrative film industries, and inter-urban competition. These policies propelled the construction of an urban imaginary to attract tourism and investment, prompting local government representatives to participate in the pre-production process in a variety of ways, such as suggesting filming locations and offering filming assistance. Since the filming of these projects took place primarily within actual urban spaces rather than in studios, sets created specifically for films would at times be left in place for later use; in some cases, these sets would become tourist attractions, further influencing the surrounding physical urban process. As historical buildings and neighborhoods became popular filming locations, a distinct nostalgic film genre arose in Taiwan and Hong Kong, promoting a localism that was significantly influenced by filmic designs and representations. After these films were released, the cinematic representations and film-induced tourism would become crucial factors either in cooperation or confrontation with other forces in the pan-Chinese urban development process, such as urban renewal, urban revitalization, and historical preservation. The resulting urban spaces are the product of the negotiation and dynamics between these factors.

During the entire process of urban cinematic production, interactions among various agents within the bureaucratic system, the film industry, the local community, and other groups influenced not only urban imaginaries, filmic tourism, and urban processes, but also the formation of localisms, catalyzing local cinematic tours and cinematic historiography. In the following, I will discuss several key concepts of pan-Chinese cinematic urbanism in Taiwan and Hong Kong, aiming to incorporate them within the broader field of cinematic urbanism studies and beyond through an analysis of the negotiations among various agents using the cases discussed in this dissertation.

6.1 Filmic Tourism and Urban Imaginaries

Studies of filmic tourism have tended to focus on the effect of a particular film in transforming a filming location into a tourist attraction, and the tourists' satisfaction level in response to filmic travel. These studies are primarily concerned with film-induced tourism that occurred as an accidental and unexpected side benefit of the film production. Beyond the numerous cases examined in Australia and South Korea, the two most prominent locales for practical film-induced tourism and academic research, several cases in which a film produced unexpected tourism occurred in Taiwan: *Cape No. 7* ignited a tourist boom in southern Taiwan in 2008 (discussed in chapter 1); a documentary movie, *Let It Be* (2004),[336] set in an agricultural neighborhood of Tainan, evoked the Taiwanese audiences' collective memory and imagination of rural life, compelling them to visit the location; the long-term popularity of Jiufen in Northern Taiwan as a tourist spot is in part due to the filmic representations in Hou Hsiao-hsien's *A City of Sadness* (1989)[337] and its similarity to the town in Studio Ghibli's *Spirited Away* (2001). These cases produced tourism specific to the individual filming locations which are not reproducible in or beyond those places.

The cases discussed in this dissertation, however, especially the film policies and their results in Kaohsiung and Taipei, demonstrate an additional outcome of the relationship between filmic production and filmic tourism, as well as the potential to promote a city and attract tourism by means of cinema produced specifically for that purpose. For instance, the TV series *Black & White* successfully promoted the Kaohsiung City Government's urban revitalization project, changing the public's perception of the city from a post-industrial port city to an international harbor metropolis. Even though the filmmakers' choice of Kaohsiung as the filming locale was accidental (the Taipei Rapid Transit Corporation's barring them from filming in the MRT station forced the filmmakers to move to Kaohsiung), the Kaohsiung municipal government seized the opportunity and devoted itself to assisting the filmmakers in selecting the filming location and during the filming, ultimately inducing a tourism boom in the filming locales of Kaohsiung. Consequently, the Taipei City Government followed Kaohsiung's strategy and attempted to both boost the city's reputation and develop its film industry through sponsoring domestic and overseas films constructing a romantic and friendly urban imaginary of the city. These cases proved that cinema could be an effective means through which local governments in Taiwan could promote their cities.

In these cases, rather than promoting a specific location through cinematic representations of particular spaces, the local governments chose to create a broader conceptual and pictorial urban imaginary for the city. In this dissertation, "urban imaginary" is not an approach through which to comprehend the boundaries of a modern city (Cinar and Bender, 2007) or a way to achieve alternative modernities that rebel against the western-centered political-economic modernity (Huyssen, 2008). Rather, I employ the term urban imaginary to discuss a manipulable means through which contemporary cities prove their worth in the game of inter-urban competition in the global era. To compete, cities invest in the construction of an attractive urban imaginary by means of various media without regard for how easily such a mirage might dissolve as the public quickly turns to pursue the next trend. This was the challenge faced by the Kaohsiung City Government

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[336] Yen Lan-chuan (2005) *Let It Be*. Taiwan Public Television Service Foundation.
[337] Hou Hsiao-hsien (1989) *A City of Sadness*. Central Picture Film Corporation.

after the popular films promoting the city were no longer screening in theaters. On the other hand, the Taipei municipal government manipulated its cinematic representations and exhibitions only in the early years after of its filmic sponsorship policies. After the city's urban imaginary had become well established, the government immediately shifted its efforts toward solid economic development of the film industry and market. As a result, the two concepts—filmic tourism and urban imaginary making—have played complicated roles in the local government's top-down process of urban marketing through cinema.

6.2 Cinematic Intervention in Urban Processes

As postmodern criticism of cinematic urbanism suggests, cinema has the potential to influence urban processes through its ability to reveal social issues. In the contemporary Chinese context, the scholar of film and cultural studies, Braester (2010)[338] explores the relationship between cinema and cities after 1949. Through archival research, film analysis, and interview with crucial filmmakers and urban planners, he discusses how cinema and stage play were used as the means for propagandizing or protesting various urban plans and policies. In some cases of Mainland China around the millennium, the filmmakers participated in social movement by representing urban issues in independent film projects. He also includes a case in Taipei that illustrates the role of cinema in a specific preservation movement in which the community tried to create the sense of place by screening old movies filmed onsite in common spaces, and where a feature movie was shot in the neighborhood, recording demolition as it occurred. However, this approach of cinematic intervention in urban process is nuanced and indirect. In contrast, in the cases of Taipei and Hong Kong explored in this dissertation, cinema intervened directly in the individual urban process by cooperating with or confronting different forces in the urban development process.

In the case of the Shida night market in Taipei, the tourism boom and resulting business expansion induced by the Taipei Film Commission sponsored movie, *Au Revoir Taipei* (2010), led to a protest by the local residents appealing for a return to their previously quiet and peaceful living environment. Similarly, after the movie, *Monga* (2010), also subsidized by the TFC, was released, residents of the neighborhood in which the film was set initially worried about possible negative consequences of the movie's representation of gangster culture in Monga. Quickly, however, the film-induced tourism boom began to revitalize this old business district, not only eliminating the residents' concern but even leading to successfully renovating a group of government preserved historical buildings in Monga. These two cases, occurring at the same time and in the same city, but with opposite results offer a precise illustration of the complexity and uncontrollability of the intervention of cinema in urban processes. This means that additional research aiming to comprehend the mechanism necessary to produce positive results is needed.

In comparison to the role of cinema in Taiwan, cinema played a more active role in a case in Hong Kong. In 2010, the nostalgic movie, *Echoes of the Rainbow*, was successful in halting the progress of an urban renewal project planned for the film's location, the Wing Lee Street neighborhood, instead convincing the government to preserve the Chinese shophouse style

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[338] Yomi Braester, *Painting the City Red: Chinese Cinema and the Urban Contract*. Duke University Press Books, 2010.

buildings found there. Before the movie was released, the Wing Lee Street neighborhood had been involved in a long-term process of appealing for historical preservation rather than urban renewal, but this resident-led movement gained little public attention. However, after the movie presented the nostalgic spatial quality of the historical buildings and attracted visitors to the filming locale, the protest movement finally had an effective means of expressing its agenda. The filmic representation changed the public perception of the Wing Lee Street neighborhood which, driven by a capitalist logic was understood as dilapidated, into the embodiment of a collective memory. Hence, this case demonstrates how visual representation, one of cinema's crucial functions, can become involved in decision making processes by providing an alternative image countering the dominant capitalist logic of urban development.

Later, in the case of the revitalization process of Dadaocheng, cinema participated in the formation of virtual and physical spaces in this neighborhood using another approach. Rather than inducing a tourism boom to support the redevelopment of this old business district, Green Film Production established a cooperative model between film shooting and historical building renovation, and continued reproducing the pattern while making additional films set in Dadaocheng. The model created an opportunity for film shooting in historical buildings after renovation was completed and before the spaces were opened to the public. Sometimes, sets created for filming would be kept for future use, allowing cinema to directly influence the formation of physical spaces. In other cases, the film and the historical building would become each other's promotional tool, mutually constructing Dadaocheng's future imaginary in both the virtual and physical realms. As an ongoing phenomenon, the efficiency of the cooperative model between film shooting and historical building renovation needs afterward observation and examination.

6.3 Filmic Guided Tours, Localism, and Cinematic Historiography

The development of filmic guided tours in relation to the formation of localism is a new topic rarely discussed in the earlier scholarship of cinematic urbanism. However, in the most significant contemporary pan-Chinese cities—Taipei, Hong Kong, and Kaohsiung—the relationship between cinema and cities typically results in the formation of filmic guided tours, which respond to different urban issues, but contribute to a similar process of promoting localism. The surge in localism typically leads to the trend of film restoration, igniting a rediscovery of the urban history recorded on the old reels. Through manipulating the cinematic representations of urban history to tell historical narratives in the guided tour, today's cinema takes on the novel function of historiography, which is also an open-ended process easily influenced by the rediscovery of urban history in restored movies.

Dadaocheng is the first locale where a filmic guided tour took place. In 2015, cooperation between the Taipei Film Festival and Taipei Walking Tour launched several of guided tours in relation to cinematic sites in Ximen and Dadaocheng, two business districts in Taipei. Established by a resident of Dadaocheng, Taipei Walking Tour's cultural guided tour business began in Dadaocheng. Therefore, the Taipei Walking Tour guides are well versed in Dadaocheng's history and cultural activities. Meanwhile, to attract tourism, a real estate and cultural broker created a historical narrative that manipulated the image of 1920s' Dadaocheng to imbue it with economic

and cultural prosperity, an image which was later transmitted by a popular Taiwanese movie, *Twa-Tiu-Tiann* (2014). However, some of the local residents did not welcome this historical narrative because they felt excluded both in the history focusing on the 1920s' Dadaocheng and the new cultural and creative industry introduced by the broker. To both design a fascinating guided tour about cinematic Dadaocheng and retell a more authentic local history, tour guides narrating the Taipei Walking Tour point out several mistakes in the movie and its 1920s' historical narrative. As a result, the film guided tour has become another participant in the cinematic historiography of Dadaocheng. Afterward, the rescreening of restored old movies filmed in Dadaocheng brought other pieces of lost history back into the light, helping the community see Dadaocheng's past in different periods. These films offered an alternative to the conflict between several major historical narratives that were manipulated by varied community groups to secure their status in Dadaocheng. Cinematic historiography here is a means for the residents to develop their sense of place.

In the early 2000s, a cult culture was developed in Hong Kong by movie fans who traveled to filming locations and took photos onsite, imitating scenes of actors in the movies. This phenomenon led to the establishment of film guided tours in Hong Kong first by Walk in Hong Kong in 2016 and later by additional individual fans. Acknowledging the public's anxiety regarding the political situation and fast changing urban spaces, the filmic guided tours in Hong Kong are primarily nostalgic in nature, intending to promote the formation of localism. At times, tours become involved in preservation movements by introducing the movement during the tour, as well as through tours directly focusing on specific sites both in relation to classic movies and crucial historical events. At present, the film guided tours have begun to participate in the promotional activities of newly released movies that evoke nostalgia or were shot in old neighborhoods and everyday living spaces. The cooperative guided tours not only advertise the movies but are also intended to transmit the localism represented in the movies.

The last location to establish a filmic guided tour is Kaohsiung. In mid 2016 the local government's filmic policies were struggling to continue developing the film industry and to reproduce the popularity of film tourism in the city. The government tried not to rely on one film's effects but instead to reedit various movies filmed in Kaohsiung as short promotional clips and a filmic guided tour. The short promotional films demonstrate how different styles of movies could be shot in a similar urban landscape, reclaiming Kaohsiung's reputation as a suitable locale for the film industry. On the other hand, the filmic guided tour seems to have opened a potentially reproducible model to replace the earlier film-induced tourism boom caused primarily by individual films that quickly lost their appeal and their ability to attract tourists. However, as these filmic guided tours in Taipei, Hong Kong, and Kaohsiung are relatively new, additional time and research will be required in order to reveal their long-term influence on contemporary pan-Chinese cinematic urbanism.

6.4 Pan-Chinese Cinematic Urbanism in Taiwan and Hong Kong

This dissertation began by looking at local governments' filmic policies regarding the sponsorship of films constructing urban imaginaries that promote the cities and attract tourism and investment. Ultimately, it elucidates the broad concept of cinema's intervention in contemporary pan-Chinese urban processes and the potential of cinematic urbanism studies. I argue that these

cases of filmic tourism were not an accidental or unexpected side benefit of film projects but one of the goals of planned urban marketing through cinema. This urban marketing strategy relies to a great degree on the construction of an urban imaginary, which is employed here as a manipulable construct rather than a mental map for comprehending modern city from a cultural approach. Used this way, cinema intervenes in physical urban processes, cooperating with or confronting different forces of urban development to create a complicated dynamic of negotiation and decision making. In addition to influencing the physical world, cinema, when used this way, contributes to the formation of intangible elements such as localism and cinematic historiography, a novel phenomenon in contemporary pan-Chinese cities.

Even though the relationships between these key concepts and their influences in the contemporary pan-Chinese cinematic urbanism are not clear, they offer much potential for the continuing development of cinematic urbanism studies. Many of the topics considered herein demand additional research and analysis, such as uncovering the detailed negotiations and dynamics among different agents in the filming process; tracing the development and influence of filmic guided tours; and identifying the elements that contribute to a positive outcome of the intervention of cinema in urban processes. Eventually, I expect that this new, third approach to cinematic urbanism studies will be further and more comprehensively developed. I hope that the research included in this dissertation, and my future studies can continue to contribute to the discussion.

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