Cities in Film: Architecture, Urban Space and the Moving Image

An International Interdisciplinary Conference

University of Liverpool, 26-28th March 2008

CITY in FILM

1897 1920 1934 1941 1957 1965 1977 1980 2000 today

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Conference Proceedings

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This conference is organised by the School of Architecture and School of Politics and Communication Studies. The AHRC-funded research project, entitled *City in Film: Liverpool's Urban Landscape and the Moving Image,* is conducted by Dr Julia Hallam (principle investigator), Professor Robert Kronenburg (co-investigator), Dr Richard Koeck and Dr Les Roberts.

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Cities in Film explores the relationship between film, architecture and the urban landscape drawing on interests in film, architecture, urban studies and civic design, cultural geography, cultural studies and related fields. The conference is part of University of Liverpool's contribution to the European Capital of Culture 2008, and aims to foster interdisciplinary dialogues around architectural and film history and theory, film and urban space, and to point towards new intellectual frameworks for discussion. It seeks to draw on the work of theorists and practitioners engaged in ideas in these areas, examining film in the context of urban design and development and exploring in particular the contested social, cultural and political terrain that underpins these practices.

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CITIES IN FILM: ARCHITECTURE, URBAN SPACE AND THE MOVING IMAGE

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ABSTRACTS

A Step Into The City – "Use of Haydarpaşa Station as a city gate in Turkish Cinema after 1960"

Tuğba Şeyda Akşehir

As a result of political course and social change, in Turkey, a rapid migration was occured after 1950. Unemployment, distress of subsistence and claim for a better life were the most important reasons of this social fact. The reasons of this migration and the difficulties faced by immigrants in cities were moved to the white screen by movies produced after 1960. In almost all films, migration was to İstanbul.

Directors use variable forms of connections and interfere of immigrant defined at cultural and architectural dimensions with city as a background (slums, gettos ect.). The question is whether the problem in survival of immigrant in the city is himself who failed to adopt or the city / the citizen who failed to create spaces for them. Regardeless of the answer given in the end, almost all movies starts to tell their story from the same place; Haydarpaşa Station. Hopeful immigrant steps into the city from this historical building. Researching the persistence of directors in using the station as background at the same time in movies is the main goal of this paper.

Stations- bus-terminals, airports are "interspaces" between arrival and departure place. They are the gates of citites. Since 1908, Haydarpaşa Station has connected Anatolia to İstanbul and İstanbul to Anatolia. The research will analyse station in terms of its historical meaning, architectural features and its location in İstanbul, in depth. Answers will be given to questions like, whether it is a cliche to use Haydarpaşa Station in this frequency or the peak point of the migrant's journey to hope, bewitched by these features of the station is speacially emphasized. Even now, the traces of the station as a space in our memories, with quite the meanings mentioned above, have close relation with the senses established in movies .

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The construction of Urban Pastoral and the Carnivalisation of landscape through cinema

Ana Francisca de Azevedo

This paper explores the role of cinema in the cultural construction of the city. Particularly, it explores how the ideological construction of the urban pastoral nurtured by the Portuguese fascist regime was destilled through the filmic work of the Portuguese architect Cottinelli Telmo. Cottinelli Telmo was a central architect for the Portuguese fascist regime and several of his architectonic works are leading exponents of modernist space symbolism of Portuguese dictatorial period. But Cottinelli Telmo was also the pioneer of the Portuguese filmic comedy, the most popular filmic genre of the thirties and the forties at the national level. Has a cinematographer, he only did one film, A Canção de Lisboa (Lisbon Song), a canonical piece that reassured the politics and poetics of the 'Portuguese city' as a space of memory. But this work needs a careful scrutiny especially in a moment when conservative place politics awake mythic urban images and the symbolic strenghth of a landscape iconography engaged with the celebration of national and imperialistic claims for social order and cohesion. Based in a case

study which analyses the filmic document created by the architect as a flight from his apparently political commitments, this paper shows how Cottinelli developed the scenic utopias of a dictatorial regime engaged with the use of representational space for masking the unsolved social and economic problems which lead to a dramatic outbreak of migrations of the Portuguese population. At a superficial level, the film shows how Salazar's urban pastoral recoined the city as a pleasant space for living. But the filmic analysis opened other levels of meaning and the entrance to a second live of the film. This second live rests precisely in the complex engineerings used by the architect to construct a virtual space presented to the audiences as an object for laughter. The typical and the picturesque of the Lisbon 'barrio-yard-street' appear here as masks used to carnivalise urban landscape nurtured by histrionic popular voices. As a corrupted version of the pastoral, an urban peripathetics challenges linear readings of the filmic text so as it challenges linear readings of the material environment of a city. This allows differential mappings carved out through the practice of dwelling the filmic place of the city.

Views from above: cinema and urban iconography after Google Earth.

Helena Barranha

Over the last two decades, the globalization of new media technologies has radically transformed the perception of both natural and cultural landscape. When, in 2005, Google Earth was released as a free application, the access to satellite images became easier and more generalised, as any internet user could zoom into any continent, any region, any city or any block, as well as zoom out to have a full picture of the planet.

This dynamic and global access to aerial views has definitely changed landscape imagery, and soon became paramount in terms of urban iconography. Views from above are, more than ever, used to shape the image of a specific city, to draw its skyline, and to highlight its monuments. Considering that aerial images influence the perception and the representation of urban space, contemporary architects and landscape designers tend to incorporate this dynamic approach into their creative methodologies. The changing image of the city through the spectacular expansion of zoom-in and zoom-out possibilities has also been explored in the cinema, namely in recent films focused on European capital cities, such as Berlin, Lisbon and London.

This paper will analyse how paradigmatic films like *Wings of Desire* (also known as *The Sky above Berlin*, Wim Wenders, 1987), *Goodbye Lenin* (Wolfgang Becker, 2003), *Alice* (Marco Martins, 2005), *Match Point* (Woody Allen, 2005), and *Breaking and Entering* (Anthony Minghella, 2006) have contributed to create a new iconography of Berlin, Lisbon and London, through eloquent aerial perspectives. At the same time, the paper will observe how it is possible nowadays to replicate the experience of flying over those cities (particularly over the focal places of the mentioned films), using Google Earth and other internet resources.

The City, Image Nation: The Visual Representation Of Ankara And The Making Of National Subjects

Bülent Batuman

The foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923 was a radical attempt to construct a modern nation breaking with all symbols of the imperial past. Renouncing the Ottoman capital Istanbul, the republican cadres planned to construct a new capital, which would convey the spirit and ideology of the young nation and thus function as the symbolic locus for the republican government. Soon, the building of "new Ankara" would become a reflection of nation-building, and the documentation of this building process would turn into a major undertaking.

Throughout the 1930s, government agencies photographed the city and its new environments and published albums to be distributed home and abroad. Cinema was also an important medium appropriated by the state to this end. The most significant work, in this respect, was the documentary *Ankara: the Heart of Turkey* (1934) commissioned to the Soviet filmmaker Sergei Yutkevich. All these works producing images of the nation's capital were not only documenting the transformation of the old town into a modern capital, but also introducing a frame through which the city as the symbol of the republic should be seen and identified with. This process of identifying with the gaze of the state, however, was not a simple one. An important factor complicating this process was the fact that most of these images were produced by foreign specialists and/or they were produced to be circulated abroad. This was related to the intention of the republican elite to identify themselves with Western modernity, and their desire to affirm this identification through foreign eyes. Hence, this paper analyzes the visual making of power relations between the nation-state and its subjects through urban imagery, with particular consideration given to; 1. the comparison of the effects of multiple media (film and photography) on the production of such imagery, 2. the relation between the national subjects and the gaze of the nation-state which was complicated with the existence of the imaginary gaze of the Western "other".

Envisioning Urban Sustainability: *Have we vision, have we courage? Shall we build, and rebuild, our cities, clean again, close to the earth and open to the sky?*

John Blewitt

This paper will explore how urban sustainability has been communicated in film television and digital animation by comparing the aesthetic strategies employed in three "films". The first will examine the montage techniques and mode of address of the classic documentary *The City* (d. Steiner & Van Dyke, USA, 1939) which articulated the emerging bioregional and garden city ideas of Lewis Mumford, urbanist, writer and cofounder of the Regional Planning Association of America. The second will examine the popular television format and personalised direct address exemplified by the BBC television series *Gardener's World* using as a specific illustration "the special" on eco-developments, *Building on Gardens*, hosted by Joe Swift and first broadcast in 2007. The third example is *2050 – a virtual blueprint for a sustainable Melbourne* (Aus, 2003) an independent production commissioned by the Sustainable Living Foundation in Melbourne featuring the off-screen informal conversation by a group of Australian planners on the possible futures for urban sustainability and illustrated by a collage of computer generated images and video footage.

Each film looks to, and envisages, the future in different ways drawing on the experience of the (then) present and the aesthetic capabilities of the chosen media to communicate ideas, values and hopes in a resonant, reflective and persuasive manner. Framing the presentation will be a discussion of image ethics, the aesthetics of place and space and the notion of

sustainability as a dialogue of values and experiences. The paper will conclude with some brief comments on the possibilities of developing a new visual language for, and of, urban sustainability for only through effective communication which stimulates the viewer's imagination to conceive and perceive of alternatives will more sustainable urban environments be achieved.

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The city, the car and filmic perception: the commonalities between Robert Venturi and Michelangelo Antonioni.

Graham Cairns

This paper examines the similarities between ideas on architectural presentation and design contained in the seminal work of Robert Venturi, *Learning from Las Vegas*, 1972 and the cult classic of Michelangelo Antonioni, *Zabriskie Point*, 1970.

Central to Venturi's 1972 work was the argument that the contemporary U.S. city had been designed according to the logic of the automobile and was thus designed to be perceived in motion. From that starting point he began a reconsideration of architectural design and the tools used in its presentation. Drawn plans, sections and elevations were considered to be incapable of representing the phenomenological experience of the modern city in motion. Consequently, they did not facilitate its appropriate design. His answer was to propose the use of collage as an architectural design and thinking tool.

This paper looks at Michelangelo Antonioni's *Zabriskie Point* from this perspective. It argues that two years prior to the publication of Venturi's work, this film offered an insight into the power of the cinematic medium as an appropriate representational device. More capable than drawn plans, sections or even collages at capturing the true experience of the city in motion it is argued that it went considerably further than Venturi´s seminal text in understanding cities like Las Vegas or Los Angeles, the city in which the film is set.

It thus argues that by failing to make the leap from the flat static visual representation of the collage to the sequential, continuous and / fragmented representation of film, *Learning from Las Vegas* missed an important opportunity for advancing the use of alternative media in architectural design and thinking. It is an opportunity that has still yet to be taken up.

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Cinema's mapping impulse and the city

Teresa Castro

Throughout this paper, I would like to argue that cinema's approach to urban space has been closely informed by what could be called a *mapping impulse*. This mapping impulse would be less about the presence of maps in a certain visual landscape and more about the processes that underlie the conception of images. If we understand maps to be "graphic representations that facilitate a spatial understanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes, or events in the human world"[1], our focus shifts from object – "maps"- to function – "spatial understanding". Maps should thus be regarded as a hinge around which pivot whole systems of meaning, both prior and subsequent to their production.

I will use a number of examples from different periods of film history to illustrate the formal strategies that distinguish this mapping impulse. The first is a certain *topographic* fascination, if not a real *topophilia*, in the sense of "love of place". This feature covers different manifestations, either related to the politics or the poetics of space - from early

cinema to contemporary examples. Such a topographic appeal often goes hand in hand with a second formal procedure: the seemingly *descriptive* motivation of the works in question – made evident by such camera movements as the panning shot. A third formal strategy would be *drifting*, or walking as an artistic practice. Again, such a method can take different forms and cover various agendas. Finally, both *serialization* ("maps only exist in the context of a series, of a collective production spaced out in time"[2]) and *layering*, in the sense of establishing connections and producing meaningful relationships, should also be mentioned.

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[1] J. B.Harley and D, Woodward, "Preface", in *The History of Cartography, Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*. (Chicago: Chicago University Press, vol. I, 1987, p. XVI).
[2] "*Il n'est de carte que dans le cadre d'une série, d'une production collective qui s'échelonne dans le temps*", Christian Jacob, *L'empire des cartes*, *Approche théorique de la cartographie à travers l'histoire*. (Paris : Albin Michel, 1992, p. 465).

Third Meshchanskaia and *The Goddess*: Crafting Gendered Space in Cinematic Modernity

Jessica Ka-yee Chan

This paper juxtaposes two early silent films of two national cinemas: the Soviet silent film *Third Meshchanskaia* (also known as *Bed and Sofa*) [*Tretia Meshchanskaia*] (1927) and the Chinese silent film *The Goddess* [*Shennu*] (1934), and looks at how the two films engage with the woman question through cinematic representation of city space and spatialization of gender politics. The similarities shared by the two films are not the result of influence, but the result of certain parallels in their historical situations. The woman question came to the fore in the project of revolution and modernization in Russia and China in the early twentieth century. How is the figure of woman, as the locus of the plight of modernization in Moscow and Shanghai, depicted in cinema of belated modernities? *Third Meshchanskaia* and *The Goddess* are products of the fervent creativity during the golden age of two burgeoning cinematic regimes that were deeply invested in defining the social, not only aesthetic, function of cinema in modernity before the advent of socialist realism. This paper offers an analysis of the narrative construction and *mise en scène* of the two films through the prism of cinematic representation of city space and argues that the two films engender poetics and politics of space to forward social critique in the discourse of the woman question. Contrary to what some scholars have argued, the two films are not maternal melodramas that accommodate the patriarchal status quo, but are two of the earliest feminist films in world cinema.

Urban imagination of Macau: remembering the city in film

Thomas Chung

By examining specific cinematic representations of Macau in terms of how the city is remembered and imagined, this paper discusses urban imaginaries of post-handover Macau within the context of the city's imaging. Traditional portrayals of the erstwhile Portuguese colony vacillate between the sublime and the profane, from portal for trade and evangelism to seedy enclave for gambling, while recent fabrications involve glamorous euphemisms such as 'Asia's Las Vegas' – as evidenced by the proliferation of mega-casinos, as well as a nostalgic

turn that mobilizes both past architecture and newly built memorials and museums to commemorate a disappearing quirky Luso-Chinese culture.

This paper considers how reciprocities between narrative, architectural settings and urban space may offer alternative understandings of memory in the city that begin to unmask caricatures projected by and for lucrative gaming markets and framed by the politics of heritage tourism. Most films in which Macau makes cameo appearances subscribe to and reinforce stereotypical views, visualizing the city as either exotic or exilic, place of without inhibitions to escape to (*Macao*:1952, *The Man with the Golden Gun*: 1974) or place of intrigue to return to or to excavate one's past (*Exiled*: 2006, *Confession of Pain*: 2006).

Isabella (2006), the main vehicle for exegesis, may be seen as an exception. Set entirely in the chaotic, crime-ridden endgame of colonial Macau, the film centres on two characters haunted by an intertwined past, and whose fated odyssey towards the future is inextricably linked to that of the decadent city in transition. The film's unusual attention to mundane urban sequences foregrounds the city as a receptacle for complex lives. The tightly structured interplay of narrative and settings is scrutinised to explore how filmic seeing and re-membering of urban fragments can inform architectural imagination and open up possibilities to grasp Macau's urban reality beyond customary readings.

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Modernity and Colonized Otherness: Early Actuality Films of London's Exhibitions
Maurizio Cinquegrani

My paper will focus on the cinematic representation of London in early actuality films (1895-1910). This subject is part of my doctoral research on early British cinema and the city, a project which brings together Cultural Geography and Film Studies. Early British films will be presented through an historiographical framework and an interpretative methodology which defines them as instruments of the ideology which produced them, that is British imperialism. My aim is to discuss how early actuality films supported the imperial message by focusing on London's monumental and ceremonial spaces, and on its exhibitory complex.

In particular, I will discuss the relation between early cinema and urban motifs of display emerging in figurative representations of imperialist movement to and through the empire, that is in films of colonial and technological exhibitions in London. These films document imperial processes of transculturation, and represent the London Zoological Gardens, the Crystal Palace, the Victoria and Albert Museum and the South African Exhibition. By bringing images of otherness to the British audiences, cinema contributed to enforce the distinction between the perception of the self and that of the exotic other. The visual power of London's exhibitory complex attracted several filmmakers. On one hand, their films contributed to the celebration of technological modernity offered by new constructional, industrial, communication and transport technologies. On the other hand, they contributed to connect large geographical areas, the empire as much as the capital, and offered an ordered and domesticated experience of the colonial other. The exotic presence of colonized cultures in London at the turn of the twentieth century will be contextualized within the relationship between cinema and urban modernity, and the belief that the empire was at the heart of the urban experience. This discussion will focus on films made by Alexander Promio, Cecil Hepworth, and R. W. Paul.

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Cinematic Los Angeles: Architectural Landscapes and Dreamscapes of Dystopia
Anna M. Dempsey

When one conjures up a mental image of Manhattan or Paris, the Empire State building and the Eiffel Tower come readily to mind. Los Angeles is a different matter. Though Baudrillard suggests that Los Angeles is the quintessential postmodern city, its architectural skyline is not part of the postmodern store of urban images. Instead, the post-war L.A. cinematic landscape is comprised of fragments of local sites that add up to a dystopian, albeit often nostalgic, view of the city. While many films fall into this category, for this presentation I will focus on four: *Menace II Society* (1993)*, Thirteen* (2003)*, The Player* (1992) *and L.A. Confidential* (1997)*.* I argue that these cinematic representations depict: 1) the isolated, hard-bitten lives of contemporary poor Angelinos (the first two) or 2) the cityscapes of L.A. past, where everything can be bought and sold (the second two). In the former, we see examples of local African American and working class lives---- lives that are metaphorized by the harshly lit, nature- free, and rundown modern urbanscape. However, by cordoning off their sections of Los Angeles from the rest of the city, these directors also absolve the city (and the cinematic public) from forming an imagined integrated community. *Menace II Society* and *Thirteen* function simply as examples of a cinematic genre distinguished by racial or class "types" and by a bleak architectural landscape. The latter two films (*The Player and L.A. Confidential)*, on the other hand, are simulacra (what Eco deems "real fakes") of the city's golden cinematic era. Rather than contemporary urban architectural cityscapes, the directors use set-designed cities of a "bad" but fondly remembered L.A. that had existed only on film. In other words, all four filmic representations of L.A. underscore cinematic genre rather than city identity. I will conclude that the more recent film *Crash* (2004) functions in a similar fashion. Indeed, in all these films, the localized, fragmented views of L.A. underscores the image of the city as the iconic postmodern urban center---but one in which the imaginary landscape may be more important than the "real."

Iconicity, Spatiality and Narrativity in Cinematic Representations of London's East End'

Phillip Drummond

The East End of London is an area loose in geographical specificity – running across from the edge of the City to the Essex marshes, and up from the Thames to outer Hackney – but potent in historical meaning and significance: home to the labouring class of the Thames docks, focus for case studies in poverty and degradation, clearing house for successive waves of migration, major target for the Blitz, site of Docklands regeneration and home to the 2012 Olympics. This rich and contradictory variety poses challenges for cinematic representation. What and where and when is the 'East End'? And how to represent both its simplicity and its complexity within the confines of the cinematic text?

This paper will explore these themes and issues in relation to ideas about iconicity, spatiality and narrativity in relation to a range of key films dealing with East End experience. The paper will challenge the dominant generic images of the East End in the crime thriller tradition - the Ripper cycle from 'The Lodger' to 'From Hell' and onwards via Guy Ritchie - by opening up a broader canon, with a wide range of subject matter and representational means, including such films as Griffith's 'Broken Blossoms', Eaton's 'Darkest England', Bucksey's 'Dealers', Peck's 'Empire State', Crichton's 'Hue and Cry', Hamer's 'It Always Rains on Sunday', Reed's 'A Kid for Two Farthings', Dearden's 'Pool of London', Littlewood's 'Sparrows Can't Sing', Cohen's 'Till Death us Do Part', and Mazzetti's 'Together'.

The Three Spatialities of Los Angeles Latino/a Cinema.
Ken Fox

In my analysis of filmic representations of Latino/a identity and mobility in Los Angeles I have identified three separate but overlapping spatial categories: barrio/city, barrio/prison, barrio/homeland. This tripartite analysis draws upon the three 'presences' identified in Hall's (1993: 230) rethinking of the positions and repositionings of Caribbean cultural identities. Like the three presences elaborated by Hall the use of barrio/city, barrio/prison and barrio/homeland all have the presence of the other within them. I elaborate the complex relationship between Latina/o mobility and identity in cinematic Los Angeles by focusing on how film techniques develop this tripartite spatiality. I suggest that in *Mi Vida Loca* (1993), *Born in East L.A.* (1989) *American Me* (1992), *Stand and Deliver* (1989) *Mi Familia* (1994) and more recently *Quinceañera* (2006) there is an attempt to engage with the history of images of the barrio disseminated by Hollywood and in some cases to re-make or re-imagine them.

Using extracts and stills from some of the films named above I will suggest that this tripartite spatial analysis provides an alternative way of approaching mainstream representations of Los Angeles' Latinos/as. These separate but overlapping spatialities point to a more complex set of representations and histories that are more than fixed in space and trapped in place.

"Know the Territory!" Bridges, Musicals, and American Urbanism

David M. Foxe

At the 1957 Tony awards for Broadway theatre, two new shows competing for that year's best musical, The Music Man and West Side Story, were both subsequently adapted into landmark films that expanded upon the theatrical productions. These motion pictures, the means by which many viewers today first encounter the shows, not only feature the rich musical vocabulary of the soundtrack (composed by Meredith Willson and Leonard Bernstein, respectively), but they also demonstrate competing ideals of how American cities existed in the imagination of the postwar middle class.

These two musicals, whose stage versions opened exactly fifty years ago this fall, are particularly fascinating in the dramatic way they feature particular bridges and the character of infrastructure to punctuate the narratives and dramatic arc. Both the small footbridge in The Music Man's fictionalized River City (based upon Mason City, Iowa) and the mammoth viaducts in West Side Story (prime examples of New York City's vehicular arteries spearheaded by Robert Moses) are interpretations of real spans. Incidentally, both bridges were constructed to redevelop tarnished or neglected urban wastelands.

This discussion, illuminated not only by the musicals and their film incarnations but also by archival material about the designers who gave form to the ideals of Mason City and New York City, will invite a reconsideration of urban memory and the resiliency of narratives about what residents "know" about cities. Echoing the opening cries of traveling salesmen in The Music Man, that the title character doesn't "know the territory," these musical documents will offer points of departure into how imagined ideas of cities are evident in the stories that are repeated in words and in song.

Barge Culture

Karen Gaskill

It is now almost unheard of to move through a city at a pace slower than 3mph. Even our average walking pace has quickened over decades, to something resembling a half jog. We rarely take the time to peruse or gaze up at our urban architecture, considering what histories such spaces hold, and their level of importance in times past.

Manchester is a city that is fortunate to have countless remaining pre industrial sites, although many have evolved into loft apartments and other such conceptualised spaces. The route of the Manchester Bridgewater canal is one of the oldest and historically rich arteries through the city, cutting an impressive line past key locations of contemporary and historical significance. It is banked by a rich and diverse architecture, telling a story through its decade's worth of myriad styles.

The focus of this presentation is a curated project that looked at the mirroring of old and new social networks. Spread over 4 days, this work invited its audience to take a 30-minute barge trip along the Bridgewater Canal, moving through the city at approximately 2 mph. A screen installed inside the barge's interior, converted the barge into a mobile media space where 4 short films were screened, each considering aspects of urban environment and our differing perceptions of it.

In this paper I will discuss and show clips of the work that was shown, in both the context in which they were created, and in which they were shown for this specific project. I will also outline a piece of work - Diorama - that was created aboard the barge, using captured footage from the 16 journeys the boat made.

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Decay, Redemption and the Feminized City – Filmic Articulations of *Revive Manila*'s renovated parks

Tessa Marıa Tan Guazon

I aim to trace the themes of disease and decay in the narrative of urban renewal and development by examining two filmic representations of parks renovated under the *Revive Manila* program from 2000 to 2004. The films *"Ikaw Lamang Hanggang Ngayon"* (Only You, Even Now) and *"Babae sa Breakwater"* (Woman of the Breakwater) depict the renovated Liwasang Bonifacio and Bay Walk, both *Revive Manila* flagship projects of the Atienza city administration. I plot the links between cities and bodies through the depiction of female characters in the film narratives and the articulations of the situated-ness of their lives in Manila. I further relate these film texts to the manufactured imagery of the city, mostly used as justification for the implementation of *Revive Manila,* the urban renewal program. This program was implemented during the three consecutive terms of Mayor Lito Atienza's city administration and it relied heavily on nostalgic constructions of Manila and the desire to 'revive and renew' the city aiming to situate it alongside its other Southeast Asian counterparts in terms of global competition.

By couching my critique of urban renewal and its uneven outcomes through the lens of gender and the notion of the 'feminine' (as articulated by art historian Griselda Pollock), I try to pursue insights on urban spatial imagery and present another way of viewing the relationships between film and its articulations of the urban environment. This is part of a

larger project that aims to look into the constructions of urban imaginaries through the lenses of the gendered body and everyday experience of public spaces in cities.

Touchez pas au Grisbi (1954), *Du Rififi chez les Hommes* (1955) and *Bob le Flambeur* (1956); Discussing Criminal Paris, Nostalgia and Modernity

Thedora Hadjiandreou

The paper puts at the center of its discussion three of the best known, classic 1950s French (*Noir*)heist films: *Touchez pas au Grisbi* (1954), *Du Rififi chez les Hommes* (1955) and *Bob le Flambeur* (1956), all set in Paris. *Grisbi* was an expensive production directed by Old Guard French director Jacques Becker, while *Bob* was a low budget production filmed by French independent director Jean Pierre *Melville*. *Rififi,* was a modest French-Italian co-production directed by self-exiled American director Jules Dassin already famous for his semi-documentary depiction of New York (*The Naked City*, 1948) and the expressionistic depiction of London *(Night and the City*, 1950). Employing close textual analysis my aim is to explore the construction of cinematic Paris in the mid 1950s as modernization (in the form of Americanisation, technology, and urban expansion) makes its entrance and human sentiments and spacial images seem to split between the familiar past and the unknown future.

The paper is divided in three section: The first section introduces the iconographic construction of post-war urban Paris, as seen in the above three classic films taking into consideration genre conventions and aesthetics with emphasis on differentiation and departures from contemporary European and/or American examples.

Since the classic crime *noir* thriller places the criminal in the heart of the city, the main section explores the symbiotic relationship between the criminal and the Parisian urban space. Special emphasis will be placed on the relationship of the aged, soon to be retired criminal mastermind, a common theme of the three films, and the feelings of spatial belonging and the construction of the 'neighborhood'.

The last section discusses the periphery and the non-urban as opposed to the core of the criminal city. The use of the car, a symbol of mobility, change and modernity, and the point of view it projects is discussed within the context of nostalgia, location and dislocation projected by the aged criminal.

Urban Montage Sequences: City Symphonies and Their Incorporation into Classical Cinema

Steven Jacobs

Depicting the metropolis as the locus of modernity, 1920s city symphonies, such as *Manhatta* (Strand & Sheeler), *Berlin* (Ruttmann), and *Man with a Movie Camera* (Vertov), aspired to be just as modern as their subject matter. Sharing formal similarities with avant-garde art, these films demonstrate that metropolitan life can be interpreted as a culture of hyperstimulation (Georg Simmel) or as an experience of shock (Walter Benjamin).

Instead of focusing on the city symphony itself, however, this paper deals with the ways classical cinema appropriated the genre. Already in the 1920s, a number of narrative films – ranging from *Paris qui dort* (Clair), *Downhill* (Hitchcock), *Lonesome* (Fejos), *The Crowd* (Vidor), *Asphalt* (May) to *The Cameraman* (Keaton) – inserted "miniature city symphonies" into the featured drama in a contrapuntal manner. In many cases, experimental techniques are integrated into a "classic" framework: avant-garde extravaganzas are justified

by the narrative, for instance, since we see the city through the eyes of a delirious character. Nonetheless, the metropolis is represented as a fragmented accumulation of sensory impressions and as a space filled by the density of crowds.

This is also often the case in montage sequences, which began to appear in the Hollywood cinema in the late 1920s. Summarizing a topic or compressing a passage of time into brief symbolic or typical images, montage sequences are frequently used to establish an urban locale. By means of dissolves, fades, superimpositions, and wipes that link the images, montage sequences *à la* Vorkapich depict a bustling city. Some stereotypical examples of montage sequences, moreover, are associated with the realm of traveling and tourism, such as the superposition of hotel stickers on a traveling case. The city is not only presented as a series of tourist 'attractions' but also as a space that lends itself to a representation by means of an Eisensteinian 'montage of attractions' – an assemblage of powerful shock moments and surprise effects, which is rather based on psychological stimulation than on narrative logic.

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Blankness on the Edge of Town: From *Terrains Vagues* to New Space, From Photography to Film

Anthony Kinik

This paper traces a brief history of the *terrain vague* in photography and film, starting with the experiments and interventions of the Surrealists in the 1920s and 1930s (*La Revolution Surréaliste*'s appropriation of the work of Eugène Atget, Jacques-André Boiffard's photographs for André Breton's *Nadja*, Eli Lotar's abattoir shots for *Documents*, etc.), and continuing through to the conceptual work of the "land artist" Robert Smithson ("The Monuments of Passaic") and the "anarchitect" Gordon Matta-Clark (*Fake Estates*, *Bronx Floors: Threshole*, *Substrait*) and finishing up with the films of Patrick Keiller (*London*, 1994, Robinson *in Space*, 1997), Deborah Stratman (*In Order Not To Be Here*, 2002), Jem Cohen (*Buried in Light*, 1994, *Lost Book Found*, 1996, *Amber City*, 1999, *Blood Orange Sky*, 1999, *Chain*, 2004), and others. While there was always some sort of political economy embedded in the notion of the *terrain vague*, these interstitial and marginal spaces providing something of a key to a deeper understanding of modernity, postmodernity's *terrains vagues* (what Keiller has labeled its "new space") in many ways define the new economy and the spatial reorganization that has come with it, and Keiller, Stratman, and Cohen are part of a crop of contemporary filmmakers who've taken a roving eye to these landscapes in order to try and see past their blank stares. City films, city poems, and city symphonies from the period between the world wars tended to focus on what Laszlo Moholy-Nagy once called the "dynamics of a metropolis"—the energy, industry, and monumentality of the modern city— these new city films, on the other hand, have developed an "entropological" outlook (to borrow a turn of phrase from Smithson), and the *terrain vague* is key to their critiques of the new urbanism.

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Cine-Tecture: A filmic reading and critique of architecture in cities

Richard Koeck, University of Liverpool

The following paper presents a particular way of engaging with architecture and urban practices that is informed by theoretical and practical background in architectural design and filmmaking. It aims to make reference to, and expand upon, established theoretical concepts

that come from practicing architects, such as Tschumi's deconstructed reading of architecture and Jean Nouvel's notion that architecture, like cinema, exists in the dimension of time and movement. The rationales for this 'filmic' examination of urban-architectural sites are that, firstly, spatial practices structure the determining conditions of social life (de Certeau 1988: 96) and that, secondly, 'the urban (its existence as a network of metaphors, metonyms, symbols and the like) not only accounts for a variety of representations of the city life, but is also a crucial aspect of the material experience of the urban – its actuality' (Highmore 2005: 5, 6, 7). The impetus for this paper comes from having recently moved to Liverpool, a city that is currently, since it is being awarded the title European Capital of Culture 2008, undergoing a substantial and rapid transformation. Indeed, the visible speed at which the material 'image of the city' (Lynch 1960) is changing is reminiscent of flickering images projected onto screens.

Although still young, the field of research into architecture and film can already be divided, if somewhat simplistically, into two antipodal avenues: the first considers the way in which architecture and cities are portrayed in film (cities/architecture inform/s film); and the second considers how filmic elements can be found in architectural and urban practices (film informs cities/architecture). The first area of investigation has attracted a disproportionately higher number of scholars than the second. Typically classified by epoch, nationality, director or genre, the spatial dispositifs that are evident in individual films or in film collections are normally investigated within the theoretical frameworks of established research fields, such as modern languages, philosophy, psychoanalysis, sociology or history of architecture.[1] While this research has and will continue to produce fascinating insights into how the metaphorisity of film reflects the modern and post-modern conditions of urban life, this paper concentrates alternatively on how film has informed cities and their architecture.

Flimic Narratives of the City

Cláudia Sofía Gonçalves Ferreira Lima

The subject of the city has long been central to literature, film, and photography, philosophical and political debates. Contributions from different fields have crowded the panorama of studies and writings on the city: from the fields of architecture, urban and film studies, literature and photography.

Cities are recorded in many different ways through many instruments and methods for many different purposes, and "there is no such thing as an objective record"[1]. Even when the city is not present as a main theme, the urban backdrop frequently lends a vital element to the text or the image.

This is an exploratory paper, one that cuts across many disciplines with the intent of providing a thicker knowledge on the kinematics of the city and its 'sitematic' reproduction in filmic narratives.

In this paper I seek to explore, not the complex relationship between film and place, but rather the ways in which the city has been represented through the 'moving image'.

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[1] The use of term 'dispositif in this text in inspired by the writings of Foucault. Deleuze relates the term, which is commonly translated into English as 'apparatus' (Foucault, 1980: 194–5), to that of power in Foucault's writing (Delauze 1988). Spatial dispositifs are seen in this context always *socio-spatial dispositifs* relating to a plethora of political, economic, power and other networks that that determine the function and quality of urban life or, in other words, 'the production of the social through space' (Pløger 2008:60)

City space is both a filmic construction as it is an architectural construction. Filmic narratives of the city also become an architectural practice: an art form of the city's space. They are agents for building our views of the city: they influence the ways we live and perceive the city, and filmic representations will growingly filter into the city's image. More than being a testament of the city's history, film and other media can be an instrument for testing and applying new perspectives for the city's physical production.

This paper holds that filmic narratives are a major source for understanding the city and comprehending its processes of production and evolution. Film and Image construct the city and are constructed by it. It is important to understand that film and popular media can actually transform the city and the ways we live. They are also potential tools for recreating environments and 'virtually' explore and see the effects of the built environment on society and the urban whole.

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[1] Frampton, K. (1986) 'A Note on Photography and its Influence on Architecture' [online]. The Scholarly Journal Archive. Perspecta, Vol.22, Paradigms of Architecture (pp.38-41), Accessed at: http://www.jstor.org/view/00790958/ap050020/05a00040/0

Tokyo: Cartography of a Cine-City –A Study about the Identity of a City and its relation with Moving Images

Salvator-John A. Liotta

This paper investigates the relation between moving images, architecture, and the city of Tokyo. First, it discusses the role that cinemas played on Tokyo's urban-scape, and how they have changed through the last 110 years due to social transformations, technological inventions and changes in lifestyle. Second, it discusses screens as metaphorical modernity plazas where the needs of a modern aesthetic were expressed in terms of the creation of an unprecedented architectural space, and how many aspects of Tokyo's identity are linked to the realm of moving images.
The research has been conducted along two different paths; the first is focused on the impact cinemas had on Tokyo's urban-scape, as well as their expansion strategies and dynamics. Second, cinemas are discussed from an architectural point of view as a new typology of building that came into existence to accommodate the invention of the cinemascope and the permanent projection of movies.

Moving image related research is usually focused on the history of how and by whom films and videos were made, but much is still unclear about the history of the actual places in which the films are shown. In established cinematic history, neither the history of the physical architectural aspects of the cinema is sufficiently described, nor is the area in which the first cinemas were built.

In order to measure changes in Toyko's urban–scape, historical maps and photos from 1900 to 2007 were screened and divided into five periods. For each period a cinema theater typology was chosen, along with the impact it had on defining the city-scape; they were classified as representative of some important events in Tokyo's 20th century urban history.

This paper aims to clarify how cinemas, development dynamics, the moving image, and the city of Tokyo are intertwined.

From The Cırcular Boulevard To The Merry-Go-Round-A-Bout: The Lamentatıon (Tatıvılle) And Resolve Of The Destructıon And Loss Of Parıs In Jacques Tatı's Play Tıme

Louise Mackenzie

> These days I feel sad because I have the impression that people are having less and less fun. They obviously dress better, they clearly wash more, they certainly have more hot water, they surely imbibe cooler drinks; and now their windows are larger, which means that they can get additional sun, but, in the past they lived on the street more and got all the sun they wanted there. Jacques Tati

I would begin with a discussion of Haussmann's boulevards, where Tati grew up – and the transformation of which he criticises in his films. I then discuss Le Corbusier's Voisin Plan in relation to Tati's criticism of these ideas, what effects they had, and what Tati's solutions are to the problems they created.

From here I discuss how Tati's films show a change in the way of using and experiencing the street; this also involves, for Tati, notions of "sterile homogenisation" and "over" rationalisation. All the "dirt" and disease of the 19th century city (which killed people by the thousands) has been cleaned up – removed from Tativille – but perhaps Tati is saying that it has been taken too far, and that "all the life" has been taken out of the city.

In PLAYTIME all of Paris, as we know it, has been removed, and (as Le Corbusier suggested) only a few monuments remain. These are only caught in reflection – and as far as we know, in PLAYTIME, it is only the tourists who visit them.

Nothing of what Tati knows (and loves) of Paris remains. And yet Tati, in the face of something which for him is devastating, closes his film not in a position of despair, but of quite the opposite. At the end of PLAYTIME, we find ourselves in a round-a-bout: a place where one stays for a while, yet moves on. This round-a-bout is also a merry-go-round. As the film ends it fades almost to black: our travellers head off into the unknown. As we clearly see, these travellers (albeit a bit square) do know how to have fun – they know, just as Tati and Hulot know, about the importance of play time.

A Tale of Two Cities: Dachau Observed

Alan Marcus

This paper investigates some of the issues raised by the experimental documentary, *Beautiful Dachau* (2006, dir. Alan Marcus, 30mins.), and the way it explores how the weight of history reconfigures a sense of place. It uses an observational cinematic style, without interviews, commentary or dialogue to investigate the relationship between the integration of an infamous concentration camp into the fabric of a picturesque Bavarian town that has now grown around it. This paper considers the film's methodological approach used to expose the reinterpretation of overlapping urban space in two cities and their interrelationship – Munich and Dachau. Eschewing archival footage or photographs, the film focuses on the present as it observes streams of visitors to the Dachau camp, now a popular tourist attraction. Some 800,000 people visit the site annually. The paper discusses the film's role as a visual cipher, considering the way people interact with an iconic place and its inherited meaning, transfiguring past events with their presence. Unburdened by exposition, the film invites viewer participation in interpreting the daily rituals and oppositions that unfold. The paper

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will also address what the film does not show, including the juxtaposition and implication of the large SS training camp adjoining the memorial site, which is in tact but out of bounds to visitors. Questions are posed about the layering of space and the way the 'Arbeit Macht Frei' entrance gate and the crematoria serve as *memento mori*, anchoring the film and the visitor's and viewer's experience.

Tacita Dean's Optics of Refusal

Tara McDowell

Since British-born artist and filmmaker Tacita Dean relocated to Berlin several years ago, she has made two pendant films in which she trains her camera on symbolic sites in that city. The titles of the films explicitly name their subjects, both of which are architectural structures deeply embedded in the history and consciousness of Berlin and the nation: *Fernsehturm* (2001) and *Palast* (2004). The Fernsehturm, or Television Tower, opened in 1969 in the center of Alexanderplatz, the political nexus of the former German Democratic Republic and a still vital urban hub. Dean's film takes place within the interior of the revolving restaurant located in the sphere of the tower, some two hundred meters above ground. Located nearby, the Palast der Republik was also a building project of the GDR; it served as the seat of the East German parliament, but also as a site of enforced culture, containing as it did restaurants, theaters, and a bowling alley.

This paper provides a close reading of the optical moves and theories of vision with which Dean operates in these two films, with a particular emphasis on their relation to Berlin as site. I argue that she memorializes certain theories of how the city is perceived in modernity, from Baudelaire to Benjamin, evidenced by her insistence on the glance or flash, as well as the embodied, sited gaze as opposed to the total or panoramic view—we never see, for example, the whole of each building. In both films Dean offers a model of sensing focused on the momentary, the fragment, and the material. Moreover, the Fernsehturm and Palast not only reflect Dean's career-long engagement with the anachronism (perhaps the most notable being her unequivocal commitment to using film), but are chosen specifically to engage with the historicity of Berlin.

Nice: virtual city - *Film, Collective Memory and Transitional Space*

Isabelle McNeill

What is a city? A dense, mobile space continually inscribed with the 'semantic wanderings' of its inhabitants,[1] a space whose physical contours are haunted by ever-accumulating collective memory. A city is constituted as much by socio-cultural representations (including memories) as by the material forms of its architecture. The actuali[2]ty of the city produces and is in turn shaped by a virtual sphere of memory, fantasy and myth. This paper will argue that film is a crucial mediating space in the process by which the virtual city is generated. I will draw upon a concept of transitional space, developed from a socio-psychological engagement with D. W. Winnicott's theories of transitional phenomena and potential space, in order to consider the interconnections between physical and virtual spaces in and through film.

The city of Nice will serve as a case study for this discussion. Nice is a city that highlights the mobility of urban space. It is a transcultural city, whose geographical location near frontier and sea has seen it shaped by continual immigration, tourism, arrivals and

departures. Nice has a rich cinematic history. Its combination of tarnished Riviera glamour and easy escape routes has made it a frequent setting for gangster movies. However, my focus will be on films that engage with the virtuality of Nice as city space, of which its more mainstream cinematic history is part. *À Propos de Nice: La Suite* (1995), a collection of short films by key directors of the 1990s, is a response to and commemoration of one of the most iconic films about Nice, Jean Vigo's 1929 avant-garde short, *À Propos de Nice*. In Claire Simon's *Mimi* (2003) we are taken on a journey through Nice that is also a journey into Mimi's past, evoking along the way the collective past and present of the city. An analysis of these works will show how film can reveal as well as contribute to the virtual existence of a city.

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[1] Michel de Certeau witing on the city in *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984), citing Jacques Derrida's notion of an 'errance du sémantique'.

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Emptied Signifier, Emptied Space: Subtraction, Negation, Transparence

Thomas Mical

The mechanisms of the apparatus and screen from modernist film theory have often translated into architectural thought directly, resulting in a transformation of the metropolis into a cinematic landscape of Deleuzian "mobile sections" where the urban passenger is confronted with a visual field of projected desires and sensual surfaces.

What Jean-Luc Nancy has characterized as the contemporary "Abandonment of Being" is repetitively and necessarily re-enacted in the emptied spaces of the modern metropolis, both cinematic and urbanistic. Since modernity, the architectural crisis of the object tends towards negation: the medium proper to spatial signifiers is the occupiable space between surfaces. Unlike images and objects, the function of the urban space, as signifier, is most legible in its subtractive function. The fullness of turbulent flows of the city is an infra-thin scaffolding of vanishing points, projected identities, and concealed histories that frame the idiom of the "space of the emptied sign." Negative space, vaporous and extensive, was the "real" of modern utopian urbanism. In L. Hilberseimer's Grossstadt and Le Corbusier's La Ville Radieuse, the Nietzschean fantasy of vast empty urban plazas was projected across the existing fabrics of pre-modern cities.

The construct of the emptied sign of late modernity, like its emptied spaces, will be show to operate as a persistent vacuum in the spatial-visual field, always inviting projection (and its uncanny guest negation). These imaginary signifiers of abandoned space, following from Deleuze in The Logic of Sense, semiotically function to create effects, "produced by the circulation of the empty square in the structural series" whose optical transparency is "the blind spot, the floating signifier, the value degree zero, the off-stage or absent cause…" as a reified form of transparency, not of surface, but of depth, in examples from modern and contemporary urban design, juxtaposed with cinematic representations of emptiness.

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Film/Architecture/Narrative

Lee Stickells and Jonathan Mosley

The discussion of architecture and film has often been "framed" by references to set design and backdrop – the glamour or *frisson* lent by iconic buildings, the documentation of historical periods and styles through the *mise-en scène* – which, despite their pleasures, leave

interesting structural and perceptual questions less explored. Those questions concern the influence that cinematic techniques and concepts (given the enormous cultural influence of the medium) might have on perceptions of the built environment, as well as the potential for their incorporation in architectural and urban design processes. This paper will discuss and reflect on an architectural design studio and subsequent exhibition that explored some of those questions.

Film/Architecture/Narrative was a Design Unit within the Bachelor of Architecture programme at Bristol, UWE in 2006-7; exhibited at The Architecture Centre Bristol in May 2007. The projects sprung from intensive site studies and an analysis of film elements such as montage, depth of field and open-form. Students interwove large-scale models with site footage in video or image sequences, using the process as a way of interrogating their designs. Ultimately, the Unit strove for an architecture not simply conceived as set-design but as a more thoughtful exploration of the possibilities of the filmic imagination for architecture.

This paper will outline that process and reflect on the way that the projects allowed us to investigate a number of questions. How do we experience the city in a cinematic sense? Can zooms, montages, jump edits, storyboarding, scripting, establishing shots, pans, close-ups, framing, tracking shots, sequencing, depth of field, continuity and other aspects of film productively contaminate architectural design? Can our understanding of space and place be enhanced through film? Finally, can we, as architects, use filmmaking as a tool for stimulating and redefining our own practices?

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The production of multi-layered space in Japanese *anime*: Mamoru Oshii's *Patlabor*, Tokyo

Miho Nakagawa

The city in films is generally depicted either from above or at eye level. However, these perspectives are not sufficient for a city like Tokyo whose spatial rules govern a multi-layered structure where new layers are superimposed on the existing urban fabric. By referring to Mamoru Oshii's works such as *Patlabor 1: Mobile Police* (1989), *Patlabor 2: The Movie* (1993) and *Tokyo Vein* (2003), this paper offers multiple perspectives starting from the bird's eye view and gradually descending through Tokyo's layers. My viewpoint reaches the lowest layer of the city as seen from a boat floating on the waterways where there is a key alternative vista.

Oshii reinterprets and reproduces some nostalgic, familiar or intimate locations set against the backdrop of existing cityscapes in Tokyo. In particular, 'Patlabor 1' illustrates the pseudo-aftermath of an imaginary 1995 earthquake near Tokyo. This fantasy may have been inspired firstly by the visual images of the urban ruins flattened by earthquake (1923) and by war (1945) and secondly by scenes of perpetual reconstruction as the city emerges from the debris.

In this paper, I will focus on Oshii's own production of filmic space and his critique of the Japanese type of production of space. The question raised here is whether the perpetual production of space is a cultural mechanism. I will contrast the ruined architecture illustrated as temporary with newly-built skyscrapers which look long lasting by analysing Oshii's ways of depicting the cityscape. Through examining the protagonists' dialogue I will identify the Japanese people's inability to perceive their environment as a controllable object and their frequent feeling of helplessness because they are living in a perpetually changing city where architecture has been regarded as ephemeral for centuries.

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The Imaginative Redevelopment of East London on Film: Emily Richardson's *Transit* and the work of Iain Sinclair

Paul Newland

In June 2006, the experimental British filmmaker Emily Richardson's *Transit* was exhibited in a space beneath London's historic Smithfield Market. The 7-minute-long video installation, split across three screens, captured ghostly images of neglected, liminal spaces across east London. Shots of this wasteland were taken from all four sides of a slow-moving car. The soundtrack featured three simultaneous commentaries by the London poet, novelist and filmmaker Iain Sinclair. These dislocated voices together evoked a strange synchronic palimpsest. But occasionally revealing facts about the lost histories of this 'low' area of the city became discernable as they emerged from this one-man hubbub. These were the words of a London magus.

Transit forms part of an ongoing filmic collaboration between Richardson and Sinclair. Together they seek to document what will be lost to the eastern side of the city as it is radically redeveloped in time for the 2012 Olympics. Sinclair and Richardson effectively utilise film to bear witness to spatial flux; to transform the landscape before it itself can be transformed by what they see as ill-thought-through, utopian regenerative projects.

This paper offers an interpretation of *Transit* which takes account of both Richardson's career to date and Sinclair's continuing involvement with a collaborative underground British film culture. But the main focus of the paper will be to locate *Transit* within an expanding corpus of contemporary experimental London films. I will argue that these films offer us a way of seeing London that tends to focus our attention on the topography and narratives of its neglected eastern margins. I will consider possible reasons for this by examining *Transit* alongside Sinclair's other films (directed with Chris Petit), such as *The Cardinal and the Corpse* (1992), *Asylum* (2000) and *London Orbital* (2002), as well as William Raban's *Thames Film* (1986), *Sundial* (1992), *A13* (1994), and John Smith's *Blight* (1996).

Cinematic Uses of Athenian Monuments in Contemporary Greek Cinema, or, Trashing the Athenian Glory

Afroditi Nikolaidou

The aim of this paper is to investigate the ways in which important monuments of Athens like the Parthenon and its wider area Acropolis, Lycabbetus, Zappio etc are used in contemporary Greek cinema. More specifically, I will focus on the functionality of these monuments in the narratives and the cinematic style in which they are depicted.

During the 50s and 60s these landmarks were used in feature films either as indicators of the space where the narrative was taking place, or as a symbol of the postwar touristic growth of the city. In later years, New Greek Cinema avoided the use of these images (especially of Ancient Antiquity landmarks) because of their association to nationalist discourse and also of their extensive presence in the previous cinematic period which the new filmmakers were desperately trying to forget.

But, during the last decade, the influx of immigrants and later the Olympic Games preparations turned Athens into a multinational metropolis, where these monuments are being highlighted as the gatekeepers of national identity, tourist attraction, as the nodal point where

global and local attitudes meet. Within this new urban context, a new generation of filmmakers, using digital video and editing re-appropriate the images of these monuments in different ways than in the past.

The best example comes from the uses of the symbol of the 'Athenian glory', the Parthenon and the Acropolis. My axis of examination includes films such as *Hardcore* (Denis Iliades)*, The attack of the gigantic moussaka*, *Real Life* (Panos Koutras), *Polaroid* (Angelos Frantzis). Among the questions that arise are: Does the representation of Parthenon and Acropolis in these films fit the suggested template of metaphors by Eleana Yalouri (i.e. Acropolis As History, as Physical body etc) which is analysed in her book *Acropolis: Global Fame, Local Fame*? Are these contemporary Greek directors using the Acropolis in a playful manner, turning it into a pop or even trash icon? And furthermore, do they ultimately claim a new urban identity that is redefined by this overlapping of the sacred and the sacrilegious?

'Old world traditions… and modernity': promoting urban identities in Cunard's transatlantic films, c.1920 - 35

Norris Nicholson

Rival shipping companies introduced innovative advertising films in the early twentieth century. Films made c.1920 – 1935 to promote Cunard's routes between Montreal/Quebec City and Liverpool/Southampton survive at *Library and Archives Canada* in Ottawa and at the *North West Film Archive*, Manchester, England. They show evidence of changing civic identities, transportation and socio-cultural history during decades when speedy travel by ships and new scales of urban architecture became familiar symbols of modernity. Tall buildings, bridges and other advertising icons of civic culture and urban economies were already familiar through posters and still photography. They assumed new potency in travelogues that portrayed both Cunard vessels and dynamic cityscapes on either side of the Atlantic.

Early promotional film has significance for inter-disciplinary historical analysis and architectural studies. Making and showing such footage did not occur in a visual vacuum. Promotional imagery, like other processes of visual practice and representation, also provides compelling contemporary evidence of how people sought to show, share and shape meanings about their products, their prospective consumers and the world around them. Cunard's films are evidence of modernizing urban economies, societal and technological changes during years in which global imperatives were transforming older connections between Britain and Eastern Canada. Just as changing technologies enabled urban development and the reinvention of shipping for pleasure rather than mass migration, cameras became indispensable to the promotion and consumption of leisure. Advertising films borrowed stylistically from actuality, newsreel reportage and comedy to construct their persuasive narratives. Passenger ships, like the cityscapes of the ports they connected, comprised elements of tradition and modernity. In promotional films, text and image capture and juxtapose these contradictory images of old and new. Complex identities and meanings are embedded within Cunard's visual interweaving of old world/new world imagery and, arguably, help to inform our understanding of the maritime urban identities of Liverpool, Montreal and Quebec City.

This presentation could be accompanied by Cunard footage (on DVD format) held at the North West Film Archives, Manchester Metropolitan University.
I think that this material might fit within the proposed grouping, Film, Places and Urban Identities (Tourism, heritage and city branding or Iconography, landscape and urban form)

Riga, Tallinn and Vilnius as "Western" Cities in the Soviet Cinema

Irina Novikova

In my paper I will discuss the urban images of three Baltic capitals in the Soviet films of different genres. I will argue that the Soviet cinematic imaginary was creating a complex urban mapping of the Soviet Union for the huge Soviet cinematic audience in which filmic images of Riga, Tallinn, Vilnius represented "West"-s, as "spatial" substitutes of London, Berlin, Bern, etc., still a mystery to solve, mainly, in spy films, detectives, historical films, cinematic adaptations. I will discuss these plural images of "West" in my paper by addressing such cult films as "Seventeen Moments of Spring", "File "Omega", "Dead Season", adaptations of Arthur Conan Doyle's and Oscar Wilde's literary works.

On the other hand, film-makers at the three so-called republican studios created the images of Riga, Tallinn and Vilnius, relating their internal audiences in Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, to their urban spaces as places of memories and historical controversies (Latvian film "I Remember Everything, Richard"), with spectatorial affects of "peripheral locality", everyday life (documentary traditions) and carnivalesque (Estonian urban comedies of the 1970s).

"Narratives and Expressive Spaces in Film": Non-Places At Cinema

Arbil Otkunc

We are in an era of socio-economic and cultural transformations due to the increase in the pace of every day life since the Modernity. As a result of the search of new avenues in architecture, social sciences and art, the way the space and the place are designed, utilized, viewed and perceived have changed. The most important arena where these new forms of spaces and concepts can be observed is the "oeuvre of cinema".

Today, the spaces that we live in may provide for our material needs, but they may not always respond to the question of "where are we?" by creating a "sense of belonging". The underlying reasons are the disconnect between place and space, the formation and diffusion of "non-places", and the rise of materialistic values as a result of the consumption mentality. A direct impact of the transformation of the space is in human relationships. In order to have a better understanding of transformations on today's space, we should observe the human relations of the people who use the non-places. Movies provide for a perfect medium where people - place relationship can be observed beyond the architecture of the constructed space.

The focus of this paper is on a select number of movies which are filmed in transit spaces where human relationship crisis are observed and where individuals are alone and anonymous even when in the mist of a crowd. The commonality of the selected movies lies in the questions that they raise: -Why did those transit spaces that do not hold enough significance to be considered a "place" often become the subject and/or the object of the contemporary cinema? -Why did we use to see houses, urban places, streets, and train stations in old movies, but in recent movies we see those facilities needed for the rapid exchange of people, goods, information and services: a highway, a taxi, an airport, a plane, a hotel, an ATM, a movie theatre, a fast food restaurant, etc. -Do spaces which are transitional by nature become spaces where people spend most of their time?

Car City: a documentary film mapping the components, modalities and malfunctions of Melbourne's regime of automobility

Ashley Perry

Like all major Australian cities, Melbourne has been thoroughly conquered by the automobile. The car occupies a central position within Melbourne's urban consciousness. As an object of desire, a status symbol, a creator of freedoms and trauma, the car and its associated cultural practices and symbolic meanings have become enmeshed within the social, cultural and imagined landscape of the city. More broadly, the automobile continues to be a central figure in the city's circuits of production (the automotive industry), consumption (ownership and advertising) and event-driven urban spectacle (an annual Formula One Grand Prix and international motor show).

Through a regime of automobility (a coercive and flexible system of linkages between cars, car-drivers and roads), mobility, movement and travel are actively reconfigured within the city. As a historical technology the car has been central to the development of a vast network of motorway infrastructure - a primary force in Melbourne's longterm spatial organization - that continues with the development of Australia's largest urban project, the EastLink tollway, which cuts through a forty-five-kilometre tract of outer-suburban Melbourne.

My research explores current strategies for providing a critical account of the continuing centrality of the regime of automobility to the spatial (re)production, consumption and experience of Melbourne; an approach influenced by recent theoretical analyses of automobility (see Merriman 2004 and 2007, Sheller 2004, Thrift 2004 and Urry 2003, 2004 and 2006). In particular, my investigation looks to past non-fiction (urban) cinematic interventions from Reyner Banham Loves Los Angeles (1972) to London Orbital (2002) and asks how the critical impulses embodied in these accounts might be rejuvenated and redeployed in an age where cinema itself has gone mobile, refigured within a collection of digital interface devices and new media forms?

Specifically, this presentation will focus on my research project, a documentary film that attempts to map the kind of system automobility is; how its character of domination is being exerted; the inherent problems associated with such a system, and how a filmic critique might refigure the possibilities of the regime across Melbourne. A further aim of the documentary is to place and reflect the cultural, social and spatial forms of organization (particularly the 'scapes' associated with car travel) that are enabled and reproduced by widespread automobility within the city.

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(ownership and advertising) and event-driven urban spectacle (an annual Formula One Grand Prix and international motor show).

Through a regime of automobility (a coercive and flexible system of linkages between cars, car-drivers and roads), mobility, movement and travel are actively reconfigured within the city. As a historical technology the car has been central to the development of a vast network of motorway infrastructure - a primary force in Melbourne's longterm spatial organization - that continues with the development of Australia's largest urban project, the EastLink tollway, which cuts through a forty-five-kilometre tract of outer-suburban Melbourne.

My research explores current strategies for providing a critical account of the continuing centrality of the regime of automobility to the spatial (re)production, consumption and experience of Melbourne; an approach influenced by recent theoretical analyses of automobility (see Merriman 2004 and 2007, Sheller 2004, Thrift 2004 and Urry 2003, 2004 and 2006). In particular, my investigation looks to past non-fiction (urban) cinematic interventions from Reyner Banham Loves Los Angeles (1972) to London Orbital (2002) and asks how the critical impulses embodied in these accounts might be rejuvenated and redeployed in an age where cinema itself has gone mobile, refigured within a collection of digital interface devices and new media forms?

Specifically, this presentation will focus on my research project, a documentary film that attempts to map the kind of system automobility is; how its character of domination is being exerted; the inherent problems associated with such a system, and how a filmic critique might refigure the possibilities of the regime across Melbourne. A further aim of the documentary is to place and reflect the cultural, social and spatial forms of organization (particularly the 'scapes' associated with car travel) that are enabled and reproduced by widespread automobility within the city.

"I Love Regina!": City Branding and Contested Spaces in Recent Regina Shorts

Christine Ramsay

This paper brings together two of my current research programs: ArtsAction in Regina's Downtown, and Saskatchewan Film History. I propose it to bring together the themes "Tourism, heritage, and city branding" and "Contested spaces" in the "Film, Place and Urban Identity" section of your City In Film conference.

The former program involves infrastructure development to "green" two heritage buildings for arts and cultural re-use in order to revitalize Regina's sagging downtown (see http://artsaction.uregina.ca); the latter aims to put Regina's film scene on the Canadian cultural map. While historically important for such achievements as being the birthplace of the Medicare system in Canada, and for having the longest continually-running symphony orchestra in North America, Regina—which calls itself the "Queen City" of the flatlands—now tends to be overlooked by the rest of the country as an isolated urban backwater, an image that was exacerbated by a recent article in *Macleans* magazine labeling Regina's "North Central" as "Canada's worst neighbourhood." Mayor Pat Fiacco has attempted to redress the city's image problem with controversial box-store developments in the east end, and a branding campaign called "I Love Regina"—one that was modeled on the twenty-year old "I Love New York" campaign. Consequently, we now have an "I Love Regina Day," "I Love Wear," "I Love News Releases," "I Love Pictures," and, of course a set of, "I Love Logo Guidelines" (see www.regina.ca), as well as a growing cadre of artists and intellectuals who find the campaign an amusing anachronism at best (given the strides being made by

other Canadian cities inspired by the "creative cities movement"), and an inauthentic gimmick at worst, and who are contesting it by variously challenging its tone of bland optimism, and foregrounding more critical perspectives on the state of Regina in their work.

This paper will use recent theories of prairie urban identity and discrepant cosmopolitanism to focus on three recent short films that offer portraits of urban space, place, and community in the Queen City that diverge from the official branding discourse. Where *Moccasin Flats* (Randy Redroad, 2002) is concerned with the dramatic depiction of the pressing social issues (the sex trade, drugs, despair) facing Regina's Aboriginal youth in the ghetto of North Central, *Home Town* (Brett Bell, 2002) thematizes the negative effects of urban depopulation and decay on Regina from the affectionately nostalgic yet biting perspective of the satirical documentary, while *East of Eden* (Ken Wilson, 2006) offers a melancholy super-8 send-up of the soulless east-end and its box store desert.

Unhomely Spaces in the Contemporary Japanese Ghost Film

Varpu Rantala

In the Japanese ghost films of late 1990's and early 2000's the familiar everyday spaces appear empty, haunting, and desolate. For example such directors as Kiyoshi Kurosawa, Hideo Nakata and Takashi Miike have made use of the intimate homes and public or semi-public urban spaces - streets, offices, apartment blocks, corridors and staircases - and the technologically mediated spaces such as surveillance cameras, photographs, mobile phones, videos, and the internet, to build up unpleasant, unfamiliar and distant sceneries. These late modern East Asian cityscapes are filled with a sense of disappearance and absence, enforced with minimalistic cinematic aesthetics.

By the millennial turn, the concept of unheimlich, the uncanny, reflected on by e.g. Sigmund Freud and Martin Heidegger in the earlier part of 1900's, was revived. Its spatial connotations to home and to the sense of identity became on the agenda, in for example themes of dislocation, alienation from oneself, strangers, and virtual spaces. In Anthony Vidler's terms "the modern unhomely" is an experience provoked by the virtual spaces and modern industrial designs; in Marc Augés conceptions, the "non-places" of modern cities are spaces beyond identity, memory and symbolization.

My paper discusses the millennial Japanese ghost film's aesthetics of the everyday, and its cinematicity - that is, audiovisuality, spatiality and movement - in context of the anxieties over identity, memory and recognition in urban East Asian environments. I will exemplify through Nakata's and Kurosawa's films, how the cinematic uncanny is evoked within the mundane environment, using spare and plain audiovisual techniques, to produce an uncomfortable effect of haunting emptiness in contemporary settings. I will end my paper discussing the questions around the possibilities of interpreting this style in a Japanese context.

Cinematic cartography: movies, maps and the consumption of place

Les Roberts, University of Liverpool

In recent years there has been a growing synergy between how cities are represented in film and the marketing of cities as tourist attractions. While the relationship between film and place marketing has been explored in recent studies on film and travel, to date the growing

phenomena of movie maps, particularly in relation to urban environments, has yet to come under critical scrutiny. Focusing largely on the case of Liverpool (the first UK city to have a dedicated film office), I consider some of the ways in which filmic or cinematic renderings of space and place have become cartographically embedded in discourses of consumption, heritage and urban place-making. The increasingly co-extensive geographies of tourism and film prompts critical reflection on the commodification and consumption of post-industrial urban landscapes, prompting in turn a renewed focus on the political economy of film location sites, as well as a consideration of alternative cartographies of film, place and memory, which I briefly outline by way of conclusion.

"Critique of the Disappearing City in the Films of Cohen, Keiller, and Steinmetz and Chanan"

Ian Robinson

This paper will investigate the use of film in the critique of urban spaces. It will explore how the cinema mediates our knowledge of city spaces and how film reflects, confirms, reifies or transfigures our understandings of different cities' place identities. It will also look at the extent to which it is possible to speak of a filmic critique of place. With reference to recent city films by Jem Cohen (*Chain*, 2004; *Lost Book Found*, 1996), George Steinmetz and Michael Chanan (*Detroit: The Ruin of A City*, 2005), and Patrick Keiller (*London*, 1994; *Robinson in Space*, 1997) this paper will examine the use of archival footage, documentary conventions and avant-garde techniques of narrative in order to assess the cinema's methodological capacity to critique the city. While a comparison of aesthetic approaches of these filmmakers opens up more differences than similarities, all three filmmakers share the common theme of the contemporary city's disappearance. For these filmmakers, the city is seen to be disappearing due to growth, impoverishment, urban decay, abandonment, economic restructuring, as well as our inability to appropriate urban space cognitively. Urban space and our traditional vision of the city are thus represented as disappearing not only from the physical landscape but from the reach of memory as well.

I will argue that cinematic art, as exemplified in the works of Cohen, Keiller and Steinmetz and Chanan, can interrogate this dilapidated urban condition by restoring temporality and a sense of history to the city. This is primarily achieved by collecting fragments of urban space in the form of archival and documentary footage and creating a record of the lived city, its physical configurations, and its architectural transformations over time. By displacing traditional narrative structures and visual styles, the films also mount a challenge to dominant experiences of particular urban spaces and attempt to construct alternative representations of their cities, while reflexively meditating on the cinema's capacity for critical perception and its aesthetic attributes.

Framing the Scene: A Cinematic Approach to a Redevelopment at the Halifax Waterfront

Eva Russell

The fabric of the city can be understood as a collection of stories that have been recorded and rewritten over time, as an invisible narrative structure which reveals a new dimension for the visitor and resident. As places are torn down and rebuilt, evidence of the physical history

comprised of stories and narratives fade and are sometimes erased. There is a resulting need for a personal interpretation of what has come before in order to interpret the past maker's intentions. With the passage of time, post-industrial sites now remain vacant and untouched within the city, and are inevitably disregarded to become misused spaces. The redevelopment of the post industrial site represents the desire to express layers of time within the scrap sites of the city and the reinterpretation of stories and narratives.

These narratives, set in time, can be revealed through a process of layering and rearrangements of memory to create a framework which will facilitate and control future development. Cinematic techniques are effective in capturing techniques of memory and the passing of time on film. Techniques such as framing, the montage, and the pan all contribute in conveying aspects of narrative and memory to an audience. This paper will investigate the role in which cinematic techniques and the structure of multiple narratives and stories can begin to correspond with each other in order to stimulate growth of an industrial site. It proposes an architecture that will detect, reveal and link fragments of the spatial narratives existing on the site and provide a base for the production of new ones.

The architectural proposal will address the vast industrial waterfront in Halifax, Nova Scotia and the potential of 3 small-scale interventions that will have the ability of evoking not only memory and personal narratives, but provide a framework for future development. Through the use of cinematic techniques and the camera, a mode for intervention and investigation will be applied in order to explore the potential of the industrial port as a place for layered narratives.

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"Spatial Tactics and Gentrification on Film: Post-Francoist Barrio Chino (Barcelona) "

Megan Saltzman

My talk focuses on the public everyday space of the Barrio Chino, a compact, culturally diverse historic neighborhood in Barcelona. During the last three decades the Barrio Chino has been the main target of gentrification projects due to its visible incompatibility with the postmodern image of Barcelona. This successful image, which derives from Spain's transition from dictatorship to democracy in the early 1980s, has promoted Barcelona as a city of Modern art and architecture, social democracy/liberalism, international business, and Mediterranean fun-'n'-sun. The Barrio Chino — juxtaposed — disrupts this image with its low-income inhabitants, smelly streets, immigrants, and "moral degeneracy" in the form of prostitution, drugs, and petty crime. Further, rather than improving overall conditions, the urban renewal projects have resulted in the peripheralization of the lower class, and the loss, fragmentation, and disorientation of historical narrative, memory, urban community, and ethnicity.

In a time of heightened privatization, simulacra, and surveillance in the city, little bits of truth have managed to find their way to the surface. One of the main ideas of the book The Practice of Everyday Life by Michel de Certeau is that urban dwellers will always find creative clever ways (or he calls these "spatial tactics") of slipping around spatial regulations and re-appropriating a space to meet a basic need. Spatial tactics — formed by prostitutes, immigrants, transient vendors, swindlers, squatters, children, the dead, and even cats — are elusive, ephemeral, and lie along the wishy-washy line between the legal and the illegal. Some examples of spatial tactics that I have observed in the Barrio Chino are: ATM bank rooms used as bedrooms in the winter, balconies used to hang protest signs or clothes, or — as seen in my photo attached — an abandoned lot used as a volleyball court.

By analyzing two documentaries produced in the last decade in the neighborhood: En construcción by José Luis Guerín (1999) and De nens by Joaquim Jordá (2004), along with my personal photography and observations in the Barrio Chino, my talk extends this idea of de Certeau's to show the potential that ephemeral spatial tactics caught on film reveal about the history of the space of the other within a historical framework that traditionally focuses on time (instead of space) and official or national subjects (instead of "the other"). Finally, besides providing a temporary refuge for the other, spatial tactics exposes many of the economic underpinnings and social injustices that lie behind the city's image.

Empty Spaces? The Images of Berlin

Magdalena Saryusz-Wolska

The paper focuses on the images of Berlin and on the way film authors deal with the city's past. It results from a larger research that examines films from the Weimar Republic onwards. One may state that pre-1945 pictures would make use of a different type of logic than films made after World War Two. Such titles as "Berlin. The Symphony of a Great City" (1927) by Walter Ruttmann or "Asphalt" (1929) by Joe May present a modern city at the peak of its industrial growth. The situation had changed in 1945, however. One of the very first post-war films, namely "Germany, Year Zero" (1947) by Roberto Rossellini presents the city as a barren wasteland full of ruins and decay. It is quite telling that many non-German directors, such as Billy Wilder in 1948's "A Foreign Affair" and Carol Reed in "The Man Between" (1953) would retain such a vision, and despite the rebuilding process would frequently point their cameras towards the empty and ruined sights. After the Berlin Wall was erected, portraying the city became much more difficult not only due to the physical division of the city, but also as a result of various ideological and political constraints. In the 1980s the subject of cultural and urban memory was incorporated into the West-German literature and cinematography. Some films were made from the point of view of memory and history. This breakthrough is visible in Wim Wenders' motion picture "Wings of Desire" (1987) as well as in a few modern films about Berlin (e.g. "Berlin Babylon" [2001], dir. H. Siegert; "Berlin. The Symphony of a Great City" [2002], dir. Th. Schadt).

Harold Lloyd's *Safety Last* (1923): Gendered Celebration of Los Angeles's Modernity

Merrill Schleier

In accord with cinema's European urban symphonies by Ruttmann and Vertov, Harold Lloyd's comedy Safety Last (1923) pays homage to the Los Angeles metropolis –its towering skyscrapers, careening automobiles, crowds, department stores, and advertising signage. It is perhaps the first American full-length film to make a plea for the city's modernity on par with New York, Berlin, and Paris. By drawing on views of modernity by Baudelaire, Kracauer, and Bhabha, I argue that Lloyd harnesses the "spectacularized" city as a staging ground for his character's fully integrated gender identity. He uses the International Bank Building on Spring Street, known as the "Wall Street of the West," as the site where "the boy" or Harold must prove himself a man. At first, he is destabilized by modernity's rapid pace and the department store's aggressive customers in the "lowly" feminized spatial environs where he works. In order to increase revenue and garner a bonus, salesman Harold hatches a publicity scheme for his construction worker friend to climb the store's skyscraper as a "human fly"

before a crowd. However, due to a mishap, the bespectacled and suited character (the actor's trademarks) makes the ascent himself, becoming a dual cipher of modernity, a human billboard and an analogue to the tall buildings he is poised to surmount, while absorbing the laborer's courage. In one of silent cinema's most famous scenes, the slightly unsettled Harold hangs from the hands of a skyscraper huge clock, thereby temporarily subverting bureaucratic time, before making it to the top where he meets his prospective wife in full wedding regalia. Los Angeles's modernity is thus implicated in the narrative, especially its towering architectural monuments, which are employed as obstacles that Harold must overcome, thereby "performing" both physically and metaphorically the capitalist success ethos of upward mobility and individual initiative.

The Post War Housing Problem in Glasgow: A Comparative Analysis of Sponsored and Amateur Film

Ryan Shand

After World War Two, Glasgow was facing a housing crisis. On the one hand demand for housing was growing fast, as people from rural areas moved to the city to fill labour gaps in an expanding industrial network of businesses. On the other hand however, many houses had been destroyed during the war and the inner city tenements were overcrowded and unhealthy to live in. The tension between these two forces: growing industry, yet lack of housing, was one of the most serious problems facing the Glasgow City Council.

The city council, known as the Corporation of the City of Glasgow, commissioned a report into this situation. Extensive planning by the state, in the form of a massive intervention into the housing issue, was seen as the best possible solution to the supposed disasters of the unplanned city. Two sponsored films, *Progress Report* (1946) and *Progress Report No.2* (1948), were commissioned by the Housing Department to outline the council's plans for the future. However, by 1952 the Corporation proposed to sell 622 newly built houses on Merrylee Road, on the south side of the city. No local council in Britain, before this case, had ever suggested the sale of council houses.

In response to this controversy, an amateur cine club The Dawn Cine Group, made *Let Glasgow Flourish* (1952-56). This film mixed drama and documentary to highlight the perceived injustice of such a sale. This film has subsequently been canonised as representing their most important contribution to post-war amateur filmmaking, by providing an alternative perspective to sponsored films such as *Progress Report*. A cultural value has attached itself to this film due to its apparent subversive credentials, but in this paper I want to ask whether this vision of *Let Glasgow Flourish* is really justified?

One Week By Buster Keaton: Envisioning Prefab Architecture In Motion

Cristian Suau and Moira Lascelles

The case study is mainly focused on B. Keaton's masterpieces: One Week, 1920 and The Electric House, 1922. Both these works can be used to show the meaning of the montage of mass housing prefabrication as hardware and software (repetition; sense of placeless; generic layouts; and lack of appropriation) in US. The films illustrate the power of do-it-your-self applied in housing and its execution simply as an accident, a random process rather than sequential. For instance, One Week is the story of the seven days construction process of

Sears mail-order Modern Home, a standard catalogue house, with precut, fitted pieces and appliances. This film shows a non-standardized architecture, by exploring unexpected trails of spatial production, rather random than custom-made. The ability to move, change or adapt are prerequisites for life. In the case of architecture in motion, there are some features that can play a significant role in its development: A. the expanding functions; B. variable divisions of interior space; and C. flexible and automated furniture and appliances.

Therefore, what might a non-standard manufacturing house be like? Keaton creates a parody-manifesto. The One Week's house appears as a space-frame randomly designed for flexible living, which allows for the moving from one place to another or for the house to be changed in its shape or use. The Electric House focuses on mechanical appliances. They announce a new architecture where walls might fold over; floors shift; an escalator replaces the staircase; the foundation rests on wheels; the programme metamorphoses and the appliances organise the domestic life. Parts could leave the site and return, or the entire building could collapse or become mechanised, fold up or simply be transported to a different location. Keaton anticipates the architecture in motion; envisioning adaptable, light and compact spaces, with dwellers in transit.

MakeSpace: mobile spectating and spatial screening in contemporary urban environments

Nanna Verhoeff

This paper aims to revamp the notion of a one-directional screening practice of display by considering the collapse of making and viewing that can be witnessed in contemporary screen culture. I will analyze several different phenomena that change the experience of urban space, ranging from spatially organized, or immersive, screen installations such as so-called environment or installation art, to pervasive and mobile media forms such as location-based (or backseat) gaming, audio tours, navigation devices.

The spatial as well as physical "programming" of interactive media installations and mobile screens trigger the deconstruction of both the process of making and of spectating. These architectural or environmental screens raise questions about the borders of screen-based dispositifs, or screening arrangements. As half-products, unfinished media, these phenomena come to live in the presence of the user/spectator, who literally finishes the work of screening. I consider this co-dependency between screen and user/spectator a form of spatial performativity, in the sense that viewing is an act that enables vision itself. Moreover, these screening practices fundamentally change the construction of urban space. In this paper, I will analyze this performativity of urban space through an investigation of its screens, their applications, and their construction of space.

Un voyage pour le corps et l'esprit – The Urban Dreams of Modernism in Matthias Müller's shortfilm *Vacancy* and in 21st-Century Car Commercials

Ricarda Vidal

The city is built of white concrete and glass, its bridges are cast in gleaming steel and its multi-lane highways are covered in smooth grey tarmac. A single car moves noiselessly through its spacious streets. As it drives past buildings and bridges the city's shapes and patterns are reflected in its sculpted bodywork. It is a city of dreams, it is the city of light and

air and pure aesthetics Le Corbusier described in his *Radiant City* (1933). And it is the perfect backdrop for the 21st-century car commercial, where driving is pure experience "for body and mind".[1]

The city of the car commercial is of course always a virtual city. Even when the commercial is shot in an actual location the city it shows is as utopian as Le Corbusier's urban designs. Though it serves the sole purpose of promoting a dream of high-tech living it is a city without inhabitants, where every angle breathes perfection and every building is in total harmony with its surroundings, pristine and undisturbed by human presence.

In the 1960s a version of the "radiant city" was built by Oscar Niemeyer et al. in the middle of the Brazilian desert as the country's new capital Brasilia. Umberto Eco described it as the "city of hope" and the "last utopia of the 20th century", but like the city in the car commercial, today the modernist centre of Brasilia is largely abandoned. In his shortfilm *Vacancy* (1998) the artist Matthias Müller explores the discrepancies between ideology and reality by juxtaposing found footage from the 1960s to scenes shot in 1998.

Comparing the modernist aesthetics of cityscapes in contemporary car commercials with Müller's vision of Brasilia this paper examines the concepts and failures of modernist urban planning and its legacy for contemporary culture.

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[1] French commercial for Toyota Lexus GS, 2004.

On Emptiness in Images of Urban Space
Jem Cohen's Film "Chain" and the Concept of "Non-Places"

Thomas Waitz

It is an often-paraphrased idea that in the process of a so-called globalisation the sensation of place has changed. The observation that space at the same time seems to be linked and fragmentised is a commonplace of cultural theory. In the course of this process, so is argued, dichotomies like 'proximity' and 'distance' get under pressure, weak and questionable. In such a way Michel Foucault alleges that the differentiation of these both poles, whose chaining offers orientation and safety to people, is fundamentally deranged – a consequence of a blurring between spatial entities and the invasion of what he calls the 'inside' by the 'outside'. In succession space seems henceforth to be menacing, unsettling and vexing, feelings of disorientation, even anxiety, diffuse. French anthropologist Marc Augé has called the historical 'new' forms of spatiality, which emerge from such development, "non-places" – an allegory for the phenomenon of big cities and their post-industrial landscapes. But astonishingly enough, for Marc Augé the "non-place" is characterized by a "remarkable invisibility", a sphere of ambiguity, of ephemeral evanescence.

Within the discourse of the "non-place", so my proposition I would like to discuss during the presentation, concepts of spatiality and urban identity are associated with original filmic imaginations of the post-modern city. Its representations constitute all those "terms, under which the individual imaginary (for example the dream) circulates with the collective imaginary (for example the myth) and fiction" (Augé). But since urban space as a „non-place" by itself does sum up for 'anything' as well as it sums up for 'nothing', its representation become a field of ascriptions and attributions. To examine this assumption I would like to adduct Jem Cohens experimental essay-film „Chain" (2004) – the attempt to conceptualise the heterogeneous image of a modern, urban world consisting of malls, motels and airports in which images of fragments and traces of self-narrations are inscribed.

The "non-places" of the urban are mutually dependent to the filmic: They are bound to strategies of making visible, not merely they doesn't 'exist', but rather they are products of image-politics. While speaking of "non-places", they frame the filmic image as a phantasm: What seems to be a "non-place" is an object of desire, which recognises the visible as a medium: a medium of projection, a medium of make-believe and estimation, a medium of identification. On this note, the perceivableness of the "non-place" only exists in the dependency of the visual and the imaginary: With the saying of the "non-place" the visual and the imaginary of the urban are intrinsically tied to each other. This dependency is of symbolic nature: the visual is inseparable from the imaginary.

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Projecting and Performing the Contested Landscape of Toronto Through the Archive and Film

Kate Wells, Julie Nagam and Eva Nesselroth Woyzbun

Approaching the city as a form of cultural expression, this paper will explore the urban landscape as contested space that transforms in accordance with the dominant media technologies and historical discourses. This research will address the role of film in the construction of virtual environments and spaces of memory in the context of indigenous and colonial histories in the region of Toronto, Ontario Canada. With film, we can imagine the unrecognized legacy of the rivers and trails of transport in juxtaposition with the familiar scene of modern use and mechanism; land and narrative become layered and mosaic instead of straight and rigid.

The mediums of exchange that build the urban way of life also condition social and cultural approaches to understanding the city: in an age of electronic and wireless technology how might film represent the city in its full historical and archival scope? Does film carry the systemic logic of Western European renaissance thinking, or can it achieve multi-modal connections that reject the singular point of view and allow for an enriched trans-cultural experience?

Observing how film, projection and performance explore subjectivity in the ways people process space and time will provide the creative opportunity to examine these questions. The problematic conception of the city as an ultimate destination, a mappable commodity and pinnacle of achievement will be confronted as we portray city spaces that are rich with contrasting versions/visions of the past in an exploration of how film and the archive can capture the complex historical points and multiple cultural views of shared space.

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Ian Wiblin, University of Glamorgan

'Stella Polare': looking away from history.

Stella Polare (Anthea Kennedy and Ian Wiblin, 76mins, 2005) is very much a waterfront film, one which engages directly with a port city's 'memory' of wealth and its importance within empire. As such it is a very relevant film to screen within the context of the 'City in Film' conference at Liverpool. This abstract proposes a paper and / or screening and Q&A event.

Stella Polare is an essay film shot in the Italian port city of Trieste. This location's identity is never revealed. The architectural specificity of Trieste emerged out of its history as a major port city of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The film uses the physical legacy of the

city's imperial associations to engage with history and current events in particular ways. This it does partly through the relationship created between what is shown, or denied, on screen and the content of a spoken text constructed in the second person (thereby placing the "you" of the viewer directly in the city – or at least on its jetty).

Stella Polare adopts a combination of subjective and objective narrative and documentary formulas, within both image and sound, to blur fact and fiction. The film mixes fragments of real and invented histories in ways which confuse time, connecting the present with the past within anonymous place. The main visual device within this treatment is a jetty which is always filmed with the camera looking away from the city out to sea. The film contains a succession of long sequences which depict people walking, as if 'sleepwalking through history', up and down the length of the jetty. The effect of this is to deny any real sense of time or place: instead the city is constructed, and the viewer oriented, via a collection of visual and aural fragments.

The paper will speculate on the value of such a constructed city, as container of memory and history.

A STEP INTO THE CITY
Use of Haydarpaşa Station as a city gate in Turkish Cinema after 1960

Tuğba Şeyda Akşehir

This work basically searches the connection between the traces of Istanbul as a city, specifically Haydarpaşa station as a landmark, in our social memories and their representations in Turkish films in the post – 1960 years. But first of all, the stressing of why the post – 1950-1960 years is significant in the social and political life of Turks and hence in the Turkish cinema is necessary.

The 1950-60'ies:

Turkey was founded as a republic in 1923. The modernization process that had been started in 1923 in the political and social life by the declaration of the republic allowed cinema to develop. However, still those cinema historians like Scognamillo (1987) describe the era until the year 1959 as the era in which cinema tried to create its own language and a national character. Cinema was tried to be enlivened in this period by the limited helps of the official organizations (Onaran 1996:83). The laws on films especially the censoring approach made this transition period more difficult.

There was the power of a single political party in that period. Efforts to establish a second party had started in the year 1945. Many authorities had been qualifying the setting up of the Demokrat Parti / Democrat Party in 1945, as a step for a more democratic life in Turkey (Turan 1969: 123). The Democrat Party came into power in 1950. As Kayalı mentions (1994), it was being almost defended that cinema went out to the street by the Democrat Party coming into power. Most of the films in 1950-1960 focused on villager's life covering issues about their social and daily life but this was not a coincidence. Democrat Party approached the villagers that could not enter the elite society of the previous political party that was in power and that could not obtain the things that they once expected from the national development. However, the economic policies of the Democrat Party favoring villagers had made inflation rate to increase by changing the distribution of the national revenue through increasing the prices of the agricultural products (Turan 1969: 125). This, in turn, caused the income differences, chaos and conflicts in different social layers. The pro-republican followers had changed the people in power by cooperating with the military forces by the May 27, 1960 revolution. Those who made the revolution had made a constitution which is still being named to be the most liberal constitution ever in Turkey, according to the most of the historians. The revolutionary approaches needed for the development of the Turkish cinema had found area of application in such medium.

Daldal (2005) describes the cinema of that period as a period having *social realism* concerns. The directors went after the audience that were aware of the problems and would search for solutions and prefer to look at the proposed life through a realistic eye (Oskay 1996: 99). The reality was now the crisis caused by the migrating villagers to cities in masses, who lost the advantages of the virtual development proposed by the economical policies of the power of the Democrat Party. The development of the slums, the social disorder in the cities and the migration became the main subject of the post - 1960 films from then onwards.

The films; *Bir Avuç Cennet, Ah Güzel İstanbul, Altın Şehir, Bitmeyen Yol* are only a few of them.

Immigrants

In 1950s films Istanbul is described as in tales where hope and dreams emerges and stored in the social memory within these terms (Öztürk 2004). Thus, the city to which being emigrated is always Istanbul. City is occupied since those immigrants transform, spoil, deform it instead of adapting and such phenomenon has been subject to other researches.

The rate of the migration is as follows; 'the 75 % of the total population of Turkey in the year 1950 was living in rural areas. This ratio had fallen to 61, 2 % twenty years later. On the contrary people living in cities had increased to 38, 8 % while it was previously 25 %' (Şenyapılı 1978: 16). The reasons of the migration according to the researchers are listed as; having the possibility of a fixed job, higher income and better and a comfortable life (Kurt 2003: 144).The travel to the city whose soil and stones are considered to be made out of gold is in fact the journey towards hope. The end of the journey is the gate of Istanbul that connects Anatolia to the city; hence represent the start of a new life.

The gate: Haydarpaşa Main Train Station

The Haydarpaşa Main Train Station has been set up on an area of 3886 square meters altogether which is just on the shore of the Marmara Sea. The building is constructed wholly out of stone. The construction started in 1906 and lasted two years. It is still being used as a station even though a very questionable privatization process is tried to be kept under way for the Haydarpaşa region.

On an internet newspage Sarpdere states (2006):

"The film starts. The train approaches the railway platform. Those men with wooden cases in their hands and with surprised and afraid looks land Istanbul. And then the huge silhouette emerges through the human crowd that runs here and there: The Haydarpaşa Station."

On the topic of privatization of Haydarpaşa, Özköylü points out (2006):

"Those who come to Istanbul from a corner of Anatolian the old Turkish films by suddenly grabbing their cases open their eyes here for the first time … The first embracement with sea are realized here for many people in the front of the Haydarpaşa Station. However, these images seem to remain in the old film snapshots".

On the same subject Uyar (2005) writes:

"The Haydarpaşa Station and the Port of Haydarpaşa which is the unchangeable starting point of the Turkish films in which the immigration from Anatolia to the large city are being dramatized is in the stage where the new revenue games that is being played together with its environments."

People who have not ever seen Istanbul having information on the station as being stressed also in the texts from newspapers and internet pages is directly in connection to the uses of it in Turkish films. However, to say that the Haydarpaşa Station is the first stop for those who

come to Istanbul with great hopes and the last for those who leave with disappointments wouldn't be enough for understanding the frequency of use of the station in the films.

Its use as a film space is both related to its qualitative and quantitative properties. It is also important to note that the space itself is produced not only through the design of the architect but also through the user who inhabits it. Şumnu (2002) explains this double fold relationship as the " spaceness " and the " placeness whereas 'Soja as the first space versus second space , De Certeau as the visual space versus social space, Lefebvre as the objective space versus subjective – user – space' (Şumnu 2002: 12). The first one of the definitions that is cited herein is about place's physical existence while the latter's discovered through experience, action and by movement.

In this case, which in fact is the space to which the film directors turn their cameras to?

Adiloğlu (2005: 18) mentions that it is the relationship between body and space that correlate cinema and architecture. For her, while directors choosing film spaces do not only decide on locations according to depth, perspective, continuity (first space) but they design places where their characters constitute a bodily link. In this case, the stations are city gates where one can establish numerous relations between its users, the characters, and the space (second space).

According to Edwards (1997:21), the railway stations are the smaller models of the cities like a small universe. These spaces embrace all the powerful and the weak sides of the city. The Haydarpaşa Main Railway Station in this meaning is a cross section of the city. The trains pass through various locations in Anatolia and citizens with different identities and cultures come together. The station with its sounds and crowd is like an example for those who immigrate may meet when they leave the station. In Turkish films, the station as a space is full of references for the city as in the Walter Salles film, *Central Station*. (Kırel 2004: 176).

According to Bertolini (1998) the Railway Stations have two main characters. A Railway Station is a knotting point and is a specified place with capacities of developing a region in the city. Figure 1 shows that both of the descriptions for the Haydarpaşa Main Railway Station can not be made easily. The building provides an impression in a number of films that it opens to one of the squares of the city although it is on the shore of the Bosphorus. It seems as if it is the end of the railway network instead of standing as a note. The station is the peak/end of the *journey of hope* within the context of this discussion which directors prefer to refer simultaneously because of its special location in the city.

Bertolini (1998) describes the Railway Station as a separate region in the city. He mentions that they have the capacity to form a different region affecting the development of a part of the city. Thus, he investigates the boundary between the station and the rest of the city. In Haydarpaşa Station, those who come to the city with great expectations do not immediately fall into the chaos of the city. They have the chance of looking at it at a distance. The things that are seen by those who come to the station when they disembark from the train are the minarets of the Blue Mosque in Sultanahmet, a panoramic view of the city, the steamboats and the Marmara Sea. The city remains just behind and in front of the building. Those who are determined leap their step and pass over the door step. The thresholds question the limitation between inside and outside and they actualize the possibility of transition between those two (Eliade 1991:158). In this case, the possibility of transition between outside (the city) and inside (the hometown) become concrete at these door steps and the station for those who immigrate. Between those two areas, the station as a threshold, hope for a better life is a realization. Thus, the trip which is made to the city by the ferries to is a ritual of this transition.
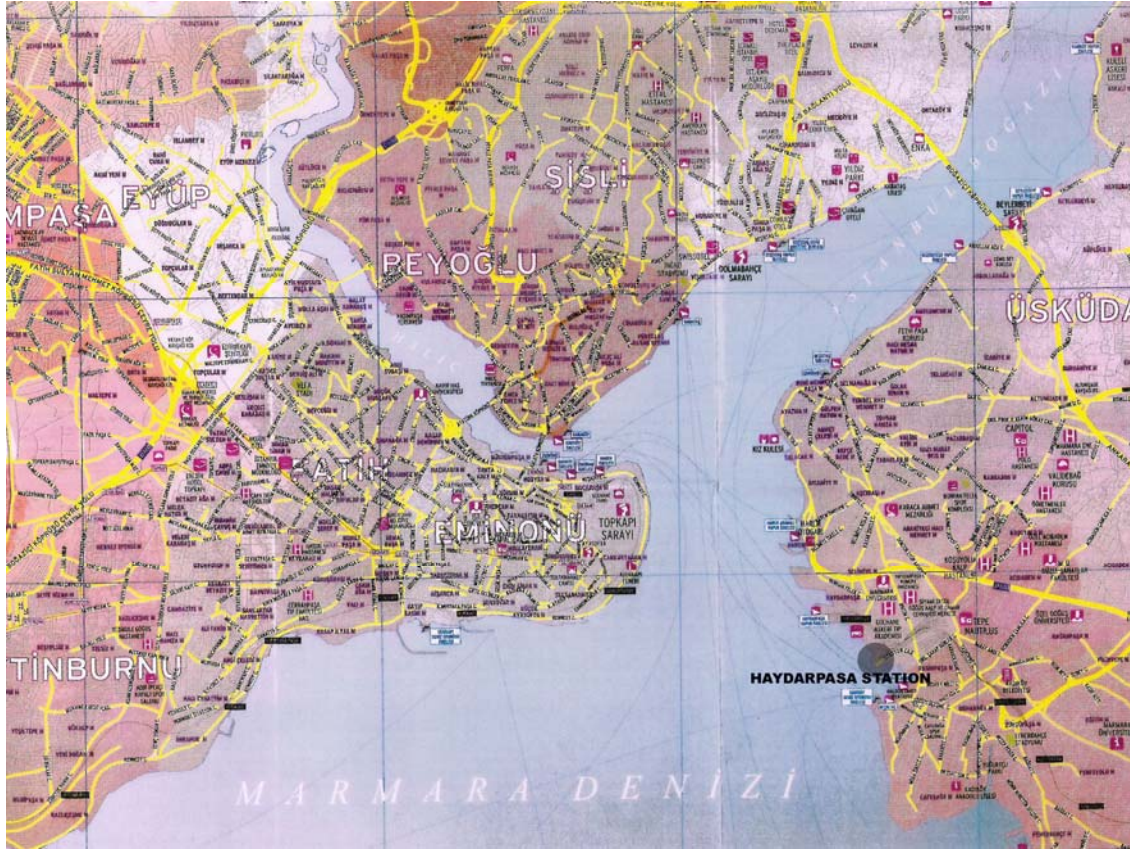
Figure 1. İstanbul map indicating location of Haydarpaşa Station

Abacı (2004: 216) stresses that ferries, the Karaköy dock and the Haydarpaşa Main Train Station building are the cliché locations of the films. However, Haydarpaşa Station presents various meanings that may be referred to by the directors. Though, not in every film produced after 1960 the same body- space relationship is built.

Gurbet Kuşları

Gurbet Kuşları is one of the films that refer to the station with the quite same meanings mentioned above. The film is directed by Halit Refiğ in 1964. The 6- persons Bakırcıoğlu family immigrate to Istanbul with a hope for a better life when they got broke back in their hometown. They reach the Haydarpaşa Main Train Station with the Southeast Express expecting to conquer the city but they are all thrown to different directions since the city is big, dangerous, problematic, they are spoiled, fooled and in the end they are obliged to return to their home town.

The film starts with the family arriving at the station. They walk close to each other all in fascination of the crowd and the rush. As soon as they arrived at the station, a peddler approaches. There are police officers appering in the next sequence dealing with a stowaway. It is more or like a small example of a city which they were about to enter. The Bakırcıoğlu family climbs down the stairs of the Haydarpaşa Main Train Station. The threshold has been passed. Their step into the city is almost in a hierarchical order father in the front heading their destination (Fig. 2).

Figure 2. Gurbet Kuşları (1964)

The Bakırcıoğlu family that had seen the sea and even the ships for the first time is full of hope and excitement. Just at this point another space which the film director turned his camera emerges. The moment of surprise of the villager that passing over the threshold defines a new *inter-space* between the narration and the audience (Fig. 3). Here, the meaning is formed in the perception of the individual; in this case the audience, rather than the real spaces. The ideas are directly related to the image and the representation of the spaces. The idea that we get in relation to Haydarpaşa, as a city gate, correlates the image that is located in our memories with this moment in the social context of 1960s. In fact, the reason of the frequent use of Haydarpaşa in the films is just related to this inter-space. The story starting in the same place in other immigration films is a call for the audience to be prepared. The characters of the story will create various problems for them, force new ones, have now reached the city and hence the drama starts. They are expected to remember the incidents that characters of the previous immigration films have suffered.

Figure 3. Gurbet Kuşları (1964)

Cinema has an undeniable power on establishing common concerns, ideas in society than any other art. It, by reflecting and transferring reinforces general ideas about things that we have little knowledge about (Güçhan 1992:67). Just at this point, the definition of collective memory becomes necessary. Bastea (2004:3) asks what is, in fact, the thing that able us to talk about even the buildings and events that we have never observed before in the introduction of the *Memory and Architecture*. According to Halbwachs, as cited in Şumnu (2002) those things that we can talk about without experiencing before are the ones that the society considers to be worth remembering within in a social framework. These are in concrete (buildings, statues, etc.) and abstract (marches, tales) forms (Nora 1992: 14). These, in any structure 'all have symbolic meaning residing in various representations' (Şumnu 2002: 28). The representation of Haydarpaşa as a threshold of a new life for immigrants in the post- 1960 period films highlights the symbolic meaning of Haydarpaşa.

According McQuire (1998) camera in our era operates as a support of the memory. Boyer (1994) also investigates the relation between the camera, the spaces of the city and the collective memory. According to her, the camera and the photography have been the primary agents in the twentieth century in forming a collective memory but the memory formed here breaks the tin connection between the experience and the perception. The image that is being reproduced repeatedly by the camera and the photograph becomes the determinant factor instead of the individual perception through his/her experiences. This, in turn, is the reason

for the *expected* responses and the *cliché* meanings (Boyer 1994:485). Benjamin thinks that, as cited in Boyer (1994), images reproduced by illustrated press are different from the images perceived by the unarmed eye. Haydarpaşa, as a real space can establish an expectation experienced in the movies but this is a question of a more expanded work. Through Turkish migration films the station has a continuously reproduced, stereotype image in our memories, as a place where everything started, which the directors use to arm us on about what to come.

Armed Eyes

After 1960 military act there had been two more in years 1971 and 1980. Especially after 1980, the general attitude in Turkish cinema was depolitization, the socialist understanding faded out (Dorsay n.d:13). Altough the migration is part of the story in some of the films exemplified below, the reasons of the migration are different from *Gurbet Kuşları*. However, the characters end their journey to İstanbul at Haydarpaşa Station. The directors of all three films below attribute not directly to Haydarpaşa as a city space, the way Halit Refiğ did, but rather to its stereoytpe image. In At (Ali Özgentürk, 1981), the father in hope for a better education for his son arrives to the city, only the steps of the gate is seen. The audience is armed about the possible threats of this dangerous city. It is a proper notice because the father dies and the son goes back to hometown. In Eşkiya (Yavuz Turgul, 1996), the main character travels to Istanbul to find his lover whom he has lost trace when he was in prison. He meets Cumali in the train.

At the first sequence, the director selects to show the Haydarpaşa from a distant place. The audience must now be prepared to those incidences that may happen to heroes of the film. As a matter of fact, Cumali who was being sought by the policemen is arrested as soon as he arrives at the Train Station (Fig.4). Turkish viewers lastly seen the station in 2007 film by Abdullah Oğuz (Fig. 5) adapted from Zülfü Livaneli's book.

Figure 4. Eskiva (1996)

Figure 5. Mutluluk (2007)

There is about forty years between the films exemplified in this paper. The social and political life experienced massive changes in this period in Turkey. Still, the station remains as the most important platform not only for films but also for commercials and TV series. These are very few examples indicating how Haydarpaşa attained a *consumed identity* through Turkish films. It is a consumed identity since; it's once constituted representation in 1960s is being persistently used without forming or re-defining new body- space relationship at least in a cinematographic concern. Nevertheless, due to its popularity, the privatization project, including the closure of station to public use, is closely examined by the society. We will soon

see whether its *consumed identity* will be sufficient enough to protect its identity as a city gate.

Acknowledgments

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Views from above:
Cinema and urban iconography after Google Earth

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Introduction: towards a new urban iconography

'No medium has ever captured the city and the experience of urban modernity better than film. Indeed, the relationship between the city and the cinema, although less than a century old, is a strong and well established one. The images and sounds found in movies today routinely bring people the experience of distant cities they may never visit. […] Movies influence the way we construct images of the world, and in many instances they influence how we operate within it.'

(AlSayyad, 2006: 1)

If, in the 15th century, the discovery of mathematically-based perspective transformed the perception of architectural space and revolutionised its representations, throughout the 20th century, the simultaneous development of cinematography and aviation has also motivated radical changes in visual arts. In fact, the possibility of seeing landscape and cityscape from the sky and, more recently, from space had a strong impact on the redefinition of urban iconography within contemporary culture.

Gradually, the static representations of the city were replaced by more dynamic views, which evolved from cubist painting to the cinematic zoom-in/zoom-out and, in the turn of the millennium, to the interactivity of new media technologies. Global access to Internet resources like on-line video-cameras and satellite images provided different pictures of urban spaces.

As Paul Virilio explains, 'for a long time now, transparency has replaced appearances. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the depth of field of classical perspective has been renewed by the depth of time of advanced technology. […] From the aesthetics of the appearance of stable images, present precisely because of their static nature, to the aesthetics of the disappearance of unstable images, present because of their motion (cinematic, cinematographic), a transmutation of representations has taken place. […] In effect, given this technology, *over-view* is no longer a question of theoretical altitude, of scale designs, but has become an opto-electronic interface operating in real time, with all that implies about the redefinition of image' (Virilio 1984: 549-550).

In the history of cinema, views from above became a recurrent rhetorical figure, as if cinematographers had the ambition to take a central, elevated, divine point of view (Canova 1999: 184). This global and almost metaphysical perspective often contributed to create a poetic environment and to suggest that the spectator himself has a privileged position, dominating the space-time relation.

While Hollywood has preferred exploring urban aerial perspectives in order to emphasise spectacularity, grandiosity or terror, in European cinema this approach tends to be related to the concept of *flâneur,* the main character to be associated with modernity and urbanity (AlSayyad 2006: 5). The idea of the *flâneur* as someone who wanders the city to experience and understand it has inspired some of the most lyrical European films focused on urban life. The impression of flying or floating over the city is frequently used as a means to introduce a reflection on contemporary culture, a state of mind, a quest or a process of self-knowledge.

Berlin, the suspended city

Figure 1. *Wings of Desire* **directed by Wim Wenders. Director of Photography: Heidi Lüdi.**

When we think of cityscapes shot from above, the film *Wings of Desire*, directed by Wim Wenders (1987), inevitably comes to mind. Observed by two angels – Damiel (Bruno Ganz) and Cassiel (Otto Sander), Berlin appears as a suspended city, after the destruction and the division caused by the Second World War. Despite having wings, the angels do not appear to fly over the city; instead, they prefer contemplating the cityscape from the top of buildings and statues (Fig. 1).

Following mortals' movements on their daily routines and listening to their deepest thoughts, the angels revisit the past and the present of the city and, at the same time, they express the dilemma between eternity and human condition. Inquiring urbanity is, thus, wondering about the meaning of individual existence: 'Why am I me and not you? Why am I here and not there? When did time begin, and where does space end?' According to Eric Mader-Lin (2002), 'Wenders' genius was to make a film both compelling realistic, as a documentary of life in modern Berlin, and convincingly metaphysical, as a tale of the angels in charge of watching over Berlin.'

In his tribute to Berlin, Wim Wenders reveals a cold, grey, war-scared city. Rather than shooting architectural icons, Wenders portrays a sober, anonymous monumentality patent in large avenues, in the bridges and viaducts or in the flat geometry of modern buildings. Inspired by the poetry of Rainer Maria Rilke, the slow rhythm of the narrative is punctuated with the poems and dialogues written by Peter Handke, along with the alternation of black-and-white and colour images that correspond to the angels' perception, in contrast to the reality of humankind. Moreover, the presence and absence of colour expresses the dichotomy between the eternal and the ephemeral. As Richard Corliss (1988) notes, '*Wings of Desire* works hard to be both an essay and a love story, a mural and an intimate portrait.'

Sixteen years later (2003), Wolfgang Becker films a different Berlin. *Good-bye Lenin* tells the story of an ordinary family in East Germany, immediately before and after the fall of the Berlin Wall, in November 1989.

Alexander's mother (Katrin Sass) wakes up from a coma just a few months after the reunification of Germany. Aware that the slightest shock could be fatal for her heart condition, Alex (Daniel Brühl) decides to hide the fact and, therefore, does his best to pretend that nothing has changed. In his moving attempt to convert the family apartment into an island of the past, a sanctuary of the socialist way of life, Alex is confronted with the rapid transformation of Eastern Berlin.

After the fall of the Wall, Berlin 'suddenly lost its significance as the major switching station and place of confrontation of the Cold War' (Leher 2006: 332). Between the enthusiasm generated by the opening to Western culture and the nostalgia of the collapse of socialist values, *Good-bye Lenin* reveals a controversial city, transformed into an arena for a '*Kulturkampf* (cultural struggle) around the meaning of architecture, built form, symbolic place and historicity' (Leher 2006: 332).

While he tries to recreate recent past for his mother, Alex observes the quick replacement of political and urban icons. The predominantly achromatic tone of the city is soon replaced by colourful outdoors advertising typical Western products, like Coca-Cola and Burger King.

If, in *Wings of Desire*, the angels contemplated Berlin from the top of buildings and statues, wondering if human life would be preferable to eternity, in *Goodbye Lenin* we find

the main characters in similar places (terraces, roofs) questioning themselves about the future of the city and about the persistency of their own convictions.

Lisbon, a portrait of anonymity and absence

Cinema has often depicted Lisbon as a big provincial city, where everyone knows everyone. Cinematography has usually focused on Lisbon's urban particularities: the typical narrow streets, the friendly neighbourhoods, the old yellow trams, the belvederes, and the amazing panoramic views over rooftops and the river Tagus… However, when Marco Martins shoots the city from above, what he reveals is a dark and anonymous cityscape, which is definitely poetic, but also tragic.

Figure 2. *Alice* directed by Marco Martins. © Zé M. Branco - Madragoa Filmes (courtesy of Lusomundo)

Being a film about loneliness and despair, *Alice* (2005) shows a different image of Lisbon. The movie tells the story of a father's obsessive search for his missing four-year-old daughter, Alice. During this insane search, he repeats the same routine every single day. He does exactly the same he did the day Alice disappeared. In his obsession to find Alice, Mário (Nuno Lopes) installs several video-cameras in the top of buildings with strategic locations. Every night, he watches the videos at home, trying to discover someone that might have any resemblance with his daughter. Within the constant movement of the streets, in the middle of the crowd, he looks for a clue, a familiar face, a minimum trace of hope…

The city shot by Marco Martin is not the picturesque Lisbon that appears in tourist guides. It is neither the nostalgic, decadent city that Wim Wenders shot in *Lisbon Story* (1994). Instead, Marco Martins shows an anonymous, tense, strange city. Public spaces, like train stations, central streets and big avenues, highways and viaducts create the adequate scenario for an unbearable absence. The blue tone that prevails throughout the film enhances the sense of loss, loneliness and helplessness.

Marco Martins explains his approach: "I did not want to show re-runs of popular neighbourhoods in Lisbon, but rather its more urban aspect, the enormous influx of people – those coming to the city daily, and those leaving it. […] I wanted to film absence, I wanted to film a man isolated in his quest, his anguish and his emptiness, looking at those images […] all those people you see in the streets are real people going to their everyday business, and most of them did not realise that they were being filmed" (Pinto 2005).

Focusing on the alienation of everyday life, the monotony of ordinary routines, the uselessness of CCTV systems, and the helplessness of a man lost in the crowd, Alice reveals that Lisbon is no longer a friendly, familiar city, but a multicultural, anonymous metropolis, where, despite the ubiquitous and permanent surveillance of countless video-cameras, anyone can disappear without leaving a trace.

The film expressively illustrates the abstraction of contemporary urban or suburban spaces, as well as the new spatial logic, characteristic of the informational city that, as Manuel Castells describes, 'is determined by the pre-eminence of the space of flows over the space of places. […] and the symbolic marking of such places by the new monumentality of abstraction, making the locales of the space flows meaningfully meaningless, both in their internal arrangement and in their architectural form' (Castells 2006: 136).

London: between otherness and renovation

King's Cross is an area of north London associated with poverty, crime and urban decay. Will (Jude Law) leads a team of landscape architects that is developing an ambitious plan to renovate this part of the city. Their office has recently moved to King's Cross when the first theft occurs. A local gang, including young boys that practise *parkour*, enters the studio through the roof and steals laptops and other electronic devices.

In order to discover who is behind the break-ins, Will decides to carry out a quest that will lead him, not only to the authors of the crime, but also to an unknown side of the city. During this pursuit, Will ponders about his personal life and, eventually, finds out unknown aspects of his personality. Within this context, the project for King's Cross urban renovation becomes the scenario for showing a different London, where the feeling of otherness can be as disconcerting as the process of self-knowledge.

Figure 3. King's Cross area, London. Image: Google Earth, 2008 © 2008 Bluesky/Tele Atlas

The beginning of the movie is marked by the overview of a big three-dimensional model of the architectonic project, during the party of the studio opening. This top perspective will be repeated each time the thieve breaks into the studio trough the roof.

Besides the initial overview of the office, other decisive moments of the story are shot from above. An emblematic example is the film stills of Alexandra Road Housing, a polemic urban project, dating from the 70s, conceived by architect Neave Brown. This is the place where Will meets Miro (Rafi Gavron) – the boy who had been directly involved in the theft - and his mother (Juliette Binoche), both Bosnian refugees.

The video presentation of the project for the renewal of King's Cross area is also representative of the importance of aerial views. The virtual model of the site is shown from above and it reveals a new approach to design methods, confirming that for contemporary architects and landscape architects a global and dynamic vision of territory tends to be paramount. In fact, the video presentation of the project applies zoom-in and zoom-out to convey the idea that the observer is flying over that (virtually) renewed area of the city. This short animation combines the impact of satellite images with CAD and virtual reality technologies, in order to preview the effect of urban transformation.

As Paul Virilio explains: 'Along with the technique of construction, there is, one must not forget, the construction of technique, the ensemble of spatial and temporal mutations which continually reorganize on an everyday basis the aesthetic representations of contemporary territory. Constructed space is thus not simply the result of the concrete and material effort of its structures, its permanence and its architectonic or urban references, but also the result of a sudden proliferation, an incessant multiplying of special effects, which, with consciousness of time and distance, affects perception of the environment' (Virilio 1984: 547).

Conclusions

If cinema has always contributed to define urban imaginary, namely through shooting of eloquent overviews, the increasing use of satellite images has confirmed that views from above are paramount in the worldwide diffusion of cityscapes. Reference films have elected views from above as the central means to express the ambience of a particular city.

The poetic idea of silently observing the city from the sky, or from the top of strategic buildings, was incorporated into collective imaginary and, consequently, into creative processes. Films like the *Wings of Desire* have inspired architects and landscape designers. In his project for the Andel Building in Prague (2001), the French architect Jean Nouvel associated the transparency of the façade to the image of the Wenders' angel Damiel. In *Goodbye Lenin*, the high moments of the narrative correspond to scenes that happen on rooftops or within sky frames. In *Breaking and Entering*, observing the city from above is, at the same time, perceiving its changing cultural landscape and envisioning a hypothetic project of renovation for a problematic area.

The mentioned films suggest different looks over European capital cities, questioning stereotypes and proposing new iconographies. Instead of the consensual icons of common sense and mass tourism, these films assume a dynamic and individual construction of the city's image, through the possibilities of zoom-in and zoom-out, linking the global scale of contemporary territory to the inner scale of the viewer. In all these films the urban overviews introduce a lyrical reflection about the city life and about each one's life.

Inspired by these films, we can recreate the experience of the *flâneur* using contemporary technical resources, like the Google Earth, not as mere utilitarian tools, but as a way to stimulate questioning and creativity, zooming in and out from the global scale of the planet to a specific urban context or, ultimately, to the intimate scale of our personal spaces.

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City, Image, Nation:
the visual representation of Ankara and the making of national subjects

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By the end of 1930, the young Turkish Republic appeared to be going through a severe crisis that displayed itself in economic, political as well as cultural spheres. The effects of the Great Depression were heightened with Turkey's obligation to begin paying the debts of the Ottoman Empire in 1930, according to the Lausanne Treaty of 1923. The declining economy, which would soon force the government to take protectionist measures, also produced discontent among citizens. Established in August 1930 as a controlled attempt at introducing a multi-party regime, the Free Republican Party gained so significant a support that the party was forced to abolish itself in November. Clearly, the lack of support for the Republican People's Party in power meant lack of support for the new regime and the reforms it had introduced. It was, then, necessary to implement a comprehensive campaign towards disseminating a nationalist consciousness among citizens. Ankara, the new capital of the republic, would become a major symbol within this campaign and the images of Ankara would be instrumental throughout the 1930s. Yet, the first example in which Ankara emerged as the subject of a propaganda work was the documentary film *Ankara: The Heart of Turkey*, made by Soviet director Sergei Yutkevich.

The role of documentary expression in building political consent among masses especially during the inter-War period has been discussed widely. In these years of global political turmoil, the documentary mode was extensively used by various political regimes ranging from the Soviet Union to Nazi Germany and to the New Deal US (Barnouw 1974, Taylor 1998, Ellis and McLane 2005). The effectiveness of documentary stems from its power to convince the viewers about the truth of its message. The documentary differentiates itself from narrative film with its implication of a transparent re-presentation of reality. Whether it is the photographer's camera or that of the filmmaker's, the apparatus is thought of as a neutral recorder of reality. Yet, the critical question is not whether or not documentary tells the viewers about the sole truth, it is rather the function of documentary within a particular discourse reproducing power relations between the nation state and its subjects (Tagg 1993). The documentary conceals the fact that the meaning it produces is as constructed as any narrative, hence naturalizes the meaning it produces. Its call for identification with the gaze of the nation state proved so powerful that the nation states coping with social and political distress throughout the 1930s deployed documentary for establishing cultural mobilization and social cohesion.

This paper analyzes the deployment of documentary by the Turkish state in its attempt toward building national identity. I will argue that the idea to utilize the image of Ankara as an ideological signifier to be identified with emerged in the first half of the 1930s. And the first example deploying this strategy was the documentary film *Ankara: The Heart of Turkey*,[1] made to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the Turkish Republic in 1933. Below, I will begin with a brief history of the making of Ankara as the republican capital. Discussing the moment of the early 1930s and its significance in Turkish history, I will situate the film within this context. After analyzing the role of Ankara within the film and its treatment as a

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[1] The film has been mentioned in almost all studies on Turkish cinema. However, its significance in relation to the representation of Ankara has not been analyzed. For the only study addressing this issue, see Sargın (2005).

national symbol for viewers both home and abroad, I will finally point out the adoption of the same strategy within publications of government agencies in the following years.

Making a new capital

In the wake of the First World War, Ankara was a small Ottoman town suffering the effects of a declined economy. Having served as the center for the National War of Independence between 1920 and 1923, it was declared as the capital in 1923, a few weeks prior to the proclamation of the Turkish Republic. The renouncing of Istanbul, which had served as the seat of imperial power for almost 500 years, was in tune with the republicans' intention to break with the Islamic past. While the cosmopolitan social structure of Istanbul was incompatible with nationalist intentions, Ankara, being closer to the spatial center of the country, was hoped to generate development across country. The new capital was to shelter a modern lifestyle and act as a model for the whole nation. Hence, the success in turning the small Anatolian town into a modern capital was conceived as an illustration of the regime in nation building.

While plans were produced for the growth of the city after European examples, the urban development followed two tracks. While the old city center was rebuilt with modern buildings, a new district to contain a government quarter together with upper-class residences was planned on the southern edge of the town. The details of the planning and construction processes are beyond the scope of this paper;[2] however, it is crucial to emphasize here that the construction of the city was being documented by civil photographers and these images were reproduced in the form of postcards. The intention here was not necessarily documenting the building process but rather picturing the everyday life in the city, which was a common theme in local postcards throughout Anatolia (Evren 1999). Hence, the documentation of the building of Ankara spontaneously turned this construction process into a metaphor of nation building. However, after 1930, the new capital would become an instrument of ideological interpellation, expected to transform the people into national subjects.

The moment of crisis

As mentioned in the beginning, the year 1930 proved quite troublesome for the Turkish state. Not only were the global effects of the 1929 Depression strongly felt, the attempt to introduce a multiparty regime in 1930 resulted in significant support for the newly established Free Republican Party. The FRP was intended to be a liberal party generating productive opposition in the parliament. However, the significant support it gained in a short period of time proved to the republican administration that the revolution was not embraced by the people. The FRP was forced to abolish itself, and this traumatic confrontation triggered a series of transformations in economic, political and ideological domains.

As the global crisis led to a decrease in exports and a rise in the prices of import goods, the government turned to import-substitution and worked for strengthening the domestic market. Beginning in 1932, a strict program of state-owned industrialization was put into implementation (Boratav 1998: 45-62). The 1931 Party Congress formalized the single-party regime and declared the RPP as the sole representative of the nation. Accordingly, the state bureaucracy and the party apparatus were unified. Moreover, a new Press Law was introduced in 1931, and the government was authorized to close down newspapers and journals publishing against government policies. Yet, the expansion of state power into various domains would not be sufficient to gain support for the regime. For this, a nationalist

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[2] For the details of this process and an analysis of the relation between architecture and nation building in early republican Turkey, see Bozdoğan (2001).

discourse unifying the modernist cultural agenda and the political education in republican notions of secularism and citizenship was to be produced and propagated nationwide. Two significant organizations that were to support the making of a national identity, namely the Turkish Society of History and the Turkish Society of Linguistics were established in 1931 and 1932, respectively. These two organizations were to search the roots of Turkish national identity and fabricate a theoretical basis for the nationalist ideology. And finally, to disseminate such discourse throughout the country, Halkevleri (People's Houses) were founded in 1932, and rapidly opened branches in cities and towns across country.[3] The People's Houses were designed as local centers for spreading the modern way of life. They were to become secular centers for socialization and replace the mosque as the traditional space of assembly in Turkish cities. The People's Houses were modeled after cultural organizations and youth clubs in Fascist Italy (Çeçen 1990). In fact, the reorganization of state bureaucracy under the party structure was very similar to the organization of the Italian state under fascism. Later throughout the 1930s, the republican intelligentsia would constantly look to the examples of Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union as models for implementing revolutions.

In order to understand the emergence of the representation of Ankara as an instrument of nationalist discourse, we shall also look at the organization of propaganda in the country. A Directorate of Press and Intelligence was established as early as 1920 under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.[4] The main purpose of the Directorate was to support the diplomatic endeavors of the nationalist government in Ankara by providing documents especially in relation to the "atrocities taking place under Greek occupation" (İskit 1939: 222). The fact that the Directorate was organized under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also indicates that the main function of the organization was to propagate the views of the nationalists to the outside world. As the Press Law of 1931 implemented a strict control over the press, the Directorate had to be reorganized accordingly. First the existing organization was abolished in 1931, and a General Directorate of Press was established under the Ministry of Interior in 1933. Nevertheless, the new director of the organization, Vedat Nedim Tör, was aware of the fact that the control of the press would not be enough to win the people to the republican cause. An active campaign of propaganda had to be pursued to disseminate the nationalist discourse and strengthen the ties between the nation state and its citizens. Moreover, the Western world was also to be informed about the achievements of the new regime in Turkey. To these ends, Tör prepared a new Law detailing the responsibilities of the organization. According to this Law, which was passed in 1934, the General Directorate of Press was organized in three sections: Intelligence, Publications and Propaganda (Law 2559, reprinted in İskit 1939: 804-6). Tör published an announcement and explained the duty of the General Directorate as ensuring that all publications were "conscious and mature towards the interior", that is in tune with the ideology of the regime, and "unified and clear towards the outside" (reprinted in İskit 1939: 223-4).

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[3] The People's Houses were not established as new institutions but the existing Türk Ocakları (Turkish Hearths) were transformed into People's Houses. The Turkish Hearths were founded in 1910 in order to develop Turkish nationalism. The scope of the Pople's Houses, however, went beyond improving nationalistic ideas, since it also contained a modernist intention of educating and civilizing the Turkish society. Therefore, the aim was to create a modern and nationalistic identity of citizenship. The properties of the Turkish Hearths were transferred to the RPP and the People's Houses were organized as an extension of the party. In addition, a National Turkish Students Union was established in 1933.

[4] The Turkish Grand National Assembly was opened in 1920 in Ankara. Between 1920 and 1923, the nationalist government in Ankara did not only reorganize the military for a counter-offensive against Greek invasion of Anatolia but also tried hard to gain recognition from the European powers as the representative of the Turkish people as an alternative to the Sultan's government in Istanbul.

Ankara: the Heart of Turkey

While the reorganization of the nation state towards producing national subjectivity through cultural dissemination was underway, the 10th anniversary of the Republic emerged as an effective occasion. As the celebrations were designed as a historic event, it was decided to film it as well. The production of propaganda films was also a responsibility of the General Directorate of Press, and two Soviet filmmakers, namely Sergei Yutkevich and Lev Oskarovich Arnstam were invited to Turkey. The choice of Soviet filmmakers was not coincidental. The cultural exchange between the Turkish Republic and the Soviet Union was an extension of the political and economic cooperation between the two countries that began during the National War of Independence.[5] For the part of the Soviet Union, cultural exchange in foreign relations was a (rather peaceful) means for disseminating revolutionary ideals. In this respect, a Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (VOKS) was established in 1925. It organized exchange programs for artist, scientists and intellectuals as well as exhibitions and art festivals to travel abroad. For the part of the Turkish government, on the other hand, the exchange –aside form the obvious handiness of political and economic support– within the cultural domain served to import means to disseminate modernist ideals. Hence, between 1925 and 1930, especially plays and films by Soviet artists provided by VOKS were displayed in Turkey. The content of these works were generally anti-religious (Tacibayev 2004: 180-190). Yet, the works provided by VOKS, especially the films, were censored by first the Turkish officials in Moscow, and then those in Turkey. For instance, although it was viewed in Istanbul during the Soviet Film Festival in 1927, Eisenstein's *Battleship Potemkin* was found subversive and not allowed to be viewed in other cities (Sargın 2005: 375).

After 1930, the exchange between two countries intensified. While Soviet scholars were invited to Turkey to work on Turkish history and linguistics within the newly established organizations, Turkish officials and intellectuals were sent to the Soviet Union to explore methods of mass education (Tacibayev 2004: 200). This should be understood as a search for how to efficiently use the newly established People's Houses for disseminating nationalist discourse.

Therefore, cultural exchange between Turkey and the Soviet Union had already been established by 1933. And it was not surprising to see the Soviet filmmakers filming the celebrations for the 10th anniversary. Upon his arrival, Yutkevich was met by a team of Turkish intellectuals who would assist him in shooting the film (Şener 1970: 33).[6] Yet, *Ankara: The Heart of Turkey* does more than merely documenting the celebrations. As the title indicates, the film puts Ankara in its focus. Beginning with an interview with Prime Minister İnönü against the background of the Central Anatolian plain, the film presents Ankara as a modern city rising in the middle of the prairie.

The film is composed of three main sections. The first section depicts the celebrations for the 10th anniversary of the Republic. It begins with the arrival of people from different parts of the country, including the Soviet delegates traveling to Ankara via Istanbul. Here, the welcoming of the Soviet envoy by the Turkish people is significant. Considering the fact that the film would be viewed by both the Turkish and the Soviet audiences, the message is clearly that of the friendship among two peoples. When the two parties meet, the musical score switches to the national anthems of the two countries playing one after another. As the Soviet

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[5] The Soviet-Turkish relations began with a treaty signed in 1921 and improved rapidly. The Soviets provided military aid during the Turkish Independence War, and continued to support Turkey's industrialization throughout the 1930s.

[6] The team included writers Fikret Adil and Reşat Nuri, and composers Zeki Bey, Ekrem Zeki and Kemal Reşit (Tacibayev 2004: 210).

envoy travels to Ankara by train, we see that the whole nation is actually flowing into Ankara for the celebrations. Finally the parade is shown in details, including the marching troops, scouts and students, as well as the representatives of different countries.

The second section of the film presents a narrative on Ankara. It begins with a reference to the ancient history of Ankara through a shot of *Encyclopedia Britannica* showing the entry on Ankara. Scanning through historical ruins in and around Ankara, the film displays the village life at the outskirts of the city and the camera moves into the traditional neighborhoods. The narrow streets and the people sitting idly in front of small shops present an inactive life. The slow music also emphasizes the idleness of traditional life in the old town (Fig. 1).

Figure 1. Film still from Ankara: The Heart of Turkey showing street view from the old town

Figure 2. Film still from Ankara: The Heart of Turkey showing the Station Street with the façade of the Court of Financial Appeals building.

Then appears the new Ankara with its wide boulevards and modernist buildings, which are in stark contrast with the previously viewed traditional environments (Fig. 2). Hence, the narrative on Ankara is built on the binary opposition between the ruined condition of the traditional settlements and the brand new spaces of the modern capital. The camera moves in the streets showing Ankara's modernist architecture. Here, the facades of the buildings narrate modernity as a symbol of revolutionary will.

The final section turns back to the celebrations and focuses on Kemal Ataturk, the leader of the republican revolution. His speech at the event is accompanied with construction views; as the leader tells about the achievements of the past ten years and the objectives of the

Figure 1. Film still from Ankara: The Heart of Turkey showing the construction of Çubuk Dam.

upcoming era, the camera shows buildings, factories and dams under construction (Fig. 3).

Modernist construction is clearly a metaphor of nation building; railways, factories and dams illustrate the nation-wide process of development. In addition, the newly finished buildings, fine examples of modernist architecture illustrate the new cityscape of Ankara. The striking thing about this architecture, however, is that it is devoid of social life (Fig. 4). Although in two cases, namely in the Girl's Institute and the Conservatory we see young and healthy men and women inhabiting these modern spaces, the spatial practices they perform are not components of everyday life in the city. They are rather specific practices fulfilling requirements for becoming modern. Aside from these two

buildings, the modern architecture of Ankara exists almost exclusively as facades; an architecture to be looked at rather than to be spatially occupied.

Figure 2. Film still from Ankara: The Heart of Turkey showing the building of the General Chief of Staff

Nevertheless, Ankara is not presented merely as a modernist locus in the film; it is also the focus of the nation. Peasants on horseback, students and scouts on trains, the nation is shown on the move towards Ankara rushing to participate in the celebrations. The meaning of Ankara then is double-layered: it is both a materialized illustration of the republican achievements and also an ideological symbol for the nation to identify with. As the major strategy of the film in presenting modern Ankara is to contrast the traditional environments with the newly built ones, an overarching element in the narrative is a couple of individuals. An old villager and a girl scout appear frequently and we view Ankara through their eyes (Fig. 5). The old man and the girl scout illustrate the contrast between the old and the new, the traditional and the modern. They come from different parts of the country and meet in Ankara. They view the capital proudly and the girl states that what we see is their "new life". This new life is expected to disseminate throughout the country soon. It is significant that the old man wears a medal suggesting he is a war veteran, and the young girl is not simply a student but a girl scout in uniform. One of them has served the country for its independence, and the other will now serve in its modernization.

Figure 3. Film still from Ankara: The Heart of Turkey showing the old veteran and the young girl scout.

The film aims at conveying different messages to different audiences. First of all, Ankara is represented as a modern capital built from the scratch in the middle of the plain, through the will of a young nation, and under the guidance of its powerful leader. This is an image for both foreign and domestic viewers. While it is an image of modernity to be affirmed by the Western gaze, it is an object of identification for the citizens. The citizens are expected to see the will to modernization in Ankara. The power that transformed Ankara into a modern city would soon arrive at their hometown, and the modern life flourishing in the boulevards of Ankara would soon be theirs.

The film also has to be considered regarding its place in Soviet filmography. The chief director Sergei Yutkevich is a well-known Soviet filmmaker. Having been trained in arts and set design, he had founded FEKS, the Factory of the Eccentric Actor in 1922 together with Leonid Trauberg and Grigori Kozintsev.[7] In the early 1930s, that is during the First Five Year Plan of the Soviet Union advocating industrialization and collectivization of agriculture,[8] Yutkevich made films about the problems of industrialization and the adaptation of

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[7] FEKS advocated "low" cultural forms such as circus and fairgrounds against "high culture". Accordingly, only the popular art forms were appropriate to represent the machine age and its modernity. (Yutkevich 1973, Taylor 1992).

[8] For the relationship between arts and politics in the Soviet Union until mid-1930s, see Brewster (1976).

individuals within this process. His *Golden Mountains* (1931) and *Counterplan* (1932, with Fridrikh Ermler) were among the early Soviet sound movies. Especially *Counterplan* was a forerunner of the socialist realism of upcoming years and was hailed enthusiastically by *Pravda* (Kenez 1988: 432). It was possibly a result of such attention that Yutkevich was chosen to make the film for the 10th anniversary of the Turkish Republic.

Being made during the formation of socialist realism, *Ankara: The Heart of Turkey* contains precursor elements of this genre.[9] Strategies such as representing the new regime through imageries of industry and construction, the depiction of happy people enthusiastically embracing the accomplishments of their government would become trademarks of socialist realism in cinema. Moreover, the emphasis on the leader, which had not yet emerged in Soviet films, appears as a central component of *Ankara: The Heart of Turkey*. This would also become a significant element of socialist realism in the upcoming years. A comparison of the depiction of everyday life in the city in *Ankara: The Heart of Turkey* to that of Dziga Vertov's *The Man with a Movie Camera* (1929) is telling in this sense. In Vertov's work the city appears as a dynamic environment, the daily life itself generates revolutionary energy. In Yutkevich's work, however, Ankara is seen as a tranquil environment although the city is still under construction, and the urban life lacks dynamism despite the constant inclusion of vehicles in the frame.

The film was finished in 1934 and submitted to the Turkish officials in Ankara in April 1934. It was enjoyed by the Turkish authorities and circulated throughout the country. The film was also praised by Turkish film critics not only for "successfully presenting the accomplishments of the ten years of the revolution" but also for illustrating what "national cinema had to achieve" (Adil 1934: 12). It was viewed in various cities, and it attracted significant number of viewers throughout the country (Rami 1934: 12).

Conclusion: After the Film

As it was in the process of reorganization while the film was being shot, the General Directorate of Press was involved in the filming process only indirectly through the intellectuals working with the artists. Yet, the organization embraced the idea to use the image of Ankara as a national symbol to be distributed home and abroad. And for the circulation of urban imagery, the most appropriate medium was photography. After 1934, the Directorate undertook an extensive project of publishing visual material on Turkey, and an important portion of this material was devoted to Ankara. Images of Ankara were included in publications to be distributed abroad, but they were also circulated within the country via postcards, stamps, calendars, banknotes as well as photography exhibitions. It was intended to convince the Westerners that Turkey was now a modern nation, an equal to the Europeans. As for its domestic function, the image of Ankara was an ideological representation calling citizens to identify with. Ankara was an emblem of modern Turkey to be proudly embraced and also the proof that the arrival of the wave of modernization to every corner of the country was only a matter of time. *Ankara: The Heart of Turkey*, in this respect, provided a visual rhetoric to be exploited in the publications of the General Directorate of Press toward establishing national cohesion throughout the 1930s.

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[9] Socialist realism was formulated as a doctrine at the first All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers in August-September 1934. For the emergence of socialist realism in Soviet cinema, see Taylor (1983) and Youngblood (1991).

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Transient glamour:
the filmic representation of airports and its relation to real life architectural developments

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Introduction

In THE TERMINAL (Spielberg, 2004) Tom Hanks is trapped in an airport terminal, struggling in making his environment more homely. While the film depicts airports as ultimate 'non-places', alienating spaces that we pass through but do not dwell in, recently however more and more airports present themselves as utopian 'airport cities'. The idea behind this is that these are 'places' to be visited and enjoyed, even when one does not have to fly.

Since 1950 airports as urban phenomena have undergone a vast transformation: from meadows being used for flying to airfields to high-tech airports. Aviation was part of a larger change of perspective concerning mobility and has had an enormous impact on our contemporary way of living. Each stage of development has its own characteristics and associated meanings, which are not only seen and lived first-hand, but are also reflected in film. The cinematic airport has developed itself just like its real life counterpart, but this development might not have been analogous.

I have distinguished three phases in the cinematic representation of airports, namely a 'glamour phase' (1930's – 1950's), 'development of mass transportation phase and danger in the sky' (1960's – 1980's) and lastly a current image of the airport as 'non-place' (Augé 1995). I will illustrate the three mentioned phases with film examples and compare the cinematic architecture of these to the most important changes within actual airport architecture. It would be interesting to see to what extend film and real life architecture differ, because film as part of our culture often reflects our desires and fears and also assigns mythological meanings to our environment (Biró 1982: 3, 73 -75). These meanings could point to changing attitudes people towards airports, because films can reflect attitudes of their time (Hughes 1976: 52, 65, 67 - 69; Muzzio & Halper 2002: 545; Rollins 1983: 249).

This paper is a pilot study of the way airport architecture has been portrayed in film from the nineteen thirties until the present day, as well show the way cinematic airports might have generated meaning. It is in no way meant to be a final and complete history of the cinematic airport. The films used for this analysis are all American and are set approximately during the time they were produced. The cinematic airport however, is more than just the presentation of the architecture, as it also consists of the story and the film style (montage, use of colour, etc.). For a complete understanding of the inner workings of the filmic airport it will be necessary to study these layers as well.

The introduction of the cinematic airport

When an airport is introduced in a movie, it often starts with an establishing shot of the terminal or main hall, i.e. in THE V.I.P.S. (1963), AIRPORT (1970) and THE TERMINAL (2004). This hall is usually bustling with people, travellers, pilots and stewardesses, security people, etc. A couple of things are important for a cinematic airport, being the signage, the presence of the flight departure and arrival board, the check-in counters and finally the

presence of airplanes, which often can be seen through a window. Interestingly enough this is quite similar to how train stations are represented in film (De Kuyper 1985). The difference between airports and train stations is that with train travel the actual departure starts within the station, while with airports the take off occurs in a separated area in which no passenger can enter freely.

Filmic airports verus real life airports
1930's – 1950's: glamour

One of the most memorable and glamorous airport scenes is the goodbye between Rick [Humphrey Bogart] and Ilsa [Ingrid Bergman] in CASABLANCA (Michael Curtiz, 1942). Interestingly though, this scene reveals hardly anything of the airport. Mist, shadows and repetitive lights imply a runway. The scene does not revolve around the airport, but is about the emotions played out between two characters to which the airport as a location adds some depth. A few strategic shots of starting propellers, runway lights and a shot of a hangar when the plane takes off, give enough visual information to make the location as an airport believable.

In ONLY ANGELS HAVE WINGS (Howard Hawks, 1939) a daredevil pilot [Clark Gable] flies and lands his plane in all kinds of weather conditions on unpaved runways. He conducts his business from a bar that doubles as office and radio station. This representation of the early stages in aviation comes close to reality. During the nineteen twenties airports mainly consisted of grassy fields and were literally referred to as airfields. They were used for take off and landing - sometimes dodging cows or sheep -, and usually had hangars for the fleet and a couple of small buildings. These buildings provided shelter for passengers and crew and were used for radio communication between planes and ground.

This situation improved during the nineteen thirties with the development of small terminal buildings with arrival and departure halls, traffic control towers, parking space and paved runways (Pearman 2004: 50 - 53; Bosma & Vos 2000: 187 -189). European airports like Berlin's Tempelhof and London's Croydon are early examples of this development. Even though these were considerable improvements, major breakthroughs in airport architecture happened after the Second World War.

During the early stages of air travel people associated aviation with pioneering, adventure, risk taking and glamour. Only the elite, mostly the wealthy and movie stars could afford to fly. It was this group that provided and maintained the glamour image. Advertisements from the twenties and thirties played on this small group and always depicted flying as a luxury way of travel even though air travel in those early years wasn't comfortable at all [Remmele, 2004: 241]. ONLY ANGELS HAVE WINGS showed the dangers of flying, yet the film was no scary movie, but more a display of heroism.

When it comes to memorable cinematic airport architecture, Preston Sturges' THE PALM BEACH STORY (1942) is an interesting example. At the beginning of the film we are shown a scale model of a new type of inner city airport. The architect/engineer explains the practicality of his design to a rich investor. A steel mesh made of stretched cables hung above a city functions as a runway [Figure 1]. According to architect Tom Jeffers [Joel McCrea], his design is a safe solution for having an airport in the centre of the city.

This idea might look highly ridiculous, yet it really wasn't. Architects and planners have always used utopian designs for instance to test possible solutions for complex questions, or to convey shared values (Reiner, 1984: 136). At the beginning of the twentieth century the airport was a new building type and it was uncertain how aviation would develop. Architects therefore experimented with ideas in designs to explore the possibilities of airports. This is exactly what happens in the movie as Jeffers was trying to find a solution for the increasing

demand in air travel in combination with its proximity to urban areas. Well known real life examples of experimental designs that place aviation in the inner city are: 'La Nuova Citta' (1914) by Antonio Sant'Elia; 'Plan Voisin' (1922-25) by LeCorbusier and Frank Lloyd Wright's 'Broadacre City' (1930s – 1959). While these plans may not be called realistic, they are however important in the way visual representations generated new meanings for new developments, like the combination of aviation and daily life.

Figure 1. THE PALM BEACH STORY (Copyright 1942, Paramount Pictures)

The 1954 Honolulu airport in THE HIGH AND THE MIGHTY (William A.Wellman, 1954) was a happy place. It has a stereotypical idea of Hawaii written all over it. It is very light, almost sunny with a bamboo interior and flowers everywhere [Figure 2]. The facilities are minimal, a small bar and a quirky souvenir shop that sells gifts and Flower Leis. It's also very small, with just one check-in counter. The small scale leads to the fact that passengers are treated as people, not as anonymous passengers. This airport does not imply danger neither does it feel as a non-place; it almost looks as a postcard for 1950s Hawaii. This image suited the developments of that time. During the fifties, aviation had become accessible to more people. Airlines advertised their services and promoted the luxury of flying. Airports were the gateways to the rest of the world. They were places where adventure began. This is well reflected in THE HIGH AND THE MIGHTY.

Figure 2. THE HIGH AND THE MIGHTY (Copyright 2005, Paramount Home Entertainment)

Glamour wasn't mostly provided by the architecture though. Glamour was supplied by a combination of things, for example the way stewardesses were dressed, the service on board, the more personal approach to passengers, and that people seemed to be dressed up when they were flying. Tangible proof of the glamour phase is the word 'jet set' which was coined in the 1950's. Flying itself exuded an air of exclusiveness, luxury and freedom; aviation induced a changed sense of mobility. Advertisements of this time present this image beautifully. This glamour image persisted into the fifties and early sixties, but eventually lost its sheen with the growth of flying as mass transportation during the seventies.

1960's – 1980's: mass transportation & danger in the sky

The cinematic airport of the fifties is still oversee-able; terminals weren't that big yet; passengers could still walk up to the planes and wait on the tarmac, for instance in ALL ABOUT EVE (Joseph L. Mankiewicz, 1950), THE HIGH AND THE MIGHTY, THE KILLING (Stanley Kubrick, 1956) This is more or less correct with the real situation. The

scale of the airport terminal and the way passengers were led through it would change considerably during the sixties and seventies (Pearman 2004).

If one wants to have a reasonable understanding of the developments and problems within aviation during the seventies, watching AIRPORT (George Seaton, 1970) wouldn't be a bad suggestion. Even though the film builds up to a hijacking by a suicide bomber, a lot of film time is set in the airport. Here the airport is a safe haven, led by airport manager Mel Bakersfield [Burt Lancaster], who spends most of the film convincing people not to close down his airport due to the heavy snowfall. In one scene Lancaster has a heated discussion about the recent problems his airport is facing, noise disturbance being his biggest concern. Bakersfield confronts one of the Airports commissioners and tells him that he should start focussing on investing money in the development of the airport, while pointing at a scale model of the ideal airport [Figure 3]. The problems Bakersfield was facing were very accurate of the developments within aviation and airports in that time.

Figure 3. AIRPORT (Copyright 1970, Universal Pictures)

Changes in airport architecture have always been driven by innovation within aviation technology. The jet plane was an innovation that caused a major shift in airport planning. Planes became heavier and higher, thus being able to transport more people. This also meant they needed more space at the terminal. Unfortunately, they became louder as well, leading to a physical separation between aircraft and terminal to protect passengers against noise exposure (Bosma 1996: 53). Also leading to noise disturbance for people living under flight routes. The expansive growth of mass transportation during the fifties and sixties occurred on a scale that could not have been foreseen.

The airport terminal had to be bigger to be able to handle masses of people (Pearman 2004: 137). Because of the increasing the size of the terminal, passengers had to walk further in the airport itself, which could cause delays with connecting flights. Planners and architects were faced with solving this big puzzle. How could more passengers be handled, while keeping in mind that walking distances within the airport should be kept as short as possible? This question is topical to this day and will always be a difficulty within airport design. Several solutions have been used, shuttle buses, the use of piers and avio-bridges to get passengers out of the planes (Bosma 1996: 53). This is exactly what Mel Bakersfield is ranting about. As a disaster film, many people say that AIRPORT 1970 is not the best of its genre, despite its success at the box office. This might be so, yet it is very interesting to watch it from an architectural standpoint, because it does bring across the inner workings and problems of an early seventies airport.

Not only did planners and architects have to deal with matters of infrastructure, but also with increasing safety regulations since a lot of terrorist actions involving aviation occurred in the 1970s.[1] This added another layer within the airport structure but also made a big change in the attitudes people had towards flying. Aviation had first lost its innocence after the two World Wars. Then it recovered during the rebuilding stage after the Second World War when aviation went through several huge developments and finally became available to the masses (Spode 2004: 24).

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[1] For instance the 1977 hijacking of Lufthansa Flight 181, in what was later named the Landshut Hijacking.

   With air travel becoming mass transportation and in combination with aviation related terrorism, one could say that flying lost its innocence and glamour for good. Even though AIRPORT 1970 revolved around a hijacking, the film doesn't seem to be too concerned with the fear of acts of terrorism. Even though terrorism became current in the seventies, you can't really see a lot of attention for airport security in films and when you see it, most of the time it isn't very good.

1990's – present: non-place

It is safe to say that an airport doesn't settle into a permanent shape just as it doesn't allow its visitors to settle in for a long stay even when one is stranded there. In the 2004 film THE TERMINAL (Steven Spielberg 2004) Viktor Navorski [Tom Hanks] is trapped in the 'International Transit Lounge'. He is lost, 'fallen between the cracks' of two countries. This makes him, according to the head of Homeland Security, 'unacceptable' as a non-person without an identity. With some difficulty Navorski eventually made a home within the terminal, found friends and even love. How is this possible in a location that is a non-place according to Marc Augé (1995)? The airport, mainly a representation of New York's JFK, is state of the art; high security, high-tech architecture that exposes the structure of the building, huge light passageways, shops everywhere. But a home it's not and that becomes very clear at the beginning of the film when an officer of Homeland Security puts Navorski in the lounge. Navorski asks him what he is supposed to do while he's there. The reply is: 'There's only one thing you can do here, Mr. Navorski. Shop.'

   When applying Augé's theory on non-places we find that in this case Navorski builds himself a 'place' within the 'non-place' airport. While a 'non-place' is a passage, which creates solitude amongst its visitors, 'places' assign identity to its dwellers, are connected to other places and things and are in a sense historical (Augé: 85 -86, 94 – 95). According to Augé, people can establish a certain familiarity with specific non-places when they frequent them a lot (Augé 1995: 98). Navorski of course becomes very familiar with the airport, but what he does that eventually makes him at home, is that he adapted his environment to his needs. The viewer sees this when the new and unfinished terminal where he sleeps and eats, starts showing more and more signs of habitation [Figure 4 & 5]. For instance we can see that someone has put a plant there and a wheelchair functioning as a chair has a makeshift cover over it. Navorski making friends and a finding job, contribute to his 'place' within a non-place, yet this situation is only applicable to him.

Figure 4. THE TERMINAL (Copyright 2004, Dreamworks Pictures)

Figure 5. THE TERMINAL (Copyright 2004, Dreamworks Pictures)

The architecture of THE TERMINAL is very accurate, even though the movie was not filmed in an actual airport. Everything right up to the lettering on the signs is very realistic. The

terminal is mainly combination of a huge waiting room and shopping mall with high security. This is the current state of affairs for real life airports. More and more airports have invested in facilities, aimed at attracting non-flying visitors as well as making sure that flying visitors spend as much money as possible.

In the disaster movie FLIGHTPLAN (Robert Schwentke, 2006) Jodie Foster and her daughter have to fly back from Berlin to New York. The presentation of the German airport in this film is striking. This airport is incredibly dark and menacing. Deep blues and greys dominate the colour scheme, making everything look cold and uninviting. The scale of the airport also feels much larger than normal. You could say that this is taking the non-place-aspect of airports to an extreme. It's obvious though that this airport gives a foreboding of the trouble that is ahead.

The massive airplane in which most of the film is set, the Aalto Air E-474, supposedly has a wingspan of 'twenty nine car garages' and can seat 800 passengers. The only plane that comes near in real life is the new Airbus A380 that has a wingspan of nearly 80 metres and can seat 555 people. Current airports already have a considerable problem accommodating the Airbus. An airplane this big can't land on a runway if it's not enforced with special concrete and it would also be a problem of dealing with so many extra passengers at once (Knox 2005). This problem is not addressed in the film and seems to be no problem. FLIGHTPLAN is therefore a little bit ahead of its time.

Conclusion

An airport is a place of transit and a transient place, in film as well as in real life. Airports will always be transient structures because its architecture and planning are subjected to innovation within aviation and to social and economic changes. This makes it a most challenging building type for architects but also an exciting location for a film.

After comparing the cinematic architecture with the actual developments in airport architecture it can be said that there are no big discrepancies. Whenever airports went through architectural developments, it is most likely to be reflected in films. The architecture of cinematic airports seems often the architecture of real airports, because a lot of films look like they were shot on location. This is probably the most important reason as to why there were no real inconsistenties between the cinematic and real airport.

The difference between cinematic and real airports lies not in the way the architecture is presented, but more so in the meanings that were given to the location. During the fifties, glamorous connotations were attached to flying, although the glamour itself was mostly generated by fashion, and the amount of service on board, than through extravagant architecture. Depending on the story line, a filmic airport can mean a safe haven, a tedious environment or a place of terror. An airport can also be a pleasant place of gathering, like in THE HIGH AND MIGHTY or a non-place where the only time people are not anonymous is at the customs desk. Looking at meanings that have been attached to airports in film, it does point us to the belief that different attitudes towards airports are reflected in films. It would be therefore very worthwhile to make a more extensive analysis of the cinematic airport.

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The city, the car and filmic perception:
the commonalities between Robert Venturi and
Michelangelo Antonioni.

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Zabriskie Point was the second film of a trilogy Michelangelo Antonioni made with the American studio MGM in the late 60's and early 70's. Released in 1970 it was a complete financial and critical flop. Criticised as naive, idealistic and fetishist it cost $7 million dollars to make and grossed only $900,000 at the box office. Nevertheless, it would later be considered one of Antonioni's most ambitious and, in purely cinematographic terms, successful films ever.

In this paper parallels will be drawn between the Antonioni's cinematographic interpretation of Los Angeles and the ideas laid out by Robert Venturi with respect to Las Vegas. In particular, it will be argued that although Venturi identified the need to develop and use new modes of architectural representation when dealing with cities such as these, he failed to understand the potential of the filmic medium in this regard. By contrast, it will be suggested that Michelangelo Antonioni fully understood its possibilities and consequently produced a far more effective representation of LA than Venturi was able to do of Las Vegas.

The film is basically split into two sections. The first is set in the city of Los Angeles whilst the second is filmed exclusively in the Nevada desert. This juxtaposition is the backdrop to the film's principal narrative dynamic, the relationship between two young lovers; Mark (Mark Frecette) and Daria (Daria Halpin). Presented as alienated from the society that surrounds them the two protagonists play out roles seen in many of Antonioni's previous films; the disenfranchised, misunderstood and ultimately lonely individual. In this case they are disenfranchised from the commercial society that surrounds them.

The nature of this commercial society is dealt with in two principal ways; firstly through the character Lee Allen played by Rod Taylor and secondly through his presentation of LA's urban fabric. Allen, the director of the *Happy Dunes Real Estate Agency*, is promoting and constructing "dream estates" on the city's outskirts. The promotion of these estates forms an important part of Antonioni's ironic take on modern American consumer culture with numerous adverts starring "happy plastic consumers" being woven into the film's narrative structure. Fig. 1

Figure 1. Antonioni's parody of consumerism in the US.

As has been noted by various other authors this particular theme was being dealt with at the same time by Reyner Banham. [1] In 1972 Banham made a BBC documentary entitled *Reyner Banham Loves Los Angeles* and one year later would write a text that was to

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[1] River, Gamez, David. 2005, 'Los Angeles, Las Vegas, Zabriskie Point', in *La ventana indiscreta*, No.2. ed Jmanuel Roig. Mairea editores. Madrid. p48.

become a reference point on LA and commercial US cities in general, *Los Angeles, the architecture of the four ecologies*. Banham refers to these estates as closed communities for the privileged; as one of the few places in LA where conventional controlled planning may be seen.[2]

Of more interest in the context of this essay however is the second way in which Antonioni deals with consumer culture; his presentation of Los Angeles as a city visually dominated by advertising. Fig 2. Again picking up on themes dealt with in the architectural world Antonioni presents the viewer with an image of Los Angeles in which the visual impact of buildings has been replaced by that of billboards and promotional signage of every type. It was something commented upon by the likes of the urbanist Jane Jacobs and the landscape architect J.B Jackson who saw it as part of the vernacular landscape of he U.S.; a landscape he described as based on a lack of long term goals and constant adjustment to circumstance. [3]

Figure 2. LA as a city dominated by advertising imagery.

Undoubtedly however, the architectural theorist who most famously engaged with this characteristic of the American city of the 1970's was Robert Venturi. At the time of *Zabriskie Point's* release Venturi, together with Denise Scott Brown and Steven Isenour, was studying Las Vegas. In their ground breaking book *Learning from Las Vegas*, 1972, Venturi *et al* offered one of the first, and certainly the most extensive, analysis the city and the nature of its individual buildings ever produced.

Amongst the numerous points they raised was the fact that the city plan is based on a regular grid that gives the streets a certain architectural order. However, they highlighted that this order gets completely lost due to the complexity and spectacular nature of the individual buildings built along it. This "architecture of the spectacle" they argued, resulted directly from the commercial nature of the city itself; a centre for a multitude of service industries that use architecture as a way of attracting the attention and curiosity of prospective clients.

In short these authors argued that the need for bars, restaurants, hotels and casinos to be more visible and attractive that their neighbours resulted in the visual cacophony that is the Las Vegas street; a street in which signage is seen as more important than buildings. Fig.3 For these authors, the resulting architecture of Las Vegas was the architecture of the *graphic sign in space*. [4]

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[2] Banham, Reyner. 1971, *Los Angeles; the architecture of the four ecologies*. University of California Press. Los Angeles. p127

[3] Jackson, J.B. 1984, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*. Yale University Press. New Haven. p151

[4] Venturi, R. Scott Brown, D. Izenour S. 1972, *Learning from Las Vegas*. MIT Press. Cambridge, Massachusetts. p13

Figure 3. Architecture as graphic sign in space.

In the contexts of Las Vegas, and Antonioni's presentation of LA, this use of graphic imagery revolves around advertising. However, in both *Learning from Las Vegas* and *Zabriskie Point* the conversion of architecture into graphic signage is explored in a more nuanced way than simply seeing buildings as tools for capitalism's need to promote consumption. Antonioni and Venturi both understood that not only advertising but car transportation too was central to the urban development, spatial layout and visual character of the cities they respectively dealt with.

In raising questions about the role of car transportation of the nature of the contemporary city they were again echoing ideas found in the works of important theorists in the fields of architecture, urbanism and landscape design. For example, Reyner Banham argued with respect to LA that to understand this city it was necessary to understand the requirements of the car driver. [5] In short, LA was a city that had developed according to the logic of the automobile.

A central tenet of that logic is the relative reduction in the importance of distance. Being able to cover large distances in little time the car led to ever growing expansion of urban centres. J.B. Jackson referred to this as the "decentralisation of the American city" and saw it as key to understanding the reasons behind America's urban make up. [6] Venturi *et al* were then picking up on ideas developed by their contemporaries. One thing they added however was the resulting need to provide large amounts of car parking space in America's cities.

In the context of Las Vegas this had fundamental consequences for the nature of its architecture and the way it is perceived by the car user. Being based on the service industries consumer convenience becomes central. If potential customers have nowhere to park their cars the probability of them stopping, and thus spending money, is reduced significantly. As a result argued Venturi *et al*, car parking provision tends to be in a visually prominent position in Las Vegas; on the road side. Consequently, the Las Vegas strip is characterised by buildings that are set back from the road so as to leave car parking space in front. [7] Fig.4
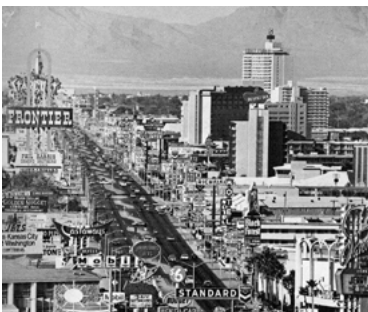
Figure 4. The LA strip: buildings set back for cars and signs.

One obvious result of this is that the buildings themselves become less dominant on the streetscape. In certain situations this may not be a major issue however, in a commercial environment this is a potentially crippling characteristic. Whether it be to play on slot machines, buy a hot dog, fill up with petrol or take a drink, the success of individual enterprises depends on them being able to both inform customers about what is on offer in their buildings and to subsequently attract them in.

[5] Banham, Reyner. Ibid. p196

[6] Jackson, J.B. 2002, How to study landscape, in *Theory in Landscape Architecture*, ed Simon Swaffield. University of Pennsylvania Press. Philadelphia. p17.

[7] Venturi, R. Scott Brown, D. Izenour S. *Ibid*. p9.

Given that the building itself is not in a position visibly prominent enough to do this, they identified that the architects of Las Vegas tend to communicate through signage that is independent of the building proper. The concept of the decorated shed thus takes on a slightly different aspect. No longer a self contained decorated box advertising its wares, it becomes a decorated box accompanied by extravagant signage placed some distance in front. The graphic sign in space is thus intrinsically linked with the city in motion.

Being a city geared towards car users Las Vegas can appear strange and at times disconcerting for a pedestrian with more European sensibilities. The strip is characterised by a lack of pedestrians, exaggerated distances between points of interest, a relative absence of public space and wide streets that are not enclosed by buildings; all characteristics that tend to mark the cities of the *old continent*. In short, as with LA, Las Vegas obeys the logic of the car.

Following this logic it is not surprising that Venturi *et al*, identified Las Vegas as a city that makes no sense when seen on foot. It is however they argued, a city that makes perfect sense when seen through the window of a moving vehicle. In a moving vehicle the sense of distance between buildings is reduced, the wide streets clearly facilitate easy traffic flow and, not being enclosed, allow clear views of potential car parking areas. The signage that lines the street no longer seems excessively extravagant or large but rather simply easy to read in a fraction of a second whilst travelling at speed. In its most basic terms, the excessively open and visually erratic nature of the city is condensed in a live, complex, fluctuating but ultimately comprehensible experience.

In order to turn this apparently chaotic city into something comprehensible the eye must be functioning in a very different register to that of the pedestrian. What one needs to do in Las Vegas is use the eye of a car driver. By identifying that in order to understand Las Vegas one must read it from the perspective of somebody in a moving vehicle Venturi *et al* brought up the question of perceptual experience, and in particular the perceptual experience of the city in motion.

In this respect they referenced the work of three Harvard University professors who some years earlier had dealt with precisely this issue; Kevin Lynch, Donald Appleyard and John Myer. In 1963 these three authors had conducted various studies into the nature of optical perception whilst driving. Their stated aim was to develop design strategies for urban planners that would help create interesting and understandable driving experiences. [8] Published in a book entitled *The View from the Road*, their studies involved describing the perceptual and mental experience of driving.

Although driving sequential they argued that it is not necessarily experienced as such. Out attention is not constant but, on the contrary, tends to be inattentive and jump between multiple stimuli that occur at random intervals and at varying speeds; the blinking of traffic lights, the passing cars and the numerous actions of pedestrians on the sidewalk for example. Attention they argued becomes focused at points of decision, it switches from the interior to the exterior, jumps from the fore to the background and centres itself on things seen straight ahead and events seen behind in both rear view and wing mirrors. In addition sound plays a part in the highly complex, fluctuating and multiple perceptual experience of driving with beeping horns,

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[8] Appleyard, D. Lynch, K. Myer, J. 1963. *The View from the Road*. Cambridge University Press. Massachusetts. p18.

pedestrian shouts and general street noise all becoming part of the perceptual menagerie of the driver. [9]

In trying to find a form of architectural representation capable of capturing this Lynch, Appleyard and Myer proposed a number of strategies. One of these was the use of film. However, the type of filming they suggested was continuous shooting with a static camera placed inside a car. The visual effect that this creates is one that captures some of the characteristics they describe but loses any sense of the dynamism they identify with the act of driving. The direction of view is static and constant and does not shift its focus in response to what happens around it.

In conjunction with static filming they also developed an abstract graphic language that was highly complex. Involving notational techniques that indicated things like sense of speed, change of viewing direction, zones of acceleration and deceleration this "graphic language" was only decipherable by the initiated and completely failed to capture the sense of dynamism that they themselves had described. They had however identified an issue that was to re-emerge in the work of Venturi *et al*; the need to develop new modes of architectural visualization to represent this new way of perceiving architecture.

In *Learning from Las Vegas* Venturi *et al* questioned whether the modes of representation used by architects when engaging with cities like LA and Las Vegas. Plans, sections and elevations they argued were not only incapable of representing the nature of experiencing cities in motion but actually distorted that experience by turning it into a series of static and isolated images. In response to the inability of these representational techniques to capture our perceptual experience they proposed the use of a technique that was still popular in the dying days of pop art; the collage.

As a design tool and means of visual communication the collage clearly breaks with the formality of the elevation, fragments the rationality of the plan and deconstructs the logic of the section. It is clearly far more representative of the live, chaotic experience of the car driver as described by Lynch, Appleyard and Myer. However, it still lacks two very important features of this perceptual phenomenon; movement and change.

In the introduction to *Learning from Las Vegas* Venturi indicates that the authors did consider making a film as part of their investigations; only financial constraints preventing its realisation. What the nature of that film would have been is of course pure speculation. However, just two years earlier Michelangelo Antonioni had released *Zabriskie Point*, a film that offered various examples of how the cinematic medium can successfully represent the perceptual dynamism identified by the authors referenced here. In *Zabriskie Point* Antonioni clearly attempts to capture the experience of the driver on celluloid.

This is seen most clearly in two scenes respectively starring the young protagonist Mark and his antithesis Lee Allen. Antonioni's first move in the construction of these scenes is to place the camera inside the car and thus to film from the driver's point of view. This means that the heads and faces of the protagonists come into shot and fragments of the seats, dash board and steering wheel are seen in the corners of the screen. He then allows reflections in the rear view mirror and on windscreen to superimpose themselves on our view of car interior and the street in front.

All of this disrupts any sense of unity to the images seen on screen and becomes the basis for a highly complex cinematographic collage. This collage is

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[9] Appleyard, D. Lynch, K. Myer, J. *Ibid*, p5.

fragmented and layered even more through the inevitable sense of movement and change to the exterior views. We are presented with a constant stream of fragmentary images of road signs, traffic lights, pedestrians, buildings and above all, advertising hoardings that run across the screen as the car moves through the city streets. Fig.5

Figure 5. The city in motion from the interior of a car.

In addition to this visually charged imagery he layers a menagerie of sounds that are both real and imaginary on top of the main dialogue inside the car; squeals from slaughtered animals, the clanking sounds of machinery in action and multiple snippets of street noise such as traffic and beeping horns and wailing sirens. The complex visual and aural effect produced by all of this is subsequently multiplied yet again through a series of additional cinematographic techniques such as the use of rapid cutting, changes of camera position, exaggerated zooms and the inevitable fuzziness produced by a moving camera. In short, Antonioni creates an exaggerated cinematic collage of a commercial city in motion.

Clearly the use of an artificial soundtrack, the employment of exaggerated zooms and the accelerated speed of the editing was never intended to simply reproduce the optical reality of the LA driving experience. It is an example of what is known as psychological editing; the use of the filmic medium to capture the psychological impression of a live experience. It is on these terms that it has to be judged and on these terms that it stands out as an excellent and evocative visual representation of our perceptual engagement with cities like LA and Las Vegas.

Produced at a time when Reyner Banham, J.B. Jackson, Kevin Lynch and Robert Venturi were all examining related themes and cities, it is a representation of our perceptual engagement with the city in motion that is far more convincing than anything produced by the architectural establishment. Out of the collective investigative of that establishment came a realisation that architects were lacking the tools necessary to investigate and represent this type of city experience.

However, the only responses to result were limited to the use of static collages, the development of abstract graphic languages and the employment of continuous filming techniques. The fact that none of these architects or urban planners saw the true possibilities of film in this sense would seem to indicate that not only did financial and perhaps technical restrictions came into play, but so to did the fact the that the medium of film was not sufficiently integrated into the architectural mindset of the time.

Had film been more fully understood one could have expected to see Venturi, Lynch and co. using it to a far greater degree than they did. Indeed, one may have expected to see a film with the cinematographic characteristics of *Zabriskie Point* coming from within the field of architecture itself. As it was, it was left to a filmmaker not an architect or urban planner to truly investigate and capture the nature of our engagement with the city in motion.

Cinema's Mapping Impulse and the City

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In recent years, the idea of "mapping" has become the object of much critical attention, gradually turning into a fashionable notion that found its way well beyond the field of cartography. Responding to a general and widely acknowledged "spatial turn" in the social sciences and the humanities, this interest has both focused on the map as a meaningful artefact and on the process of mapping itself. The latter is understood to cover much more than the conventional techniques and operations deployed in order to produce traditional cartographic objects. In this new critical context, *mapping* can therefore refer to a multitude of processes, from the cognitive operations implied in the structuring of any kind of spatial knowledge to the discursive implications of a particular visual regime.

Drawing on these general assumptions, I would like to suggest that cinema's approach to urban space has been closely informed by what could be called a *mapping impulse*. The latter is an expression I retain from art historian Svetlana Alpers. In her book *The Art of Describing* (Alpers 1983), an exploration of seventeenth century Dutch visual culture, the author convincingly argues for a connection between painting and the techniques of cartography that she addresses under the general designation of a "mapping impulse". According to Alpers, maps were the model for this particular visual tradition, which favoured description and emphasised the image's flat surface. Martin Jay subsequently proposed that this "art of describing" corresponded to a "scopic regime of modernity", i.e. an historical mode of visuality (Jay 1988). Moreover, the late John Brian Harley, a renowned historian of cartography, also observed that:

> There has probably always been a mapping impulse in human consciousness, and the mapping experience - involving the cognitive mapping of space- undoubtedly existed long before the physical artefacts we now call maps. For many centuries maps have been employed as literary metaphors and tools in analogical thinking. There is thus also a wider history of how concepts and facts about space have been communicated, and the history of the map itself – the physical artefact – is but one small part of this general history of communication about space (Harley, 1987: 1).

Understood in such a way, the mapping impulse is less about the presence of maps in a certain visual landscape and more about the processes that underlie the very conception of images. If we understand maps to be "graphic representations that facilitate a spatial understanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes, or events in the human world" (Harley and Woodward 1987: XVI), our focus shifts from object ("maps") to function: "spatial understanding". Within this context, the coupling of eye and instrument that distinguishes cartography's observation of space seems not so distant from the one that determines cinema's careful coding and scaling of the world.

Using very different examples from distinct periods in film history, I will try to illustrate three of the several formal strategies that distinguish this mapping impulse. The first is a certain topographic fascination, if not a real *topophilia*, in the sense of "love of place". This feature covers different manifestations, either related to the politics or to the poetics of space: examples are many, from early cinema to contemporary works. Such a topographic appeal often goes hand in hand with a second formal procedure: the seemingly *descriptive*

motivation of the works in question, made evident by such camera movements as the panning shot or the travelling. This idea will take us to the ancient notion of "chorography", the description of the visible features of single parts of the earth. Finally, a third formal strategy would be *drifting*, or walking as an artistic practice. Again, such a method can take different forms and cover various agendas, from those of the modern *flâneur* (and *flâneuse*) to the post-modern (and post-situationist) wanderer. Both *serialization* - "maps only exist in the context of a series, of a collective production spaced out in time" (Jacob 1994: 465) - and *layering* - in the sense of establishing connections and producing meaningful relationships (Curnow 1999) - should also be mentioned as possible clues for the development of this study.

"Topophilia", or the love of place.

The term topophilia *couples sentiment with place*.
Tuan 1974: 113

The famous opening sequence of Woody Allen's *Manhattan* (1979) remains one of the filmmaker's most accomplished love declarations to his home city. As a black screen cuts to a series of shots of the city's unique skyline, we hear Gershwin's "Rhapsody in Blue". More Manhattan shots follow: the skyline at dawn, the Empire State Building, parking lots, crowded streets, Brooklyn Bridge, Central Park in the snow, etc (**Fig. 1**).

Figure 1. A view of New York in Woody Allen's *Manhattan* **(1979).**

We start hearing Ike's voice (Woody Allen), as if reading aloud: "Chapter One. He adored New York City. He idolized it all out of proportion". Ike goes on reading, hesitating about the way to go about what clearly sounds like the beginning of a book, his book. As he goes on reciting, we see more of the island of Manhattan: shots of women strolling down the Fifth Avenue, of men drilling the streets, of ferries approaching the port, etc. The images respond to Ike's words, not because they illustrate them, but because they allude to the same heartfelt attachment to place at the origin of Ike's writing / Allen's filming. As we listen to Ike saying "New York was his town. And it would always be", Gershwin's song loudly returns to fill the screen. The sequence ends with a view of Manhattan skyline at night, firecrackers flashing against the dark sky.

Watching Woody Allen's *Manhattan* one is struck by his discrete sensibility to the natural and artificial features of the island. The initial sequence of the film constitutes a detailed description of these features, a cinematic topography of Allen's Manhattan providing the cue for the emotional mapping that ensues. Such an exploration brings to mind the notion of "topophilia". Coined by Chinese-American geographer Yi-Fu Tuan in his 1974 epochal study of environmental perception, the term addresses "all of the human being's affective ties with the material environment" (Tuan 1974: 93). These can be very different in nature and intensity, as Tuan himself explains: "the response to the environment may be primarily aesthetic: it may then vary from the fleeting pleasure one gets from a view to the equally fleeting but far more intense sense of beauty that is suddenly revealed" (Tuan 1974: 93). Giuliana Bruno has recently used the term in her *Atlas of Emotion*, giving it a new twist. The notion, which is central to the author's argument, is used in order "to describe that form of cinematic discourse that exposes the labour of intimate geography". Moreover, Bruno argues that "such work is driven by a passion for mapping that is itself topophilically routed" (Bruno

2002: 354). Woody Allen's *Manhattan* corresponds in many ways to this labour of an intimate geography, closely articulated to the narrative development, as if the feeling of place was a commanding principle.

Observing that such heartfelt attachments to place constitute a distinctive trait of many city films is certainly not an original claim. However, the consideration of urban filmscapes in terms of mental geographies and emotional mappings allows us to reconsider the relations between cinema and place. If the term "topophilia" doesn't cover all the implications of urban film's topographic fascination, it can nonetheless offer a way of addressing cinema's fascination and sustained commitment to exploring the specificities of place. One can only hope that further theoretical investigations are able to turn the term "topophilia" into a fully operative notion, allowing us to address such different examples as early-cinema travelogues or contemporary art objects.

Cinematographic urban portraits: the art of describing.

During the 1920s, the same city to which Woody Allen was later to pay a poignant tribute was already a thriving metropolis, attracting millions of African-Americans and immigrants from all over the world. Lured by its flourishing economy, many of them were to found employment in the construction industry: New York's skyline in particular was changing quickly, high-rise buildings competing with one another for the title of tallest skyscraper in town. A number of short documentary films recorded the transformations taking place, while simultaneously portraying the hectic life of a modern industrial city. Such is the case of *Twenty-Four Dollar Island*, shot in 1926 by American filmmaker Robert Flaherty. The film's title alludes to the Dutch purchase of Manhattan in 1624: the film begins with several old maps, of which one, depicting the new-founded colony of New Amsterdam, will dissolve into a modern aerial view of the island (**Figs. 2 and 3**).
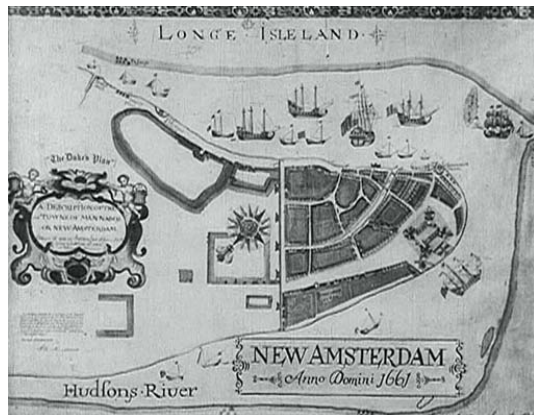
Figures 2 and 3. The map of New Amsterdam dissolves into a modern aerial view of Manhattan in *Twenty-Four Dollar Island* (Robert Flaherty, 1926).

In Flaherty's own words, *Twenty-Four Dollar Island* is "a picture story of the most dynamic city the world has ever seen" (Flaherty 1927). In his effort to depict the New York, Flaherty chose high vantage points and a long-focus lens, assembling many extraordinary views from the countless ongoing construction works. We see the city's busy docks, Brooklyn Bridge, clouds of smoke and jutting skyscrapers: this is a film "in which New York is the central character – not a picture in which individuals are portrayed" (Flaherty 1927).

Nor a travelogue, nor an articulate avant-garde experiment, Flaherty's picture obeys nonetheless to a recognizable structure, typical of what could best be defined as a form of cinematographic urban portrait. Among such filmic portrayals of urban space one can include a wide variety of works, ranging from the archival-like compilation of picturesque views in a city (tourist films remaining the best example of this accumulation of views) to the calculated experiments aiming to recreate the wealth of urban sensorial experiences (among which one can count the so-called "urban symphonies", such as Ruttmann's *Berlin, Symphony of a City* [1927] or Vertov's *Man with a Movie Camera* [1929]). Their common trait is their will to *portray* the city as an autonomous and recognizable entity: their different visual and rhetorical strategies shouldn't put us off this primary objective.

The notion of "portrait" as a *description* of something – in this case, urban space – seems to me to be particularly interesting. Much in the manner of the Dutch scopic regime mentioned before, the idea of "description" can refer to the presentation of objects, processes or events in a straightforward manner, revealing sometimes a real love of enumeration, illustrated in many travelogues by a succession of shots of emblematic places in a city (description can also refer to a more complex and paradoxical process). By putting an emphasis on description, the notion of a "cinematographic urban portrait" allows us to inscribe what looks like a heterogeneous production of films in the distant continuity of a particular visual tradition: sixteenth century town portraits. As a matter of fact, the idea of "portrait" refers to an old geographical and figurative problem: how to describe by visual means the scene of the world?

During the Renaissance, and following the discovery of Ptolemy's geographical texts, painted town portraits were associated to *chorography*, i.e. the study of regional geography. The question of chorography refers both to a problem of scale and to an image problem. As Lucia Nutti has rightly observed, chorography was the work of painters, not geographers, a matter of "pictorial and sensual knowledge" (Nutti 1999: 91). In addition to this, town portraits of the time evince the ambition to achieve a total view the city. In their quest for a totalising vision of the town, "a film-style iconography was developed (…), by combining different techniques of observation from life" ((Nutti 1999: 102), among which Nutti counts panoramas and the assemblage of "photogrammatic shots". In the long history of communication about urban space, chorographic painting is perhaps an interesting entry point for the consideration of the city in film. In this sense, both Flaherty's *Twenty-Four Dollar Island* and Allen's *Manhattan* can be reassessed as 20th century relatives of chorographic town portraits.

City mapscapes: urban wanderers and aerial views.

> *The ordinary practitioners of the city … are walkers… whose bodies follow the thicks and*
> *thins of an urban "text" they write without being able to read it.*
> De Certeau 1984: 93

The practice of *flânerie* is nowadays consensually considered to be related to cinema and to its constitution of a mobilized gaze (Friedberg 1993). While I am not so concerned here with the historical figure of the *flâneur* (and of the *flâneuse*) and with its manifold filmic incarnations, the link between this typically urban phenomenon and the filmic city should not be forgotten. Instead of focusing on *flânerie*, I would rather explore another historical example of drifting: the situationist *dérive*. According to the definitions issued by the *Internationale Situationniste*, *dérive* is "an experimental mode of behaviour linked to the conditions of urban society: a technique for hastily passing through varied environments". The practice is based on the notion of "psychogeography", the study of the specific effects of

the geographical environment, consciously organised or not, on the emotions and behaviour of individuals. As Guy Debord further noted on his "Theory of the dérive", the exercise is "quite different from the classic notions of journey and stroll" (Debord 1981: 53) – as it is from *flânerie* (McDonough 1994).

Dérive-driven psychogeography provides us with a compelling illustration of walking as an urban-oriented artistic practice and critical tool. As recent critical readings have made clear, the *dérive* and the original conception of space that ensues extensively draw on the French geographic tradition and on the project of a "renovated cartography" (McDonough 1994; Vidler 2006). As Debord writes in his 1955 "Introduction to a Critique of Urban Geography":

> The production of psychogeographic maps, or even the introduction of alterations such as more or less arbitrarily transposing maps of two different regions, can contribute to clarifying certain wanderings that express not subordination to randomness but complete insubordination to habitual influences (influences generally categorized as tourism that popular drug as repugnant as sports or buying on credit). [Debord 1981: 7].

Debord's last film, *In girum imus nocte et consumimur igni* (1978), takes on many of these issues. Combining static images and various movie clips with an autobiographical text, a significant part of the film consists on a poignant meditation by Debord on his own life and times. After an initial section where the author criticises and condemns "traditional cinema", he observes that: "considering the story of my life, it is obvious to me that I cannot produce a cinematic work in the usual sense of the term. I think the substance and form of the present communication will convince anyone that this is so". Debord goes on to evoke his early years in Saint-Germain-des-Près, saying that the city of Paris was at that time "so beautiful that many people preferred to be poor there rather than rich anywhere else" [*C'était à Paris, une ville qui était alors si belle que bien des gens ont préféré y être pauvres, plutôt que riches n'importe où ailleurs*]. He adds, as the camera pans across some aerial photographs of the city: "Who, now that nothing of it remains, will be able to understand this, apart from those who remember its glory? Who else could know the pleasures and exhaustions we experienced in these neighbourhoods where everything has now become so dismal?" [*Qui pourrait, à présent qu'il n'en reste rien, comprendre cela; hormis ceux qui se souviennent de cette gloire? Qui d'autre pourrait savoir les fatigues et les plaisirs que nous avons connus dans ces lieux où tout est devenu si mauvais?*]. Bearing this sequence in mind, I would like to focus on Debord's choice of aerial views as a means of penetrating the urban environment. This choice seems to be linked in some way to the situationist practice of *dérive* and to the mapping of urban space entailed by psychogeography (**Fig. 4**).

Figure 4. Aerial view from Paris, in Guy Debord's *In girum imus nocte et consumimur igni* (1978).

Why did Debord choose aerial images? To look from above was for many centuries the prerogative of gods and monarchs; during the 20th century, and partly because of the simultaneous development of both image and flight technologies, aerial imagery came to epitomize the abstract, documentary look of cartography. Obviously, bird's eye views and aerial photographs are not, strictly speaking,

conventional maps; but they share with them a number of important traits, among which the graphic deployment of a spatial understanding of the world. Because aerial photography was a mechanical image meant to be exact, it was from its beginnings quickly envisaged as a new means to represent the earth. After its development during the First World War, when it was meant to provide coverage and detail, aerial imagery was cherished by the different avant-gardes as a means to both disrupt and renew one's vision of the world. The role of aerial images in 20th century visual culture is both complex and paradoxical: to someone of Debord's generation, they certainly evoke the war experience and the vision of aerial bombers. But Debord was also an attentive reader of Paul-Henry Chombart de Lauwe, a French geographer who advocated the use of aerial photography and who believed to have found in it the means for accessing a certain knowledge about urban-social space.

In Debord's film, the frequent aerial views constitute "still lives of a city suspended in time" (Vidler 2006: 29). But they also participate of a visual and conceptual strategy that addresses within the film the multiple issues entailed by the situationist questioning of urban environment and the city. The overview appears in the film as the cinematic counterpart of the *dérive*, suggesting a dialectics between the act of seeing and surveying the earth from above – intensified by the camera movements across the image - and experiencing it by walking. This dialectics is certainly evocative of cartographic methods; moreover, in *In girum imus nocte* the panned shots of aerial views coexist with filmed maps, both topographic and collaged, as well as with personal photographs and news shots of demonstrations. All these documents are part of a scaling strategy, constantly moving from the vertical, synoptic view of the aerial image to fragmented details, whose final goal is to "map" its object. However, more than "mapping" Paris, Debord is perhaps cinematographically mapping himself. In that, he echoes Walter Benjamin, who confessed in his "A Berlin Chronicle", "I have long, indeed, for years, played with the idea of setting out the sphere of life – bios – graphically on a map" (Benjamin 1979: 314).

Conclusion

As a way of concluding, I would like to recall Harley's comment on the "mapping impulse". According to the author, the physical artefact we call map is but a small part of a wider history, that of *mapping*, i.e. communicating about space. Reading Harley, one is tempted to ask how urban "screenscapes" fit into this general history. If the notion of a "mapping impulse" can constitute a starting point for such a questioning, it seems evident that the idea needs to be further explored. The arguments roughly sketched above intend to be a modest contribution to this ongoing debate.

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Third Meshchanskaia and *The Goddess*:
Gendered Space in Cinematic Modernity

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A woman must have money and a room of her own if she is to write fiction.

—Virginia Woolf (1957: 4), *A Room of One's Own*

If the dancer must know her center before she can move in space, if journey means an absence from a starting point, if one's own body is the measure of the restricted space necessary to imagining 'the great space' where one can lodge the universe, then this parable, I believe, points the way to the female discovery of felicitous space.

—Judith Fryer (1986: 50), *Felicitous Space*

Beginning with Virginia Woolf's essay *A Room of One's Own*, much has been written about the need of women in patriarchal society for what Judith Fryer (1986: 50) calls 'felicitous space'. Writers' interweavement of women and space illuminates the intricate relationship between space and gender relations: space is not merely a backdrop; it is a material reality and articulation of the female experience and can be read as text. Cinematic representation of space is a powerful and provocative means by which the woman question can be put forward visually and spatially. Early cinema, as a new visual medium born in modernity, provides unprecedented visual possibilities of representing city space, urban culture and social relations engendered by it.

  Early cinema itself is a poetics of space that opens up new possibilities of presencing. Gaston Bachelard (1969) sees space as a poetic, subjective, sensual and tactile experience of the phenomenological subject. Cinema itself is in fact a visual and spatial experience which, like the poetics of space, constitutes new subjectivities and subjects. Cinema defamiliarizes and visualizes movement and space on a two-dimensional screen that nonetheless appears three-dimensional to the perceiving subject, who, as Hugo Münsterburg (1916: 24, 74) describes, actively translates 'the forms of the outer world, namely, space, time, and causality' to 'forms of the inner world, namely, attention, memory, imagination and emotion'. Walter Benjamin (2002: 111), commenting on the new visual medium, argues that cinema generates estrangement, self-alienation and possibilities of identification and allows workers to reclaim and 'assert humanity against the apparatus' after long hours of mechanical work in factories. Early cinema's capacity of opening up another dimension of space generates possibilities of engaging the new urban subject—a visual and spatial possibility that is impossible in any other cultural productions such as literature and theater.

  Early cinema, as a poetics of space, engenders the female subject and subjectivity as the touchstone of city life and the project of modernization. Victorian London and Paris were named as the 'cesspool city' and the city of pleasure where woman, as 'the Sphinx in the city', as Elizabeth Wilson (1992: 9) describes, was seen to be 'an irruption in the city, a symptom of disorder, and a problem'. How is the figure of woman, as the locus of the plight of modernization and city life, depicted in cinema of belated modernities where the emergence of the filmic medium coincided with revolution and modernization that called for the emancipation of women? I have chosen the Soviet silent film *Third Meshchanskaia* [*Tretia Meshchanskaia*] (also known as *Bed and Sofa*) (1927) and the Chinese silent film *The*

Goddess [*Shennü*] (1934) to analyze how the two early silent films experiment with social realism and spatial representation to articulate the female experience in modernity. Contrary to what some scholars have argued, *Third Meshchanskaia* and the *The Goddess* are not maternal melodramas that accommodate the patriarchal status quo, but are two of the earliest feminist films in early cinema. Both films develop a sophisticated film language and craft a gendered space that extends beyond the diegetic world in cinematic modernity, thereby engendering subjectivities and possibilities of identification in what Miriam Hansen (2000: 342) describes as the 'sensory reflexive horizon'—an alternative public sphere that 'engaged the contradictions of modernity at the level of the senses'. If, as Zhen Zhang (2001) suggests, early cinema is not an aesthetic style but an 'emblem of multiple modernities', especially women's place in modernity, juxtaposing *Third Meshchanskaia* and *The Goddess* sheds light on how female destiny was envisioned in two early cinematic regimes that were deeply invested in defining the social, not only aesthetic, function of cinema in modernity before the advent of socialist realism.

The woman question

The woman question was explicitly put forward in the project of revolution and modernization in Russia and China in the early twentieth century. One of the most ambitious goals of the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 was the emancipation of women, which was unprecedented in world history at the time. In the Chinese discourse of revolution and modernization during the New Culture Movement, Hu Shih put forward the woman question [*funü wenti*] in 1918 and evoked the Western image of the emancipated woman in order to overthrow four thousand years of Confucian tradition deemed cannibalistic by the Chinese writer Lu Xun. Hu looked to Europe and the United States for examples of the New Woman, which was translated as *xin nüxing* or *xin funü*. However, despite the call for emancipation, the woman question remained unsolved in Russia and China throughout the 1920s and 1930s and the modernizing cities of Moscow and Shanghai became the locus of women's plight and social contradictions generated by modernization and early capitalism.

In responding to the woman question, directors Abram Room and Wu Yongang experiment with social realism and put forward social critique by spatializing gender politics with the filmic medium. *Third Meshchanskaia* (1927), set in post-revolutionary NEP (New Economic Policy) years in Soviet Russia, is a wife-swapping comedy of a runaway pregnant woman. The film depicts the domestic space of a married couple Kolya and Lyudmila and its infiltration by Kolya's old comrade in the Red army, Volodya, who, having arrived in Moscow to work as a printer, is invited by Kolya to sleep on the sofa. Volodya and Lyudmila subsequently commit infidelity and Lyudmila becomes pregnant, not knowing which of the men is the father. The comedy ensues with the strengthening of the masculine bond between Kolya and Volodya and the marginalization of the pregnant Lyudmila who in the end runs away from home. *The Goddess* (1934), set in Republican China, is a melodrama about the unconditional love of a sacrificing mother-prostitute played by Ruan Lingyu. The film depicts the domestic space of Ruan and its infiltration by a gangster who, having gambled away all her money, is murdered by Ruan on the verge of nervous breakdown. Ruan in the end is jailed in prison, and her son was taken care of by the headmaster as the surrogate father. In spatializing gender politics, both films not only juxtapose domestic space and the city space of Moscow and Shanghai, but also develop a filmic language that does not so much suture the audience into a male subject position but opens up possibilities for identification with the female heroines.

Women in the city: absence and veiled existence

Mark Wigley (1992: 350) suggests that 'place is not simply a mechanism for controlling sexuality. Rather, it is the control of sexuality by systems of representation that produces space'. Space, instead of being a pre-existing *a priori* or a backdrop, is produced and engendered by social relations as *a posteriori* and therefore can be read as a text with gender inscriptions. In *Third Meshchanskaia* and the *The Goddess*, gender roles are inscribed in the modernizing cities of Moscow and Shanghai where few places are reserved for female sensibility. The directors' self conscious cameras defamiliarize city space to engender a new consciousness of gender politics in city space.

Moscow, once a feminine city depicted by Tolstoy as mother of Russia in *War and Peace*, is instead associated with masculinity, machine wheels and architectural grandeur from which the domestically confined Lyudmila is excluded. Wilson (1992: 5, 7-8) describes the urban consciousness as a male consciousness: 'the city is "masculine" in its triumphal scale, its towers and vistas and arid industrial regions'. In *Third Meshchanskaia*, the urban scene of Moscow is always shot in daylight in the male point of view to instill a sense of vibrancy and grandeur. Volodya, a character frequently associated with movement, is first depicted by a point-of-view shot as a traveler leaning out of the window and looking at the rail of the speeding train. The chauvinist Kolya, also depicted by a point-of-view shot, enjoys the panoramic view of the city as he sits high above the Bolshoi Theatre in front of a statue with his head leaning against the phallus of that statue, as if the whole of Moscow is under his feet and his phallic power. The camera's fascination with city space to which Lyudmila is excluded sets up a male consciousness that is in the end subverted by Lyudmila's runaway.

In *The Goddess*, Shanghai, a city of prostitution, is the locus of Ruan's plight. Shanghai, as Yingjin Zhang (1994: 620) describes, is a 'masculine city', 'with only a few places that are temporarily reserved for the feminine or feminized sensibility'. Ruan's existence in Shanghai nightlife is illegitimate, fleeting, fugitive and anonymous, best visualized by a series of montage that enmesh Ruan, the floating traffic, shining towers and sea of people. Wilson's (1992: 16) sentence best encapsulates prostitutes' veiled existence in the city: 'to live in it, but hidden; to emerge on sufferance, veiled'. Ruan's veiled and hidden existence in Shanghai nightlife is visualized by the self-conscious camera that frames her anonymous body parts in subtle spatial language. Two camera shots are particularly remarkable in defamiliarizing Ruan's anonymous existence. The first shot, shooting vertically from above, frames Ruan walking with a man: what appears on the screen are two anonymous heads viewed from above. The second shot frames the feet of Ruan and a man walking side by side. These two shots of the anonymous heads and feet are not the camera's voyeuristic gaze that functions as 'society's displaced desire' as Rey Chow (1995: 24) suggests, they are instead estranged visions that defamiliarize Ruan's fleeting and concealed existence, making spectators look at her illegitimate existence anew with sensitivity. Wu's camera, with an estranged vision, depicts Ruan as but one of many anonymous prostitutes selling their bodies, demanding spectators to fill in the gap and acknowledge the tragic stories behind each of those unacknowledged existences.

Women in domestic space: marginalized existence

Room and Wu engender a spatial language that not only defamiliarizes the absence and veiled existence of women in city space, but also generates new ways of seeing the female body, its gesture and movement as the measure of space and the lack thereof, thereby raising awareness of the need for felicitous space for the female subject. Fryer (1986: 50) suggests that 'women

has been unable to move. She has been denied, in our culture, the possibility of dialectical movement between private spaces and open spaces […]'. In *Third Meshchanskaia* and *The Goddess*, Lyudmila and Ruan are both denied movement in the real sense of the word. Woolf (1929: 24) speaks of '[…] how unpleasant it is to be locked out; and I thought how it is worse perhaps to be locked in […]'. Lyudmila and Ruan are both 'locked in': Lyudmila's house becomes a doll's house whereas Ruan's house becomes a gangster's property. The frequent use of close-up accentuates the heroines' facial expression and body language and engenders female subjectivity which the audience identifies with.

Lyudmila is 'locked in' and marginalized by the masculine bond between Kolya and Volodya. Lyudmila is marginalized to the corner as Kolya and Volodya play chess in the sitting room, completely ignoring her. At this point, spatial representation in the film comically implies that the marriage between Kolya and Lyudmila is replaced by a 'marriage' between Kolya and Volodya. Marginalization of Lyudmila is visualized by a montage that enmeshes Lyudmila's face in close-up with the kitchen curtain when Lyudmila overhears the men's talk. Light and shadow projected onto Lyudmila's face also function as a disclosure of her subjectivity and invites the audience to reflect upon her inner conflicts.

bell hooks (1990: 42, 3) describes home place as site of recovery, healing and resistance where black women strive to be subjects, not objects. In *The Goddess*, the domestic space of Ruan, as a site of healing and recovery, is invaded by a gangster who penetrates every single corner of the apartment. The gangster's evil oppression is vividly visualized by a close-up of his giant legs standing apart, framing the oppressed Ruan and her child kneeling on the floor. Ruan's illegitimate occupation literally means 'selling smile' [*maixiao*] in Chinese. Ironically, behind Ruan's smile for sale is a bitter smile that is repeatedly framed in close-up throughout the film, signifying her lack of an emotional outlet and aligning spectators to identify with her misfortune. With a subtle spatial language and the use of close-up, Room's and Wu's cameras sympathetically depict the heroines' lack of 'a room of one's own' in both material and emotional terms.

Gendered space in cinematic modernity

The filmic and spatial language of the two films create a gendered space of cinematic modernity that extends beyond the diegetic world, and engender a discursive space where the woman question can be dwelled upon by various urban subjects. The ending scenes of the two films, rather than succumbing to the patriarchal status quo as some scholars argue, exploratively and provocatively pose the woman question to the film watching public. Both Lyudmila and Ruan resist victimization and transgress boundaries: Lyudmila leaves home during her pregnancy whereas Ruan kills the gangster on the verge of nervous breakdown. Judith Mayne (1989: 125) sees Lyudmila's runaway as nonetheless a resort to motherhood: 'to the obvious question of how women's legal and social autonomy is to be achieved, *Bed and Sofa* puts forth a rather pat answer: motherhood'. Yingjin Zhang (1999: 168) argues that *The Goddess* participates in a male discourse on prostitution: 'the woman of ill repute is safely locked behind bars, though she is still seen pacing uneasily like a "caged animal," and that she willingly erases herself—and her motherhood—from the male narrative'. I would argue that the apparent conservative resolutions are the results of censorship. In *Third Meshchanskaia*, Lyudmila's decision to raise the child responded to the alarming abortion statistics in Moscow at the time. In Moscow there were eighty-seven abortions per hundred births in 1926 and by the late 1920s, abortions were outnumbering births in many cities (Farnsworth 1977; Goldman 1991: 263). Although abortion was legalized in 1920, it was a necessary evil that was not to be encouraged. Director Room and scriptwriter Viktor Shklovsky possibly worked within such a confinement (Shklovsky 1985: 62). On the other

hand, Wu's social and economic concern for the fallen women was virtually unrepresentable on Shanghai screen under the growing film censorship of the Nanjing government's Central Propaganda Committee. I would suggest that the achievement of the two early feminist films lies in the way filmic signification bypasses censorship and leaves room for social critique by creating a gendered space in cinematic modernity that extends beyond the diegetic world.

The ending scene of *Third Meshchanskaia*, with a point-of-view shot, depicts Lyudmila leaning out of the window and looking at the rail of the speeding train, and the scene forms a parallel to the opening scene when Volodya is also depicted in the same manner. It can be said that Lyudmila's position and that of the men's are reversed. Kolya and Volodya are depicted as two scoundrels, one on the bed and the other on the sofa, in a 'restored' domestic order whereas Lyudmila is finally depicted in movement that has been denied to her throughout the film. Yet, one wonders where the train goes: Lyudmila's destiny is beyond the diegesis. The final shot of the film lures spectators to identify with Lyudmila in a moment of awakening and in a 'dream of the present' that sustains itself in perpetual movement, visualized by the speeding train, to a destiny that is beyond the diegesis—that is precisely why the final shot of the film directs our gaze to the open sky. For Room, the task of a director is 'not to solve, but only to sharpen, not to instruct, but only to denude and pose that theme for the audience to discuss' (Hill 1971: 18). The camera's directing of our gaze to the open sky opens up a discursive space beyond the diegesis and invites spectators to reflect upon female destiny.

The Goddess ends with Ruan sitting in the prison cell in frontal medium close up facing the camera. Through double exposure, Ruan's hope is projected to an imagined space where her son smiles. As William Rothman (1993: 69) suggests, we are 'envisioning her envisioning her son'. What is notable about the final shot is the opening up of an imagined space beyond the diegesis. The final shot where Ruan faces the camera is an invitation for the audience to step into the filmic world to judge. In fact, Ruan becomes the embodiment of women's suffering and the role she plays extends beyond the diegetic world and mediates the mass experience of modernity. In 1935, Ruan, living the role she played in *The New Woman* [*xin nüxing*] (1934), committed suicide after the making of the film, and a few of her female fans followed suit. Christine Harris (1997: 293) writes, 'the studio and press coverage of the funeral accentuated the circle of correspondences between the star's personal life and her roles […]. But now the audience, as mourners, became actors in this public theater staged by the same studio that had produced the film'. The iconic image of Ruan as the victimized new woman illuminates how cinema became a mass mediated experience of modernity—and especially female experience of modernity.

It is remarkable that *Third Meshchanskaia* and *The Goddess*, as products of social realism in the early project of modernization, develop a sophisticated filmic and spatial language to engage the new urban subject in a gendered space of cinematic modernity. Rather than offering simple solutions to social ills, both films engender female subjectivity and pose the woman question for the spectators to reflect upon. Film watching, as a visual and spatial experience, points to the discovery of felicitous space for the female subject.

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Modernity and Colonized Otherness:
Early Actuality Films of Exhibitions in London

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The striking cultural diversity displayed on the streets of late-Victorian London, in its theatres and exhibitions, must have impressed Alexandre Promio on his first visit to Britain. The Lumière cameraman was fascinated by the streets of London, and filmed the exotic folklore of London's artists and buskers. *Nègres dansant dans la rue* ("Negro Street Dancers") was filmed in 1896 and represents black and white minstrels dancing and playing musical instruments in Rupert Street. *Danseuses des rues* ("London Street Dancers") was filmed on the same year in Drury Lane: three foreign girls dance accompanied by an organ grinder as they are watched by a group of men and boys. The impact of imperialism and cultural otherness on London's urban landscape emerges from these films and, as Driver and Gilbert suggest, "it encourages us to consider the ways in which the experience of modernity in Europe reflected or represented the European encounter with the world beyond" (1998: 13). As a product of the forces of Victorian capitalism, early cinematography contributed to what Antoinette Burton defines as a refiguration of metropolitan culture enforced by commodity capitalism for the display of imperial culture (1996: 128). Between 1815 and 1914 the direct British colonial dominiom expanded considerably and influenced the geographical imagery of the British people. Through a discussion on the role of cartography in forging spatial imagination, Denis Cosgrove has argued that during the last years of the nineteenth century, the global imagination of many Westerners had been dominated by a pervasive sense that spatial limitis had been reached, for technological inventions had brought geographically distant regions into regular contact. Cosgrove has also explained how the conception of world as exhibition, which had found its expression in the nineteenth century in the colonial exhibition or World's Fair, has also been fundamental to a modern Western geographical imagination. Modernity and *pastness*, Cosgrove continues, offer a binary opposition which defines the British consciousness of modernity itself (2001: 220-224). The categories of the modern were perceived as belonging to Britain and its colonial explorers, who brought into the country the 'others', in the form of people, things, photographs and moving pictures. On the other hand, as Peter Hansen suggests, the colonized people and their cultures were perceived as non-modern, ancient, primitive, traditional and superstitious. In urban settings like the Crystal Palace, imperial exhibitions displayed peoples, animals, places, cultures and products, and were both underpinned by a celebration of technological modernity offered by new constructional, industrial, communication and transport technologies (2001: 186). As Thomas Richards suggests, late Victorian Britain accumulated knowledge in cultural and scientific fields which was enlisted into the service of the empire and led to the consolidation of a corpus of global knowledge and power (1993: 73-77). The exhibitionary project was a fundamental part of imperial knowledge as it aimed at containing the world as exhibition. Films of the exhibitions, such as those made by G. A. Smith and John Benett-Stanford in 1899 at the Greater Britain Exhibition in Earl's Court, documented imperialism as the dominant ideology and exemplified ethnocentrism as the belief which influenced cinematography and which was represented in early films in different forms.[1] In this

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[1] These are the titles of films made by G. A. Smith and John Benett-Stanford: *Kaffirs and Zulus on the Warpath*, *Savage South Africa at Earl's Court*, a series including "Acrobatic Piccaninnies", "Piccaninnies and Lion Cubs",

presentation, I will look at the imperial determination of London's urban space and the relation between cinema and urban motifs of display, through a discussion of figurative representations of imperialist movement to and throughout the Empire.

Exhibition and film practices at the heart of the Empire. Two case studies: the London Zoo and the Crystal Palace

On the 17 May 1900, Queen Victoria laid the foundation stone to the left of the main entrance of the new Aston Webb building at the South Kensington Museum, and it was during this ceremony that the name of the museum was changed to Victoria and Albert Museum. This event, which was destined to be Queen Victoria's last official public appearance, was filmed by both the Warwick Trading Company (*Her Majesty the Queen Arriving at South Kensington on the Occasion of the Laying of The Foundation Stone of The Victoria And Albert Museum*) and Biograph Syndicate. These films have not survived and their loss is particularly unfortunate as they represented a place which was key to the imperialist idea of the world as an exhibiton. Tony Bennett (1995) has discussed the emergence of the role of museum in the formation of the bourgeois public sphere, and as a vehicle for the fulfilment of the empire's educative and moral rule. Bennett has argued that the central message of the Victoria and Albert Museum was to materialize the power of the ruling classes in the interest of promoting a general acceptance of ruling-class cultural authority:

> To visit institutions like the Victoria and Albert is, accordingly, to experience and witness the power of the ruling culture, a power which manifests itself precisely through its ability to exclude everything which, through its exclusion, is defined as other and subordinate (1995: 118).

Early actuality films such as those representing the Victoria and Albert Museum were also aimed at the fulfilment of the imperial message, and the association between film and permanent or temporary exhibitions was embodied in the imperial educative rule.

Timothy Mitchell suggests that modern ways of seeing the world were exemplified by the growth of museums and exhibitions throughout the nineteenth century, and by a political exploitation of these sites which was aimed at displaying national, cultural and racial differences (1991). Exhibitionary representation, Mitchell argues, was strictly bound to ideas of improvement and progress, and also a reflection and a production of that sense of scientific and political certainty which rendered "history, progress, culture and empire in objective form" (1991: 2-19, 160). Exhibitions enabled Europeans to apprehend and 'colonize' reality by offering an ordered, domesticated and organized experience of the world as though it was a picture. Victorian Britain saw the emergence of a modern culture of exploration which, as Felix Driver suggests, was related to empirical and geographical knowledge and required a wide range of material and imaginative resources (2001). The display of 'newly-discovered' worlds in London's exhibitions and museums contributed, as Driver argues, to the development of an imperial scientific project, and provided a great volume of information to the metropolitan experience of the empire by representing the identities of the colonized and the colonizer and the boundaries which defined them. Travel photography and painting, catalogues and guidebooks all contributed to the determination of the imperial theme, and so did early cinematography. Opening ceremonies of temporary exhibitions were a common subject for early actuality films: in 1907, for example, two actuality films representing the South African Exhibition were produced by the Warwick Trading Company and Walturdaw.

"Taming a Lion", "Parades of the Apes", "Boers Hunting Zebras and Wild Beasts", "The Somersault Ape", "Captain Taylor and His Trained Cinnamon Bear", "Savages attacking the Square".

The work of pioneer filmmakers representing exhibitions reflected the emergence of an imperial culture of exploration and display, and resulted in a visual mapping of the heart of the empire.

Films and exhibitions were also born out of the movements of modernity, both in terms of technological progress and transculturation. As Donald Lowe argues, during the nineteenth century the perception of time, space and distance was changed by the developments in transport and communication technologies (1982: 35-38). The western rail network and the application of steam-engine in ships made long-distance journeys more affordable, and enabled the middle-class to traverse the world and encounter distant cultures. During the second part of the century, photography made it possible for the growing number of travellers to bring home images of exotic realities. Along with photographs, collectors brought back to Britain objects, beasts, and even individuals which were spectacularly displayed by institutions and trustees in purpose-built galleries, museums and exhibition palaces. Those who were unable to travel to remote destination could admire the British Empire's possessions in London or at the cinematograph. Nineteenth-century visual traditions, such as photography or lantern-slide lectures, displayed scenic views of exotic countries, and were carried over into film in the form of panorama or travelogue films (Mackenzie, 1986: 72-73). Cinematography partially replaced photography and the magic lantern as the favourite medium to record the travel experience, and during its early years a great number of British operators visited distant destinations filming colonial cities, people and objects. Their films were shown in London and, by bringing distant realities into the western metropolis, served the same purpose as photography and exhibitions. On the other hand, pioneer filmmakers filmed London's exhibitions and created a cinematic representation of something which already was a representation of colonized cultures and technological development, for the benefit of those who were unable to visit them in person or wanted to re-experience these attractions.

When Alexandre Promio arrived in London in 1896, he did not only film architectural landmarks like Tower Bridge, the Houses of Parliament, Marble Arch or Piccadilly Circus. The Lumière operator also made three short films in the London Zoological Gardens: *Lions*, *Pelicans*, and *Tigers*. Promio was probably the first filmmaker to film the zoo's beasts, but during the following fifteen years many British and foreign film companies sent operators to Regent's Park in order to film the attraction offered by exotic animals. London Zoological Gardens was opened in 1828 and situated at the northern edge of Regent's Park. The location of the London Zoo is particularly meaningful. Created by the architect John Nash at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the project of Regent's Park was based, as Richard Sennett suggests, "on the principle of park-as-lung, but adapted to a city where greater speed was possible" (1994: 325). Sennett has explained how Nash's plan worked against a socially connected use of the park by creating a road of fast-moving heavy traffic around the park aimed at discuraging the rapid organization of groups on its open space (1994). The construction of Regent's Park embodied the development of urban modernization by enabling the movement of a great number of individuals and disabling the movements of groups understood as agglomerations of men and women presenting, according to Gustave Le Bon, very different characteristics from those of the individuals composing the crowd (2000). The opening of the London Zoo on this space brought this development into an ideological territory, as Nash's original plan aquired a space where a Londoner's identity as resident of an imperial metropolis was fully confirmed. According to Jonathan Schneer, the Zoological Society's project to list and classify all species of animals was inherently imperialist, and capturing and caging wild beasts from every corner of the Empire and displaying them in London was the ultimate figuration of England's imperial enterprise (1999: 97-98). Imperial culture was underpinned by scientific progress but it also attract popular interest. Until 1846

entrance to the gardens was restricted to an elite membership, but at the turn of the twentieth century the zoo had became a much-loved form of popular recreation. Books, articles and music-hall songs were devoted to the animals kept in captivity in Regent's Park: "Birth of Kangaroo at the Zoological Gardens" was the title of *The Illustrated London News* in July 1896.[2] The song *Walking in the Zoo is the OK Thing to Do* was written by Alfred Vance in 1870 and at the turn of the century was still sung in London's music halls. The most curious subjects of the animal kingdom represented the colonized territories, and it was indeed as representatives of the colonies that animals were filmed by pioneer filmmakers. *London: Zoological Gardens* was produced by Chard & Co in 1897, and included "Feeding the Pelicans" and "Polar Bears." The Warwick Trading Company produced *Feeding the Tigers* in 1899, and Charles Urban made *A Ramble Around the Zoo* in 1900. In 1903 one of Thomas Edison's operators came to Britain to film the London Zoo (*Scenes at the Zoo*). The Walturdaw company produced *The Zoo Series* and *A Peep at the Zoo* in 1905, and five years later released *A Peep round the Zoo*. British Pathé produced *At the Zoological Gardens* in 1909, and the Gaumont made *A Visit to the Zoological Gardens* on the same year. In 1911, Gaumont also filmed *Who's Who at the Zoo*, and one year later it released *A Visit to the Zoological Gardens: the Ruminants*. In 1912 Kineto produced *Snapshots of the Zoo*, and one year later B&C filmed *A Ramble through the Zoo*. Most these films are now considered to be lost. Among the few which have survived *Scenes at the London Zoo* is arguably the most remarkable for editing, variety of shots and length. Filmed by Cecil Hepworth for the Warwick Trading Company in 1898, this films offers a series of shots representing a man playing with snakes, a big bear, a llama, a camel, a dromedary, several flamingos, parrots, and tucans. Most strikingly, Hepworth's *Scenes at the London Zoo* shows, in its two longest sequences, children and adults riding an Indian elephant on the Zoo's alleyways. The elephant symbolizes Asia in one of the allegorical sculpture groups at the four corners of the Albert Memorial in Kensignton Gardens. The elephant at the London Zoo had the same purpose: it was perhaps the most imposing animal in the Zoo, and the one which best represented the most exotic territories of the British Empire. This docile elephant was devoted to the amusement of children and adults in the imperial city, and well exemplified the Indian subordination to Britain. The cinematic image of this symbol of submission served to spread the imperial message all over the country, for the benefit of people who were unable to visit London and its attractions.

In 1911, New Agency produced a film representing two of the major attractions of London: *The Crystal Palace and a Glimpse of the Zoo*. The Sydenham Crystal Palace attracted as many filmmakers as the London Zoo. Nicky Levell (2000) has discussed the representations of the distant Orient at the Crystal Palace, and argued that the development in transport and media in Victorian Britain enabled the masses to travel to urban exhibition sites and observe other cultures through the medium of display. The image of the oriental otherness displayed at the Crystal Palace, Levell continues, was constructed in relational opposition to the West, and was central to the constitution of the self as the superior dominant culture (2000: 11). Originally erected in Hyde Park to house the Great Exhibition of 1851, the Crystal Palace was moved to Croydon, South London, in 1854. In these premises, the display of other civilizations contributed, as Andrew Hassam has argued, to offer a self-congratulatory image of Victorian Britain of which the Crystal Palace became a symbol (2003). In *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air*, Marshall Berman defines the Crystal palace as "the most visionary and adventurous building of the whole nineteenth century" and describes it as a key architectural landmark in the topography of London:

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[2] *The Illustrated London News*, No. 2985, Vol. CIX (Saturday, July 4) 1896.

> No building in modern times, up to that point, seems to have had the Crystal Palace's capacity to excite people. As for foreigners, the Palace, more than enything else in London, became the sight they wanted to see first. Contemporary journalists reported that it was London's most cosmopolitan zone, crowded at any given time with Americans, Frenchmen, Germans, Russians, even Chinese and Japanese (1988: 237-238).

Berman identified the Crystal Palace as one of those modern environments "that promises adventure, power, joy, growth, transformation of ourselves and the world" (1988: 15). A place like Crystal Palace, and the attraction that it offered, fitted perfectly the kind of visual material sought by cameramen. In 1896 Promio filmed Javanese performers in the park grounds of the Crystal Palace: *Danse Javanaise* represents a group of Javanese dancers and musicians performing in traditional costumes. In *Jongleur Javanais* a Javanese man performs a series of juggling routines with a ball, which he kicks up and balances it on his shoulders and feet. Javanese musicians seated on the ground accompany his performance. The same group of Javanese performers appears in *Lutteurs Javanais*, where two men wrestle, while the juggler performs accompanied by the same musicians seen in *Danse Javanaise*. British film pioneers filmed the Crystal Palace focusing prominently on technological novelties and parades. In 1898 the ascent of a gas balloon at the Crystal Palace was filmed by an operator of the Interchangeable Ltd. In 1899 a Warwick Trading Company operator filmed *The Swings at Crystal Palace* and *Horse Parade at Crystal Palace*; three years later the Warwick Trading Company produced *Brock's Firework Display at Crystal Palace*, *Crystal Palace Chutes* and *Shooting the Chutes at Crystal Palace*. In 1900, G.A. Smith made for the Warwick Trading Company a number of films at the Crystal Palace documenting its attractions: horse parades, bicycle races, the well-known "prehistoric monsters" and the Kansas City Fire Department shows.[3] In 1903 H. M. Lomas filmed for Charles Urban a series of views of the Palace, its park and terraces: *Crystal Palace Panoramas*, *Looping the Loop*, and *Shooting the Chutes*. In 1902 the Crystal Palace Company organized an exhibition of motor-cars, motor-cycles and accessories and offered a number of awards to the exhibitors.[4] The Lancaster Engine Company, based in Armourer Mills near Birmingham, gave a demonstration of its motor cars in Crystal Palace, where several cars climbed steps in the park. At least two films documenting the event have survived: *Lanchester car test on steps at Crystal Palace* and *Motor Car Climbing Contest at the Crystal Palace*.[5] In 1906, G.A. Smith went back to the Crystal Palace and filmed *Togo's Heroes at the Crystal Palace* and *International Cycling Race at Crystal Palace* for Charles Urban. In 1911, John Y. Brown filmed for the London Cinematograph Co. *The Pageant of London*, which represented the Crystal Palace during the Festival of the Empire held in London to celebrate the coronation of George V. The filming of imperial events like the Pageant offered the pleasures of the Crystal Palace, the Zoo and the museums to the masses unable to visit the actual place, and gave them an image of London which was saturated with symbols and sights of imperial determination.

Acknowledgments

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[3] These are the titles: *Panorama View of Crystal Palace Terraces*, *Panorama of Crystal Palace Lake*, *The Prehistoric Monsters at Crystal Palace* and *Bicycle Race at the Crystal Palace*, *Exhibition of Quick Harnessing with Trained Horses*, *Drill of the Kansas city Fire Department*.
[4] *The Times*, Saturday, 15 February 1902, p. 14.
[5] There are no credits available for these films.

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London and the Cinema:
Space, Narrative and Iconicity in Cinematic Representations of London's East End

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Introduction

In the longer paper which I summarise here, I've tried to approach the cinematic 'London' as a bundle of representational themes, icons, and structures, drawn together in richly ambiguous relationships to reality and continually overdetermined by the insistences and needs of the British and international film industry. For instance, I've tried to see London as a site for encounters between different versions of Britain and of Britishness within the fragile unity of the kingdom. In a second move, I look at films which dramatise arrival in the city, and the resulting encounter with difference, on the part of powerful North Americans and impoverished denizens of Second and Third Worlds. I go on to examine the relationship between the city and the country, as a run of texts build their meanings from deliberate contrasts between the resolutely fictive urban landscape and the increasingly eclipsed and occluded world of rural Britain.

These studies emphasise the role of London as a site of social encounter, friction, and exchange. The processes dramatised here are frequently mediated through geographic motifs to do with mobility and travel, in any number of films are preoccupied with crossing the great city to bring its differences into focus. And if arrival is an important starting point, then so too, in my analysis, are themes of departure - concerning both what happens when characters leave London, and also when they return to it from other places, other socialities. These concerns lead me on to focus on the East End, that particular London quarter, more transformed than any other by the convulsions of the modern urban experience.

The Convulsive East End

The East End is from the outset a very special kind of urban 'quarter'. Gathered around a river flowing to and from the sea, London, with its 'North' and 'South' riverine divisions, starts by being double. On its heavily developed northern shore, it bifurcates again, into 'East' and 'West', and here begin its symptomatic alternations – in the west, a city of civic and royal wealth and power, in the East a city of poverty and powerlessness; a city of consumption and display versus one of industry and labour; a city of urban rhetoric and spectacle contrasting with a city of the routine and the quotidian. In short, we might simply say: a borough which is also a city (Westminster) versus a mere borough (Tower Hamlets) just like any other (except, of course, that other very different exception, the neighbouring 'borough', the 'City of London').

The West End indeed grew to balance the very centrality of the City, the old Roman and medieval centre, London's walled up heart until modern times. Thus City governance in Guildhall, and national governance in Whitehall; thus banking in the City, retail in the West End; thus St. Paul's in the City, and St. Peter's church at

Westminster, the Abbey; thus the competing ritualistic archaisms of monarchy (in the West) and mayoralty (in the City). And so the evolution of London favours the dense, civic North against South, and in turn the westward flow of the old Roman pulse. The East End, cheek-by-jowl with the City, was yet different again: excluded by the West End/City power nexus, starkly subordinate whichever way we turn – in the alterities of both East End/City and also East End/West End.

The East End, as it grew, was marked by its exclusion from the protocols and privileges of the protected City. A wide range of industries emerged outside the favoured regiments of the City guilds, centred as they were on the trade halls and marshalled through the Guildhall and the mayoralty. Beyond the City walls, the East End sprawled and teemed, servicing its own needs and those of the emerging West End: the rag trade from Huguenot silks to Jewish *schmutter*, the bricks to build the new metropolis, bells to hang in Westminster. Central to this site of myriad forms of labour were the docks and shipyards, especially from around 1800, as the trade of Empire flowed through the East End, was comptrolled in the City, and found public expression in the building boom and the architectural extravaganzas of the new West End.

The East End thus became fertile ground for hectic and anarchic social change. In the last two centuries, for example, its human composition has been successively dominated by the influx of Irish Catholics, French Protestants, East European Jewry, and more recently Bangladeshi Muslims – all survivors of their own earlier convulsions elsewhere – in a complex, mosaic and desperate adventure in modern urban multiculturalism. These great migrations created one of the major concentrations of working class energy, talent, poverty and deprivation in Europe in the second half of the 19th Century, laying down historic templates for alarmed and yet compassionate consideration of the region as separate, different, alien and other, as "Darkest England" (Charles Booth) or even the hellish "abyss" (Jack London). In the 20th Century, still more dramatic environmental transformations would take place.

An early landmark on the German flight-path, and with the Docklands target at its very heart, the East End inevitably bore the brunt of the WWII Blitz of 1940 and 1941. Countless lives and homes disappeared in the annihilation. Post-war reconstruction then reduced the East End population further, typically dispersing it to the further reaches of the northern and eastern counties. By the 1960s, the old Jewish quarter was fast giving way to the new Bangladeshi East End as post-imperial London experienced a profound reorientation of its ethnic profile. And then, from 1981 onwards, the decaying Docklands, especially the Isle of Dogs, began to be regenerated as older housing stock gave way to new modern forms of residential and business accommodation. Along the river, the remnants of the old tenant working class were displaced, on the one hand, by the brutal elegance of the designer property explosion, and, on the other, by the re-industrialisation of the region as the City itself came marching Eastwards: Fleet Street came to Wapping, and the bankers came to rise in Canary Wharf on the Isle of Dogs. The 2012 Olympic developments promise related upheavals on the other side of the East End, in the north, at Stratford.

The East End is thus perpetually in change, more so, perhaps, than any other London quarter. In the critical nostalgia of Hackney's Ian Sinclair, it is thus an important feature of a 'City of Disappearances' – a fading dream environment endlessly mourned, searched for, and re-invoked, in prose which is elegiac, surreal and madcap by turns. For Michael Young and his colleagues at the Institute of Community Studies in Bethnal Green, the change is more precisely sociological – from a culture in which family and kinship were the early powerful parameters of

communal bonding to one in which these ties are bound ever tighter by the potentially divisive identities of race. The East End thus presents a highly explicit case of representational mutability. And so analysis of these representations in the case of the notoriously fictive world of cinema then undergoes a classic, fundamental challenge: is there an 'essential' East End, we might start by asking, and if perhaps not, then which variant of this rich and troubled pattern merits and achieves attention and re-presentation?

In the fuller paper I start to suggest various understandings of the 'space' of the East End by looking at the textual geographies of two symptomatic East End films from different eras, *It Always Rains on Sunday* (with its central interest in the contrasts between domestic and external urban space) and *Face* (with its more dispersed sense of cinematic geography, rendering a more diffuse sense of the 'Londonicity' of the East End). I go on to challenge traditional preoccupations with East End 'types', especially Jack the Ripper and the Krays, by broadening out the notion of the East End 'monster' to embrace other 'monstrous' manifestations such as the 'hooligan' film cycle, and the emblematic bigot Alf Garnett. Through examination of a wide range of films (over 50 at the last count) I reprise some of the earlier themes of the paper by examining the ways in which the East End can be understood as a spatialised arena for social difference and intercultural encounter, in a movement that takes us from *Broken Blossoms* to *Brick Lane*, from *Bronco Bullfrog* to *Britz*, from *Till Death Us Do Part* to *28 Weeks Later*.

Geography and Iconography

The final section of my paper narrows down these questions to the matter of iconography and iconicity, working on the question of the individual images by which the city is recognised, which become its semiotic shorthand. Take Tower Bridge, for instance, that great emblem of late Victorian engineering prowess, vitally connecting the City to the South Bank on behalf of the very modern world of cross-river traffic and commuting, and yet emphatically medieval in appearance, a steel structure clad in stone to harmonise with the thousand-year old Tower of London lying alongside it on the north bank of the Thames. Consider then its articulations in films as various as *Frenzy*, *The Innocent Sleep*, *London*, *The Long Good Friday*, *The Mummy Returns*, *Night and the City*, *Pool of London*, *The Revengers' Comedies*, *Spiceworld: The Movie*, *The World is Not Enough,* and *28 Weeks Later*. These films make their meanings of the bridge – comic, tragic, mundane, and spectacular by turns – from the intersection of the identifiable referent (the actual Bridge itself) with the narrative, stylistic, and ideological play of the cinematic text in which this icon has been caught up and redeployed.

The iconic spaces of the East End, however – the home, the street, the shop, the pub, industrial land – differ in kind from the bold and often rasher iconography of the West End, and its more popular cinematic articulations. The latter tends to be more monumental, more historic and less susceptible to change. It also tends to be more public, more spacious, less pragmatically 'usable' in daily life, more remote from the lived environment. This makes it both more inclusive (embracing a broader sense of London and of Britain) and more generalised (recognised and misrecognised the world over as representative of London and of Britain). The East End, by contrast, has no such equivalent. Its locations are both more generic and also less individuated: for Tower Bridge and Nelson's Column, think instead Rodzkinsky's room or the Rothschild Buildings.

That is why, in my final discussion, I want to consider one such generic icon, which is in turn a generic icon of East reality itself, that essential architectural icon, the tower block. In the post-war clearances of East London – intended to sweep away bomb damage and also sweep away the slums – new forms of mass housing were inaugurated on 'block' and 'high rise' principles. These replaced individual dwellings with concentrated masses of apartments, drove buildings and their inhabitants upwards in space (layering them on top of one another in the process), and reconfigured the traditional role of the street as foreground to, and connector between, individuated dwellings. These massified dwellings, with their concentrated volumes and streamlined, hard-edged, lines, were the expression of a kind of pragmatic modernism. But as they came to embody an emblematic form of urban alienation, and as their architectural weaknesses became tragically apparent with the collapse of Ronan Point in 1968, they in turn become the symbol of a certain moment, and a likely error. Their logic was to be abandoned in successive decades as more varied forms of architectural provision were brought into play.

The shift to tower living produces a number of ambiguous social consequences and effects – ranging from domestic comfort to domestic isolation – which the cinema marks at the level of the audio-visual. The tower-block, for example, produces a new kind of verticality, of visual prominence and difference. It thus becomes the source of visual novelty, in terms of both being looked at and as a vantage point from which new visual perspectives may be gained on London. These modalities contrast conspicuously with earlier and pervasive images of the East End as earth-bound, subterranean, even abysmal, and of an East End darkly replete with such a density of habitation that life was hidden rather than revealed. The tower block, instead, promised the sky, offering clarity and visibility and *views*.

High Rise Allegories

In general terms, the tower block becomes a significant icon in British cinema in the 1960s. If the teen musical *The Young Ones* begins with a song-and-dance routine in which Cliff Richard and friends make their way down a high rise building under construction, the remainder of the film deploys them as defenders of small buildings against the imperialist designs of his developer father. The effects of these transitions are seen from a different angle in *Sparrers Can't Sing*, where Barbara Windsor has not only taken up with a local bus conductor whilst her sailor husband is at sea, but has been installed by him in a tower block after the couple's traditional terraced house has been bulldozed. When he comes home from his travels he must start out on a new journey, looking for his wife while searching for a new home in a transfigured landscape.

Towards the end of the decade the changes can be seen in the neo-realism of *Bronco Bullfrog*, where the young couple at the centre of the drama are drawn together from their different dwellings – he in a terraced house and she in her tower block flat. The same year (1969) the tower block makes a still more significant semiotic contribution to *Till Death Us Do Part*. Here, after a long trawl through the history of the East End, the film's conclusion brings us up to date with the moment of its own production, we experience the process of social displacement itself as Alf Garnett helplessly resists the destruction of his East End street and the move to a far-flung tower block. If London has no equivalent to the Newcastle-set (but Liverpool- and Warrington-shot) tower block drama *Downtime*, then as the London film

develops, the tower block is less emphatically symbolic and acts instead as a given, normative space.

It plays an unexceptional – we might say normalised – role in such recent London films as *Face*, *The Football Factory*, *I'll Sleep When I'm Dead*, or *The Plague*. But closer to the moment of the architectural experiment itself, in the 1970s and 80s, the expressionist potential was never far away, as when the geography schoolteacher protagonist of *Nighthawks* cruises night-time London in search of casual sex, and meanwhile studies a transfigured city, creating photographs of the removal of the old Covent Garden and the rise of the new towers; or when the blocks loom large in the landscape of West London as the protagonist of *Radio On* travels to Bristol to investigate the death of his brother; or when a former British paratrooper returns from war in the Falklands and in Northern Ireland to civil war in the alienated estates of *For Queen and Country*. This depiction of the tower block as a theatre of change has not, however, disappeared: the flight from London to Spain at the beginning of *The Business* is triggered by a drama witnessed in the tableau created in the window of a South London tower block.

One of the most arresting of recent articulations of the tower-block residence is perhaps the example provided by *28 Days Later*. Here, following a road accident, cycle courier Jim wakes from a coma to find a hospital, and an entire city, emptied out by the rage virus, and now peopled by murderous infected zombies. He is rescued by the ruthless Selena, but has found his parents, dead by suicide, in South London. His final resort in the city sees him and Selena escaping ambush by zombies when they are welcomed into an isolated tower block (in fact Balfont Tower in the East End). It is a bizarre building, filled with abandoned shopping trolleys. As they climb the stairs they are urged on by a huge figure in protective armour, who slaughters the pursuing zombies before revealing himself as a gentle giant, Frank, who is now living in isolation with his daughter, Hannah. In a room festooned with Christmas lights, the group drinks crème de menthe to celebrate. On the roof, envisioned in a spectacular colour composition, Frank shows Jim the receptacles he has laid out in a futile attempt to collect rainwater. In the morning, the film deploys another traditional London icon when he reveals a more valuable asset still as the party leaves the tower, and starts their journey out of London in the hope of salvation in the North, in his black taxi.

The pre-eminent East End tower since the 1980s has, of course, been a building dedicated to commerce rather than to domestic life, Canary Wharf, or, more strictly, the tower block at No. 1 Canada Square E1 which has popularly taken on the name of the area a whole. At 800 feet, this is Britain's tallest building, the central symbol of the Docklands regeneration project and in turn foreshadows the London of the future in which high-rise towers seem likely appear with ever increasing frequency. Slowly cinema has incorporated this singular but resonant icon of the City's shift eastwards whilst a new vision of the East End began to take shape, with the Isle of Dogs cleared of dwellings to make way for the new business district – at first struggling, and then thrusting – of the Thatcher years.

In a divided world, the towering complex could become a focus for monumental achievement, but also overwhelming threat and danger. In its unfinished state it became the high rise from which the protagonist risks being thrown to his death by his enemies in *Layer Cake*, whilst in a cheeky metaphor it could go on to become the base for the chief villain in the spy spoof, *Johnny English*. More important roles were to follow in the ecological disaster sequel *28 Weeks Later*, and in the terrorism drama *Britz*. In these cases the world of Canary Wharf has become the setting for a world gone wrong, and even of a world itself under attack. In *28 Weeks*

Later the wider allegory is clear: the 'rage' virus seemingly contained since the film's precursor re-emerges on the Isle of Dogs, which (like London as a whole in the earlier film) has become a protected but repressive sector from which the hero must escape to re-form his shattered family. *Britz* turns the symbolism of Canary Wharf in a different direction, and with it opens a new chapter in the representation of ethnicity in the East End, in its bi-focal drama of radical Islamic terrorism in Britain.

Avant-Garde Film – and Its Role in Understanding the Space of the City

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This paper will address the category of film with the emphasis on spatial analysis that is relevant in the making and the perception of the moving images. Historically, film has been a product of a predominantly urban psyche, as its emergence is linked to the modern city. As a result of its dissemination, film continues to affect our perception and understanding of the city space.

This analysis is followed by the examination of selected examples of the avant-garde film production concentrating on the work of the Constructivists in1920s Russia and examples of the production in the1950s France and Japan.

The role of film in perception and understanding

All representations, including film, are unstable categories and are always in a state of flux. Consequently the way in which we perceive and represent space in various media, including film, changes. Driven by our desire, the visual models for representing space are always slightly out of phase and in need of renegotiation and restructuring. This is due to the fact that the desire-driven scopic mechanism has the propensity to explore, use and wear out both representations and its visual mechanisms of production. The wish to see and be astonished anew is therefore set to search for novel visual regimes and setups.

The invention of different visual mechanisms for both presentation and perception bestows upon us the secondary feeling of identity in space and time that is experienced as delight. The sense of identity is therefore established by the systematic production of differences characterised by this constant search for newness. This gradual but nevertheless perpetual mutation of visual mechanisms of representation is paramount.

Both cognitive theory and psychoanalysis have been involved in theorising this phenomenon. Cognitive theory, provided the vehicle for the examinations of the role of film in the works of Rudolf Arnheim (1954/74, 1958)) and more recently David Bordwell (1989). Affected by the emergence of psychoanalysis and the Gestalt, cognitive theory stated that people's perceptions, feelings, and actions result in significant part from the processes that are beyond the input to the senses. In regards to the same issue the emphasis of psychoanalysis has been on the examination of the role of the libido and the unconsciousness.

Both schools of thought agree that the processes of perception depend upon prior mental representations that subsequently become projected onto the world as a way of ordering it, or making sense by arrangement. These inner processes construct, in a significant sense, something new out of the data - a stable perceptual world consisting of both an inference about the state of its affairs in the environment, but also of ideas, theories and attitudes.

According to the cognitive theorists, for evolutionary reasons the mental constructs that we bring to the task usually correspond to the patterns shaped by the environment itself. In this constellation the roles of architecture and urban design cannot be underestimated as they provide the psyche with the blueprints by which it will outline and mould most of its ideas and theories.

Eyes are given to us at birth, but vision is not. We gradually construct it as we progress through life. For example, the "early vision" processes taking place in the cells of various parts of the eye have the role of sharpening and exaggerating minute variations of illumination, texture, and other clues. This is visual data is collected in the early life and stays in the subject's depository. The same goes for the tactile quality of objects and materials that become linked to their visual perception. Experiences of certain spatial configurations about the relationship of the inside/outside, of the threshold, of climbing, descending or falling etc. are all stored and embodied in the subject.

Through these experiences the visual system "constructs" objects from our rather disorganised visual field. However this construction doesn't mean complete creation, instead the perception is the product of the collaboration between external spatial phenomena and internal processes (Arnheim 1958). The first house, the neighbourhood and the city - have their roles in the formation of our ability to perceive spatially. The specific qualities of the perception will be unique and personal, determined by the experiences of different setups and their configurations and by our own imagination.

Film and spatiality

Film has a privileged position in this context. It offers for viewing and appropriation numerous visual and spatial assemblages that join the psyche's amassed inner supply of spatial and visual configurations.

From the point of view of the subject, there is always a desire for newly generated physical and mental spaces where announcements and creations can happen. The promise and the belief is that in these freshly formed spaces the dichotomies, as oppositions between rival entities, may be considered, reconciled and understood as belonging to metaphysics. Film appears to be able to provide such a space.

Like the perspective in Quattrocento (Korolija Fontana-Giusti, 1999), the emergence of film has granted the same comfort and reassurance about the world. The comfort arises from the fact that the realm of internal processes and imagination (fantasy) could be first externalised and then retrieved in the form of the film. This room and the opening for fantasy is about going beyond and surpassing the outdated. In this sense the role of the avant-garde film is exceedingly pertinent. It contains and marks big leaps in the habitually gradual mutation/evolution of representations, visual mechanisms and vision itself.

On the subject of film and reality, Rudolf Arnheim (Grundmann, 2001) points out the crucial difference between him and Siegfried Kracauer. For Kracauer the world was understood as a raw material and photography and film were in the business of "rescue of outer reality" by introducing physical nature in its original state. By contrast Arnheim argues: "But images do not imitate reality, they *hint* at it. They have the ability to make the *essential* part *visible*, and are thereby a fundamental principle for understanding the world. Vision and perception are not processes that passively register or reproduce what happens in reality" (Ibid).

This emphasis on the difference between the *hint* at reality and the *physical imitation* of it is significant. Arnheim continues: "Vision and perception are active, creative understanding. You have to imagine the following: When we observe something, then we reach for it; we move through space, touch things, feel their surfaces and contours. And our perception structures and orders the information given by things into determinable forms. We understand because this structuring and ordering is a part of our relationship with reality. Without order we couldn't understand at all. Thus in my opinion the world is not raw material; it is already ordered merely by being observed" (Ibid).

When we use the camera to make a shot, we begin to represent, by means of its lenses and mechanism of capturing the image, *that*, which we have essentially already ordered by observation. However additional play and negotiations happen between us and the camera that result in the footage for viewing and subsequently the montage. The extent to which the work is adding innovation to the viewing depository of the spectators will mark the work's originality. The degree to which that added visual value is able to connect to the subject on various levels will mark its overall signifying, expressive, and emotional value.

Depicting movement in urban space

One of the main novelties about film had been the fact that it was apparently able to capture the fourth dimension – time. In doing so, it depicted movement as it spread-out. By depicting various kinds of transfer, passage, shift or interchange, film became involved in the exploration of space in a qualitatively new fashion.

Depicting moving rearrangements meant that film was able to represent life as it unfolded in time and space by the speed of twenty four images a second. This is due to the persistence of vision that secures the illusion of motion which results when a series of film images are displayed in this quick succession.

On the unconscious level and expressed poetically, this flux/animation of images meant that for the first time that which moves us all, the spirit (*anima mundi*), (Deleuze 1993) was apparently 'ushered' into previously dead and immobile representations. With film, at stake was something much greater – the representation of the special breath of life that goes through all of us from the moment we are born until the last of our traces are preserved for another person's memory.

While the presentation of movement and life in space and time, sits comfortably with films whose structure follows a textual narrative, the challenge and innovation came from the area of the avant-garde film as it does not necessarily follow the narrative storytelling. Rather it aims to go beyond text in order to explore and experiment with the structure of the film itself (Bordwell & Thompson 1979). This orientation toward trans-textual norms in the avant-garde films allowed for the possibility of sensing beyond conventions.

Concerning architecture, urbanism and the representation of space this experimentation was significant. It enabled the audience to see the cities and the environment in a different way. Crucial contribution is to be found in the early works of the film makers such as Dziga Vertov and Sergei Eisenstein. Their works exhibited ambition and imagination that have shown the inventive power of the new medium. In these ground breaking works by both directors we also sense the cross-fertilisation with other disciplines.

Figure 1. 1 Dziga Vertov *Man with the Movie Camera* (1929)

Vertov, initially studied music and later medicine at the Psychoneurological Institute in St. Petersburg while experimenting with "sound collages". He worked for the newspapers and for the Kalinin's agit-prop train. His aim was to capture "film truth"—that is, fragments of reality which, when organized, conveyed a deeper truth routinely not available to the naked eye. In the "Kino-Pravda" series, Vertov focused on everyday experiences, filming marketplaces, bars, and schools, sometimes with a hidden camera and without permission.

The Man with the Movie Camera (1929) 'Fig.1', for example, is about this kind of exploration of space, cities, movements, vision, sound and speed. It is a novel representation of the experience of daily life.

Sergei Eisenstein (Bordwell 1993, Shaw 2008) is acclaimed for his use of montage, his film structure, fast cuts, sense of rhythm, spatial knowledge, and abstract counterpoints. His most famous shot is architectural in its nature. The anthological take shows baby's pram moving overwhelmingly down the Odessa Steps 'Figs 2 and 3' as advancing soldiers step down at workers, women and children. It is a remarkable scene in its cruelty, and remains seminal in viewers' helplessness, *Battleship Potemkin* (1925).
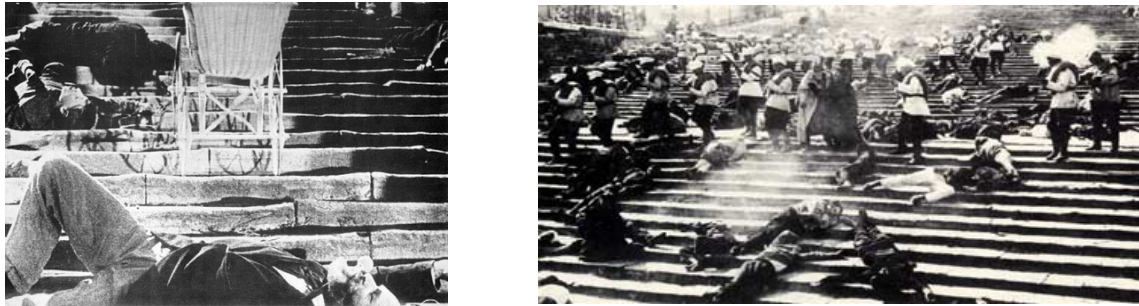
Figures 2 and 3 Sergei Eisenstein, *Battleship Potemkin* – Odessa Steps (1925)

The sequence is spatial, architectural and urban. Over the years it has turned the original film location into a major tourist attraction in Odessa. The multiple shots provide a clear idea of space and the workings of its elements. The viewer is painfully aware where the danger comes from. The geometry of the square and of the movement of the army echelon is projected with architectural clarity. They contrast the random soft swarms of people. The swift montage and its arrangement of shots and sequences produce striking effects upon the viewers.

In his later essay, Eisenstein argues for organicness of the overall structure: "Organicness can be defined by the fact that the work as a whole is governed by a certain law of structure and that all its parts are subordinated to this canon" (Eisenstein 1949). These concerns about the parts and the whole coupled with the urge to govern them by the same law of structure – the same canon- reads like a page taken from the Renaissance architectural treatises, where the principles could be traced back to the ancient notion of harmony. The five part structure often used by Eisenstein corresponds to the five bays of the classical temple, or the five parts of the Greek tragic drama. Eisenstein, an architect by education, had incorporated into his films the principles that had originally determined his understanding of the notion of structure.

With film's ability to represent time, a fresh language has emerged – an idiom that 'timeless art' of architecture could not embody. Such new expressions were: the overall dynamism of the sequences, the acceleration of cuts taken from different angles producing the effect of urgency, depiction of architecture in movement (the drawbridge in *October*, 1927) and in use (the dying woman and the dangling horse on the same bridge).

Both Eisenstein and Vertov indulged in shooting variety of movements and editing them inventively. The montage included array of the crowds, moving vehicles, trains, buses, ships, bridges etc. Indeed many of these sequences became anthological for Constructivism and film in general. The experiments with spatial representation enriched the understanding of the possibilities that modernism had to offer both as a world view and as a particular system of expression and production. Consequently, a great deal became absorbed into the film syntax, the language of the main stream and later avant-garde cinema.

The city space as impermanence

One such example is the work of Yasouro Ozu (Bordwell 1988). Ozu's oeuvre comprises many apparently abstract urban shots involving cityscape, pedestrians, vehicles and deep perspectives. Film critics call these "pillow shots"- stating that their role is to give the spectator a rest between the dialogues. They could also be interpreted as typically infused with the Japanese concept of *Mono no aware,* an awareness of the impermanence of things – what Europeans call *sic transit gloria mundi.* In addition to their documentary or interpretative value, these shots make the settings livelier by means of movement not burdened by the main narrative. Consequently, the film becomes vibrant and instinctive.

As an architect and urban designer I increasingly watch all movies with this private interest in mind. With its big dives into experimentation, the avant-garde production is resourceful about this aspect. For architects these shots are appealing as they are often valuable portrayal of the cities. Streets, cars, trains, trams, pedestrians - are often necessarily involved in the scenes of urban choreography. The dynamism they fabricate has a structural role in the narrative suggesting passages of time or other allusions in regards to the plot. Often the amount of movement would align or contrast itself to the amount of time that needs to be suggested.

Figure 4. Yasouro Ozu, *Tokyo Story,* **1953**

In Ozu's portrayals of Japanese cities in the 1950s, the "pillow shots" have a structure that often includes a poster or a sign in the first plan while the background contains movement. The movement is generally slow and sometimes interlaced with signs; rare pedestrians meander around city corners. Sharp-angled perspectives with layering of void spaces are deployed for the depth of the picture containing gentle strata of shimmering lights, occasional unhurried movement of people and vehicles, floating drapery etc. Shadows are often from the side and under approximately forty five degrees. Characters are implied by their absences. The shots capture time and its passage suggesting the transcendence of the city space 'Fig. 4'.

The space of a wounded city

In this context it is impossible not to mention *Hiroshima mon amour* (1959) the seminal film by Alain Resnais. The film works through the superimposition of the narrative (text and screenplay by Margueritte Duras) and the city.

A French young woman has spent the night with a Japanese man, at Hiroshima, where she went to shoot a film about peace. He, a married architect, reminds her, an actress, of the first man she loved during World War II – he was a German soldier. The lovers feel deep passion for each other and she discloses him her secret. The main themes of this film are memory and oblivion.

The main structure of the film consists of the juxtaposition of sequences depicting, on the one hand, the post nuclear context of the ravaged city and on the other, the scenes of the lovers' discourse. The extreme state of the city is presented by the portrayal of its wounded and desolate inhabitants. Through the camera lenses of the French actress we see the defects and disfigurations of the survivors. The gravity of the city's impairment and the parallel

emergence of life in the empty spaces between the ruins, fourteen years after the fatal nuclear bombing, are both fascinating and sore. The black and white shots and the documentary footage reinforce the historicity of the event 'Fig. 5'.

The documentary aspects of the film are intertwined with the shots of a hand touching the body. The sound track of her voice provides the underlying rhythm. The woman's admission of the utmost love (culminating in: "*Tu me tues, tu me fais du bien*"), is edited to correspond to the gradual opening of the shots, gliding into the city by means of lengthy perspectives caught by the moving camera that penetrates the layers of urban walls and concludes its journey in the centre. These sequences, and possibly the whole film, are the prime example of urban metaphors.

Figure 5. Alain Resnais, *Hiroshima mon amour,* **1959**

The city space as drama

Situationist International (1957-78) provides another set of experimental examples relevant for our subject of the avant-garde film's contribution to the understanding of the space in the city.

Debord's films have the form of a manifesto, where the visual language borrowed from the revolutionary posters. Debord records his own voice on the sound track, with slogans such as: "The spectators do not find what they desire, they desire that what they find." The films often quote leftist proclamations taken from Marx, Nietzsche, Hegel, Bakunin, Wilhelm Reich etc.. They are mixed with commercial advertising, newspaper articles, comic strips etc.

Situationists believed that the repetitive gestures of everyday were destroying the public life. They were concerned with the human experience transformed and replaced by spectacle and consumption. The protagonists believed in actively constructing new 'situations' of daily life in the city in order to confront alienation. This had involved psychogeography- creation of games at urban sites where play is a free and imaginative activity. Situationists could be credited for inventing the "unitary urbanism" which meant seeing the city in a new integrated way.

Conclusion

Through the selected examples this paper has demonstrated how the innovative language of the avant-garde film of the twentieth century had managed to establish itself in our consciousness. It has explained and analysed this phenomenon by focusing on the selected examples and on the space of the city.

These examples and their subsequent re-evocation in the works of the following generation of film makers (Hitchcock, Welles etc) has resulted in the fact that film is embedded part of our visual and mental mechanism when contemplating about the cities of today. There is plenty of evidence for this occurrence.

In conclusion I shall quote one observable trend. In visiting new places we are no longer simply surprised as we have almost always already seen them all on pictures and in film. Upon arrival on the actual site we now always (often unconsciously) compare what is

front of us with previously observed representations. We seek the "right angle and the correct position" for experience and viewing in order to retrace and confirm the (right) sequences already incorporated in our visual and cognitive mechanisms by film. Why do we do this so faithfully?

We act in this way not out of being spoiled by choice or blasé by the abundance of references, but because in the era of visual saturation and overdrive, we necessitate to keep the endless fragments of our perception, of our mental space and of our identity together.

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The Three Spatialities of Los Angeles Latino/a Cinema

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In this paper I elaborate the complex relationship between Latina/o mobility and identity in cinematic Los Angeles by focusing on how the tripartite spatialies of barrio/city; barrio/prison and barrio/homeland are developed. These three spatialities extend Voss's (1998) analysis of the use of prison space and barrio space as spatial tropes in *Mi Familia* (Nava,1994). The tripartite analysis also draws upon the three 'presences' identified in Hall's (1993: 230) rethinking of the positions and repositionings of Caribbean cultural identities. Like the three presences elaborated by Hall, the use of barrio/city, barrio/prison and barrio/homeland all have the presence of the other within them. I argue that in *Mi Vida Loca* (Anders, 1993), *Born in East L.A.* (Marin, 1989) *American Me* (Olmos, 1992), *Stand and Deliver* (Mendenez, 1989) and *Mi Familia* (1994) there is an attempt to engage with the history of images of the barrio disseminated by Hollywood and in some cases to re-make or re-imagine them. Los Angeles becomes a cinematic city in all of these films to the extent that it functions as a character in itself. The city also functions metonymically in that it stands in for the rest of the United States in the reconstruction of history and the affirmation of identity of Latina/os.

Barrio/City

Barrio is the Spanish word used to describe the poorer districts of South American and Central American cities, and those North American cities that have a high concentration of Latino/a population, such as Los Angeles, Chicago, New York, and Miami. The word barrio has taken on a metonymic power in the representations of Latina/os, much as the word 'hood' has in African-American representations (Massood, 2003). The barrio is that place where Latina/os live; their territory, their neighbourhood, where networks of family relations exist and where street gangs define their territory through symbols, rituals, and territorial marking.

However, the multiple geographies of Los Angeles highlight the dispersion of Latina/os from the old East Side core. So while the barrio's metonymic function in films is still powerful, it fails to describe the complexity of the development of the Latina/o population in Los Angeles.

Though the barrio is still the primary location for films about the Latina/o experience, in the films analysed below it emerges as a more complex space where the relationship between the barrio and the city of Los Angeles is explored. The films highlight the importance of the barrio as a place of identity, a trans-national site for family and social networks, and a place of intersections as well as boundaries.

As the opening credit music fades out at the beginning of *Mi Vida Loca* (1993) the establishing mise-en-scène locates the downtown skyscrapers of Los Angeles in the distance. The voice-over of a young Latina is heard on the soundtrack and the scene cuts directly to Echo Park, drawing attention to the relationship between the barrio and the city and the determination of the young woman whose voice we hear to tell the story of her people.

In *Mi Vida Loca* the use of mise-en-scène and multiple voice-overs emphasize the importance of the link between the barrio and the city for the residents of Echo Park. Sad Girl's (Nelida Lopez) introductory voice-over states the strong link between the barrio and the city and sets up the project of the film to tell the history of the barrio from within.

> This is the L.A. neighbourhood where I grew up, Echo Park. We're East of Hollywood and then you're downtown. … Our homeboys take pride in telling the history of our barrio cos white people leave out a lot of stuff when they tell it (Sad Girl, *Mi Vida Loca* prologue).

The sense of belonging to *both* the barrio *and* the city is fundamental to the young women characters in *Mi Vida Loca*.

In many ways *Mi Familia* (1994) provides a more conventional view of the barrio as a space of confinement and limitation. Yet it too attempts to critique the notion that the barrio is located *in* Los Angeles but not *of* Los Angeles. *Mi Familia* is an ambitious family saga charting the sixty years and three generations of the Sanchez family, where the mise-en-scène is adapted to the decades of the story, the arrival in Los Angeles from Mexico City in the 1920s, the death of the Chuco (Esai Morales) in the 1950s and the struggle to stay out of prison by Jimmy (Jimmy Smits) in the 1980s. Pacos (Edward James Olmos) tells how his father, José (Eduardo Lopez Rojas) has to join the workforce crossing the Los Angeles Bridge from the barrio to do the city's work. His narration also emphasises their movement is only ever one-way, with none of the city's elite crossing the bridge into the barrio.

While *Mi Familia* draws attention to limitations of mobility enforced on its inhabitants *Stand and Deliver's* central character, Jamie Escalante (Edward James Olmos) is given more room to move. The significance of the early morning drive by Escalante crossing the L.A. Bridge in the other direction is the awareness that, though a Latino, Escalante lives outside the barrio. His spatiality is less confined but his relationship to the barrio and the city suggest a strong sense of identity with Los Angeles. As a former computer scientist who has given up his well paid job to teach computers in barrio schools Jamie Escalante represents another complex version of Latino identity. The central character, perhaps because he is male and middle-class, seems to have a greater ability to move through the city, and this mobility suggests a broader spatiality to be considered in relation to the Latino experience, while also highlighting the developing importance of class as a key element of identity. As Acuna (1996: 6) observes:

> … the location of Latino peoples in Los Angeles is closely linked to economic status. They are hardly uniform in class background; in fact, class differences among Latinos are becoming increasingly important. For example, there is a growing gap between Latino homeowners and renters; increasingly homeowners come from the older and more affluent sectors of the Latino community, although this includes working-class people in older barrios such as Boyle Heights, unincorporated East Los Angeles, the San Gabriel Valley and other sections of the county. While working class Latinos are spread throughout the city, middle-class Chicanos are concentrated (but not exclusively) in the San Gabriel Valley.

In these examples of Latina/o cinematic Los Angeles the barrio/city relationship is a key concern. In *Mi Vida Loca* the connections between the barrio and the city are expressed explicitly through the voice-over and dialogue but also in the ways in which the mise-en-scène of Echo Park is established as being part of the wider city. The film makes more complex the representations of Latina/o identity and mobility with its focus on the visibility and developing sense of agency of the young women. *Mi Vida Loca* sets out to tell stories of the barrio through the homegirls just as *Mi Familia* sets out to represent the history of the Sanchez family as an integral part of the development of the city. *Stand and Deliver* takes this geography and history of the barrio and locates it in a more dynamic relationship to the city by having the central character commute from the city into the barrio, symbolically reversing the flow of Latina/o workers who service the city from the barrio. The barrio/city relationship

forms the first part of the spatial grid that the Latino/a cinematic city represents but this is developed by the addition of the second co-ordinate of Latina/o identity, the relationship between the barrio and the prison.

Barrio/Prison

What films about the Los Angeles Latina/o experience have appeared to focus on is the use of the prison as both a reflection and a critique of the East Side barrios. Films such as *American Me* (1992), *Blood In Blood Out* (Hackford, 1994), *Mi Familia* (1994), and *Mi Vida Loca* (1993) use prison as an essential element in the history and identity of their Latina/o characters. A key element in the mirroring of prison life and barrio life is the inability of central characters such as Santana (Edward James Olmos, again!) in *American Me*, to leave the prison behind in his barrio life. After his long-term prison sentence he replays the sexual violence of the prison in his efforts to form a relationship with Julie (Evelina Fernández). On their first date attempting to make love, he can only express his feelings violently and tries to sodomize her. Through cross-cutting the viewer is drawn back to prison where Santana has arranged the rape and murder of the son of a rival gang leader. It is clear Santana cannot escape the prison in his head, and as he is the voice-over narrator, neither can the audience.

Another key element in the mirroring of prison life and barrio life is the construction of the gang or *clica* as a social unit. In *Mi Vida Loca*, *American Me* and *Blood In Blood Out*, the gang is seen as being essential to the formation of individual identity, community/barrio identity and mobility, and in prison, the gang becomes the organising unit of ethnic identity.

The links between barrio space and prison space identify this co-ordinate as another important factor in the formation of cinematic Latina/o identity. In the main, the mirroring of these spaces is used to reiterate the sense of confinement and limited mobility of the barrio, but in *Mi Vida Loca*, there is an attempt to undercut the rite-of-passage mythology of prison. Giggles (Marlo Marron), one of the central characters in *Mi Vida Loca*, is released from prison and is seen by her homegirls as adding to the prowess of the gang, however, Giggles wants to move away from the barrio/prison connection as she attempts to democratise the gang and share the powers of leadership. If prison is often mythologised as a rite-of-passage for gang members it can also be portrayed as a surrogate homeland, for example, in *American Me*, and *Blood In Blood Out*. Again the presence of each spatiality is evident in the other establishing the complexity of Latina/o identity formation.

Barrio/Homeland

The problematic notion of homeland is the third spatiality in the inter-relationship of the barrio/city, barrio/prison and barrio/homeland. In each of the films considered here the representation of a place from which some of the main characters emerge, or are grounded by, becomes known as the homeland. Often there is an attempt to recreate the homeland in a version of identity and place politics. In a foreword to Davis's *Magical Urbanism*, Roman del la Campa (2000: xiii-xiv) suggests this complex nature of Latina/o identity.

> Each Latino group may be unique, but even those who are newly arrived come to share a call for a different, if unstable, sense of ontological space characterized by doubleness – too American to seriously undertake a return to the motherland, but able to nurture a different cultural and linguistic heritage in the United States, with which it maintains contact in multiple and contradictory ways.

This "doubleness" is a feature of the identities of most of the central characters in *American Me*, *Mi Familia* and *Born in East L.A*. For many Latina/o immigrants, Mexico and Central America are the geographical locations of their homeland, although this oversimplifies the strong regional differences that exist. The relationship between Latina/os and their homeland is dependant on their length of residence, gender, class, and age. The imagined homeland is often the site for cross-generational conflict in Latina/o families, seen by the younger generation as an adherence to a nostalgic past that inhibits their chances of assimilation into the dominant white culture. These differences are evident in the relationship between the father of the Sanchez family in *Mi Familia* and his children. They strive to achieve a different sense of identity that marries, sometimes uncomfortably, their Mexican-ness and their American-ness, representing the doubleness that de la Campa (2000) above has observed.

The interconnection between prison space and barrio space established in the last section is complicated further by the representation of the prison as a surrogate homeland, a place of exile, where local or national geography is subsumed by the colour of your skin. This politics of identity is taken up with some vigour and narrative presence in *American Me*. Using flashback and flash forward Santana's history is represented as a model for identity formation forged in the conflict between oppressor (United States) and oppressed (Latina/os). Santana is the product of a rape by an American sailor in a tattoo parlour during the Los Angeles Zoot Suit riots of 1943.

Born in East L.A. addresses directly the politics of identity, posing questions about assimilation and integration, Chicana/o nationalism and homeland nostalgia. The comedy genre and the director, Cheech Marin, are crucial elements in the construction of this vision of Latino existence in contemporary Los Angeles. *Born in East L.A.* tells the story of Rudy Robles (Cheech Marin), a third-generation Chicano living in East L.A. who doesn't speak Spanish, who while picking up his undocumented Mexican cousin from the toy factory in downtown L.A. is himself considered an illegal by the immigration authorities (*la migra*) and deported to Mexico. In a series of comic episodes the film tells the story of Rudy's efforts to return to his home in East L.A. In an interview with Chon Noriega (2001: 190) Marin declared the idea for the film came to him when he read a similar story in the *Los Angeles Times* while listening to Bruce Springsteen's *Born in the U.S.A.* on the radio. A close analysis of the opening scene reveals the ways in which the mise-en-scène with its carefully placed iconography sets up the paradoxes and contradictions of Rudy's Chicano birthright and the notion of homeland as Mexico/U.S.A.

Like *Mi Vida Loca, Born in East L.A.* begins with an establishing shot of the downtown skyline, the camera pans left to East L.A. and then tilts down and – through a series of dissolves – comes to rest on a house beside a church, with a fence, well-kept yard and a tree, a location that becomes "… the defining unit of the barrio" (Noriega, 2001: 192). This shot overturns the usual Hollywood stereotype of the barrio as a place of chaos and danger.

Through the vehicle of comedy Marin, as director and star, poses much more than the initial question set up by the film's plot, instead notions of home and homeland are questioned and complicated. In Mexico, the homeland of his forebears, Rudy has to make money in order to return home to East Los Angeles. A white bar-owner/entrepreneur Jimmy (Daniel Stern) hires Rudy to "Americanize" a group of Asians. Rudy teaches them the style, mannerism, talk and dress of a Chicano homeboy from East Los Angeles. When they do emerge in the midst of a Cinco de Mayo parade in the barrio, passing as Chicanos, they approach a white LAPD officer who accepts their homeboy credentials of language and gesture. In comedic terms at least they are assimilated into the framework of institutionalized racism. Noriega (2001: 200) argues:

In *Born in East L.A.*, there is not a call for a nationalist "homeland" that exists within and against the United States itself as an ideological overlay, but rather an attempt to make "East LA" synonymous with "U.S." and, hence, with citizenship. This is achieved through a rhyme that establishes metonymy between barrio and nation, "I was born in East LA," and thereby signifies two seemingly opposite birthrights: Mexican descent and US citizenship.

The end title sequence has a parodied version of Springsteen's *Born in the U.S.A* with Cheech Marin singing *Born in East L.A,* happy to declare his U.S. citizenship and his Mexican ancestry not as an either/or but as a both/and. Some of the key examples I have offered as representing hybrid identities, the young Latina women in *Mi Vida Loca,* the Cheech Marin character from *Born in East L.A*, the Edward James Olmos character in *Stand and Deliver* illustrate how pre-ordained identity can be modified and new ones created out a sense of *both* Mexican-ness *and* American-ness. The mask of *either/or* has been reconfigured as *both/and*. Old-style assimilation has given way to the active maintenance of multiple loyalties, identities, and affiliations. This is a reconceptualisation of identity and mobility that is made visible through film analysis of the tripartite spatiality of barrio/city, barrio/prison, barrio/homeland.

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"Know the Territory!"
Musicals, Bridges, and Urbanism

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At the Tony awards for Broadway theatre productions that had opened in 1957[1], two new shows were among those that competed for that year's best musical. *The Music Man*[2] and *West Side Story*[3] were both subsequently adapted into landmark films that expanded upon the theatrical productions. These motion pictures, the means by which many viewers today first encounter the shows, feature the rich musical vocabularies composed by Meredith Willson[4] and Leonard Bernstein, respectively, and they also demonstrate competing ideals of postwar American cities.

These two musicals, whose stage versions opened exactly fifty years ago this fall, are particularly fascinating in the dramatic way they feature particular bridges and the character of infrastructure to punctuate their narratives and dramatic arcs. Both the small footbridge in *The Music Man*'s fictionalized River City (based upon Mason City, Iowa) and the mammoth viaducts in *West Side Story* (prime examples of New York City's vehicular arteries spearheaded by commissioner Robert Moses) are interpretations of actual bridge spans, both constructed to redevelop tarnished or neglected urban wastelands.

This discussion, illuminated not only by the musicals and their film incarnations but also by previous archival research about the designers who gave form to the ideals of Mason City and New York City, considers the resiliency of narratives about what residents "know" about cities. Echoing the opening cries of traveling salesmen in *The Music Man*, that the title musical swindler doesn't "know the territory," these musical works offer points of departure into the urban ideals evident in the films' narratives.

It is well-established that film and video media are common evidence of how we construct intentional and subconscious impressions of places, what constitutes the necessary and typical conditions required to "know the territory" for a location's identity. Yet when these visual conditions closely match viewers' preexisting notions of how such places *should* appear, notions of typical sights and landmarks, then these settings recede into the background.[5] Unfamiliar or unexpected settings which are not congruent with expectations highlight attention toward the buildings or – very rarely – to the architecture itself.[6] These two films tend toward the former, showing typical backdrops which represent expectedly contrasting visions. Mason City (i.e. River City) circa 1912 is depicted as a rural burgeoning railstop with unpaved roads, a green central square, and woodframed houses. New York's West Side is depicted at the present time of the show, complete with swarming interchanges, vacant lots, brownstone apartments and superblock housing. These two generalized backgrounds shown in the films bear evidence of their prior compression through musical theater and stage settings: their vignettes often remain fixed upon static frontal viewpoints rather than continuous roving action. Both settings rely frequently on porches and fire escapes, the physical boundaries outside typical housing. These spaces buffered uncomfortable social exchanges and meetings with romantic interests between the transient music enthusiast and salesman Harold Hill and Marian the Librarian, and between white (Polish) Tony and Hispanic (Puerto Rican) Maria.

Both pairings' trajectories reach decisive climaxes at their respective symbolically charged bridges: a wooden trussed causeway in verdant River City, and a dingy steel overpass in New York. One could rhapsodize on the resonance of these pairings, and how their categorical characters situate within larger generic socioeconomic trends, but I shall instead

zoom in toward particularities of the two urban territories. Keeping in mind this contrast of generic and particular, Maria and Marian both highlight deviations from demographically predicted norms in their highly particular actions[7], so we shall seek to know more precisely the actual territories their fictions sought to evoke.

Fig. 1 (a) Rumble from West Side Story; (b) West Side c.1961 (Garebian, op.cit.)

The filmic *West Side Story* bears layers of depth because it was filmed in the vacated neighborhood of urban "rubbish"[8] subsequently demolished to make way for the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts.[9] This destructive act of urban renewal, implemented through commissioner Robert Moses' efficient manipulations of Title One housing redevelopment grants, was but one of many examples in a federal program. Using statistics to calculate and deem neighborhoods "blighted" and rife for clearance, these redevelopments were designed at a giant scale to make new private tower developments profitable. The 1961 aerial opening shots of the film show both "before" and "after": territories that were raw material for Moses' bureaucracy, and then the first thirty years of his results: the Triborough and Queensboro bridges, the UN, and the traffic ramps near the Lincoln tunnel on the West Side. In fact, just a few blocks north, the street now posthumously named Leonard Bernstein Place, is where the composer's opening crescendo brought us to the battlefields of pirouetting gangs.

Since 2004 much of my work in preservation and research has concentrated on parkways and bridge viaducts of this era, and among the findings has been Moses' requirement through the 1920s and 1930s of the uniqueness and particular adaptation of the sites.[10] The team of Moses Men and the consulting engineers and landscape architects who Moses managed were subject to his oversight on everything from development locations to particular materials and tree species Moses envisioned. Even though his major infrastructural landscapes were often designed, financed, and constructed within only a couple years, he insisted upon maintaining a superlative level of design. He wrote in 1944, public projects should maintain the "highest standards of design" because "bridges and other structures are the most conspicuous features of…improvements[…]."[11] The resulting projects used variations of approaches and materials to articulate similar site features along his parkways, and a variety of unique approaches to public pool and recreation design. While both the stage and film bridges portray the dark underside of these bridges, the greater tragedy is that examples from the 1940s onward, as in the film, epitomize the results of traffic standardization and economies of banal overpass construction. These became far removed from the delicate filigree of previous designs that had been uniquely customized to individual crossing sites only a few decades earlier, crossings which more closely considered the designed aspects for pedestrians and boats underneath.[12]

Moses' power to envision technological modernism and comprehensive design at the scale of entire cities before World War II was challenged in democratic countries perhaps only by Walter Burley Griffin's infrastructure and development for Australia's capital

territory, Canberra. Griffin planned and partially realized Canberra after winning a 1912 international competition. Yet at the time he and his wife Marion Mahony Griffin won this commission, they were designing not giant metropolises but instead contributing to Mason City, Iowa, the city which gained the largest concentration of Prairie School architecture outside of Frank Lloyd Wright's Oak Park neighborhood.[13] Focused within the Rock Crest development of blighted and disused urban wastelands along a river's rocky ravine next to downtown, Griffin and his wife[14] designed a high-density residential neighborhood with houses sharing in central green spaces connected by wooden footbridges, and surrounded by shared pedestrian walls of local stone. While Wright's more famous reputation was built upon organic relationships of architecture to site, his Stockman House in this part of Mason City was one of many Wright works reproduced from standard prototypes with generic siting and no particular orientation; it has since been moved and rotated on a nearby site.

Fig. 2 (a) Scene at footbridge in The Music Man (b) Footbridge at Rock Crest c.1930, courtesy Mason City Public Library

In contrast, my research since 1997 on Mason City has highlighted how the Griffins and their successors thrived on emphasizing the particular topographies that made unbuildable sites desirable. Their final link amidst these ravines and parks toward the museum and library of the town was a series of wooden pedestrian bridges constructed circa 1912 and envisioned to be expanded; these set the inspiration for the rendezvous in Music Man. A 1940 steel replacement bridge stands today, just a short walk and a musical segue away from the city square, and the bridge was named for Meredith Willson in the 1960s after the show's fame spread.[15]

Therefore these two bridge situations and their respective films constitute the two faces of urban infrastructure: bridges obviously connect the people and vehicles who are given access to cross, but their shadows and points of support often coincide with the leftover areas which were (or became) undervalued. Yet as depicted in films, the bridges also point to the decisive separation of urban and nonurban life in mid-century America. Unlike other countries' unchallenged primary urban cores, American towns up to this point long maintained their own narratives as potential cities. Their names alluded to their aspirations: Mason City, River City, Oklahoma City, even Metropolis, Illinois (pop. 6482)[16] sought to emulate cities whose strategic location or particular resources along rail or water routes would enable them to follow Chicago, and become economic powerhouses within only a few decades. They wanted to become outposts like Phoenix rising during mid-century from the Arizona desert into today's desirable real estate.

While the urban blight and crowding, that which *West Side Story*'s Title One demolition sought to ameliorate, swept inner cities across mid-century America, these filmic musicals presented the two caricatures of city and town; they presented microcosms of what middle-class America feared in cities, and what they desired in town-like suburbs. With its unexpectedly shocking realism of the "darker realities"[17] in cities, *West Side Story* was "the first Broadway musical to seriously question the universality of the American dream.[18]" Yet for all of its daring thematic and harmonic material its familiarity has outlasted the particular West Side which it portrayed and which it no longer resembles. While the locus of "Culture" for most urban planners was in the institutions such as Lincoln Center that would drive street

gangs away, immigrant[19] and neighborhood "culture" remained resilient throughout New York past Moses' interventions. As one of the only dense American urban cores that did not implode and empty, even after some had left for the suburbs, the territories of Manhattan retained their vividness in the American imagination. Radio host and author Garrison Keillor traced this trajectory using the two musical films in a story told to New York audiences in 2005:

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> […] Natalie Wood [who played Maria] had that kind of dark neurotic beauty to her that we immediately associated with New York and New York women. We loved her in *West Side Story*. […] Until I saw *West Side Story* my favorite musical had been *Music Man*, and you know, there were bells on the hill but I never heard ringing never them at all 'til there was you, but then I saw Natalie Wood and Richard Beymer singing and you knew he was going to die when he was in her arms singing, "There's a place for us, A time and place for us, Somehow… Someday… Somewhere…"

> And you knew he was going to die.

> […] Natalie never could have been Marian the Librarian, she never would have hung around River City, even though they had a pool table which began with P, which rhymes with T, which stood for Trouble. She was trouble and she would have gone elsewhere to any town she could find – she wouldn't have waited for her Music Man. She would have gone to New York where she could find Tony and sing somehow… someday… somewhere, and then die, which was the right thing of course.

> Many years later when I came New York and bought an apartment on the West Side, all of the Marias I met had moved with their Tonys up to the Berkshires, they had gone up to Lenox and Great Barrington, they had left the West Side behind and they were no longer interested in somehow… someday… somewhere. They were looking for [in the lyrics of Music Man,] (1) bells on the hill, (2) birds in the sky, and gardens with roses and dew. They weren't interested but we were… [it] keeps hope alive, the thought that someday… somehow… somewhere…[20]

As an urbanist and architect, I believe these musicals' and films' evocation of "someday, somehow, somewhere" are indeed the panaceas with which urban idealism has struggled in the decades since the shows opened. The conformist generality of what replaced the West Side represented the best of what architects and planners believed they could improve by "knowing the territory" through statistics and zoning to implement superscale changes.

In the backlash of incremental urban redevelopment since, the professions and communities have relied on narratives of "Someday," narratives of design meant to evoke earlier times or styles. Or they have built upon narratives of "Somehow," upon the method or means of "how" to implement change with partnerships or public process to temper the market's possible effects. Or, as we have seen particularly outside the US, the strategy of "Somewhere" has been to evoke a false region, to connote a place in a different exotic location that is somehow desirable and to replicate a caricature of it: French house stylings reproduced in California suburbs, Californian ranch homes reproduced in China, or Chinese pavilions reproduced in the French gardens of Toulouse.

But the concern for particularity in how developers "know the territory" is driven at

larger scales beyond individual houses and gardens. The generalized forms of these two American urban forms – *Music Man* urbanism and *West Side Story* urbanism – are precisely what many designers within and beyond the US seek to replicate in form and profitability: the small-town close-knit live-work fabric of River City, and the gridded development machine of New York with its towering skyline. In practice I have seen these American patterns reproduced around the edges of European cities, advised by eager developers wishing to "insert a few blocks of Manhattan here, and a little bit of Main Street there" with streets and lots as the empty stage sets upon which designers desire to direct the action of urban life.[21] If you build it, will they come?

The problems of urban design are not hampered by lack of successful models and the technologies to visualize and design, they are constrained by the homogenizing and narrowing of possibilities. In seeking to rid cities of "trouble with a capital T,"[22] to remove the shadowy crime-ridden havens with which both musicals struggled, how can we know the territories and improve them into truly unique backdrops for everyday performances of public roles[23] without inhabiting generic reproductions? The placelessness of towers[24] and parking lots, spaghetti-like conduits for traffic, and other constructions have become so ubiquitously standardized and typical that, without local materials, topography, and character, much of our built environment no longer contributes to a coherent recognizable backdrop.

Archbishop Rowan Williams' writings clarify this need for urban particularity and "knowing our territory;" I shall close with his analysis from 2005:

> If we are going to plan sustainable communities, then, we have to have a good nose for what depletes human capital…[including] the sense of living without landmarks in time or space. …How much building and development in recent decades has proceeded as if the aim was indeed to create an impression of nowhere in particular? Human beings from their earliest days work out their identity by learning to cope with a specific set of triggers and stimuli, the geography of a room, the rhythms of feeding and sleeping, a face that becomes familiar.
>
> […] But it seems fairly clear that a physical environment that is repetitive, undifferentiated, can fail to give adequate material for a person to develop. A varied environment with marked features – that perhaps have narratives and memories attached to them – offers multiple stimuli to respond to. There is a local geography that is more than just an abstract plan of the ground: it invests places with shared significance. But for this to happen, places must be distinguishable, differentiated. A landscape which proclaims its sameness with countless others – in its layout, building materials, retail outlets and so on – is a seedbed for problems. If it's true that I can't answer the question 'Who am I?' without at some level being able to answer the question 'Where am I?' the character of a built space becomes hugely important. There will always be small scale domestic answers to 'Where am I?' because we all imprint distinctiveness on our homes and are 'imprinted' by them; but when this is restricted to the domestic, we should not be surprised if there is little sense of investment in the local environment outside the home.
>
> […] So a community that is committed to replenishing and not depleting human capital is one that is aware of being in a real place that has its own integrity and character and memory. Memory cannot be manufactured; but any

new development needs to build, metaphorically as well as literally, on genuinely local ground, on an area and its history and human geography.[25]

If the next generation of metropolises in the developing world erect the trappings of a typical "world city" in hopes of sharing in the connotations of New York, or to have a "Main Street" indistinguishable from all others, these acts of building will not necessarily result in the urban life that might be envisioned. If the leaders of the design community become sources for branded objects to be collected in an otherworldly assemblage, then the resulting replication will diminish the differentiation which we value in our best cities and towns. Designers must demonstrate how cities can change and add new layers without removing or obscuring the character-defining presence of irreproducible fragments, be they buildings, landscapes, bridges, or populations. These unique elements possess qualities that continue to make places worth communicating in our narratives, whether spoken or sung, whether imagined or built. Urban designs must envision cities not only through portraying generic "user groups" in sunny renderings, but through addressing seriously the everyday experiences of individual imperfect characters, the broad range of people who inhabit the territories of our films, our musicals, and our actual cities.[26]

New York, New York
Cambridge, Massachusetts
January, 2008

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1 Jones, John Bush: *Our Musicals, Ourselves*. Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2003, p.192. "The reviews [of *West Side Story*'s opening] were strong but not the uncritical raves three months later for Meredith Willson's *The Music Man* (12/19/57), which also walked away with nearly all the seasons' awards and played 1375 performances. West Side Story garnered only the Tony awards for best Choreography (Robbins) and Best Scenic Design (Oliver Smith) and had an original run of 732 performances, with another 249 after a tour, making the total number 981. While no "Music Man," that kind of run was impressive for just about any musical at the time, and especially for one as risky and innovative as West Side Story."

2 *The Music Man*. Book, Music, and Lyrics by Meredith Willson. 1962 Film directed by Morton daCosta, Production Design by Boris Leven.

3 *West Side Story*, based on a conception of Jerome Robbins; Book by Arthur Laurents, Music by Leonard Bernstein, Lyrics by Stephen Sondheim. 1961 Film directed by Robert Wise.

4 Willson (1902-1984) wrote an autobiographical book published in 1959, *But He Doesn't Know the Territory*.

5 On the perception of places through visiting, see Urry, John. *The Tourist Gaze / Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies.* London: Sage Publications, 1990. See also Foxe, David: "Landscape, Continuity, and Tourism: Les Grands Projets at Bercy and La Villette," Cambridge, UK: M.Phil. Dissertation, 2004; Republished in excerpts as "Urban Tourism in Landscapes of Les Grands Projets," in *2A Architecture & Art* Winter 2007. Dubai, UAE: 2007.

6 For example, Frank Lloyd Wright's Ennis-Brown house in Los Angeles as shown in Blade Runner (1982).

7 Jones, John Bush: *Our Musicals, Ourselves*. Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2003, p.196. "While the action of West Side Story does not speak out against idealism, it

suggests…that if one's idealistic vision is to have any chance of succeeding it must be grounded in a thorough understanding of life's practical realities."

8 Lewis, David H: *Broadway Musicals / A Hundred Year History*. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2002, p.86. "Brooks Atkinson[, who] described it as 'a profoundly moving show that is as ugly as the city jungles and also pathetic, tender, forgiving. West Side Story is an incandescent piece of work that finds odd bits of reality amidst the rubbish of the streets. Everything is of a piece.' It reached the summit of musical theatre history in this country, and there it still stands."

9 Hilary Ballon and Kenneth T. Jackson, ed.: *Robert Moses and the Modern City / The Transformation of New York*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 2007, pp.282-289

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11 Moses to Charles K. Panish, Army Corps of Engineers, November, 30 1944 (NY Municipal Archives microfilm) Cited in Pressley Associates et al.: Shore-Belt Parkway Master Plan Historic Inventory Report. Cambridge, MA: 2006. The author was an employee of Pressley Associates for this report and thanks the entire team for their insights and collaboration on that project.

12 Garebian, Keith: *The Making of West Side Story*. New York, NY: Mosaic Press, 1998, p.69 "The dramatic climax, however, is reached in the next scene, under the highway, as the almost-silhouetted gangs enter from separate sides by climbing over fences or crawling through holes in the walls. It is now 9pm and after the eight preceding scenes – all of which are set at early evening or night or midnight – it becomes clear that, as in Romeo and Juliet, the one character we hardly ever see is the sun. There are, of course, numerous light and dark contrasts in the play, but all the action occurs in fading light or penumbral darkness."

13 Brooks, H. Allen: *The Prairie School / Frank Lloyd Wright and his Midwest Contemporaries*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 1972, pp.241-259.
Also, Kruty, Paul and Mati Maldre: *Walter Burley Griffin in America*. Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois, 1998.

14 See also Marion Mahony Griffin's account in her unpublished manuscript *The Magic of America*, now online at http://www.artic.edu/magicofamerica/moa.html.

For example, Section IV, page 303: "Rock Crest & Rock Glen occupy the two sides of the valley which Willow Creek has carved out of the rocks within 3 blocks of the central square of Mason City, Iowa. In common with many such beautiful pieces of nature it has been neglected during the growth of the community in favor of the commonplace building sites all around it, awaiting the day which seems to be approaching when the imagination of the people is sufficiently stimulated by opportunity for unique development in those instances where long abuse has not been, as is generally the case, coincident with the neglect. This example comprises 18 acres of the creek frontage between two bridges. That at the North is a permanent masonry arch carrying an important thoroughfare route [State Street] and fixes definitely the boundary in that direction but the western footbridge is merely a temporary structure and its removal in the near future is promised for the opening up of another 5 acres up-stream of a territory where rock and dell have still different forms of expression to be preserved and respected. The vertical bluffs of Willow Creek alternate from side to side of its sinuous course. In the portion illustrated they comprise the south and west banks, opposed by a gentle slope of meadow and open woods extending gradually up to almost equal elevation north and west within the limits of the tract."

15 The 1940 bridge was completed by Howard R. Green of Cedar Rapids, IA. Documentation courtesy Terry Harrison, Archivist, Mason City Public Library.

16 2000 US Census

17 Lewis, David H: *Broadway Musicals / A Hundred Year History*. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2002, p.84. "Like an angry conflagration of warring punks spilling out into a civilized crowd, two rival gangs nearly leapt off the stage and into the audience…their gut-wrenching tensions, set poundingly to music by Leonard Bernstein, gave first-night theatergoers a ride they would never forget…with spare brittle lyrics by new kind on the block Stephen Sondheim. … West Side Story mined the darker realities of street life with sizzling theatricality."

18 Jones, John Bush: *Our Musicals, Ourselves*. Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2003, p.193.

19 A further direction of study would contrast the experience of immigrants as shown in these and other related accounts, as Lithuanians, Irish, and other European immigrants are identified in Music Man compared to Puerto Ricans in West Side Story, and to also account for the actors portraying these immigrants: George Chakiris, who played (white) Riff in the London production of West Side Story, was cast as (Puerto Rican) Bernardo in the film version.

20 Keillor, Garrison: Prairie Home Companion 25 April 2005, Town Hall, New York, transcribed from radio broadcast.

21 A recent example of this occurred as I participated in design workshops in Kyiv (Ukraine), August-September 2005, MIT Urban Design Studio with INVI Investment Environments. Other examples abound in my experience of discussions from the Netherlands to Poland.

22 Harold Hill sings: "You know you've got Trouble, right here in River City, with a capital T which rhymes with P which stands for Pool…" A further direction of study would trace the inability of the public sector to possess complete legitimacy in films of this time, portrayed as individuals hampered by the tendency to generalize rather than to seek patterns in their leadership or in the fighting of illegal activity. It is striking that in this vein, West Side Story's filmic use of the blood-red shards of light amidst the bridge supports portrays the hidden areas under the bridge, where the light of the authorities cannot fully penetrate.

23 Sennett, Richard. *The Fall of Public Man*. New York: Penguin Books, 1974.

24 Sennett, Richard: *The Conscience of the Eye*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 1990, pp.33-34: "These assertions call upon the planner to set himself or herself against towers equally buildable in Rangoon, Poitiers, or Boston."

25 Rowan Williams, "Lecture at Chatham: Sustainable Communities 16 March 2005," reprinted at http://www.archbishopofcanterbury.org/1005

26 See also Carl, Peter: "Architecture Imagines a Better Future" in *Scroope 16*, Irina Davidovici, David Foxe, et. al, editors. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Department of Architecture, 2004.

Barge Culture - The ebb and flow of cultural traffic

Karen Gaskill, The University of Huddersfield

> 'Film's undoubted ancestor... is architecture'
>   Sergei M Eisenstein

Early moving image devices and viewing apparatus more often than not used the city as their muse. Displaying and re-representing urban views, they revealed the spaces of illusion in our everyday environment, offering prefilmic spectacles to a receptive public.

Bruno discusses the eve of cinema's invention in her book, Atlas of Emotion, noting how a network of new architectural forms produced a new spatiovisuality. Venues such as arcades, department stores, exhibition halls, glass houses and winter gardens incarnated the geography of modernity. They were all sites of transit. Mobility, a form of cinematics, was the essence of these new architectures[1]. This new relationship of bodily motion and spatial perception paved the way for the invention of moving image. Early film became an imaginary sort of *Flanerie*, or streetwalking, extending personal boundaries beyond that of the immediate.

Early spatial curiosity led to the development many pre-filmic visual devices and paraphernalia. The concept of landscapes and of travel dates back to the Sala Femenina, the ladies chamber in Barcelona, where Frederic Mares (1893-1991) collected an astonishing assortment of memorabilia. This cabinet of curiosity reveals a rich journey around a room of panoramic scenes and cityscapes; a gift of curiosity and a widening of horizons [2]. It contained handheld objects such as the fan, that formed early *veduta* in motion; a mobilised view painting, a panorama unfolding as a succession of views, its motion telling the story of a moving site.

In contrast to the travelling of urban pavements and such spaces of curiosity, Camera Obscuras became the first 'filmic rooms' where a spectator would sit and passively observe moving images, the natural projection of a 'live' scape. This and equivalent smaller devices such as Mondo Nuovo (a small portable viewing device), and the optical box, introduced the architecture of the movie theatre, a private viewing space housing a form of urban popular spectacle [3]

> 'A public cabinet of the curiosities of the everyday, film inherits the very architectonics of this 'new world'. It is the new art travelling the urban pavement.' [4]

In his book, The Language of New Media, Lev Manovich defines the screen as 'the existence of another virtual space, a three dimensional world enclosed by a frame and situated in our normal space'. [5] The screen of cinema and video brings with it 'a certain relationship between the image and the spectator' [6], expecting us to suspend disbelief and focus our attention fully on the representation, thus disregarding the spaces outside the screen. This is why it is frustrating in a cinema when the projected image does not coincide precisely with the screens boundaries. It disrupts the illusion, making us conscious of what exists outside the representation. [7]

Social as much as than architectural, this interest in observing our immediate environment has provided us with a rich history of the relationship between architecture and the human body. Early films such as Vertov's Man With a Movie Camera and Laing's Metropolis create an interplay between the viewer and their spatiotemporal confines. The

ability in film to manipulate time through freeze framing and slowing, and the multiplication and acceleration of movement, renders time as something elastic and magical. In the structures of many modern films such as Memento and Mulholland Drive, narrative structures are played with and chopped up, representing in themselves a fracturing of thought in different space-time structures.

I want to discuss a project I curated in July 2006 called Fast and Slow Networks, that through its format considered the body in relation to urbanism, and also in relation to its peers.

This project took place on a barge on the Bridgewater Canal in central Manchester, and highlighted how technologies of the information age mirror older, slower networks of the industrial past. This work was interested in the collision of physical many2many networks with their digital counterparts, and how both have shaped our urban culture.

The UK's canal systems have always provided a source of fascination, primarily as they formed one of the original many to many industrial networks. Many essential services were provided by these networks, and not solely commercial or economic ones. Canal systems are representative of early social networks, connecting locations and people and forming essential communication loops - an analogue parallel to what digital networks are today.

The Bridgewater Canal, on which the barge sailed its journeys, is said to be one of England's first canals. It delivered goods and services amongst to other places what is now the Museum of Science and Industry. This was the location of the worlds first passenger railway, and nurtured the growth of industry, containing factories, goods warehouses, and residential housing, effectively, a community.

Lining the edges of the canal are old warehouses, railway arches, a spectrum of the derelict and broken to the glossy and renewed. However the route of the canal as an artery through the city centre is a course that is tattooed on the topology of the city, and through its keylines comments on Manchester's iconic role as the centre of the industrial revolution.

The project took place on a wide beam restaurant barge, that journeyed up and down the Bridgewater canal four times a day. The trips lasted 40 minutes in total, and were open to the public and free. This mobile media space hosted four video works that were projected onto a full size screen installed in the interior of the boat.

The works that were invited to be shown aboard the boat were all perceptions on urbanism, and through representative technologies highlighted unique perspectives on differing landscapes. They also aimed at drawing similarities to what the audience was experiencing as they took their own visual journey down one of the oldest and most historically rich routes through central Manchester.

* * * * * * * *

I want to show a short 2 minute excerpt of each work, introducing them with a brief synopsis written by the artist.

The first work is 'Block' by Joe Duffy, a Manchester based artist.

"Block is a video piece concerned with the relationship of individuals to their contemporary urban environment through the modernist architectural living spaces of a tower block in Salford, UK. An observational gaze on social habitus implicates the viewer in a dialogue with surveillance, monitoring and spatial dynamics.

The grid like structure of social urban planning is investigated through the rhythmic patterns of lights signaling room occupation and human habitation. The light changes indicate

movement paths and spatial usage that create an illusion of tower block as an entity, the flickering lights as pulses with the residents reduced to signals and data, as reflected through the sound design. The relationship to politics and economic realities is displayed through evidence of material objects, televisions, curtains but with little trace of subject matter. The patterns and data referencing point towards consumer monitoring. The block itself containing a complex weaving of personal histories, identities, subjectivities and relations hinted at by physical movements that transform the block into a fictive arena."
Joe Duffy 2006
www.sandproject.org
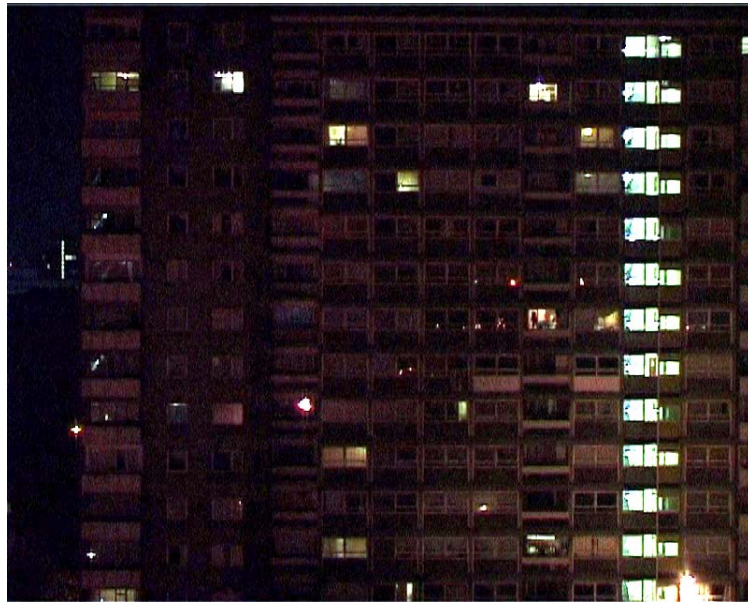
Figure 1. 'Block' still

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The second work is 'After the house is burnt, pick up the nails' by Katie Davies.

"Working with appropriated and collected footage, 'After the house is burnt, pick up the nails' investigates manifestations of language.

Filmed in the mesmeric city of Seoul, the film draws out contradictory flashes of familiarity and ambiguity as the international language of advertising sells you the notion of Metropolis as utopia.

Using commercial and personal video footage and audio recordings, this work presents us with impressions of a chaotic and bustling metropolis and hints at the ideologies to be found within its fabric. This piece explores the idiosyncrasies of an unfamiliar culture, investigating seemingly impenetrable cultural references. Fragments of advertising and television present in the work function as a common ground between East and West, offering some resolution through this shared, global mode of representation."
Katie Davies 2006
www.katiedavies.com

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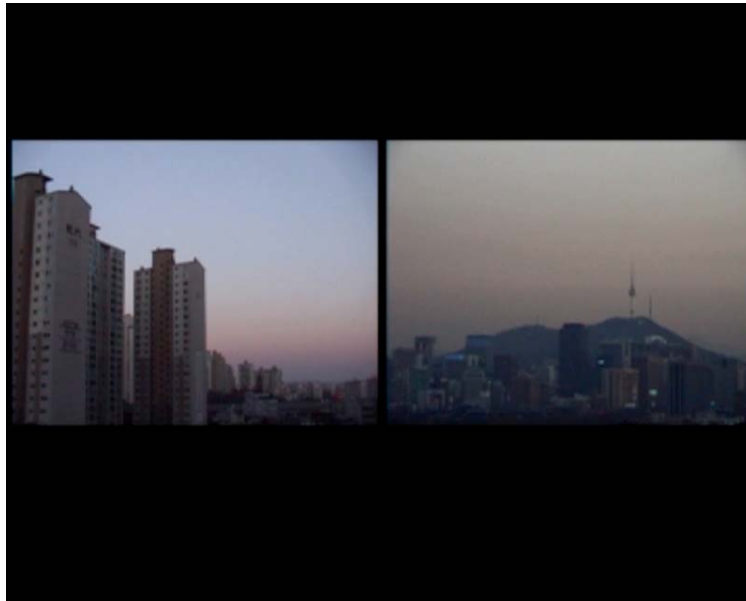
Figure 2. 'After the house is burnt, pick up the nails' still

* * * * * * * *

The third is 'Municipal 44', a work by Graham Clayton-Chance.

"Municipal 44 is an experimental film exposing the inherent anxiety and conflict between our perception of space and the built environment. Taking its inspiration from "The Image of the city" by architectural theorist and city planner Kevin Lynch, Municipal44 freely explores notions of place legibility, spatial cognition and way-finding. The work explores the idea of this perceptual encounter of the subject of the city with its architecture and in this case the abstract modernism of brutalist architecture.

Undertaking site visits to document the visual impact of these encounters a catalogue was constructed of hundreds of photos taken from London's Trellick Tower, National Theatre, Pimlico School and the Roehampton Estate. New architectural structures and facades were generated from this site research reworking the original geometry, perspective, lines and edges of the buildings. These primary clean communicators of a built environments imageability are radically reworked to form a dystopian ("Bad", "nowhere") setting. The project was then developed using performative methodologies creating choreographic/performance based sequences to work within the 3D architectural scenic environments."
Graham Clayton-Chance 2006
www.ddfilms.tv

Figure 3. 'Municipal44' still

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The final work is called 'Cornholme' and is by artist Katy Woods.

In Cornholme, Katy Woods re-presents to us a small village situated on the border between Yorkshire and Lancashire in the Calder Valley. The route through the valley to this place, for the most part, is a pleasant and picturesque one; the landscape is beautiful and dramatic, the houses and buildings are old and characterful. People come here for their holidays, for walks and days out, for canal boat trips and cycling tours. Before reaching Cornholme though, the beautiful landscape ends; it becomes ambiguous, natural beauty and post-industrial decay overlap and it begins to feel claustrophobic, empty and ruined.
Katy Woods 2006
http://www.axisweb.org/seCVPG.aspx?ARTISTID=11730

Figure 4. 'Cornholme' still

* * * * * * *

It is compelling how contemporary artists reflect on urbanism, revealing abstract notions of

cultural usage. Cities that are represented by their advertising and its clinical, ordered approach. Forgotten pockets in our cultural fabric housing areas of decay and disintegration. The emergence of anxieties and phobias parallel the rise of city skylines, revealing the hiatus and rupture frequenting modern cities and their populations. Through the devices that capture these undertones, although dramatically different in their technological prowess, we document our environment, allowing us to culturally, socially and politically travel; to tread those urban pavements and to bring to life through our actions such spaces of curiosity. If mobility was the essence of the architectures at the eve of cinemas invention, what is the essence of today's architecture? Locativeness, placement? The city is increasingly mapped and categorised through social profiling and postcode lotteries. Already our perceptions of the observed city as filmic muse have been reversed. The UK is one of the most surveilled nations in the world, cameras capture our movements on every street corner translating us into urban statistics. No longer are we able to observe our city pleasurably, in contrast to the experience of the Camera Obscura. Threat exists in the action of being observed, safety is in autonomy and private actions. What of the *Flanerie,* the streetwalker, do we have a contemporary cultural equivalent?

http://www.interval.org.uk
http://www.karengaskill.info

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Urban Decay, Redemption and the Feminized City – Cinematic Representations of *Revive Manila*'s Renovated Parks

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This essay charts the articulations of disease and decay in urban renewal, specifically through cinematic representations of public parks renovated under the *Revive Manila* program – an urban renewal program implemented in Manila from late 1999 to mid-2007. I weigh these articulations using bodily metaphors that frame urban imaginaries to justify urban redevelopment and its perpetuation of exclusion. The work of which this essay is part examines the conjoined nature of the representational systems that buttress *Revive Manila's* goals. I argue that the popularity of the program amongst city residents was enabled by the amplified deployment of city government campaigns under Lito Atienza's leadership. The campaigns were farmed out using various media including the built space of public, state-sponsored parks, commissioned sculpture pieces for the same parks, *Maynila* a television series aired during Atienza's three terms as city mayor and films released by private production houses during this period. While some of these media overtly promote the program campaigns, others like the films to be analyzed here present an ambiguous reading of *Revive Manila.* *"Ikaw Lamang Hanggang Ngayon"* (You 'til Now) and *"Babae sa Breakwater"* (Woman of the Breakwater) were released at a time when most of *Revive Manila* projects were in process or were already completed. Both films also feature the renovated spaces of Liwasang Bonifacio and Bay walk, two of the flagship projects of the program's early phase. These two parks were used as templates for park renovations that were carried out in smaller parks in the city.

The entwined representational systems of the built environment, commissioned art for public parks and film imagery, despite their different imaging technologies were all geared towards the manufacture of a *'renewed and revived'* Manila. The city government thus was intently reshaping Manila's urban landscape and actively manufacturing the urban imaginary to articulate, promote and justify urban renewal. The manufacture of the dominant urban imaginary of 'revived' Manila and the new Manileno was about a deep-seated anxiety coupled with desire. This anxiety in turn, is anchored to nostalgia for Manila's 'glorious past' while the desire is linked to Manila's eventually becoming a global city. As we will soon discover, these forces also shape the narratives of the film and the specific geographies they construct. Decay and its associations with urban development's metaphors for the city will be traced to nostalgia and the implicit gendering of urban public space through *Revive Manila.* The decayed city / grotesque, monstrous body will be examined through their metaphorical appropriations through film. These cinematic representations will be assessed against the larger project of transforming Manila into a global city through the production of pacified local publics, docile bodies fed with the fantasy of partaking of development's benefits.

Double-screening the city - plotting cities and bodies in film narratives and cinematic representations

Cities and cinemas have an interesting dialogic relationship. Their mutually constitutive natures provide a vantage point from which to tease out shifts and continuities in the formation of urban imaginaries. El-Sayyad's (2006) analysis of films to articulate the modern emphasizes the need to engage both cities and films simultaneously and acknowledge that the divide between the 'reel and the real' is increasingly becoming nebulous. El-Sayyad (2006:3)

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astutely points out that the "synchrony of narratives and representational techniques" in films contributes to the project of "revealing new urban conditions". The images and ensuing urban imaginaries emanating from *Revive Manila* however, do not merely circulate in the meaning systems generated by the city government agencies, they spill over onto other representational systems where they take on other forms and become subjected to other interpretations. What other articulations of Manila are found in these film representations? Do these extend or negate *Revive Manila's* operative concepts? Cinema's constructions of the city largely influence our shared imaginaries of urban spaces in the same way that actual sites in the city frame cinematic narratives.

Both *"Ikaw Lamang Hanggang Ngayon"* (You, 'til Now) and *"Babae sa BreakWater"* (Woman of the BreakWater) use the renovated parks of Revive Manila as actual geographic sites for the unfolding of their narratives – Liwasang Bonifacio's open spaces for *"Ikaw Lamang Hanggang Ngayon"* and Bay Walk's sea wall for *"Babae sa BreakWater"* (see figs 1 and 2). Cinematic geographies are meant to encompass an assemblage of spaces. These spatial registers include that of the films themselves (the screen image and their *mise-en-scene*), the real site of filming (the actual spaces of the renovated parks) and the spatial nuances articulated by the bodies of the women protagonists in the films' narratives. In what ways are the cinematic geographies inherent in the films further articulated in the 'geographies closest'/ the bodies of the women protagonists? In turn, how are these articulations related to the larger discourse of decay and disease in urban development? I highlight both the films' constructs of women's bodies and how these bodies are used as anchors in the unfolding of the narrative.

Figure 1. Liwasang Bonifacio –view from Lawton

Figure 2. Newly renovated Bay walk Malate, Manila

Geographies closest – urban decay and women's bodies

The dialogic relationship between cities and films extends to the city's relationship to bodies. Cities are often imagined as bodies and urban imaginaries are often couched in terms of embodied imaginings. Cities and bodies are mutually constitutive constructs. In this sense, it will do us good to think of cities as more than material terrain but as site shaped by bodies constantly negotiate territory, rights and power. Often planners and urban image-makers equate the well-managed city to a healthy body and a disorderly city to a sick body. This conflation is evident in *Revive Manila's* project briefs and in several interviews with the mayor Lito Atienza. Manila's Urban Planning and Development Office published a 2005 project brief that outlined the planning approaches for *Revive Manila*. It revealed that the planning models used were mostly British and North American in origin. An implicit assumption is made about the direct translation of development to a better way of life for city

residents. This is again enunciated through the notion of *Revive Manila* becoming a "way of life" for the Manileno after the implementation of its projects. Thus, the program was also contingent on the construction of a body-self (the new Manileno) considered fit to inhabit the revived spaces of Manila. What the brief ignores is the apparent disjuncture in urbanization contexts between Western cities and most cities in Southeast Asia. As Caoili (1999) rightly stressed, Metro Manila is a product of both its colonial past and subsequent relationships formed between its local governments and the state. Metro Manila cities themselves are not self-sufficient but are highly dependent economically on its rural peripheries. I surmise that the increasing competition between these cities was a primary impetus for the implementation of *Revive Manila* and reflects the shifting configurations of the urban center within a globalized world. Metro Manila cities compete with each other for global city status and interviews with former mayor Lito Atienza often cite the anxiety over Manila's lagging behind other Metro Manila cities like Makati and Mandaluyong, which are increasingly becoming centers of business. For Atienza however, this yearning to become a global city is couched in nostalgia – the return to Manila's 'glorious past', a past that includes his childhood in Malate one of the earliest residential districts for Manila's gentry. As the next section illustrates, the crafting of the Manileno is also contingent on a gendered understanding of Manila's new spaces as illustrated by the translations of Revive Manila goals in various representational systems. How can we make sense of the gendered nature of public space within *Revive Manila's* dominant imaginary?

Feminine as Presence, Lens, and Tool

Films are instructive because they embody a 'double-screen' - a system that filters and shapes concepts of the city. Cinematic images of urban spaces inform particular geographies of space. Since film images are consumed and interpreted across a variedly constituted audience, these become powerful means in shaping our perceptions of place. The organization of these spaces likewise points to the configurations of public life and the arenas in which these public lives unfold. Urban redevelopment programs employ a variety of metaphors that stand for the city and which can be translated and linked to overarching development discourses. *Revive Manila* employed a campaign strategy that inherently juxtaposes the decayed body/disorderly city against that of the renewed city/revived body. This organic model of urbanization relies on a unitary concept of the body and the biological determinacy that defines the tacit trajectory of modernist progress, thereby reifying urban space. This reification is tied to the nostalgia that shapes *Revive Manila* and the centralized decision-making process inherent in the implementation of its projects. *Revive Manila* thus, is a fantasy besieged by the malady of brittle order.

What are the permutations of this fantasy and how are these related to the gendering of public space which formed the core of the urban renewal program? How do we explore the connections between the "feminine" and the feminized city in relation to city form (both inscribed and performed) and urban experience? May Datuin asserts that the "feminine" does not refer to essences attributed to women; the feminine is understood as a position formed by a set of socially constructed characteristics, meanings, and behavior that give rise to culturally and historically specific concrete conditions and experiences (2002:18). I take on the feminine both as frame and tool to elaborate the embodied aspect of urban experience in Manila. The "pre-formed" and the "performed" aspects of public life are located in and through bodies. "Pre-formed" is that which is pre-inscribed (written before hand, later projected onto or inscribed). Urban planning largely proceeds from this "pre-inscription" on space, a field that engages the "imaginary, competing representations, differing interests, ideologies and positionalities" (Sassen 1996:6). These contradictory imaginings of the city that are inherent

in planning is the same contentious character which can be taken advantage of and from which alternatives can be drawn. The "performed" aspect of the city corresponds to Lefebvre's (1994) notion of representational space—multiple understandings of public space, a process of constant reinterpretation and ceaseless remaking. Pre-formed points to the pre-inscribed and later on, projected or inscribed onto space imagined as a void, onto unruly bodies. Performing the city, in this sense, transpires from corporeal interactions within its spaces. Further, Griselda Pollock sees the body as both representation and constructed site, a place where sexual difference is marked. And because the body is a sign, it is also a site where resistance is possible (1998:6). Feminism is a "space off" — a space of signification both *a* movement and *in* movement, being in the present and invoking a future (De Lauretis cited in Pollock 1998:18). The feminine refers to this spatial and temporal location, with emphasis on the everyday and the spaces yet to be chronicled. By using feminine lenses and taking on a feminist position, we can possibly ask: "Who is speaking through the redevelopment project that is *Revive Manila*? Whose body is deemed fit to dwell in the "new" spaces of the city?

The organic model of the city configures the city as a body that is birthed, reaching its prime and eventually ageing and decaying. To redeem Manila's stature as the country's capital city, 'redeeming' measures are called for and duly implemented. These measures translate to urban renewal and redevelopment strategies which are disproportionately justified as necessary acts, more like a call of duty. Deustche (1995) rightly insists on the urgent necessity of viewing the city as social process instead of technical product. In technocratic language, the "discourse of public" is often cited as justified end. Images are one means through which these justifications are simplified and disseminated to the various 'publics' that constitute the urban fabric. Alongside the circulation of these fabricated images, a parallel 'public' is constructed. This dovetailed process somehow succeeds in erasing the heterogeneity of the city and ultimately obscures the lopsided benefits of urban redevelopment.

Crafting redemption – traversing linked topographies through film narratives

Can we tease out alternative, and possibly enabling ways of understanding the city and public life through film? In what ways do films with its formal language construct specific urban geographies? What cinematic devices are used to image these film geographies and in what ways are they linked to the actual spaces where filming was done? I approach these questions by continually tracing the theme of disease and decay in cinematic narrative and their particular expressions in cinematic space. Urban decay, I argue is linked to a gendered construction of a dominantly masculine public space. My discussion of these film narratives hence, will focus on the way they utilize a 'moving through' – a manner of 'unfolding' through both the actual sites of the narrative and through the enactment of the lives of both the women characters, Katherine (in *Ikaw Lamang Hanggang Ngayon /* You 'til Now) and Paquita (in *Babae sa BreakWater /* Woman of the Breakwater). The city is embodied by these women, their lives inscribed in decay, their bodies with 'disease/dis-ease' and their eventual healing. Disease and decay then is juxtaposed with redemption and salvation. I move through the layered screens of film sites, women's bodies (Katherine's and Paquita's) and the actual spaces of *Revive Manila's* parks to disclose the entangled construction and deployment of the image of the city as decayed body.

Alongside my discussion of disease and decay, I use the theme of redemption and its implicit references to urban renewal to make sense of these films' layered geographies. While *"Ikaw Lamang Hanggang Ngayon"* (You 'til Now) couches the theme in the allegory of romantic love, *"Babae sa Breakwater"* (Woman of the Breakwater) focuses on the contrast

between core and periphery to underscore the marginal, the refuse of the global city. In revealing the jarring poverty that besets these break water communities, *"Babae sa Breakwater"* (Woman of the Breakwater) subverts and thus makes unreal Bay walk's newly renovated spaces. Like *"Ikaw Lamang…."* however, this revelation is channeled through the lead woman character's (Paquita) body and the narrative revolves around her struggles and eventual 'salvation' which curiously was aided by a man (Basilio, Paquita's love interest).

Figure 3 – Poster for Ikaw Lamang Hanggang Ngayon (You 'til Now)

In *"Ikaw Lamang Hanggang Ngayon"* (You 'til Now) the image of urban decay is paralleled with the protagonists' lives but more so in the character of Katherine, who eventually finds her salvation and reclaims her self through the love she finds with Ryan. The interesting parallel between urban degeneration, the character of Katherine and the life she leads is deftly inserted into the film narrative. During her prolonged absence and while Ryan waits for her in Liwasang Bonifacio's, her presence is conjured by the ongoing construction of the park – an event that frames Ryan's wait. The emergence of Katherine is signaled by the end of the renovation work which becomes the static background to the couple's swirling image in embrace. A recurring shot of the Manila in *"Ikaw Lamang…"* is the panning movement of the camera across Pasig River, punctuated by either Jones or Ayala Bridge and ending with the Neo-Classical façade of the Post Office building, seeming constants in Manila's landscape. Manila in the film is configured through the spatial registers embodied in Katherine's character and the various locations that reference her eventual redemption. Views of the landscape are used as cues and visual anchors to the narrative's culmination of personal redemption – they reinforce the anticipated ending to both Ryan's and Katherine's quest for personal redemption.

It is interesting to note that the many spaces that bear witness to the unfolding of *"Ikaw Lamang's"* narrative signify the contradictions inherent in late capitalism – of the state's incapacity to provide basic needs and the increasingly privatized modes of providing public services. Katherine works at the Post Office, the need for which has increasingly diminished in an age of virtual communication and on-line shopping. Like her seemingly stagnant life, she manually sifts through mail and stamps them listlessly on her dimly lit desk. Post office work conditions are depicted as rife with gossip, inefficiency and a laggard atmosphere. On the other hand, the golf courses of Intramuros where Ryan works as a golf instructor signify openness and access that ideally characterize public spaces. In truth however, these pseudo-public spaces are private spaces of consumption and access to them is defined by wealth and class. In the real spaces of Intramuros, these barricaded golf courses are ringed with homeless families living in carts. The disparate worlds of the wide, open spaces and the cramped carts of the homeless mutely illustrate that which the state futilely conceals and which development forces paradoxically surfaces. The geographies of work where the characters of Katherine and Ryan labor can be understood through a juxtaposition of development outcomes. The love that blossoms between these main characters however, redeems their lives and infuses these spaces with new meanings. Nowhere is this inordinately emphasized than in Ryan's long wait at Liwasang Bonifacio – while his 'redemption' unravels, the park undergoes renovation. Old benches are replaced by new ones, paving is

repaired and the bustle of construction activities is heard through the film's soundtrack. Ryan seemed oblivious to all else that is happening around him but all these activities serve to signal to the viewer the end of his long wait. As anticipated, Katherine emerges from the crowd of commuters in Lawton and they lovingly settle in one of the park's new benches at the end of the film.

The placid narrative stream of "Ikaw Lamang Hanggang Ngayon" (You 'til Now) forms a jarring contrast to the indelible inversions in *"Babae sa BreakWater"* (Woman of the Breakwater). This film opens with upheaval and madness in two different locations. The first, a scene of cult carnage and sacrifice in a seaside town in Leyte and the second, a carnivalesque celebration of city dregs along Bay Walk in Manila. Both these events oddly signal uneasiness, a sense that something must have been *mis*placed or that these events must be happening in the wrong places. The opening scene is preceded by the information on the country's urban poor, 41% of the population who live below the poverty line. The segment on the Leyte cult ritual explains the presence of the brothers Crispin and Basilio in Manila's Bay Walk sea wall shanties. Their father single-handedly killed members of the cult group and he ends up being killed himself, he dives into the sea when he felt he was near death and his body is never found. The sea constitutes a central geography in *"Babae sa Break Water's" mise-en-scene*. The sea understood as place is embedded at various nodes – in Crispin and Basilio's bodies and in Paquita's body which it heals. It is fitting to claim that indeed, the sea both literally and figuratively imaged by the film is the space of salvation and redemption for the film's protagonists. The sea that demarcates both Leyte and Manila is to be understood as the location that links far-off places, it is a belonging that streams through Basilio's and Crispin's bodies. Its dark waters are spaces of refuge for them, where traditional knowledge and belonging is sought and found. Hence, their deaths were understood by the sea wall community they considered as family as "claims made by the sea" – they were claimed by the seas as their father before them.

Figure 4 – Babae sa Breakwater (Woman of the Breakwater) poster

Redemption in *"Babae sa Break Water"* (Woman of the Break Water) is embodied by Paquita's character. She survives the hardships of life along the sea wall, the physical pain wrought by her being a prostitute. It is Basilio who 'rescues' and redeems her – healing her of the skin disease that marks her and making her believe that a better life is possible. We find Paquita screaming like the mad Sisa in Rizal's Noli Me Tangere as she struggles with the sea's strong waves for Basilio's lifeless body. She finally leaves the sea wall as their shanties were burned by thugs and found belonging in the Basilio's Leyte hometown. The city in *"Babae sa Breakwater"* (Woman of the Breakwater) is imaged as a bleak landscape for poor migrants from the provinces. The gleam of their dreams of life in the city becomes incomprehensible against the dirt and indignity of their lives in Manila. The *mis-placed* narrative of the film cast against the newly refurbished Bay Walk echo this frustration and despair.

Fragmented narratives of Manila

The juxtaposed topographies in *"Babae sa Breakwater"* (Woman of the Breakwater) succeeds in imaging the harsh outcomes of urban renewal programs. By inserting the carnivalesque into a seamlessly ordered landscape, it surfaces a film topography that aims to reveal. The film thus, presents us a disrupted image of the newly refurbished Bay Walk. On the other hand, *"Ikaw Lamang Hanggang Ngayon"* (You 'til Now) endorses the necessity of the overdue renovation to Liwasang Bonifacio's open spaces. Manila's filmed landscape anchored the narrative's unfolding to its layered sites – bodies, lives and romantic partnership. These chosen sites are articulated through the film's topography, which served as visual cues and anchors to the narrative. Both films share a preoccupation with depicting the city as amalgamated whole – a site of dreams, desires and hope yet afflicted with diseased despair. The city's darker face is rescued by both the film's underlying theme of redemption. In *"Ikaw Lamang Hanggang Ngayon"* (You 'til Now), we find blossoming love and personal redemption coming to their fruition in a site which was also 'redeemed' / reclaimed. On the other hand, *"Babae sa Breakwater"* (Woman of the Breakwater) loosely configures such redemption in the healed body and psyche of Paquita; in the sense of community that sustain the illegal settlers beneath the sea wall, and ultimately to Paquita's move to a sea-side town in Leyte.

In both cases however, it is the body and person of the main woman protagonist who carries the symptoms of site. In various ways, their bodies supplant the city and become metaphors for the city itself. It is also interesting to note that the theme of redemption is couched in heterosexual relationships that blossom between the main characters. These are gestures that elucidate an understanding of the city as inherently gendered. Degenerated, decayed cities are often imaged as monstrous, grotesque bodies to be tamed. This monstrosity in Katherine's character is her bleak outlook in life, her dowdy appearance and a job that initially didn't fulfill her. Paquita's monstrous body on the other hand, is plagued by disease, her being a prostitute and her hardened ways. In both cases, their eventual healing was possible only through the presence of the men in their lives, Ryan in Katherine's and Basilio in Paquita's. I believe that this narrative strand is related to the way the Atienza city government imagined Manila.

Examination of the various texts within the representational systems dealt with in this paper point to a dominant discourse of disease and decay inherent in urban renewal. This discourse is further gendered and sexualized. In most cases, the decayed city is imagined as a grotesque female body. This is nowhere more obvious than in sources that articulate *Revive Manila* goals. In the context of the program, salvation is tinged with like redemption as that viewed in the films discussed. In the published interviews with the mayor, he points to the necessary act of 'revival' which we can make sense of as parallel redemption. This paper aimed to show that the theme of decay courses through images of the city even in representational systems that function separately from the official propaganda machinery of state agencies. The main reason why the city government campaigns for *Revive Manila* are effectively deployed is that they draw from already instituted, ideologically stable ways of thinking about the city. I think it is crucial that we draw these questions deeper and delve into questions of class and gender that are initially ignored. These have the most repercussion on actual, real lives lived on the city's streets which are most often in stark contrast in idealized images of city life. Thus, the entwined character of various representational systems whose relationships may not be readily discerned can be mined to reveal - and perhaps disrupt the seamless, overriding character of imaginaries shaped from a dominant position of power.

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Touchez pas au Grisbi (1954), *Du Rififi chez les Hommes* (1955) and *Bob le Flambeur* (1956): Discussing Criminal Paris, Spatial Representation, Memory and Modernity in mid-1950s

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Introduction

The paper places at its centre three classic *noir* crime thrillers from the mid 1950s: (a) *Touchez pas au Grisbi* (1954) an expensive production directed by well-established French director Jacques Becker, with national star Jean Gabin as the protagonist. (b) *Du Rififi chez les hommes* (1955) a modest French–Italian co-production, with no stars in its cast, directed by American Jules Dassin already famous for his semi-documentary depiction of New York (*The Naked City*, 1948) and the expressionistic depiction of London (*Night and the City*, 1950). (c) *Bob le Flambeur* (1956) a small-budget independent production, without stars, produced and directed by Jean-Pierre Melville, a relatively new entry in French film Industry.

The 'cinematic' and 'real' setting in all three films is 1950s Paris. It is exactly this city's spatiotemporal representation which will form the basis of present analysis. Avoiding the tendency within film *noir* studies (an urban genre *par excellence*) which emphasise the city as a static backdrop expressing danger, melancholia and a general pessimistic mood, I will attempt to map the cinematic geography of Paris and present snap-shots of the essence of the invoked Paris –'real', 'lived' and 'cinematic'.

Mid 1950s, which forms the running thread of the present discussion, was a time of great global mobility and change. Tourism, modernisation predominantly in the form of imported Americanisation was dynamically establishing their grounds in Europe at a time when Europe was eager to heal or bury the psychosomatic trauma of World War II. In the case of France attempts of healing were further complicated due to the trauma referred as *le syndrome de Vichy* (Rousso 1991) caused by the years of official collaboration with the Nazi regime, causing a rift at the core of nation's psyche between collaborators and those who resist. The Algerian war, started in 1954, would further add to the national trauma and uncertainty since colonial France was threatened to lose part of her territories but also part of her post-war prestige as a global colonial power.

The paper is divided in three parts: the first part introduces post-card landmark Paris, and some thoughts on how this setting is used. The second part discusses the infiltration of the 'foreigner' in the physical form of tourist and the implications to the geographical representation of Paris on micro-cosmic local level or macrocosmic national level. The last part discusses briefly the visual and ideological construction of periphery, the space outside the core of the city.

Post-card Paris

Paris was and remains one of the most photographed and recognised cities in the world. It is exactly this photographic quality which is re-created with the panoramic elevated and skyline images in the opening scene of both *Bob* and *Grisbi*. The camera reveals a densely-built city, not particularly photogenic in its anarchic and mismatched building formation. It could have been any-city if it wasn't for the image of the *Basilique du Sacré Coeur*, in Montmartre which places the image firmly in Paris. The leisurely and nonchalant pace of the camera's movement

in both films mentally recreates the act of street-level strolling, rendering the city historical continuity by invoking memories of the indigenous Baudelairian *flâneur*, and through a modern economical entity in the form of tourist who had rediscovered and invaded 1950s Paris as part of the practice of 'mass tourism' (Furlough 1998), a term introduced in mid-1950s France as *'tourism de série'* (Siegfried, 1955: 107). In *Grisbi* the *Sacré-Coeur* remains part of the general background, one building amongst many, thus democratising the visual, public experience of the city. In similar democratic vein the camera in a long shot includes in the images of city not only the *Sacré-Coeur*, a monument of 'high' culture but also the *Moulin de la Galette*, the windmill situated near the top of Montmartre, a 'modern' monument, classified as such in 1939 before it concludes its geographical introduction of the city with *Moulin Rouge* on *Place Blance*, another landmark of popular mass culture. This resulted in three ideologically different Parisian markers, which synopsize best the two essences of visited/touristy Paris, that of a city of high/serious cultural past and that of light/amorous fun. While in *Grisbi* all three recognised landmarks remain part of the general background in *Bob* the camera freezes and isolates the *Sacré de Coeur* in a snap-shot of an unmistakable post-card aesthetics. While this particular practice of isolation and visual prioritazion of this particular cultural monument may indicate on a first level an ideological and cultural eliticism on Melville's part, it becomes clear as the film progresses that *Sacré-Coeur's* visual prioritisation is not merely because of its significance as a public landmark. It becomes a personal marker connecting the domestic/private space of the aged gangster Bob Montagné (Roger Duchene) not with an anonymous neighbourhood but with a recognisable nationally and internationally landmark.

Figure 1

As Bob enters his apartment, the tall window which covers a whole wall brings the *Sacré de Coeur* indoors, becoming part of the personal space, while maintaining its postcard quality in its static framing (fig.1). On a personal level this permanent architectural presence of a famous landmark preserves spatiotemporal Parisian memory in domestic space, particularly poignant in the changing mid-1950s geography, where big areas of the capital were demolished as part of modernisation (Ross 1998). On a cinematic self-referential level the image of the tall and extremely wide oblong window with the transparent curtains paired with Bob's conscious acknowledgement through a fixed gazing can be read as a reference to cinematic screen. What this framing implies however is the visual connection between photographed, post-card Paris and cinematic one, acknowledging the contribution of both to the construction and marketing of photographed Paris.

While both French directors, Becker and Melville seem frugal in the usage of images of post-card landmark Paris, American director Dassin lacking indigenous national grounding, follows the opposite route, with a significantly greater number of landmark images appearing in *Rififi*. While the opening of the film locates the action in a claustrophobic gambling room at the back of a coffee shop, a place that could be anywhere, as soon as the action moves outdoors, the parked 2CV (an emblematic French car) firmly grounds the film to French soil. In the next scene this general French geography will be specified by the framing of the famous Mappin and Webb jewellery shop. Thus the space is furthermore identified as part of central Paris and most specifically as *Rue de la Paix*, the heart of commercial landmark Paris, an attractive space for local and international buyers and tourists alike attracted by the famous *Place Vendôme* column and good expensive shopping. As the film progresses *Rue de la Paix,*

Place Vendôme, the *Arc de Triomphe*, the *Place de la Concorde* with the Egyptian obelisque of Luxor in the centre and the church of Madeleine, the *Pont d'Austerlitz,* the *Place Valhubert* the *Jardin des Plantes*, the river *Seine* and the *Moulin de la Galette* will all be captured in numerous snapshots. However, what makes a number of those recognisable Parisian landmarks incompatible with traditional post-card aesthetics is the awkward angling of the camera, the fast editing often paired with the speed of a car, and the lack of natural or artificial lighting on night shots, the later in accordance to *noir* aesthetics.

Parisian Landscape and the Intrusion of 'Foreigner'

From the post-card Paris of the opening scene both *Grisbi* and *Bob* swiftly move and zoom onto specific locales. In *Grisbi* it is an enclosed space, Mme Bouche's restaurant, placed somewhere in Montmartre 'since it follows on immediately from the opening credits' (Hewitt: 71). The camera frames Max (Jean Gabin) and his company, enjoying a generous feast. A small group of anonymous people possibly tourists but nevertheless unknown to Mme Bouche (Denise Clair), attempt to enter the space in order to eat. Despite the empty tables and the plethora of delectable food, openly displayed and admired, they are refused service, sent instead to the restaurant across the road. France as a country throughout the 20th century and particularly in the decades after the war had built a reputation as the country of good food. Delicatessens and champagne were two of France's most important export categories, targeting predominantly the American market particularly after the Blum-Byrnes agreement (Hubert-Lacombe 1996) Furthermore, Paris was consciously using the art of gastronomy in order to market itself to visitors, progressively gaining the status of the world capital of gastronomy. This scene is poignant for two reasons. It acknowledges the marketability of French food in a rather straightforward manner. However, Mme Bouche's resistance to the invasion of foreigner's emblematic in the 1950s French cinema (Forbes 1992: 48) reflects in its heroic attempt to maintain territorial integrity the popular ideological rhetoric of French resistance, mythologized in the immediate post-war years. It is exactly that national heroic rhetoric that makes the scene's inherent xenophobia more palatable. It is only towards the end of the film that the foreigner will successfully infiltrate Mme Bouche's restaurant in the form of Betty, Max's American elegantly dressed girlfriend. Singled out by the locals she manages however to negotiate her place not only through her close relationship with Max (furthermore enhanced by Jean Gabin's national emblematic status) but also through her impeccable sense of fashion and elegance, both in spatiotemporal harmony with the strong tradition of Parisian *haute couture*.

While the intimate and physical enclosure of Mme Bouche's restaurant fights for the maintenance of its original micro-geographic identity, the Parisian open place also struggles to resist the 'foreigner'. In *Bob* the camera zooms-in at the *Pigalle* Metro at *Boulevard de Clichy* before it moves on, to map the particular geography of the area, revealing a commercial area of erotic bars and clubs. The international dimension of this space is revealed instantly by the visual presence of English written language at the menu/advertisement of a little fast-food place. The culture of fast-food, inherently against the grain of the traditional French gastronomic art, together with the emblematic presence of the 'coca-cola' sign visualises the infiltration of American culture (Kuisel 1993), a far more serious danger compared to the physical infiltration of the American sailor. The later's visual (uniform) and aural (spoken English in American culture) presence has a limited temporal dimension as seen speeding out with Ann (Isabelle Corey) unlike the geographical permanence of the fast-food restaurant, framed as integral part of the area. However, the slow pace in Ann's eating style, picking leisurely one fry at the time, putting it in her mouth and chewing it for some time

before moving to the next one maintains some national resistance in its leisurely pace as it goes against the essence of fast-food.

Unlike *Bob* or *Grisbi* where the tourist is approached with caution, Dassin in *Rififi* uses the space of public landmarks and tourism as the perfect cover-up for criminal action. So, Jo *le Suedois* the Swedish (Carl Mӧhner) the night of the robbery is geographically positioned in an area which the snap-shots of the obelisk of Luxor and the church of Madeline identifies it as *Place de la Concorde* a well-visited touristy landmark. The suitcase he holds, his exit from the subway steps of the metro, ascribes to him the identity of a 'visitor'/tourist.

The robbery is planned meticulously; Jo assumes the role of the tourist and resides in the hotel 'Calais' at *Rue de Paix* at *Place Vendôme*. It is under this pretext that he collects vital information about the spatiotemporal specificities of the area, vital for the success of the impending robbery. The eye (placed at a privileged elevated space) that watches this area is neither the nonchalant eye of *flâneur* nor that of tourist. The seamless, smooth infiltration of a public area paired with the scientific thoroughness and the intensity of an obsessive visual surveillance has ideological and visual elements of espionage, evoking uneasy memories from France's recent Vichy past. The right to watch without being looked at, can be transported to the colonial problem, according to Leenhardt (1973), thus rendering to the scene not only a past but a contemporary (mid-1950s) relevance, if read within the context of the repressed colonies and the Algerian conflict. Dassin here 'plays' with aspects and levels of 'foreigners' inherent in Jo's filmic character played by Austrian actor Carl Mӧhner's rendering to his real and cinematic immigrant status a real power, reversing dominant order and restoring to the immigrant what was denied by the state. The setting in Rue de Paix, the core of 2nd *arrondissement* with its economical significance also adds to the colonial/immigrant reading.

Out of Paris and back

In both *Grisbi* and *Bob* all the spectacular criminal action (with the exception of Marc's execution by Paulo at central Pigalle) takes place outside the borders of the city, which seems to be in accordance with the 1950s contemporary official state ideology, promoting Paris (the core of the nation) as a modern, 'purified' and safe city (Ross 1998). In *Rififi* the criminal action is equally shared between urban and outer spaces, making crime a dark reality you cannot escape from, regardless of the space, a far more hellish image closer to the genre's style and history.

In *Grisbi* it is *la route de Villennes*, just one kilometer from the junction with *Autoroute de l'Ouest*, as the road sign indicates. It is here where the battle between the two rival gangs takes place: Max (Jean Gabin) agrees to hand over the loot together with Angelo's captured man Fifi (Daniel Cauchy) in exchange for his friend Ritton (René Dary), kidnapped and held prisoner by Angelo (Lino Ventura). The long and straight stretch of road with a long clear view sets the scene for the prisoner exchange. From this point on and up to the disastrous final outcome with the destruction of the loot and the perishing of people from both sides the scene bears an essence of pre-war gangster imagery. However, it is predominantly executed with techniques associated with war practice: the blindfolded prisoner and his exchange, the use of the ambiguous *citrӧen avant-tranction*, a car ideologically and visually associated with the Vichy period and ideology (Vincendeau 1992), the use of grenades, the practice of surveillance, surprise and assault, concluding in a spectacular explosion, are all reminiscent of France's recent past. The fact that the *Autoroute de l'Ouest*, France's first motorway which 'came to 'symbolize the nation's accession to the modern world' (Hewitt 2004: 74) is so close yet not the setting for this scene's actions pins the scene further to the past, reinforcing dark memories of Vichy.

In *Bob* outer Paris is introduced by the open freeway as Bob in his American car leisurely cruises to his destination: a gambling day at the *Deauville-La Touques* Racecourse. Later on the framing of open fields with stud farms confirms the area as outer Deauville, the main horse breeding region in France. However, both the race-course and the open fields are identifiable as part of Deauville only to those sharing the regional information. Therefore, they are most likely recognised on a national rather than international level. Similarly, we get few external shots of the town of Deauville, taken from inside the moving car while a quick map is drawn on the spot. Found in the *Bass-Normandie* region, Deauville is famous for its good life and a popular destination predominantly for internal tourism; the camera reveals a town with harbour, marinas the Grand Casino and sumptuous hotels. This space has an unmistakable bourgeois appeal and since it has hardly suffered during World War II it can stand as a symbol of national continuity and duress, particularly when compared to Mantes.
Mantes is another outer-Paris locale, never visited but seen in the form of a road-sign, on the way to Deauville. Written in bold, capital letters at the very top of the sign-post, Mantes 'presents' on screen as a name but it never materialises in its physical form. Mantes was the location of the first allied bridgehead across the Seine on August 9, 1944 by General Patton's Army. It is also a place which suffered almost total physical destruction signalled by its visual absence on screen. In a country like France that suffered overall few casualties of that type, this reference cannot be accidental. Symbolically it unites two towns that suffered very different fates during World War II. Combined with the visual of the freeway and the big American car Mantes becomes also relevant to modernity, not only through its symbolical reference to the 'American invasion' of General Patton but through the general rebuilding which took place in Mantes after the end of the war, eradicating symbolically and 'purifing' the past while erecting a new future.

Rebuilding and expansion were two important elements of Paris's transformation and reinvention in the 1950s (all the way into the 60s and 70s). The rural exodus in the 1950s reached between 100,000 and 150,000 people per year for the city (Rioux 1987: 181). In Paris, the core of the nation and a metonym for the whole nation, a substantial part of *quartier populaire* was demolished with the ideological pretext of hygiene and security (Evenson 1979: 309-310) What is interesting is that while *Grisbi* does not incorporate in its visual cinematography any of those changes and *Bob* might only imply them by locating them in a non-Parisian setting, *Rififi* observes and addresses both issues on a political level, placing against the old fashion working-class neighbourhood the rediscovery of the capitalist dream. Expansion is presented in the symbolic form of an under-construction villa located in *St-Rémy lès Chevreuse* a posh suburb, south-west of Paris. It belongs to Grutter, the villain of the narrative, the owner of *L'Age d' Or* in Pigalle. Connected with Paris through the Metro *Port Royal* but also by car through the *boulevards extérieurs St-Rémy lès Chevreuse* is not presented as a cohesive geographical reality but rather as open fields, primitive paths with scattered, partly visible houses, one of them Grutter's. The impressive construction of the villa reveals the bourgeois aspirations of its criminal/businessman owner, poignantly visualised in the framing of the big suitcase, full of money and placed at the core of this construction next to Jo's lifeless body. The physical removal of the kidnapped Tonio (Dominique Maurin) the sole survivor of this space and his return from outer/suburban Paris to his birth space of the 20th *arrondissement* known as Bercy is framed as a succession of hurdles. Heavily wounded, Tony frantically drives Grutter's American flashy car (part of the capitalist dream with clear American overtones) in empty freeways racing against time as the heavy bleeding threatens to stop him from safely delivering Tonio back to his house. His attempts to maintain high speed as he leaves the *boulevard extérieurs* and penetrates the core of old Paris are appropriated and regulated by an invention of urban modernity; the traffic lights privileged by the cinematic camera. Yet as he enters the *Boulevard de Belleville*,

Figure 2

Boulevard de Menilmontant, Rue de Menilmontant, Avenue Simon Bolivas at the *Rue de la Bidaso* his trip comes to an end. From posh St-*Rémy lès Chevreuse*, Tony's trip maps both the space of modernity in the form of a new suburban area and the space of tradition in the form of old/pre-war working-class *faubourgs* to the east of Paris; areas which from mid-1950s suffered demolition. The American car, disproportionally big, looks out of place in relation to the other on-screen local cars (fig.2) Furthermore its awkward positioning in space indicates an act of almost violent invasion, which can be read on a visual level as an aesthetic and ideological cacophony of an imported modernity. This last image which concludes the film pays homage to the old working-class Paris capturing its essence before it disappears.

Epilogue

The shape that I have given my discussion of cinematic Paris is just one of many and by no means the only one. As it is in the form of an overview capturing only a short space and time of cinematic Paris it is by no means conclusive but hopefully can add to discussions and of reconsideration of cinematic Paris in the 1950s. And I am aware that my mapping and discussion of spatial Paris is just the beginning of more discussions to follow.

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Cine-Tecture:
A filmic reading and critique of architecture in cities

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Context

As historians have repeatedly claimed, the number of prominent architects, particularly in Germany and France, who have engaged with film productions from the 1920s onwards suggests the longstanding 'applied' reciprocity between the disciplines of architecture and film. Examples include the German architect, Hans Poelzig, who built the set for Carl Boese's and Paul Wegener's expressionist film classic, *Der Golem, wie er in die Welt kam* (1920). Robert Mallet-Stevens, one of the pioneers of French architectural modernism, claimed that although film has a distinct influence on modern architecture, modern architecture also shares filmic properties since both essentially consist of 'images in movement.' (Mallet-Stevens 1925: 96).[1] Mallet-Stevens was also involved in the production of films, working on both the set design for Marcel L'Herbier's film, *L'Inhumaine* (1924), and featuring his architecture in Man Ray's surrealist film, *Les Mystères du Château de Dé* (1929). Le Corbusier, who was influenced by the architectural historian, Sigfried Giedion, who insisted in 1928 that only film (rather than photography) could intelligibly capture the essence of the Franco-Swiss architectural work (Giedion 1995: 176), collaborated with Pierre Chenal on the documentary film, *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* (1929). In this instance, the medium of film was not only used to solve the problem of visual representation, such as that presented by the so-called multi-perspectival character of modern architecture, but was also a means of promoting the architect and his work. Another example is Bauhaus Master László Moholy-Nagy who, in 1921, drafted a typo-photo script for a film that, although never produced, intended to capture dynamic aspects of the Berlin metropolis. Moholy-Nagy also used film to capture his experimental work (for instance in *Lightplay: Black-White-Grey*, 1932), to produce a record of events important for the development of modern architecture (for instance in his film shot during CIAM [International Congress of Architecture] in August, 1933) and to document various aspects of urban life (for instance, in *Marseille Vieux Port*, 1929). Later on in his career, Moholy-Nagy even participated in a commercial feature film production, Alexander Korda's film *Things to Come* (1936), for which he made a special effects sequence. To his disappointment, only about nine seconds survived in the final cut of the film (Frayling 1995: 71-73).[2]

While these notable examples appear, at first glance, to demonstrate an intense engagement between architects and film production in the early twentieth century, it is worth remembering that the group mentioned above forms an exception to the rule. The majority of their forward-looking contemporaries were more sceptical towards narrative film and did not consider it to be an expedient medium for their practice. Many considered that narrative film, as a genre, was too influenced by stage arts and, as such, could not be considered an art in its own right. As such, it is debateable whether any of the filmic products mentioned above actually informed the architectural practices of those architects involved. However, they may have informed the architectural practices of other architects, especially if one accepts the idea

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[1] See also: (Bruno 2002: 67).
[2] For further reading on the role of film in the representation and production of modern architecture see: (Colomina 1994) and (Albrecht 2000).

that, for example, Mallet-Stevens' and Le Corbusier's portrayal of ultramodern architecture in film promoted a short-lived, but triumphal phase of architectural modernism in Europe. The question remains, therefore, as to whether the work of those architects involved in the medium of film show any visual, narrative or conceptual traces from their engagement with moving images. Perhaps, in this search for the reciprocity between architecture and film the question has been posed the wrong way around. Instead we should be questioning the kind of knowledge that a filmmaker could bring into 'architectural practice' and how s/he could engage with spatio-urban formations through his/her comprehension of film narration and editing. Arguably, this unconventional approach would provide a new meaning to Gideon's quote, 'only film can make the new architecture intelligible'.

During *La Nouvelle Vague* period of French filmmaking practices in the late 1950s and 1960s, celebrated figures, such as Goddard, Truffaut, Rohmer, Chabrol and Rivette, drew attention to a type of filmmaking practice that, after a long period of studio productions, took the camera onto the streets of Paris and other cities. Perhaps it is no coincidence that this transition from studio to street was directly preceded by a series of architectural writings that considered both the fragmented and disjointed, as well as linear and sequential nature of the city, and, as such, considered urban space as an almost proto-cinematic entity. For example, Gordon Cullen's *The Concise Townscape* (1961) developed the concept of 'serial vision'. Similar to those methods employed by storyboard artists, he undertook a shot-by-shot analysis while travelling at equal pace through a series of urban spaces. Likewise, Christopher Alexander's work *A Pattern Language: Towns, Buildings, Construction* (1977), which is derived from a study of medieval cities, scientifically dissects architectural design into a grammar of discrete units. Depending on the particular situation and by making use of his rules and regulations, these units can be reassembled (edited) and applied to any scheme, so that the result, once again, produces a harmonious environment. Colin Rowe argues in his book *Collage City* (1978), written in association with Fred Koetter, that since the 17th century, cities, being a 'didactic instrument', consist of 'ambiguous and composite buildings' (Rowe 1984: 121,168). As such, they are disintegrated and fragmented, and call for an enlightened, pluralistic design strategy in which historical references reside – collage-like – alongside and within contemporary architectural articulations.

The aforementioned term 'practice' does not, of course, limit itself to a unilateral form of knowledge transfer, but includes the production of architecture and urban space, as well as its consumption. The public on the streets of a typical city in the Western hemisphere is, in most cases, surrounded by the products of architects and planners. Most people that use these spaces are not trained in a planning discipline, but have grown up in a culture that, since the early years of childhood, exposes them to an active and passive consumption (or reading) of moving images. It does not, therefore, seem too farfetched to hypothesize that concepts surrounding film production, such as the way a film is edited, could inform our consumption of architecture in an urban context. Central to this investigation lies the realisation that film and architecture share a number of properties of which 'narration' is arguably one of the most important agents in the transfer of spatially-embedded information. As many filmmakers will confirm, any film narrative, no matter how well it is put together, will fail without a decent plot.[3] The same could perhaps be applied to cities. Cities that have no coherent spatio-narrative structure tend to be places that have little lasting impression on our memory. The plot, which an experienced video editor normally assembles on the timeline from a multitude of small visual fragments (shots), seems to be missing in many contemporary cities today.

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[3] This does not apply to abstract film.

Embodied narrative: The art of walking through urban spaces

Like films, architecture and entire cities can have linear, non-linear and multi-narrative qualities. Unlike film, this narrative quality is linked in architecture to our bodily movement through space and our engagement with the social practices occurring in those spaces. In this model, our body is, to use Merleau-Ponty's analogy, not simply a passive object *in* space or time, but '*inhabits* space and time' (Merleau-Ponty 1962: 139). Due to the corporality of our consciousness, the body has the power to generate space itself (Merleau-Ponty 1962: 387). Merleau-Ponty further explores this non-dualist ontology between the overlapping of the body and the world that surrounds it in *The Visible and the Invisible* (1968), in which he argues that 'things pass into us, as well as we into the things' (Merleau-Ponty 1968: 123). When translated into the world of an embodied filmic reading of architectural space, this could be interpreted as our movement through, and activities within, urban space influence the way in which that space is 'edited' and, therefore, influence its narrative.

Figure 1: Liverpool city centre.

Michel de Certeau compares the act of pedestrians walking through a city with linguistic formations, such as writing, whereby the individual becomes an active part in the creation of an urban reality: 'Walking, which alternately follows a path and has followers, creates a mobile organicity in the environment, a sequence of phatic *topoi*' (de Certeau 1988: 99). Such linguistic qualities are further explored by Roland Barthes, in *Semiology and Urbanism* (1967). He names Victor Hugo as being the first to have recognized the signifying nature of urban space. Barthes notes that 'the city is a writing (Barthes 1997: 167).[4] He who moves about the city, e.g. the user of the city (what we all are), is a kind of reader who, following his obligations and his movements, appropriates fragments of the utterance in order to actualize them in secret' (Barthes 1997: 170).

It is clear from these and other phenomenological examinations of cities that our urban centres are more than just a static formation made from brick and mortar. Cities are kinetic constructs, a physical manifestation of a 'strategy' (de Certeau 1988: 35), places which can have more than 'one' identity, and whose meanings and interpretations depend on the physical engagement with this space. In raising questions about the practice of moving through space, De Certeau talks about a 'temporal articulation of places' and criticises its often insufficient representation in a 'spatial sequence of points' (de Certeau 1988: 35). Rather than a direct link between the city and the medium of film (for example, a 35mm film strip), this description of everyday urban practices and the embodied consumption of space permits another link to be made between a city and a linear sequence of interchangeable film fragments on a digital timeline with which many film and video editors work today.

In this metaphor, the profession of architect and planner is akin to that of the filmmaker and editor who creates moving images of the city that are produced and assembled spatially for public consumption. This is not to say that the architect or planner can claim the status of an *auteur* who produces a particular reading of urban space. It is rather that s/he contributes to the spatial dispositif with which 'the walker transforms each spatial signifier into something else' (de Certeau 1988: 98), thereby making the act of writing at least as important as the act of reading urban space. In fact, architectural practice shows that the acts

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[4] See also: (Rabate 1997: 5)

of reading and writing urban space are interconnected in that the design of urban settings can influence the way they are used; or at least this is what architects want to believe.

Georg Simmel famously described the nineteenth-century metropolis with the words: 'With each crossing of the street, with the tempo and multiplicity of economic, occupational and social life, the city sets up a deep contrast with small town and rural life with reference to the sensory foundations of psychic life' (Simmel 2003: 133). Simmel objects to big cities because living within them can lead to 'the intensification of nervous stimulation', resulting from the 'swift and uninterrupted change of outer and inner stimuli' (Simmel 2003: 132). When Simmel published this point of view in 1903, the 'rapid crowding of changing images' (Simmel 2003: 133) – which aside from those elements of urban life that he criticises also provided the spatial grandeur and visual splendour of cities such as Berlin, Paris and London – was an appropriate framework for his argument. Faced with the bleak urban architectural reality of many post-war, post-industrial cities and the changes in our perception of cities, we now look back to Simmel's argument with a mixture of nostalgia and antagonism.

Today, many of the urban centres that we inhabit suffer from either an architectural identity (or rather a homogenous lack of identity) that is tied either to an (inter)national corporate uniform of retailers, or to a post-modern pastiche architecture (paradoxically, not unlike that described in Rowe's book, *Collage City*) that tries to avoid any dialogue (or conflict) with the context in which it is situated. Cities that are in the fortunate position of having preserved historical buildings following both the Second World War and the atrocities of the 1960s' urban regeneration projects, still seem to have problems integrating contemporary architecture into their fabric. What starts out as an opportunity, the *Baulücke* (the gap between buildings) – a re- or undeveloped open plot of land within a dense urban fabric – often attracts the kind of architecture that tries to avoid contrariety and difference at all costs, often becoming meaningless in the process. More than any other urban activity, the act of walking mindfully through such 're-generated' areas reveals the full depth of this self-inflicted misery. Even those projects that have perhaps considered the immediate adjoining flanks of existing architecture, but have failed to engage with the wider narratives (with which every city is equipped and which consists of one or more storylines), risk contributing to a spatio-narrative incoherency, which is indicative of cities whose entire plot has begun to fail.

Cine-Tecture: A cinematic engagement with urban space

A number of highly regarded architects with successful practices, such as Bernhard Tschumi, Rem Koolhaas, Coop Himmelblau, Juhani Pallasmaa and Jean Nouvel, have pointed out that either the spatial qualities in film (cinematic architecture) or film language (the architecture of film) have influenced their approach to architectural design. Giuliana Bruno notes that this phenomenon is linked to the advent of post-structuralism and especially the philosophy of deconstruction. The theories of its main protagonists, such as the architect, Peter Eisenman, and the philosopher, Jacques Derrida, have entered into a contemporary architectural discourse that is linked to a theory of 'various forms of mobilization' (Bruno 2002: 67). While Bruno sees in this an architectural 'impulse to embody the moving image' (Bruno 2002: 68), this development also poses the opposite question concerning the 'filmic embodiment in architecture' – in other words, whether or not it is possible to engage with architecture in cinematic terms.

Bernhard Tschumi has played an important and pioneering role in generating a new consciousness regarding the overlapping character traits between film language and architectural design; one that continues to cast its shadow over the work of contemporary architects and architectural students today. In his book, *Manhattan Transcripts* (1984), Tschumi offers an experimental, deconstructed 'reading of architecture in which space,

movements and events are independent, yet stand in a new relation to one another' (Tschumi 1984: 7). He argues the pertinent point that the profession-specific modes of communication between architects, such as plans, sections, spaces and implied movements, are not dissimilar to filmic instruments, such as, Eisenstein's use of 'montage' (Tschumi 1984:.7). Tschumi illustrates in his book 'disjoined levels of reality' (Tschumi 1984:.8); a condition that is not unlike the layering of various filmic narratives occurring simultaneously in time and space. Importantly, this thinking, inspired by post-structuralist linguistics, has also inspired his practice and has substantial influenced projects, such as the *Parc de la Villette* on the outskirts of Paris and *Le Fresnoy, The National Studio of Contemporary Arts* in Tourcoing (Tschumi 1984: XXX). Tschumi is sensible to the notion that architecture and the context by which it is surrounded have a narrative function, one that also seems to be an agent in the production of subjective urban identities.

Rem Koolhaas, who studied scriptwriting at the Dutch Film Academy before going into architecture, famously recognized that 'there is surprisingly little difference between one activity and the other […] I think that the art of the scriptwriter is to conceive sequences of episodes which build suspense and a chain of events […] The largest part of my work is montage […] spatial montage.'[5] Like Tschumi, he alludes to the fact that we can engage with architecture as a series of events, which, not unlike filmic events, are parts of a sequentially arranged narrative that unfolds as we

Figure 2: Casa da Musica, Porto.

engage bodily with his buildings. His Casa da Musica in Porto, for instance, is built at the edge of the *Praça Mouzinho de Albuquerque*, one of Porto's main circular inner-city intersections. A walk through the interior of the building reveals a series of disjointed, multi-angular spaces, platforms and auditoria, whose large openings serve as a frame and mediation between the starkly contrasting building itself and its immediate architectural environment. As for the exterior, the building serves in form and function as montage-like cut between two distinctly different parts of Porto: the city's historic quarter and a residential working-class neighbourhood.

Jean Nouvel sees time and movement as the key constituents in both architectural and filmic practices: 'Architecture exists, like cinema, in the dimension of time and movement.'[6] However, he goes one step further by using the same specific terminologies normally assigned to film language in order to describe the way in which he engages with the spatial qualities of architecture: 'One conceives and reads a building in terms of sequences. To erect a building is to predict and seek effects of contrast and linkage through which one passes […]. In the continuous shot/sequence that a building is, the architect works with cuts and edits, framings and openings […].'[7] Inspired by such discourses, this paper will now expand such thinking out and onto an urban scale and offer a filmic reading of urban space that, as Barthes described, stands in a constant dialogue with us:

'The city is a discourse and this discourse is truly a language: the city speaks to its inhabitants, we speak our city, the city where we are, simply by living in it, by wandering through it, by looking at it.' (Barthes 1997: 169)

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[5] Quoted in: (Toy 1994: 7) and (Bruno 2002: 68).
[6] Quoted in: (Tauttenbury 1994: 35).
[7] Quoted in: (Tauttenbury 1994: 35) and (Pallasmaa 2001: 17).

However, unlike Barthes' approach to urban semiology, this interpretation of urban space does not consider the city to have a particular language, author and reader. The urban 'cinemantics' (derived from the term semantics) discussed here can be understood without a precise linguistic knowledge of units, syntax and grammar. It considers the city as a layered, multifaceted system that is open to interpretation, a sphere that is shaped and understood by more than just functional programme, economic constraints, environmental concerns and social impacts (being the measures that lie at the fingertips of architects and planners when considering urban interventions). The standard methods of measuring urban situations, which are discussed in the following chapters, rely not only on the signifying nature of the city, but also on the individual inhabitant and collective populace engaging with this urban setting. In these shifting, multi-cultural times, for many cities there are, naturally, multiple possible perspectives. Yet, not unlike Dziga Vertov's ambition to harness the potential universality of filmic language, the 'cine-tectural' reading of or, perhaps better called engagement with cities requires relatively little prerequisite knowledge. In order to discern our knowledge about film language and to apply it to architecture in an urban setting, it is necessary to examine some principles of film editing strategies, such as 'continuity' and 'montage', and editing techniques, such as 'cut' and 'dissolve', and 'editing pace and rhythm', some of which will be further elaborated on in the presentation for this conference.

Conclusion

This scope of this paper can only give a few examples of the ways in which one can engage 'cine-tecturally' with architecture and the urban fabric. It is seen as an introduction into the study of a screen language of cities, in which explorations of the city's continuity/montage qualities, the presence of urban cuts and dissolves, and the existence of an urban pace and rhythm, will forms the basis for further investigations. Ultimately, investigations into the filmic qualities of cities, as outlined above, must be tied to investigations into everyday practices and how these, in conversation with the physical fabric of the city, shape particular urban landscapes. By questioning what sort of urban narratives take place, and where and why they occur, we will hopefully gain a better understanding of the way in which we perceive and engage with urban spaces and places. Furthermore, it would be intriguing to bring different forms of spatial formations (spatial, geographical and architectural) into a closer dialogue, for example, by using Geographic Information System (GIS) (which is part of our next AHRC-funded project). This would enable certain narrative and cine-tectural qualities to be assigned to specific urban terrains. In return, such a mapping of the city could give architects and planners some location-specific insights and strategies into effective ways of implementing urban regeneration programmes in response to existing urban narratives.

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Filmic Narratives of the City

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Introduction

Reading the city, and experiencing urban space offer us a kinetic experience. Film and architecture are intrinsically related not only for their spatial and temporal structures, but also because they articulate lived spaces, creating "comprehensive images of life" (Pallasmaa, 2001). Film and the city are art forms that define existential space; they create everyday life scenes.

Films incessantly offer us access to different realities of the city that might not be fully apprehended in the moment we watch it. The reproduction of the city in film can enable us to mentally reconstruct a whole scenario of images of the city as a whole or as fragments.The resulting images can be used in a way to understand the hidden layers of city; the elements that are not grasped because they are distant or not fully comprehended. Film is a valuable source material for studying the city, enabling us to know its most hidden features (Jackson, 1973). How often has one "been" in parts of a city, when watching a motion picture, that one would hesitate going because of the stigma they have gained through time (ghettos, slums, red light districts etc.). "Boyz N the Hood" is an example of how we can experience the city of modern gangs and crime in the mid eighties America without even stepping foot in it.

Because in film there are various effects that influence the scenario and the characterisations they are a manifestation of contemporary views and interpretations of the city. Films convey messages and views about the city: they may include urban issues such as post-industrialisation, housing, gentrification, alienation, fear and crime, or racism, but they are always subject to our own interpretation given the array of individual experiences and perceptions. Thus films can no longer be thought of in their pure state because they are influenced and interpreted by other communication forms. (Madsen & Plunz, 2002)

Spatial metaphors

> "Even the most perfect reproduction of a work of art is lacking in one element: its presence in time and space, its unique existence at the place where it happens to be."
> Walter Benjamin, 1936

Since the end of the 19th century, cinema and the city have been intrinsically related to each other. Cinema has been interested in the representation of places, lifestyles, and human conditions – from the Lumière Brothers' "Paris" (1895) to John Woo's "Hong Kong" (1995) (Shiel, 2001). The 19th century was the cradle of numerous visual forms which could be regarded as the predecessors of cinema. The "virtual transports" (Featherstone, 1998, p. 919) - the machines of the moving image – grasped the city and its people for the new flâneur of a reproduction era.

Could the city have become shaped by the cinematic form, or was it the other way around? Surely cinema would have not been developed without the city (Clarke, 1997, p. 1): "Cinema owes much of its nature to the historical development of the city." (Ibid, p. 2) It is in the city that cinema assumes no form: "[it] simply invests the streets and the entire town with a mythical atmosphere". (Baudrillard, 1988, p. 56).

Interest in cinema and its relationship with the city have been growing, and particularly in the thematic and formal representations of the city – architecture, film studies,

cultural studies: from Benjamin to Bruno, De Certeau to Baudrillard among others. Recent studies of culture and society have been focusing on space and spatialisation, with great attention on film as the ideal cultural form through which to examine spatialisation (Shiel, 2001).

Formally, film has the power to capture and express the city's complexities, diversity and social dynamism. Thinkers like Benjamin or Baudrillard have recognized and observed the interesting correlation between the mobility and visual sensations of the city and the ones of cinema. Cinema is overarching, "dominates and invades everything" in society (Bruno, 1993, p. 79) and the city is like a continuous performance of films and scenarios (Baudrillard, 1988, p. 56).

In a particular way, to live in cinematic cities is almost to live according to the metaphors put across by the film industry (an approach by Baudrillard and Davis in the case of Los Angeles). Stenger (2001) argued that when film industry begins to play an important role in the production and distribution of the city's cultural mythology it becomes increasingly difficult to distinguish the city's cultural geography from that of its cinematic counterpart. Is it that the city can not be really differenciated from film? We might be firstly influenced by all the filmic imagery convey through all media, but as we experinece the city we realise its true imagery and not the one put across by film.

Looking at a European city, from the seats of America, Baudrillard speaks of the feelings one gets when stepping out of an art gallery in Italy or Holland onto the city streets that seem the real reflections of the painting one has just seen: "as if the city had come out of the paintings and not the other way around" (Baudrillard, 1988, p. 56). In precisely the same way, some Western cities seem to have come out of film, where one should begin knowing the city starting from the screen and then moving into the city itself.

We surely have had the experience of walking the city as we might walk in a set of a film. Cinema can no longer be restricted to the screen upon which films are projected, or to the interior of the movie theatre where we directly become the spectators of the film. In the absence of a consistent body of 'moving pictures', we tend to focus on visual fragments. The nature of these fragments – frame enlargements, publicity stills, or other filmic images frozen by a moviola[1] – lends itself to the highlighting of an artistic palimpsest composed of photographic and pictorial referents (Bruno, 1993, p. 201).

"On Location: Cities of the World in Film" (2006) is a world journey to film locations, offering a round the world tour with a mix of film stills and cinematic photographs. The reader is induced to visit film locations and experience a feeling of déjà-vu. This induced cinematic experience is important for understanding the powerful vehicle that is film; and mostly where the connection between 'plot and place' is superbly achieved. The selected films were based on their success and how well they have captured the atmosphere of each city. The authors tracked down film locations around the world (from Europe, to the Far East, Australia and North America) and discovered unknown layers of information on each location. As Wim Wenders argues, film is an historic document of our time, capturing the material and immaterial features of life (Hellmann & Weber-Hof, 2006).

According to Shiel, film is a human spatial system and this "spatiality is what makes it different, thus giving it a special potential to illuminate the lived spaces of the city and urban societies, allowing a full synthetic understanding of cinematic theme, form, and industry in the context of global capitalism" (Shiel, 2001, p.6). Cinema operates and is best understood in terms of spatial organisation: both space in film (the space of shot; the geographical relationships of various settings in sequence in a film; etc) and film in space (the shaping of

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1 The *moviola* allowed editors to study individual shots in their cutting rooms, thus to determine more precisely where the best cut-point might be.

lived urban spaces by cinema as a cultural practice; the spatial organisation of its industry; the role of cinema and globalisation). Thus, and according to Jameson (*in* Shiel, 2001), cinema could be termed as "cognitive mapping", that is an attempt to think spatially.

Dramatised Cities

Film can be a vehicle for documenting and portraying the city through recreated or real settings. In "Bunker Hill: Hollywood's Dark Shadow" (Shiel & Fitzmaurice, 2001, p 33-45), Mike Davis holds that the "cinematic mapping of the metropolis" anticipated similar conceptions in literature and painting, becoming avant-garde (films such as "Berlin, Symphony of a City", 1927 or "I, the Camera", 1955 and "Rome, Open City", 1945). However he also argues that studio film prefers the familiar interconnections of literature, commercial photography and advertising. Davis discusses the urge, by writers, novelists, and the film industry, to explore the underworld and all its "imaginary images" that come about when the city faces dusk – in the form of the film noir. For example, in John Carpenter's "They Live" (1988), In this motion picture the districts are linked to the classic aspects of the city life – bohemia, immigrants, poverty, ostentatious classes, delinquency, etc – that started to be used in film, paintings, photography, journalism, and making them recognisable to those who actually had never been to Gotham. In this way the city was familiar in an imagined way.

Through film we are able to walk in created environments or to explore and document the effects of buildings on society, and urban settings. Film is an invaluable instrument for the quasi-perceptual experience of the city – it enables us with an almost first person contact with the city. Also in film, architecture and the city can be used cinematically in different ways with the intent of creating an experience derived by cinematic images; interplay between architecture and the characters that live in the city.

In "A Cidade de Deus" (The City of God) Rio de Janeiro became the real setting of a universal story of gangs warfare based on real-life accounts of a slum in the city's outskirts. The film is an allegory for the fight for survival of the protagonists – children recruited from the 'favelas' of the city - in a ferocious blast of gangster chaos. Rocket, a child of the 1960s, witnesses – through the eye of a camera - two decades of barbarity, greed, rape and revenge in the housing project in which he grew up – from a shantytown to a war zone. At the end of the film a documentary footage is shown: an event previously seen is dramatised, which serves to emphasise this filmic narrative actually took place in the real "City of God".

Figure 1. Rio de Janeiro´s slums. Real setting for *Cidade de Deus* (2002).

There is also the power of film to distort and reinterpret the city. John Walton in "Film Mystery as Urban History: The Case of Chinatown" (Shiel & Fitzmaurice, 2001, p. 46-48) holds that events can be distorted through the medium of film, altering history in popular media: "[h]istorians and students of films are familiar with movies based upon historical events and particularly with cinematic representations of these events which are said to distort, reinterpret, or otherwise alter history in popular media" (Shiel & Fitzmaurice, 2001, p. 46). Walton argues that "life imitates art" and that depictions of the past in popular culture have great impact on the making of history.

Not only cities preserve images of their own culture and ways of life, but film can also preserve both the time of its making and the time that it represents. Film becomes similar with the discourses o archaeology when it assumes the role of preserving the city, its life, society

and culture.Following this line of thought film could almost be regarded along the lines of a photographic "mummy complex" and its "embalming of time" (Bruno, 1993, p. 147).

Envisioned Cities

Film is also a valuable instrument to convey the city's visions and desires. But even before film represented the city of the future, already literature, painting and architecture pursued this same desire.

In "New York", Sanders explores the potential of the city to enable dreams and desires. It is the 'New York - New York', what Tallack would call the city whose adjective is its own name, and even De Certeau once refered to it as "the most immoderate of human texts" (1988, p. 92). Sanders talks about a New York of two faces: a real city and a dream city.

The real city is the physical entity, the mass of people and their constructs. The dream city is a mythic city created by film holding the real city's charisma, rich in memory and that for many can resemble the real city: in films such as "Just Imagine", "Taxi Driver", "Blade Runner" or "The Fifth Element" - these are cities of imagination born from popular media. Sanders holds that the filmic or mythic city is more than a mirror of the real city, rather it is a statement of urban presence and greatness (Sanders, 2001).
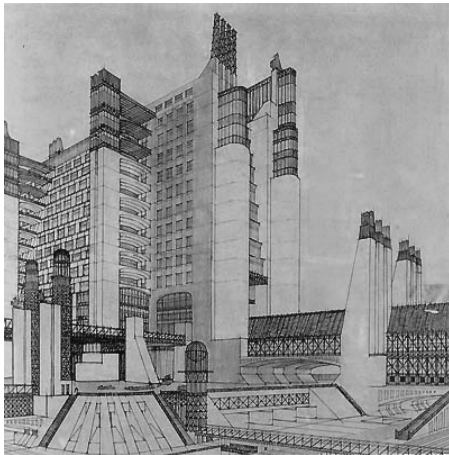
Figure 2. *La Città Nuova* **(1914)**

Figure 3. *Metropolis* **(1927)**

In "Just Imagine" (1930) there is a sense of the ideal city, a futuristic projection of what is to be. It achieves some sense of reality of the fast moving modern city much in the lines of the futuristic equivalent works of Sant'Elia. The city was a futuristic vision of suspended bridges, towers, pedestrian arcadian walkways, highways of more than fifteen lanes, etc. Another example is Lang's "Metropolis", whose architectural and art training is evident in his visual approach. Like in "Metropolis" in "Just Imagine", a city is envisioned with air networks and transit. The emerald "dream" cities restate visions of a city with towers linked by walkways and bridges (Sanders, 2001).

These futuristic projections of the city also had their way after seventy years in the fantastic city of "The Fifth Element" (1997) that took a gigantic step into virtually manipulated environments creating flashing spatial dynamics, much like the real city's dynamics, order and disorder.

Soon catastrophic visions and apocalyptic messages took place within the representations of the city where memorable architecture and institutional environments succumbed to natural disasters, urban and social failure or threats coming from outer space.
The city is invaded by aliens in "Independence Day" (1996), it is threatened by a comet in "Deep Impact" (1998), and it is in peril "28 Days Later" (2002) when a deadly virus spreads throughout the city. In these fear cities people are at risk and under threat looking desperately to survive. One interesting thing stands out, which is the iconic power of the city being questioned and threatened with no possible escape.

Figure 4. *The Fifth Element* **(1997)**

Figure 5. *28 Days Later* **(2002)**

Representative of real or imagined realities, the city became true setting for film which meant a turn from the studio based shots to shooting on location in the city. This is how the real city gains a parallel filmic world which could be called the "dream version of itself" (Sanders, 2001, p.4). Real cities or envisioned ones can discover, change, and reflect each other allowing us to experience both.

Conclusion

Understanding genre films about the city is to understand ways of dealing with change, complexity - the ways we live and adapt to a city: it is understanding the past, present and future. It becomes important to perceive how the city can be envisioned and dreamed through reconstructed realities that reach us through film. As Lynch points out, the passage of time can be witnessed from two view points: "rhythmic repetition" (cyclical and automatic) and "progressive and irreversible change" (through alteration mainly) (Lynch, 1972, p.65). However changes occur, we will always read time's passage in the environment as complex gathering of artefacts of the past, present and future visions.

Film enables us to experience envisioned environments or to explore and document the effects of the built environment on society, and urban settings. More than being a reproduction of our society, film can be a useful resource for exploring new ways for thinking about the city and society itself. Can architecture be associated with these explorations being conceived to achieve dreams and visions?

Cities are recorded in many different ways, using different instruments and methods for many different purposes, and "there is no such thing as an objective record" (Frampton,1986). Because views and perceptions of the city are as subjective as the ones who create them, film is never objective. The efforts here were to explore the ways in which the city can be envisioned through the medium of film, dramatised or envisioned, taking examples that touch both representational narratives in diferent ways.

Dramatised and envisioned filmic cities are important for documenting and reflecting about the reality and projecting for the future - these impact on the ways we think about the

opportunities and failures of urban life. Filmic narratives document and help imagine the city's changes; exploring other realities and showing contrasts. Could film transform the city by providing ways for thinking about the city as a 'plastic' raw-material moulded through time and by our actions?

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Tokyo: Cartography of a Cine-City
A Study about the Identity of a City and its relation with Moving Images

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1. Introduction

1.1 Screens as Modernity New Plaza, Movies as a Cinematic Section

In this paper, Tokyo is viewed in its relation with moving images. They are intended as cultural tools used to reveal the relationship between architecture, urban space and society.

When they first appeared, moving images were not just a new art form, they were a new way to perceive and produce reality that strongly influenced the modern society; a society that needed to have a new esthetic to express itself as much as it needed new spaces in which to do it. This new esthetic was film and this new space was the cinema.

In this study, moving images are seen as a tool by which it is possible to read, record and reconfigure the image of a city. In this sense, moving images can be seen as mobile maps, or better yet, as a slice of a broader reality, a cinematic section by which one can travel.

Paraphrasing film critic Tazawa Ryuji (Tazawa 2006:10), when the first cinemas opened, going to watch a movie meant going to meet the whole world. Indeed, a cinema screen was the place where spectators of different countries could visually "meet" each other. As a real plaza hosts a city's main activities, the screen –metaphorically seen as modernity's new plaza- hosted in its visual depth, a displaced reality in which spectators could temporarily reside.

First, this paper discusses the role cinema theaters had in shaping Tokyo's first modernity cityscape. Second, it discusses the role that both cinema and television screens played in the postwar reconstruction period.Third, it discusses the role moving images played in shaping Tokyo's public space, and the disappearence of the large scale cinema and the rise of the mini-cinema. Finally, the rise of the cinemacomplex and the relation between moving images and the emergence of Tokyo as an information city are discussed.

1.2 Cinema, Modernity, and Japan

In 1868, Emperor Meiji ended Japan's 300 year period of self-imposed seclusion from the rest of the World. Japan's boundaries opened up to foreign nations modernization process spread in all cultural fields. The Age of Civilization and Enlightenment had started; to become modern was the imperative. 'According to Richie (2001), in 1896, when film was first seen in Japan, a fifty-year-old kimono-clad member of this initial audience would have been born into a feudal world where the shogun and samurai ruled. He could not have left his archipelago, or, if he did, he could not have returned upon pain of death and his ignorance of the outside world was general'. The abolition of the feudal socioeconomic system; the forced adoption of the Western calendar; the emergence of a nationwide public school system; the inauguration of telephone and postal service, and the construction of railways and cinema theaters were among theories, technologies, and scientific inventions imported from the modern Western countries (Richie 2001: 9).

From an architectural point of view, a blending of styles occurred. Giyoufu Kenchiku, a half Japanese, half-Western style of architecture was a typical result of the transfer of technology in a field with a pre-existing system (Suzuki 1990: 3). This

architectonic mix became a typical paradox and a permanent feature of Tokyo's modern cityscape.

1.3 Study Methodology

In order to measure changes in Toyko's cityscape, maps and photos from 1900 to 2007 were screened. Main changes happened in architectural typologies and technological innovations, and they have been accordingly divided in five periods. For each period an area in Tokyo and a cinema was chosen. They were classified as representative of some important events in Tokyo's 20th century urban history.

2. Cinema Theaters Dawn in Japan

The cinema was first introduced to Japan in 1896 when the kinetoscope, invented by Thomas Edison three years earlier, was imported to Kobe. In February 1897, the cinematographe, invented by the Lumiere brothers, was imported to Japan (High 1984: 23).

After cinema was introduced to Japan, it was considered an object of curiosity and was billed as a rare Western invention. At the end of the 19th century, due to the shortness of most films, there was no need to build a permanent building to show movies. Once the average length for a film became longer, the time to build permanent cinemas arrived. During the first decade of the 20th century, the entertainment area of Tokyo—the sixth district in the Asakusa area—changed into an urban space that stood out for its modern atmosphere. This marked the beginning of the era of the movie theater in Japan (Jinnai 1995: 108).

3. 1900-1945

3.1 "Film-City": Asakusa Rokku Michi.

Cinema in Japan has its origin in Tokyo, when one of the first companies that became involved in cinema, Yoshizawa, in the year 1902, imported enough films from the West to allow up to two months of showings at one location (Kato 1999: 80). This helped pave the way for the opening of a permanent cinema in 1903. In the Asakusa area, a former X-ray clinic was equipped with a projector and turned into the Denkikan Movie Theater—Japan's first permanent movie theater (Uchida 2000: 15). In this small area, in less than 20 years since the first theater opened, another 20 theaters followed. All of the cinemas were positioned along one street called *Rokku Michi,*. producing a homogeneous space. Asakusa was the first cinema entertainment district ever (Jinnai 1995: 108), and it was commonly known as "Eiga-Machi," which means "Film City."

Figure 1. Tokyo, Asakusa, Film-city, 1914.

3.2 Western Style

Cinemas were built as much as possible in a Western style in order to pique people's curiosity. 'According to Jinnai (1995) this odd street scene came into being when the theaters' owner became convinced, after visiting an exhibition in the United States, that the quickest way to lure customers was to astonish them with the appearance of the building.'

The designs of buildings and the spatial structure of the main avenues in this area were made over entirely in a Western style, though the first and second stories of the buildings were almost entirely covered by

fluttering banners and hanging portraits of actors -the devices used in the tent theaters of Edo (Tokyo) to heighten the festive atmosphere. Even though the straight streets were crammed with neo-baroque-style buildings, the laws of perspective made them disappear completely (Jinnai 1995: 110).

4. 1945-1960

4.1 Post-war Reconstruction and Rapid Economic Growth Period

In 1945, Japan faced the end of the War in ruins. The post-war reconstruction was seen as an opportunity to restructurate Japanese urban areas with more modern layouts. 'According to Sorensen (2002) the Special City Planning Act adopted in 1946 set ambitious targets for rebuilding, including land use planning controls, building standards and controls on building coverage. To accomodate future motorisation, large boulevards of over 50 meters in width were to be built in large sized cities. During the 1950s and 1960s economic growth was the unquestioned top priority of the central government. In this context the most important consequence was rapid urbanisation.'

During the war, many Japanese cities lost their substantiality behind aggregations of glowing neon light and superficial elements. Cities began to transmit their meanings more by using semiotic codes. In this period in Tokyo, there were events where TV was used both as an attraction and as a spontaneous gathering of people who watched it in open space. These types of events are to be seen as a first unconscious yet spontaneous fusion of media and public space, since from then on, moving images displayed in open spaces were destined to become a constant of the cityscape. The city started to be in a fluid condition, invisible and virtually simulated by the codes that fill it in (Isozaki 1994:41).

4.2 Cinema as Urban Landmark

Figure 2. Toho Hall, Ginza, 1951.

For what concerns cinemas, the Emperor, in person, invited his populace to watch movies to lower the sorrows and burdens left by the war (Ikeda 2002: 10). The total number of movie theaters in the country surged from about 850 immediately after World War II to 2100 by the end of 1947, more than doubling in about two years (Tokizane 1948: 22). By the early 1950s demand for the improvement and enlargement of movie theater facilities had risen nationwide. The construction of new movie theaters and the remodeling of existing ones was facilitated by the lifting of restrictions in construction laws in May 1950, opening up a new age in audience service (Kato 1999: 82).

During reconstruction, cinemas were built in a modern style, and they were not concentrated in a single district the way they were in Asakusa, but were more integrated in the city public space. One example is the Toho Hall in Ginza area. That started to play the role of an independent and easily recognisable landmark in the city fabric. In this period, though cinemas were massive in size, they had just one projection hall. (Kato 1999: 90).

5. 1960-1975

5.1 Japan as a Major Economic Power

During the 60s the Japanese economy was booming. The popularity of cinemas peaked in 1958 when 1.13 billion tickets were sold -- the equivalent of every Japanese in the country visiting the cinema more than a dozen times, and in 1960 there were a record 7,457 screens nationwide (Kato 1999:95). But as TV and home video infiltrated the home, the number of movie screens across the nation began to fall. In 1965, 372 million tickets were sold, and in 1975 this figure hit 174 million tickets. On the other hand, in 1964 more than 4 million Tv sets were sold (Kato 1999: 95). The impact of television meant the demise and razing of the benchmark, downtown movie palaces. The exterior spaces that are the face of the city, the avid pursuit of modern urban design, remade the Tokyo cityscape again and again (Jinnai1995:161). Inventions of Sony's Betacam in 1975 and Vhs's Victor in 1976 contributed, on one hand, to giving spectators more options to watch moving images, yet on the other hand, they worsened cinema conditions.

5.2 Two Different Directions

Figure 3, Shochiku Hall, 1962, Cinema theater as a landmark.

In this period, in cinema theater history, two different events were recorded: in 1962 the Shochiku Hall (Fig.3) was the first theater that doubled its projection halls (Kitao 1964: 12) and in 1968 it opened the first Tokyo mini-theater called Iwanami (Ikeda 2002: 8). The shape and size of movie theaters went in two different directions: one tended to be larger, equipped with new services –such as restaurants- and had a prominent architectural role in the cityscape; the second tended to be an unpretentious place. "Hidden" in the basement of a multifunction building, it had no incidence on the city image.

In this period moving images appeared more often on building façades. In fact, tvs began to be massively displayed as if they were image textured walls. At the same time, architects belonging to the Metabolists group started to make electronic graphic experiments on building façades (Franklin Ross 1978: 168). 'According to Fumihiko Maki (2005), a founding member of the Metabolists, in 1960, Tokyo was a city where dynamic and static elements were in continual conflict, and being in its midst was like standing on the beach as waves ceaselessly advanced and receded. Architecture can no longer provide the old order of traditional townscapes but it may have an even greater influence today as the nexus between human beings and a constantly changing environment'.

Strangely, even if the number of cinemas were declining, places displaying moving images were increasing. It was as if the walls that had enclosed the moving images were metaphorically evaporating. The moving image, left without a solid house, started to float more constantly in the public space in search for screens to reincarnate.

6. 1976-1990

6.1 Tokyo as a Global City

The 1980's are remebered as an era in which an uparalleled construction boom extended from central Tokyo to its hinterland (Huang 2004: 66). According to the urban plan proposed by the National Commision on Land Development in 1986, the rapid trend of

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Tokyo into a world city increases an already excessive demand for office space, Tokyo was facing many new problems, such as the rise of the price of land in the central areas (Machimura 2004: 68).

To achieve the goal of Tokyo as a global city, relocation of an over-concentrated city population was needed. Such logic of changing living conditions for the sake of a future of global city is articulated in Suzuki Shunichi's project of realizing the ideal of "My Town Tokyo" as the twin of "World City Tokyo." 'According to Huang (2004) the long reigning patriarch governor of Tokyo from 1979 to 1995 vigorously advocated the concept of "My Town Tokyo" as his central guideline of urban plans since 1981. From then on Suzuki promulgates the idea of a global city that remains a town that one can call home.' Commercialism was a rising driving force in the making of the image of the city.

Figure 4. Iwanami Hall,1968, inaugurated the Anonymity of Cinemas

6.2 Giant Screens, Mini Spaces

Due to the invention of the VCR and video sales and rental shops opening, spectators' options to enjoy moving images increasead. While the 1980s are the golden age of the mini-theater (Ikeda 2003: 10), during this time, cinema theaters were gradually disappearing. In this period, cutting edge companies such as Sony, Panasonic, and Nec were using a more intensely intermittent display on the façades of their shops and buildings (Franklin Ross 1978: 174). Entertainment districts, such as Shinjuku and Shibuya were the place where moving images started to be displayed on a daily basis. In the 1980s, the newly built Toda Corporation's headquarters showed a giant screen, soon followed by other buildings that concurred in making Tokyo-scape appear as a space of signs, where the presence of the screen in the public space was now nearly continuos. The urban space of Tokyo was changing once again, producing hybrids and multilayered spaces made by an integration of technology, architecture and media, hitherto not yet seen elsewhere.

7. 1990-2007

7.1 The Cinema Complex and Shopping Centers

The number of traditional cinema theaters declined inescapably. At the start of the third millennium just 11 were left in the whole of Tokyo. Land prices, old equipment, and a low rate of spectators were the main reasons for this decline. Besides, the DVD format, portable players, and car players allowed people to watch movies in any location. In the early 90s, cinema attendance was at the minimum, with just less than 120 million tickets sold. The advent of cinema complexes helped reverse this trend. In 1993, in the Greater Tokyo area, the Warner-Mycal Company opened the first cinema complex in Japan. In 2005, out of 211 cinema theaters in the whole city, cinema complexes amounted to 72% of the total. Generally, cinema complexes opened in extra-urban areas, though some of them opened also in the city center. The first type was usually established at shopping centers located in areas such as Itabashi, and it was part of a more complex project of transformation and development of a suburb. The second type opened in central areas, such as Roppongi or Ginza (Mori *et al.* (2001), and has been integrated in an already existent social and economic tissue (Bassani *et al.* (2004).

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Figure 5. Shinjuku District Area, 2003.

7.2 Information Age, Architecture in a Simulated City

By the 1990s, Tokyo had became a robustly capitalist city, and in 1991, architect Toyo Ito realized two works that depicted Tokyo's identity in the information age in an exemplar way: *The Egg of Winds, and Dreams-Visions of Japan.* The first is an egg-shaped architecture -a station entrance- on which are restlessly projected images of Tokyo. The second is a work displayed in 1991 in London, where Ito saturated a room with overlapped and blurred images of Tokyo, projected by 44 projectors (Ito 1994: 32). Visitors found themselves floating and undulating among superimposed images of the Japanese capital. An extreme experience, but still, according to Ito (1994), it was meant to simulate walking on the streets of Shinjuku or Shibuya at night, inundated by sounds and video-images—a sort of simulated city.' With these works he showed how Tokyo-scape had definitely lost a defined configuration in favor of an undeniably always-changing image. The city had become a dominion of the digital screen that is now nearly continuous; from the scale of the human hand to the largest urban spaces (Wagner 2005: 9).
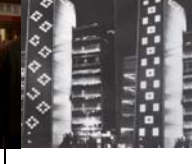
Periods	1900-45	1946-60	1960-75	1976-90	1991-on
Cityscape Impact	Cluster	Landmark	Landmark	Anonymous	Extra-Urban, Urban-landmark
Type	1 Hall	1 Hall	2 Halls	Mini Theater	CineComplex
Style	Neo-Baroque	Modern	Modern	Post-modern	MixedCommercial
Screens	1	1	2	1	6-20
Function	Cinema and theate	Cinema	Cinema, restaurant	Cinema, bookstore	Shopping Center
City Area	Asakusa, Shinjuku	Ginza, Hibya	Ginza, Shinjuku	Shibuya, Shinjuku	Itabashi, Roppongi
Represen-Tative Cinema Theaters	Denkikan	Toho Hall	Shochiku Hall	Iwanami Hall	VirginRoppongi
Cinemas Areas in Tokyo	Asakusa	Hibya	Ginza	Shinjuku	Shibuya
Public Space with Moving Images	Asakusa	Shibuya	Ginza	Shinjuku	Odaiba

Table 1. Classification of Periods, Representative Cinemas Theaters and Public Spaces with moving images.

8. Conclusions

Tokyo's cityscape has had a complex relation with the moving image. This was due mainly to two factors: first, the change of the cinema's architectural style, form, size, function and impact on the city. Second, the moving image has not just been displayed inside cinema theaters and private houses, but also massively in the public space. These factors had a strong visual impact on the formation of Tokyo's cityscape: a flow of images that exceed its geographical limits flowing out all over Japan to Asia and the West (Sang-Jung & Yoshimi 2001).

At the dawn of cinema, the screen was metaphorically seen as a new type of plaza. At the time, the "evaporation" of theater wall left the screen floating in the public space. According to the changes of new media inventions, the screen/plaza has changed shape and size, regenerating itself in an always new relation with the city and its inhabitants. Media, motion, commodities, bodies, and buildings continuously meld and separate, producing an always changing urban-scape.

The moving image projected in public and private space, be it an indoor or outdoor, pemanent or temporary one, reveals the intimate relation and the importance it has on the constitution of Tokyo's identity.

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Acousmêtric Architecture: Filmic Sound Design and its Lessons for Architects

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Introduction

Acousmêtre is a specific condition in sound design referred to in depth by Michel Chion in his work on voice in cinema. The effect describes a rupture, an off-screen voice where the source is absent. This effect is suggestive of Sergei Eisenstein's early understanding of the potential of sound in cinema as lying in the point of rupture or montage rather than in continuity, corroboration or naturalism.

Urban design and architecture are disciplines at a similarly early stage as far as sound design is concerned, given that sound design is often reduced to acoustics and noise reduction rather than a creative part of the environment at hand. These design disciplines are also theoretically naive in their dealings with sound, so much so that it is fruitful to consider what can be learned from cinematic sound design.

Asynchronous sound: Grierson, Eisenstein and Chion

Cinematic sound designers have a great wealth of knowledge at their hands which deepens our understanding of the relationship between perceiving and recording sound. In the major work of the CRESSON institute, edited by Jean-François Augoyard and Henry Torgue (2005), the following definition is given of the 'Cocktail Party Effect'.

> This effect, named by E. Cherry with reference to the sound space in which we can observe it best, refers to our ability to focus attention on the speech of a specific speaker by disregarding irrelevant information coming from the surroundings. In this type of metabolic context, sound components are almost equivalent in intensity and frequency: it is their multiplication that creates the surrounding sound level. "From the physical point of view, one of the predominant elements in the cocktail effect is the spatial separation of noise and speech. In consequence, we know that, on the psycho-physiological level, selective listening is governed by our capacity to discriminate sounds from the different sources – that is, by our capacity to localize in the noise." (2005:28)

Accounts differ on the nature of the cocktail party effect, but it is regarded to be evidence of the way in which the brain pre-processes sounds, allowing us to edit and select what we actually attend to. The original definition of the problem by Cherry (1953) is actually made with reference to recording technology, and the problem of filtering to accurately reproduce this effect. This is something that remains an issue to this day, despite advances both in the understanding of this effect, and in reproducing it technically using hearing aids or public broadcast. There remains an artistry to the sound design of cinema, for example. This is for both narrative and perceptual reasons: film with rigorously synchronous sound is rare and difficult to watch and listen to. This is partly due to the equal weight being given to each sound, quite differently to how we understand such signals. Film practitioners and theorists have identified a number of other effects which are a function of perception rather than the fidelity of recording.

What we learn from the cocktail party effect is the necessity of design when reproducing sound. Design in this sense can be understood as a form of knowledge, a way of describing and reproducing the environment as observed. To replicate the cocktail party effect in film, a Sound Designer has a number of tools at their disposal. Why, then, do architects and Urban Designers not use the aural tools at their disposal for the creation of unique aural spaces?

Since the arrival of synchronously recorded and exhibited sound, film makers and film theorists have sought to understand the relationship between the moving image and sound. Key contributions have been made by Sergei Eisenstein and John Grierson (Lucas 2001) at the very dawn of this era. Eisenstein's early work in the field of sound is best explored in his essay 'Vertical Montage' (1991) where he extends his general theory of cinematic montage beyond the visual image and into the sonic image. This necessitates a shift in understanding, from the traditional horizontal montage over time, from one scene to the next as we are accustomed to with cinematic editing - but also within each frame, different parts of the image can be observed to have the tension of montage between them. To Eisenstein, it was a missed opportunity to simply use the synchronous sound track to reinforce and illustrate the images on the screen - when further artistic potential could be wrung from the juxtaposition of these elements.

The British documentary film pioneer had similar regard for sound in film, and produced one of the most consistent explorations of this notion in Night Mail (1936, directed by Harry Watt and Basil Wright). Night Mail assembled the most accomplished film-makers available to the GPO film unit at the time in order to tell that story of how mail is transported from London to Edinburgh. The film seized the opportunity to record sounds other than the actual noise made by the train moving over the tracks. The soundtrack instead consisted of commissioned works by composer Benjamin Britten and poet W H Auden. The power of the documentary is widely understood to lie in this collaboration, which gives reference to the pace of the train, but which resists the urge to simply record and play back a familiar sound in a naturalistic manner. Admittedly this was born of necessity, as the sound recording equipment available at the time could not cope with the sound of the train, producing only a great roar whenever the microphone was exposed to the sound.

This rupture of sound from its source is examined in some detail by Michel Chion in his works *Audio-Vision* (1990) and *The Voice in Cinema* (1999).

> We can describe as acousmêtres many of the mysterious and talkative characters hidden behind curtains, in rooms or hide-outs, which the sound film has given us... Fiction films tend to grant three powers and one gift to the acousmêtre, to the voice that speaks over the image, but is also forever on the verge of appearing in it. First, the acousmêtre has the power of seeing all; second, the power of omniscience; and third, the omnipotence to act on the situation. Let us add that in many cases there is also a gift of ubiquity–the acousmêtre seems to be able to be anywhere he or she wishes. (Chion 1990:129)

Acousmêtre is, then this voice from elsewhere, carrying as it does, connotations of authority and power. This voice has a longer history than that of cinema, of course, much of which is charted in Steven Connor's (2000) cultural history of ventriloquism, which identifies origins in antiquity - and again with those same qualities of power, and authority - a voice with a source that cannot be seen is taken to have the ability to see all.

This quality of voice is also found in everyday life - particularly in the example of the railway station. Early in the 20th Century development of the station typology, station management realised that purely visual information was insufficient to the purpose of

directing travellers around a station. The introduction of public address systems such as Tannoys in the 1920s in places such as stations reinforces the authority represented by the disembodied voice. Nowadays, the prevalence of mobile phone communication also takes this quality of voice into the public realm on a regular basis. The urgency of this voice often taking precedent over the speaker's companions who are present in the space with them. This is interestingly humanised in Schlesinger's *Terminus* (1961), where the source of telephone and station announcements are shown.

The acousmêtric effect in the urban environment is often understood as a disruptive effect, severing the corroboration between senses. The very disconnection that is celebrated by Eisenstein is eschewed by contemporary best practice in acoustics. This sonic assumption is akin to the use of sound to reinforce in Hollywood cinema. Interesting effects are still employed by this sound design, as identified by David Bordwell in his work on *Narration in the Fiction Film* (1985). A number of complexities are identified by Bordwell in this work, such as the introduction of multiple camera set-ups with the advent of synchronous sound cinema. The scene would now have several cameras filming at once, and cutting between these, for example two point-of-view shots and one giving an overview of the whole scene. These are unified by the continuity of the soundtrack. Hollywood sound cinema also employs redundancy and reinforcement such that the sound's source is obvious and shown, except in cases where suspense or danger is suggested.

Prevailing practice in soundscape design for urban and architectural environments follows this Hollywood pattern closely. Interestingly, soundscape design is relatively uncommon in architectural projects, with sound being discussed mainly in terms of acoustics. Acoustics deals in the same stuff as sound design, but it has a very focused agenda for how to control sounds. Acoustics is particularly prevalent in the design of performance spaces such as theatres, lecture halls and cinemas. The acoustics are the equivalent of a museum white-box space, where the building provides a neutral blank canvas for whatever works are to be performed or exhibited there. This is all very necessary for that building typology of course, but other building typologies need not be measured according to the same criteria.

While a great deal can be learned for use in the design of the built environment from cinematic sound design, I believe the starting point to be acousmêtre. As Eisenstein asserts, the creative moment of authorship in film occurs at the point of montage, be this a transition between scenes such as a cinematic cut or transition or an architectural threshold or doorway; or whether this is a point of montage between one sensory modality and the other - the spaces between the visual, the kinaesthetic and the aural.

Designing with sound: Vocal Ikebana and Sensory Notation

This has been tested as a spatial design discipline by the 'Inflecting Space' research group in a sound installation titled 'Vocal Ikebana' (see Coyne & Lucas 2007). This project employed simple environmental audio recordings of railway station announcements, antique auctioneers and other voices played back on three wireless speakers. The installation took place in a gallery space with a few columns, some furniture (a chair, low tables) and some props for the subject to use: several transparent plastic crates and some textile throws. These could be used to elevate or contain the speakers in a variety of ways.

The volunteers were asked to participate in the installation on their own, and first asked for a series of responses on a questionnaire about the three sets of voices. The main part of the task is to redesign the aural environment of the gallery using the speakers and props provided. This is given a loose brief – the ikebana of the title – lending a more aesthetic or decorative aspect to the task, rather than the intimidating task of designing for a particular purpose.

The participants were then asked more questions about their design of the space through questionnaire once again as well as through various drawing tasks. Interestingly, the drawing task influenced the designs significantly, and respondents often chose to re-work their design once parts of it had been put down in the form of a drawing.

There is, however, a deficit in the visual language for such activities, and respondents often struggled to depict their impressions of the sounds in this, and an earlier installation called 'Banal Rhythms' and a series of focus group sessions.

Our current research faces many of the challenges presented above, proposing a pragmatic solution that will enhance the activities of the design disciplines as well as informing areas such as presence.

This is informed by the work of urbanist Kevin Lynch (1960). Lynch was interested in the image of the city, and constructed a form of adding information to the traditional urban plan drawing with thresholds, districts, landmarks, paths and nodes. This analysis is used to describe the actual functioning of urban spaces at the neighborhood and district scales. More recent work in a similar vein has been taken on by Simkins and Thwaites (2007).

The solution we have chosen to the problem of sound and the other sensory modalities is to create a notation system which builds upon traditional architectural drawings such as plans and sections, but which can also communicate something of the complete experience of a place through describing each sense. The senses are categorised in a similar manner to Gibson's perceptual systems, recalling that sensory perception is an active rather than passive process.

Figure 1: Respondent to 'Vocal Ikebana' designing the gallery.

'The channels of sense are not subject to modification by learning. The data of sense are given, by definition. The perceptual systems, however, are clearly amenable to learning. It would be expected that an individual, after practice, could orient more exactly, listen more carefully, touch more acutely, smell and taste more precisely, and look more perceptively than he could before practice.' Gibson (1966:51).

The notation fits in to a structured form of environmental observation. Rather than measuring absolute sound levels and other measurable qualities of sound, the notation is considered to be more akin to sketching than to a scientific measure of a place's dimensions. This is partly due to the inadequacy of measuring equipment for sound and the other senses, but also due to a commitment to the sketching model, relying upon description and understanding in practice and in situ. This description of qualities rather than measurement of qualities is essential to the final stage of the system: the pattern book.

DESCRIPTORS

VISUAL	AURAL	TACTILE	KINETIC	THERMAL	CHEMICAL
Dark	High Pitch	Static	Strong	Hot	Weak
Bright	Low Pitch	Mobile	Light	Cold	Intense
Saturated	Quiet	Rough	Free	Dry	Stagnant
Neutral	Loud	Smooth	Bound	Wet	Fresh
Perspectival	Clear	Light	Indirect	Natural	Musky
Flat	Reverberant	Heavy	Direct	Artificial	Putrid
Intimate	Vocal	Porous	Level	Ambient	Floral
Vast	Non-Vocal	Resistant	Graded	Source	Fruit
Solid	Natural	Hard	Sustained	Radiant	Spice
Void	Artificial	Soft	Quick	Convective	Resin
Detailed	Attack	Warm	Crowded	Constant	Meaty
Blank	Decay	Cold	Empty	Responsive	Oily

Figure 2. Table of Descriptor terms for Sensory Notation.

The research project shall be producing a pattern book recording a variety of urban spaces according to how they affect all the senses. These are not to be understood as positive or negative spaces, simply flat descriptions of space as encouraged by writers such as Georges Perec.

Figure 3: Radar diagram for Sensory Notation system including notations for temporality and sensory corroboration.

'Nothing strikes you. You don't know how to see.
You must write about out it more slowly, almost stupidly. Force yourself to write down what is of no interest, what is most obvious, most common, most colourless.' (Perec, G. 1997:50)

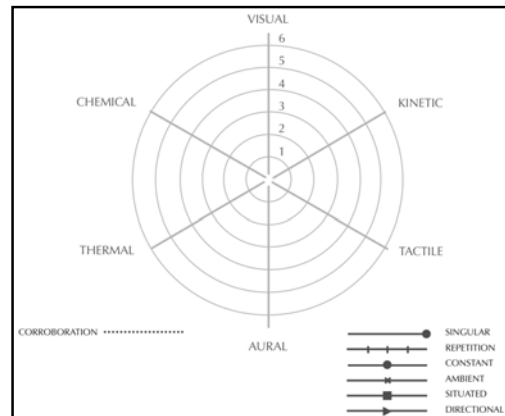'force yourself to see more flatly' (Perec 1997:51)

This pattern book shall augment the personal pattern book of each Sensory Notation practitioner, as the system allows the designer to record experiences in a sketchbook for later use.

The notation proceeds in the following order:

- **Location**: plot the site being recorded, whether a part of a route or a static position. Details such as time, date and weather may also be included.
- **Descriptor**: use a word from the list given to characterise each of the six perceptual systems: visual, aural, olfactory/gustatory, tactile, thermal, kinaesthetic.
- **Priority**: draw a line on the chart corresponding to the priority given to that perceptual system in this context.
- **Corroboration**: indicate how the senses overlap.
- **Temporality**: indicate the repetition, singularity, etc. of the observations.
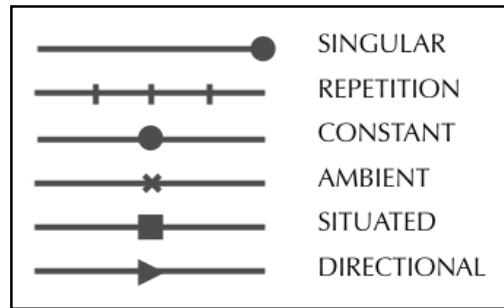
Figure 4. Temporal modifiers applied to Radar diagram lines in Sensory Notation.

The notations can be used for analysis of the site as well as for description and pattern building. The Radar diagram allows a shape to be drawn for each set of experiences. By layering notations up on top of one another, charts of a route or place can be made, and these charts can identify which modalities are strong and which are weak in a given set of results. Cross-comparisons between a number of respondents are also possible. This analysis can be used to diagnose areas which are overloaded with sensation compared to those which are neutral or lacking.

Conclusion: Lessons for Architects and Urban Designers

It is clear that there is a need for designers of urban environments to consider sound more carefully. Sound is often problematised as 'noise' - unwanted and excessive, undesirable and clouded in negative connotations. Noise has, however, been understood differently by both contemporary music and sound design as something wholly necessary and interesting in its own right, as a category of sound with its own rules and aesthetics equivalent to other special categories such as voice and music.

Figure 5. Author's notation of two different arcades in Dortmund, one of which is a deadened and sterile environment scoring '2' for each sense whilst the other is a rich combination of experiences.

Architecture and Urban Design need to learn the lessons from this, without the pejorative assumptions of influential pioneers such as Schafer (1977), but to grasp the complexity of the aural with the same detail as the visual is understood. Texts such as those by de Nora (2000) and Bull (2000) aid us in understanding contemporary soundscapes such as commercial environments branding space with music or the creation of personalised space through the use of portable devices such as MP3 players and Walkman.

The creativity of sound designers in cinema lies in constructing space through sound. Walter Murch (2001, 2003) successfully does this in film, finding ways to take recordings and render them as more environmental, messy and noisy as ways of validating fictional worlds.

The advent of sophisticated speaker and microphone technologies allows this realm of design to be exploited by architectural and urban design. Traditional acoustics plays a role, but the form of a space no longer determines the shape of its sound as artificial amplification of sound can now be directed and controlled with great precision. In notating a contemporary shopping mall location I recently found it impossible to determine a priority for any sense. This was not due to sensory overload as it can be in some locations, but rather a paucity, a complete lack of differentiation. This banality of the urban environment is easily avoided if the designers use the tools at their disposal.

Acknowledgements

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From the circular boulevard to the merry-go-round-a-bout: the lamentation (Tativille) and resolve of the destruction and loss of Paris in Jacques Tati's PLAY TIME.

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In an interview in 1958, with Andre Bazin and Francois Truffaut(2000: 296), Tati said,

> "These days I feel sad because I have the impression that people are having less and less fun. They obviously dress better, they clearly wash more, they certainly have more hot water, they surely imbibe cooler drinks; and now their windows are larger, which means that they can get additional sun, but, in the past they lived on the street more and got all the sun they wanted there."

If we look at Jacques Tati's films from JOUR DE FETE, which was made in 1949 to PLAY TIME, which was made in 1967, we will notice, amongst other things, a change in the way of using and experiencing the street. You could almost say that the life and activity disappears from his streets, at least an activity that is to do with the interaction and connected(ness) of the people. Marshall Berman (1995:164) in his chapter on Paris, in his book ALL THAT IS SOLID MELTS TO AIR wrote,

> "The distinctive sign of nineteenth century urbanism was the boulevard, a medium for bringing explosive material and human forces together: the hallmark of twentieth-century urbanism has been the highway a means for putting them asunder".

Berman (1995:159) here is writing about the Boulevards of Paris. They were chaotic and had an activity not seen before, he writes "Thus the life of the boulevards, was more radiant and exciting than urban life had ever been,…" He continues,

> "In this environment, urban realities could easily become dreamy and magical. The bright lights of the street and café only heightened the joy: in the next generations, the coming of electricity and neon would heighten it still more"
> (Berman 1995:152).

Baron Haussmann from 1850 to 1870 transformed Paris significantly. He achieved this for the most part by cutting many new boulevards across the city. His new boulevards not only changed the city physically, they contributed to creating a street life unique to Paris. The author David P. Jordan (1995: 348) writes,

> "On Haussmann's boulevards an elegant, sophisticated, vital, cosmopolitan, uniquely Parisian live was lived" and he goes on to say that, "…the preeminence of the boulevards, of an extroverted outdoor, theatrical urban life was not seriously challenged until after World War Two" (Jordan 1995: 349).

Jacques Tati was born in 1907 and he "lived" on these boulevards. The work of Haussmann was significant at the time, in the changes it made to the lives of the people in Paris (CUR 1967: 47), as were the urban changes that took place in Paris during the decades of the 1950s

and 1960s and on into the 1970s. Joan Ockman (2000: 182) in her essay on PLAY TIME wrote that,

> "Between 1954 and 1974, 24 percent of the buildable surface of the city was subjected to demolition and redevelopment, and entire districts were razed and reconfigured in the name of urban renewal".

she continues,

> Subjected to successive rent increases, more than two-thirds of the population of Paris moved out of the urban centre. By 1969 the *grands ensembles* that sprang up around the periphery, built by a technocratic Gaullist regime and notorious for their shoddy construction, lack of amenities, and "morbid geometrism", housed one-sixth of the inhabitants of the greater Paris region and were as familiar a part of the metropolitan landscape as historic monuments" (Ockman 2000: 182-183).

Marshall Berman (1995: 166) writes that Le Corbusier was "possibly the greatest twentieth-century architect and certainly the most influential".   In Le Corbusier's (1998: 281) 1924 book THE CITY OF TOMORROW AND ITS PLANNING he suggests in his chapter THE CENTRE OF PARIS that both a residential city and a commercial city be created. The site for this proposal was, in the centre of Paris, on the right bank of the Seine. He called this the VOISIN PLAN. Le Corbusier writes,

> "…imagine all this junk, which till now has lain spread out over the soil like a dry crust, cleaned off and carted away and replaced by immense clear crystals of glass, rising to a height of over 600 feet;…" (Le Corbusier 1998: 281).

Le Corbusier did though want to keep some of the old monuments, as "works of art", he writes, "Similarly the "Voisin" plan shows…certain historical monuments, arcades, [and] doorways, carefully preserved because they are pages out of history or works of art" (Le Corbusier 1998: 287). This is similar to the images of Paris caught in the glass reflections in PLAY TIME: the images caught in the swing of the glass doors. The Paris of Tati's childhood in the Voisin plan is no longer a part of a living city but something to be parcelled up as museum pieces.

In the film, Mr Hulot, played by Jacques Tati, has come to Tativille (which is Paris) to meet Mr Giffard (who he constantly misses). At the same time a group of American women tourists have arrived in Paris/Tativille. While Hulot has come to Tativille from the Champs-Elysees, (we see him arriving on a bus), and we know that the American women visit Montmartre and Montparnasse, we the film viewers do not see Paris. We only see Paris caught in reflection(s).

What is notable, and important for Tati, in PLAY TIME, is that which he does not show us: which is Paris. It is no small matter that in PLAY TIME everything that we know of Paris is not visible. It can only be caught in reflection, and seen in the distance – (in the distant past, perhaps). In the 1958 interview, previously motioned, Tati said "What bothers me most today is that Paris is being destroyed" (Bazin and Truffaut 2000: 298).

It is significant that the world of PLAY TIME is entirely constructed. The city in this case is a set. We only know that Tativille is Paris because at the airport from, the American women's bus, we see the sign "Paris".   All of Paris "as we know it" has gone. There are little bits left for the tourists, the flower stand, for example. As Barbara from the group of

American women tourists tells us – "This is really Paris", which of course, Tati is telling us, it is not, as (his) Paris has been destroyed and rebuilt. It is only Paris in name.

Tativille can be read as a criticism, of Le Corbusier's VOISIN PLAN. Perhaps Tati did not really fear that Le Corbusier's VOISIN PLAN would eventuate in total, but when PLAY TIME was made, from 1964 to 1967, some of Le Corbusier's ideas for Paris in the Voisin plan had, in part, been realized.

Most of Jacques Tati's films are concerned in some way, with a sense of 'home', or at least a way of life. This home is not just the house but it is also the neighbourhood the house is in - we see this, for example, in the old square in MON ONCLE (1958), and the town square of JOUR DE FETE (1949). In these cases we can see life was also "lived on the street".

What we see in PLAY TIME is a reaction to the devastation for what has been lost. It is not only the physical fabric of the city that has been lost. The destruction and rebuilding of the city has also brought a change in the way people live and use these spaces. Rob Sheilds (1995: 65). in LEFEBVRE, LOVE AND STRUGGLE writes, "Modernization wrought rapid changes in the patterns and routine of daily life and highlighted the loss of individual control and sense of community…".

Tati was not only bothered by the destruction of Paris, the distress of having what he knows as home, "destroyed", but also he did not like the effect, as he sees it, that the new architecture was having on people. Laurent Marie (2001: 259); writes,

> "Tati was adamant that he was not against modernization or modern architecture per se" "Tati explains that he is "against a certain way of life, a sterile homogenization which affects the way we think as much as the place where we live" (2001: 259).

In PLAY TIME there is no "life" on the street. The streets are for getting from A to B. We see none of the activities that we saw in the old square, in MON ONCLE, where the people lived, worked and socialized. In PLAY TIME each of these activities, (as Le Corbusier suggests they should), are in separate parts of the city. Berman again, (1995: 167), in citing Le Corbusier wrote, "Cafes and places of recreation will no longer be the fungus that eats up the pavements of Paris". In PLAY TIME all these spaces are absent from the city.

What we see in PLAY TIME is the arrival at a point where everything "important", to Tati, has been taken from the city, from the life of the people of the city, as they experience it. He said of Paris, "… it's uniformity that I dislike. You go to a cafe on the Champs-Elysees these day and you get the impression that they will soon announce the landing of flight 412: you don't know anymore if you are in a pharmacy or a grocery store" (Bazin and Truffaut 2000: 298). … "Today when you go to a restaurant it's as if we're eating in a clinic" (298). We can see expressions of these sentiments reflected throughout PLAY TIME, especially in the opening scene of the air port/hospital and later in the café/pharmacy scene.

Tativille is very very tidy: too neat and too clean. In the nineteenth century the city was big and messy and unhealthy - people died, by their thousands of diseases such as cholera (Higonnet 181). If before the city was unhygienic and people died as a result of this, now in Tativille, Tati tells us, this rationalization has been taken too far; and the result is that all the life in the city is dying. Patrice Higonnet (2002: 177) writes in PARIS: CAPTIAL OF THE WORLD,

> "In the nineteenth century, when machines were a source of wonder, a fascination with order, physics and mechanics gave rise to the myth of the city imagined as a perfectly regulated instrument as a place free of traffic jams or slums, the kind of ideal place, perfectly planned and conceived, …".

And this is what we see in PLAY TIME.

Tati tells us in PLAY TIME that we have created cities that can not be used well by people. When we arrive at the air port we are at first made to believe that it is a – hospital. But it is not only the hospital which is a sterile place in the new city, everywhere in city, all of Tativille has the same sterile environment.

The sameness that is conveyed in the confusion of the hospital/airport is expressed again in the office cubicles. This leaves Hulot (and us the viewers) disoriented. As all points are the same; there is no point of orientation. The architecture not only disorientates the individual but actively keeps people apart. We see this in the joke when the trades man asks the porter for a light. There is a glass wall between them which at first the tradesman (and us the viewers) do not see. At another point in the film, Hulot loses Mr Giffard, when he mistakes a lift for a picture alcove, and ends up on another floor. Hulot also walks into a board room meeting; Tati is implying here that in this architecture you do not know where you are. The architecture gives no indication of how to use the space - in this particular case which parts are private, and which parts of the building are for visitors.

The community in the old square of Saint Maur in MON ONCLE is absent in Tativille. It has been banished from the business district where Hulot has come to meet Mr Giffard; and as we follow Hulot to the residential district, we do not see the community here either. As the business and residential districts have been separated, so have the people. The people in the residential area of Tativille have no community. There is no life on the street.

The communication they have with people outside the home, in their neighborhood, is through the huge glass windows. The apartments themselves are no longer homes but display boxes. These people are separated from each other very neatly into boxes of glass and steel, we do not see the neighbors meet. Their "communication" as far as we know is mediated through something, the television or the glass windows. This scene is shot from the out side, from the street looking into the apartments. We see all the goings on through the windows looking into the apartments. The sounds are that of the street. The sounds we hear as film viewers are that of the street, not the sounds from inside the apartments. In doing this Tati is including us the viewer (or at least those in Paris in 1967) in the story. It links what is happening in the film directly to us.

Despite the architecture and way of life in Tativille keeping people apart there is still the possibility of some community. When Mr Giffard, who lives in the apartments, takes his dog out for a walk he bumps into Hulot on the street; and here we see people grouped together in a small communal activity. In this case watching work men install yet more glass.

However in Tativille everything is separated. The business area is separated by a bus ride away from the apartments. As mentioned the people in the apartments are separated, at least at a community level. The design of the buildings themselves with their steel and glass arrangement are articulated into neat squared off geometric segments. Henri Lefebvre (1995: 199) in NOTES ON A NEW TOWN writes,

> "Here I cannot read the centuries, not time, nor the past, nor what is possible. Instead I read the fears modernity can arouse: the abstraction which rides roughshod over everyday life – the debilitating analysis which divides, cuts up, separates – the illusory synthesis which has lost all ability to reconstruct anything active – the fossilized structures, powerless to produce or reproduce anything living but still capable of suppressing it…".

Tati is telling us our lives are turning into "sterilized homogenous" versions of what they once were. He says we are "having less and less fun" (Bazin and Truffaut 2000: 298). We see this

in the first half of PLAY TIME. The architecture and the people are ordered, dull (blue/grey in color), homogenized, sterile. This starts to change (slowly) when we get to the Royal Garden. Here at the Royal Garden we meet the architect: the person responsible for Tativille.

The Royal Garden is a bourgeois restaurant/night club. To start with it is almost as ordered as the rest of Tativille. However at the Royal Garden the architect is still at work - as the restaurant is opening. They are putting the tools away as the first guests arrive. From here things break - the lights do not work - or things malfunction - the air conditioning is too hot, and then too cold. The architect's chairs leave a print on the back of peoples jackets. The column near the entrance is in the wrong place. The maitre d' has to step around it when he his welcoming the guests; Hulot bumps into it and makes himself dizzy. The space is poorly designed. Tati has a lot of fun with the architect in this sequence.

It is from the ruin and chaos that Hulot and his new friends create a little "club" of their own and it is here that people start to have fun. It is the first time in the film we see people "loosen up" and enjoy themselves (and each other). Laurent Marie (2001: 263) writes "Where as, before the city prevented people from meeting one another, the Royal Garden has now become a social place…". We again see some of the social community of the old square. Tati uses this sequence to show us what the resolution might be, as things become more and more disordered and chaotic some of the people start to – "loosen up" – have some "fun".

The colours of PLAY TIME move from the blue grey tones we see for the first part of the film, to the mostly black and white tones of the Royal Garden, and then finally the bright colors of the merry-go-round, at the end of the film. During the sequence at the Royal Garden the colors start to brighten, mostly through the dresses of the American women, and the flowers on their hats. As the night goes on, more and more different "types" of people start to wander in. This is enabled by the breaking of the Glass door. The point that Tati is emphasizing is that the variety we see emerging here in dress, class, age, sub cultures – is exactly that which has been banished from Tativille in the "sterilized homogenization". The next day has dawned and we find our selves with Hulot and Barbara at the new market. We see more people of different ages children for example, who have been mostly absent until this point.

PLAY TIME after the upheaval of the Royal Garden ends up at a small modern round-a-bout, which Tati pictures as a merry-go-round. By the time we reach here we have a lot of colour. We see the orange of the girl's dress on the motor bike; the bright red and blue of the cars in the workshop; the colours in the children's clothing. It is full of life.

In this sequence we see a lot of variety, in the cars (their shapes and colours); in the people, we see "unfashionable" people, people of different ages, different classes. The merry-go-round-a-bout is slightly chaotic and dizzying. Tati emphasizes this point when he makes the joke with the women in the bus, and the big dipper, with the man cleaning the window. As he cleans the window he tips it up and down. The women's reflection is caught in the window. The joke is they are being tipped up and down as if they were on a big dipper ride. This merry-go-round-a-bout is fun.

In the merry-go-round-about Tati references his earlier films, we see the ice cream cart and boats from MR HULOT'S HOLIDAY. The round-a-bout itself is a reference to JOUR DE FETE, both these films are about fun times, holiday times. This is one thing Tati believes is missing from most of peoples lives in Tativille: play time.

The abundance of children suggests the future. In twenty years when these children are adults, what will the city be like then? What sort of city will they have? What will be left of Tati's childhood Paris?

Tati does not leave us in the blue grey world of the earlier part of PLAY TIME. The American Tourists are also on the round-a-bout, they circle around with everyone else, and then move off the round-a-bout, and back out to the air port. Even though these travelers are

not great adventurers, their paths are marked out for them, (and we see from the posters in the film that each city they visit in modernity is the same) they still travel off, as Tati fades his film to black, into the unknown, and importantly, as we know from the sequence at the Royal Garden, they know how to have fun.

In light of the sadness and regret Tati feels toward the "destruction" of Paris, that was happening at the time this film was made, his solution is to "loosen (up)": have more and more fun.

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Film/Architecture/Narrative

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Introduction

The discussion of architecture and film has often been "framed" by references to set design and backdrop: the glamour or *frisson* lent by iconic buildings and the documentation of historical periods and styles through the *mise-en-scène*. The links between film and urban culture made in recent research have provided another rich field of discussion; for instance the exploration of the close interaction between the images of cities and their filmic representations.[1] However, despite their pleasures, these investigations often leave interesting structural and perceptual questions less explored. Those questions concern the influence that cinematic techniques and concepts (given the enormous cultural influence of the medium) might have on the embodied process of perceiving the built environment, as well as the potential for their incorporation in architectural and urban design processes. This paper will discuss and reflect on an architectural design studio and subsequent exhibition that explored some of those questions.

Film/Architecture/Narrative was a Design Unit within the Bachelor of Architecture programme at Bristol, UWE in 2006-7; the work of which was exhibited at The Architecture Centre Bristol in May 2007. The projects sprang from intensive site studies and an analysis of film elements such as montage, depth of field and open-form. Students interwove large-scale models with site footage in video and image sequences, using the process as a way of interrogating their designs. Ultimately, the Unit strove for an architecture not simply conceived as set-design but as a more thoughtful exploration of the possibilities of the filmic imagination for architecture.

A number of key elements of the studio perhaps distinguished it from other investigations into the use of film in architectural design. Firstly, we were interested in exploring the adaptation of filmic concepts (e.g. montage) to underpin the design process; avoiding simply deriving an architectural aesthetic from a film's *mise-en-scène*. Secondly, development of the schematic designs and sketch proposals was through intense cycles of modelling and filming; developing a feedback process for the design rather than treating the film as a highly refined client presentation device. Thirdly, in keeping with the 'quick and dirty' approach, we concentrated on students using accessible, relatively inexpensive software and hardware in order to produce the work (this included using mobile phones to film and editing on freeware).

This paper will examine some of the results of the studio and reflect on the way that the projects allowed us to investigate a number of questions. How do we experience the city in a cinematic sense? Can our understanding of space and place be enhanced through film? Can zooms, montages, jump edits, storyboarding, scripting, establishing shots, pans, close-

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[1] The following very brief list of texts gives an idea of the breadth of research into film and architecture: D. Neumann, D. Albrecht & David Winton Bell Gallery (Brown University) (1997), Film Architecture: Set designs from Metropolis to Bladerunner. Prestel, New York; D. Albrecht (1987), Designing Dreams: Modern Architecture in the Movies. Thames & Hudson, London; E. Dimendberg (2004), Film Noir and the Spaces of Modernity. Harvard University Press, Cambridge; F. Penz & M. Thomas (1997), Cinema and Architecture: Maeliaes, Mallet-Stevens, Multimedia. British Film Institute, London; M Schwarzer (2004), Zoomscape: Architecture in motion and media. Princeton Architectural Press, New York.

ups, framing, tracking shots, sequencing, depth of field, continuity and other aspects of film productively contaminate architectural design? Finally, can we, as architects, use filmmaking as a tool for stimulating and redefining our own practices?

After outlining the studio brief and structure the bulk of the paper will examine and analyse some films produced by students in the studio and speculate on their implications for architectural design processes. It should be noted that within the Film / Architecture / Narrative Design Unit, the 'Narrative' element of the studio's investigations was also critical - particularly in developing students' concerns and consideration for the experience of building occupants. However, in recognition of the conference theme, and a need to maintain focus and brevity, it will only be discussed in this paper in relation to the film/architecture interaction explored in the studio.

The Studio

The studio's site area was Spitalfields in East London. Historically situated outside the City Wall of London the area has been defined by a fluctuating mix of marginalised activities and migrating populations. Currently, the expanding City financial centre looms over the site to the west and the increasingly gentrified Bethnal Green rubs up against the eastern edge – stock market to street market to art market. Power relationships and hierarchies flow and shift through the site, while the atmosphere of the place continually changes. Using diverse media students navigated, explored, filmed, mapped and walked boundaries, charted sections, examined sky to sewer, east to west, placed old maps on new ground to uncover and to know this terrain.

A series of projects were completed over the year: an exploratory urban intervention, a threshold study, and a building design for a new International Film School. Each involved the use of film within the design process and its presentation.[2] The first project, and the focus of this paper, was titled "Imaginary Construction" and involved the development of an urban intervention responding to daily rituals observed in the site area. The interventions were generated by four approaches. Firstly, an analysis was made of a number of urban narratives (stories by authors ranging from Paul Auster to Banana Yoshimoto) in order to encourage students to think through the site in terms of its stories and their spatial inscription. It was also a means to develop approaches to notating spatial narratives and diagramming the gestures of inhabitation.

Secondly, students identified a 'client' for their interaction. The focus was a person or group of people who the students identified as performing an everyday ritual in the area. Examples included tradespeople, beggars, students and kitchen-hands. The students, through video, drawing, sound recording and photography, mapped particular activities these people conducted in the public realm, with an emphasis on diagramming and storyboarding the chosen ritual. Thirdly, and concurrent with that process of identification and documentation was an exploration of the more general site area and the identification of a site for the intervention. The fourth approach of the project required students to investigate and focus on a single material for use in constructing the intervention.

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[2] The client representative for the Film School was Breda Beban, Professor of Visual Culture at Sheffield Hallam University, filmmaker and artist. Breda's input was also extremely valuable in helping to review the Urban Intervention projects. Other guest staff, whose input across the year also helped make the studio successful, were Robin Wilson, Sophie Warren, Paul Shepherd, Richard Hannay, Elena Marco, James Burch and Harry Charrington.

The project then entailed bringing together the approaches within a design proposal that evolved through a repeated process of model making and filming. The resulting architectural interventions were required to address aspects such as spatial sequence, threshold, and material quality and quality of light, view, rhythm and perception. The project aimed to use that process to intensely study the way architecture is experienced by a user, culminating in the production of a large-scale model (1:1 to 1:20) and a moving image sequence exploring the presence of the intervention in its site.

The Films

In analysing and discussing the students' film work we used a number of questions that relate to the studio's initial research premise. They were: how did the student relate a sense of Spitalfields cinematically? What filmic techniques can be seen to influence the design and its representation? How did the process enhance the student's understanding of the space/place of Spitalfields? What aspects of the intervention's character did the filmic representation emphasise or reinforce? The questions often overlapped and they won't rigidly structure the discussion of the students' work; however, they do provide a useful grounding to the following analysis. What follows is a detailed exploration of one student's film in order to convey a sense of the way in which the film fitted in to the overall studio process. Following that is a discussion of particular aspects of some other films to reinforce a few of the key ideas that emerged from the studio.

Labyrinth

Matthew Hynam's film Labyrinth is a melancholic, dream-like journey that overlays sights and sounds of the existing Spitalfields market with a proposed intervention into that space. The film's cool tones and abstracted imagery convey both the detached sensation he sought for his project (linking a character's uncertain sense of reality with the confusion of a market space) and an elegiac rendering of the market that is disappearing because of the site's continued gentrification. The existing market is represented through a series of black and white still images, an overlaid, continuous tracking shot of the roof structure and a time-stretched, muted field recording. These are interspersed and overlaid with images of an intervening, imaginary structure in cool blue tones.

Three aspects of the film emerge as useful for this discussion: the purposeful construction of a sense of immersion and motion, a structural relationship between the intervention, film and market, and the imparting of a specific atmosphere, or mood, within the film. The first of these aspects is most directly evoked through the continual tracking shot of the roof, which provides an obvious sense of motion and a temporal register for the film. It's also reinforced by the repeated dissolve from one market image to the next that adds to a sense of time passing. Each of these elements is shot from a first person point of view – further establishing the camera as the roving eye of the viewer, weaving through the market.

The structuring of the film, particularly the visual continuity, rhythm and framing also describes a relationship between the site, intervention and film. The overlaying and interspersing of images of the intervention with those of the existing market suggests the physical insertion of the new structure. The underlying framework of the tracking ceiling shot suggests a spatial sequence to the images while the frequent alignment of forms found within images of the site with those found in the intervention enhance their visual and spatial overlap. These tactics build to create a convincing sense of an interwoven site and proposal that still allows for a useful perceptual 'gap' between the two elements – the intervention can be interpreted as an insertion that reframes the market rather than something that obliterates the existing.

The control of the visual palette and aural quality of the film also provides a strong sense of mood that relates simultaneously to Matthew's reading of the existing market as well as the proposed character of the intervention. The grainy black and white imagery, muted and distorted field recording, and the slow pace of the overlaid tracking shot combine to evoke a melancholic, documentary atmosphere. These tactics, along with a shifting set of image scales (ranging from long shot to extreme close up) offer the film as a capturing of a disappearing sense of place. At the same time the abstractions at work (for example, the slowing down and stretching of the sound recording) and the way they generate a sense of detachment help to embody the experience of the disoriented visitor within the Labyrinth intervention. The images of the model interwoven with the site footage inter-play and set up ambiguities; their cool blue tonal range keys in with the sense of loss and detachment while the visual overlays hint at the physical insertion of the labyrinth structure. Finally, all the shots used in the film are first person point-of-view, encouraging a fluctuating reading of the film as an immersion in both the environment of the existing market as well as the proposed intervention. Reinforcing this further is the absence of a totalising shot that would reveal the overall spatial structure and allow the viewer a definite emplacement – the market and intervention interaction is represented as a labyrinthine experience.

We consider Labyrinth a successful film because of the productive ways that it interweaves site and proposal, as described above, as well as the way it developed through a series of experiments in modelling and filming. This process identified the importance of the intervention's temporal quality and its 'framing' of the market for the user. This emerges in the film through the careful control of the relationships between its own structure and the architectural structures in terms of view, rhythm and continuity. The film ended up becoming a stimulating method of interpreting the space of the market as well as evoking an atmospheric experience of the intervention.

Canopy of Raindrops

Florence Wong's film and intervention was located in Dray Walk and focused on the impact of elements such as rain, light and wind. Dray Walk, part of the old Truman Brewery complex, is a fashionable pedestrian laneway that houses cafes, bars, clothing stores and galleries. Both the film and the intervention emerged as exploratory gestures – the architectural project and its filmic representation involved a series of experiments with forms and materials, and the possibilities for their filtering of climatic conditions within the site.

The current role of Dray Walk as a public space of promenading, voyeurism and display initially drew Florence's attention. Documenting the ways people acted (in multiple senses of the word) within the space during a day that featured sunshine, wind and heavy rain squalls, and then into the evening prompted the subsequent experimentation with a climate-sensitive, theatrical intervention. A very definite relationship was set up between the site exploration, documentation and the intervention design. The project developed as a weather register structure as well as a device that could trigger or encourage particular behaviours in response to the climatic conditions. The design process, with the film as an integral part of it, was used to develop an intervention that filtered light, cast shadows, created sound and suggested pathways through the space – triggered by rain, wind, sunlight, night-lighting and the movement of crowds.

The film techniques were directly bound to the material exploration: the initial site studies documented various weather conditions and atmospheres and the subsequent filming documented various trials of form, material, structural system, scale, tone and volume. The final film attempted to interweave the evocation of the site and the intervention, using a number of techniques to place the project physically and temporally within the place. These

included a chapter structure to communicate daily cycles and rituals, the creative use of studio effects to replicate different weather conditions and times of day, a moving camera to try and animate the static model, and combined field recording with studio sound to reinforce a carnivalesque atmosphere.

Canopy of Raindrops isn't a wholly successful film. There are problems with its sometimes crude editing and the attempts to reproduce models at varying scales with particular atmospheric effects (e.g. rain) stretched Florence's technical abilities. However, this also leads to the key strength of the film – its role as a kind of cinematic sketchbook containing a series of experimental vignettes. These short sequences, although not really forming a cohesive piece, contain ideas that are strong and that would often be impossible to explore through simply sketching or model making. As a response to some of the initial research questions we asked ourselves, the film clearly demonstrates its usefulness within the design process for thinking through some of the ephemeral qualities of an architectural proposal in a schematic way.

Brick Lane Ribbon

Tim Hawker's film makes a stark contrast with Canopy of Raindrops. As a short film it is much more successful in terms of visual and aural control, sense of rhythm and overall aesthetic cohesion. As an exploration or representation of an architectural intervention it is far more ephemeral and impressionistic. In that way it failed to meet some of the objectives of the studio but it has some extremely poetic elements that are worth discussing here.

The most interesting aspect of Tim's project for this discussion is the way that both the film and the intervention it represents are assembled from fragments; the process of montage is critical to the establishment of a mood and a suggestion of form. The structuring of the steady-paced, monochromatic image sequence relates closely to the suggestions of an intervention formed from a single piece of translucent material - twisted and deformed to fit the site and to provide a platform for appropriation by people in the street.

The building up of this suggestion happens through a series of similarly scaled detail shots of the model arranged in a well-paced sequence. Although it lacks a clear relationship to its context, it gives a very persuasive study of form and detail that suggests ways by which such filmic studies can help generate a material poetics. The communication of context through images reflected on the surface of the 'Ribbon' is a technique that reinforces that material focus while also starting to place the intervention. An atmospheric field recording and a minimalist, minor-key piano piece, support the image sequence. Their combination provides an editing rhythm as well as introducing a sense of narrative: suggesting the intrusion into the dark, rainy street of a late night argument and bottle-smashing. This is a particularly effective detail as it balances the optimism of the intervention as a non-programmed object for free play with an obvious potential for misuse and vandalism; the film begins to act as a critique of the architectural idea itself.

Brick Lane Ribbon is a very suggestive film that demonstrates a sure handling of sound, visual composition, editing and pacing. Unfortunately, the architectural intervention it related to suffered from a lack of progression and remained as ephemeral as the film suggests. In that way Tim's project was less than successful. However, the film was extremely useful as a means of suggesting the material and formal potential the project contained and again demonstrates the usefulness of the medium as a design impetus.

Urban Choreography

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The final film we will discuss is Justin France's Urban Choreography. Justin's site exploration led him to film and analyse the interactions between a carpenter constructing a shop counter on a pavement and the pedestrians who had to pass by as he wielded a circular saw. Justin interpreted the episode as a piece of urban choreography – both the carpenter's actions with the saw and the various ways in which people negotiated a path past him or paused to watch.

The subsequent intervention and film focused on the social and aesthetic potential of those flowing movements. The intervention developed as a stage for performance that straddled the pavement and roadway – accommodating but also slightly deflecting the movement along each to create an eddy where people could appropriate the space for a range of activities. Within the film these concerns with flow and path were communicated through the use of the camera as subject moving through the street; most of the film used overlaid loops of the footage with that of the model to suggest the placement of the intervention. There was also an overlaying of 1:1 detail (a hand tracing the line of the timber cladding) with the urban street scenes and a similar approach to the audio (field recordings mixed with music from a hypothetical performance).

The most interesting element of Justin's process was that layering of material to give a sense of the intervention's presence. It was never seamless but in fact that 'gap' between the layers became critically important as a way of reinforcing the negotiations required to accommodate the project in the street – echoing the negotiations he originally observed, those of pedestrians past his camera and past the carpenter at work. The film and its techniques not only communicated the interest he had in flows but also forced Justin to think through the adjustments and modifications he needed to make architecturally in order to place his project in the site.

Conclusion

The studio was a tentative, initial foray into what, to us, seemed a relatively unexplored area. While the intersection of film and architecture is undeniably rich and well trod with respect to analyses of their symbolic and aesthetic interaction we feel that there is an exciting, and under explored, potential for filmic techniques to, perhaps ironically, enrich the physicality of the design process. The studio was a first step in that process and, although it inevitably raised more questions than it answered, it opened up exciting possibilities for recasting the schematic architectural design process and modes of concept presentation.

The architectural design process results in the realisation of ideas as occupied spaces, as buildings, as towns, as cities. Our experience as users of these places is multi-sensory and filtered by our individual perceptions. The manipulation and representation of designs for these spaces within architectural offices is abstracted by the media of architectural drawing and the cleanliness of the computer generated image. Film has the potential of positively contaminating this abstracted representation of place. By its inclusion in the architectural design process, consideration of the experiential and ephemeral qualities of place is reinforced. Although film does not capture the real experience of a place, working with moving image brings the potential reality of the completed design in the real context under closer and earlier scrutiny within the design process.

We feel that the work of the students over the year, of which a very small part has been shown here, made clearer some of the benefits of that film/architecture/narrative intersection. The studio's outcomes suggested that the architectural design process could open itself up to a more immediate examination of a wider range of experiential qualities through the 'quick and dirty' application of filmic technologies and ideas. The processes of site exploration, analysis, design conception and presentation were enriched by folding these

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techniques and concepts into them, and a focus on the bodily experience of places was pushed to the foreground.

In closing we would like to thank all the students whose work contributed to that exploration and we hope that the ideas introduced in the studio will continue to contaminate their work…

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The production of multi-layered space in Japanese *anime*: Mamoru Oshii's *Patlabor*, Tokyo

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Detective Matsui: Tokyo is such an odd place. In this investigation, I saw some of the strangest old backwaters. But then the view would suddenly change. As each building fell, a new one rose up. Look away for a second, and everything's changed. Before you know it, the past is gone. No one in Tokyo seems to care about our vanishing history.

Captain Goto: This spot right here was part of the bay a few years ago. In ten [sic-in the Japanese, a couple of] years, the bay in front of us will be new city land. A little after that, this will be old news, and no one will care. It's all just a big joke. Maybe that's what Hoba [the prime suspect] wanted to tell us.

(From the English subtitles of *Patlabor 1: Mobile Police*, 1989)

In Mamoru Oshii's film *Patlabor 1*, towards the end of the investigation into a computer crime (in which a virus was planted in the operational program of construction robots), Detective Matsui and Captain Goto are sitting side by side on a wharf, looking at the tranquil surface of the sea and watching their off duty colleagues fishing from rafts. As they discuss their case, both men confess their sympathy with the prime suspect in his attempt to put an end to the incessant production of space (both buildings and reclaimed sites) in Tokyo Bay.

The misinterpretation in the English subtitles above ('ten' instead of 'a couple of' years) reveals that for the translator, the speed of change in the Japanese city is impossible. This is probably because the translator did not imagine that a new city could be built in a couple of years. Indeed, the message in this dialogue represents the voices of those Tokyo residents who felt helpless in the face of continuous construction during the rapid economic growth of the late 80s.

Although Oshii's films encompass wide-ranging and complex issues such as identity, gender, robots, cyborgs, mythology, religion, politics, war and power this paper focuses on one issue: his production of space. This paper offers two types of analysis of the production of space: first, Oshii's own (re)production of space i.e. the way in which he illustrates cityscapes in films, and second, his critique of the production of space in Tokyo illustrated in such works as *Patlabor 1: Mobile Police* (1989), *Patlabor 2: The Movie* (1993) and *Tokyo Vein*[1] (2003). I will show firstly multiple perspectives starting from above Tokyo and gradually descending through its layers. Secondly, I will examine the depictions of the city in *Patlabor 1,* in order to challenge the view of Japanese architects that the continuous production of space is a cultural mechanism. As a background to my presentation, various scenes of the urban fabric in Tokyo and of construction and destruction will be projected onto this screen. This strategy, 'let the backdrops address the theme'(Oshii et al. 2003;Oshii 2004:73), is the one Oshii used

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[1] *Tokyo Vein* was directed by Makoto Noda and was supervised by Mamoru Oshii for the Roppongi Hills Opening Exhibition, *The Global City* (2003).

in the *Patlabor* films. Before looking into Oshii's world, I will clarify the relationships between the city, multi-layers and Japanese *anime*.

City, multi-layers and Japanese *anime*

As some Japanese architects and some Japanese Studies researchers admit (Bognar 1985;Matsuoka 1979), space in Japanese thought is conceived of not as a three dimensional entity but as a combination of two dimensional planes [screens] with hollow layers or a space-time axis. Some call it the concept of *ma*. Through this spatiality, all cities—not just Japanese— are seen to be composed of multi-layers.

Japanese *anime* also has this spatiality and Mamoru Oshii is the director who most consciously applies it in depictions of the city. He identifies three layered screens: foreground (characters), mid-ground (surroundings) and background (landscapes)(Oshii et al. 2003: 162-3;Oshii 2004: 89-92). These layered screens transform three-dimensional space into two-dimensional sheets and are merged together. He is obsessed with creating realistic images using this combination. For example in *Patlabor 2*, when Captain Goto gets into his car, the mid-ground (the interior of the car) shakes but the background (the cityscape) also subtly shakes because the supposed-camera viewpoint is at a position behind the driver's seat. Through this visual image, viewers naturally sense his body weight almost as if they were in the same car. One can almost smell the car seat. In short, this is not an absolute and binary relationship between subject and object, but a relative and tripartite relationship between subject-surroundings-nature. This tripartite relationship can be observed in the 'borrowed landscape[2]' in traditional Japanese gardens.

Oshii also realises that imaginary spaces in *anime* tend to be poor and stereotyped (Oshii 2004: 60), whereas real cities are rich, complex and full of information (p.78). For instance, before Oshii buildings depicted in *anime* had often been mere 'signs' for example a box with black holes signified a building; if such a building was extended horizontally and a clock added, it signified a school; with advertising balloons, it signified a department store (p.60). In contrast to this convention, Oshii composes imaginary cityscapes extracted from or enhanced by the real space which he finds through location scouting[3]. Another of Oshii's findings is that viewers are used to the distorted images caused by the camera in live-action films and so as an anime director he distorts some images to make them look more natural and familiar (pp.199-200). He thinks that there is a difference between the precise representation and the feeling of reality. For instance, when one produces an image in *anime*, the precise representation of a photograph which captures a street corner cannot provide viewers with an impression of reality. However, a slightly distorted picture of the street corner, which extends towards the viewers and is projected onto the screen, lets the viewers feel as if they were standing there (p.199). Thus, Oshii's *anime* re-presents the camera's perception through the combination of two-dimensional layers. These two findings suggest that *anime* screens are perfectly deliberate manipulations by the director, unlike live-action films which can capture the movement or landscape without such efforts. The next section introduces Oshii's depictions of the cityscapes, surroundings-nature among the tripartite relationship.

The city from below: Tokyo's alternate landscapes in the *background*

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[2] The 'borrowed landscape' is a Chinese and Japanese gardening technique. If there is a significant view, such as mountain in the background, it is incorporated as an element of the foreground garden.
[3] Location scouting is the search for a suitable place for the best shot outside the studio in the process of filming.

> Time is the time of change – not localized or particular change but the change of transition and the transitory, of conflict of dialectics and of tragedy; the River is the symbol in which reality and dream are one and which is without form.
>
> (Lefebvre 1984:4)

The city in films is often depicted either from above or at the eye level of pedestrians. Researchers in urban spatial studies now favour viewing the city from street level rather than from the elevated perspective. However, as Henri Lefebvre insisted, these oppositional perspectives between micro and macro are not sufficient (Soja 1996: 314)[4]. In particular, to understand a city like Tokyo various perspectives are needed since new layers are not only superimposed but are also inserted into the existing urban fabric because of the shortage of land and high land prices[5].

Oshii illustrates Tokyo from various heights at different speeds, depending on his choice of surroundings (the midground) such as cockpits, vehicles and buildings. For instance, he uses a hovering helicopter or a floating airship to show a slow bird's eye view over the city; he chooses cars travelling and stuck in the traffic jams on the expressway, thus demonstrating the intermediate height of cityscapes; he sets the supposed camera position in the cockpit of a Labor robot to reveal the pilot's view; he depicts detectives conducting an investigation in the *low city*[6], the *Shitamachi* area.

Moreover, Oshii explores an alternative perspective, "the city from below", by using a camera on a floating boat. This perspective contrasts with Lefebvre's *representations of space* as made by geographers, architects and planners in their maps and models. Such scaled-down representations, 'the city from above', accustom us to a simplified and reduced version of the city. However, seeing the city from

Figure 1. Tokyo Vein (©2003 GRANATEN/MORI

below necessitates a view of the real city itself since unlike a building model, large city models are generally seen from above and the human body cannot be scaled down. In addition, the slow movement of the boat helps viewers to scrutinise the cityscapes. Through this view, an unfamiliar and different Tokyo emerges. This *heterotopic* vista, filmed from a boat travelling along channels during the location scouting, was painted as backdrops in *Patlabor 1*, rearranged in *Patlabor 2* and further developed in the short documentary *Tokyo Vein* (Figure 1).

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[4] Edward Soja points out that Lefebvre's critique of this polarizations have firstly developed around 'micro vs. macrospatial analysis specifically to the citybuilding professions, with the architect fixed primarily at the micro scale and the planner at the macro' (Soja 1996: 312). The micro viewpoint is connected to the preference for the 'view from below': everyday life is exemplified in the voice of the *flâneur*. Whereas the macro viewpoint is associated with a modernist and masculinist hegemony of the visual , an authoritarian viewpoint which is exemplified by voyeurism (Soja 1996: 310-314).

[5] For instance, economic priorities have promoted the combinations of unrelated functions in buildings or civil engineering structures, which are called 'cross categorical hybrids' (Tsukamoto et al. 2001: 12).

[6] I have borrowed this term from Edward Seidensticker who translated the name of downtown Tokyo, *Shitamachi,* as the *low city* (Seidensticker 1985).

In this documentary, Oshii uses a physiological analogy of the city as a body[7], contrasting "the veins"—the drainage channels which collect and expel the waste products of the city—with "the arteries"—the trains, expressways and communication networks. This analogy also provokes viewers to imagine the social hierarchy or class system. In fact, *Tokyo Vein* captures scenes such as workers collecting trash floating on the water surface, or an overflowing garbage barge. Such activities would hardly be noticed by pedestrians and by passengers or drivers, travelling in over- and underground trains, or in cars on the expressway. The workers, pedestrians, passengers and drivers are all experiencing everyday life at a different pace and speed. Oshii's perspective demonstrates how cameras on the boat emphasise speed or time rather than space, giving the viewer an isolated feeling of being away from the bustle of the city. Our next section will step further into Tokyo illustrated in Oshii's film.

The implicit theme in the *midground*

As mentioned before, Oshii attempts to 'let the backdrops address the theme' in the *Patlabor* films. In the foreground of the *Patlabor 1*, two detectives penetrate the deep urban fabric of Tokyo from the Kanda River through the *low city* to the ruins. In the midground, Oshii depicts realistic scenes of the *low city* while the detectives follow the prime suspect's tracks from one house to the next. The screen shows several houses deserted by the suspect, some of which are about to be demolished. The chief detective recognises that constantly moving house is the suspect's best way to delete all traces of his existence in Tokyo since all of his landlords or neighbours were dispersed. In the midground, the camera captures the transition from living space to ruins, addressing another theme: the destruction of community. Here are two example of a living community, in the first, the chief detective talks to a tobacconist since such a person is generally regarded as a helpful observer of the city. Secondly, the film shows that residents can display and take care of their plants in the street without fear of theft; the private stuff occupies the public space (Figure 2). Both examples imply that their community is still thriving there.

Figure 3. *The low city* (*Patlabor 1: Mobile Police* ·1989 HEADGEAR /EMOTION / TFC)
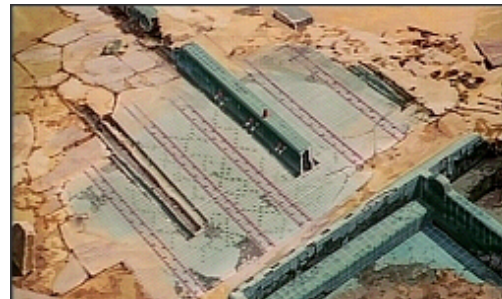
Figure 2: The ruin of a public bathhouse. (*Patlabor 1: Mobile Police* ©1989 HEADGEAR /EMOTION / TFC)

However, as the two detectives penetrate further, they do not encounter any residents; but they do see a cemetery and this section may imply the death of the city or community. In one frame, the open space where two detectives are drinking cola seems from the decorative floor tiles to have been a public bathhouse (**Error! Reference source not found.**). This

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[7] Le Corbusier also uses the analogy of the city as a human body. According to Philip Steadman, '[W]e have to wait for Le Corbusier to find biological comparisons of the physiology of breathing with the ventilation of buildings; of the nervous system with the networks of electricity supply, communication and telephone services in a building or city, of the bowels with sewer pipes and refuse systems; and, favourite analogy of all, the circulation of the blood with the circulation of people or traffic' (Steadman 1979:48). This analogy is also visualised in the animation part of the film *Osmosis Jones* (2001).

reminds the viewers the community which existed before; public bathhouses were a kind of community centre in the wooden residential areas where tenants did not have their own baths[8]. Through the detectives' pursuit of their quarry, viewers have become more sympathetic with the prime suspect. Our next section will show Oshii's explicit critique of the production of space.

Critique of the production of space in Tokyo—*midground versus background*

City residents tend to be both fascinated and repelled by the city[9]. Oshii had been living in Tokyo for nearly forty years and his mixed love-hate emotions for the city are explicitly reflected in *Patlabor 1*. His favourite traditional wooden houses (the midground) are superimposed on his loathed high-rises (the background). In the midground, Oshii placed some topical retro-architecture which still existed in the 1980s. Three examples which I can recognise are "billboard architecture[10]" originally built during the 1920s or 30s, useless and obsolete objects in the street, "Tomasson[11]" (Figures 5), and one of the Doujunkai Apartments, the well-known fireproof concrete buildings constructed after the 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake. Oshii depicts scenes in which his beloved traditional wooden houses are demolished by *Labors*, the large construction robots. Here, his critique of the production of space in the bubble economy period underlies his official intention to record and create memories of the real Tokyo of the late 80s. The following section will challenge the prevailing view that the perpetual production of space is a cultural mechanism and will reveal how this cultural focus hides the other aspects underpinning this phenomenon.
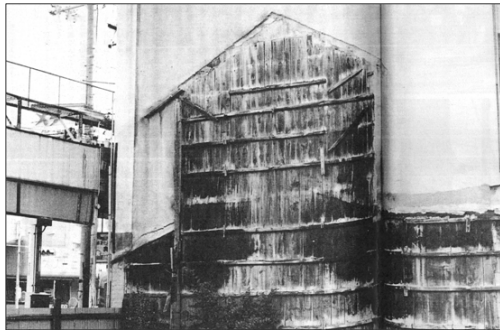
Figures 4. "The remains of the nuclear bomb: the type 1" in *Super-Art Thomasson* **(Akasegawa 1985: 24-5) (left) and Oshii's citation (***Patlabor 1: Mobile Police* ‧1989 HEADGEAR /EMOTION / TFC**) (right)**

In the bubble era, Japanese architects took advantage of the economic boom and referred to this 'cultural mechanism' as their excuse. The twenty year rebuilding cycle sustained at the Ise Shrine was frequently used to exemplify the ephemerality of Japanese architecture. The article by the US architectural critic Botond Bognar (1997) well illustrates

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[8] Nowadays, independent en suite rooms have become more popular among young people. This destruction of community is also associated with the transition to the residents' *atomization of life* in gigantic cities.

[9] For example, '[Patrick] Keiller's *London* probes the permanent fascination and repulsion of its urban textures' (Barber 2002: p.97).

[10] This phrase was coined by the architectural historian Terunobu Fujimori (Fujimori 1994). The billboard architecture is one example of the pseudo-Western style street architecture of shops. 'Billboard' does not mean an advertisement on the façade but a flat façade decorated with tiles, mortar or carbon boards like a billboard (Akasegawa et al. 1993:pp.61-63).

[11] Artist Genpei Akasegawa and his group observed and reported urban unconsciousness of the Surrealistic Architecture in the street, calling it 'Thomasson'. 'Thomasson' is a lame duck US major leaguer who was playing in a Japanese professional baseball team in the early 80s (Akasegawa 1985:14). Fujimori's and Akasegawa's groups established the Urban Observation Group in 1986. They were inspired by *Found objects (objets trouvés)* by Marcel Duchamp (Akasegawa et al. 1993:pp.38-42) and also inspired by Wajiro Kon, who established the study of modern social phenomena, *Kogen-gaku* (p.12) in 1927.

Japanese architects' discourses of the ephemeral at that time. For example, in the 1980s-90s architects argued that architecture embodies the essence of the impermanence influenced by Buddhism and that this essence epitomises Japanese culture. Bognar says as follows:

> Contemporary design in Japan is characterized by lightness, surface, fragmentation, and dissolution, often with a "ruinous" quality, a sense of temporality, imageability, sensuousness, and finally, a spectacular phenomenalism –all attributes of the ephemeral.

(Bognar, 1997: 38)

Historically, Japanese cities have experienced destruction caused by catastrophic fires, earthquakes, typhoons and wars, and as a result, perpetual reproduction is very familiar to the residents. *Patlabor 1*'s storyline depicts the process of a computer crime to sabotage 'The Babylon Project' which is a fictitious government-led development of a new city full of high-rises on reclaimed islands in Tokyo Bay. The story is set in 1999, four years after an imaginary earthquake has destroyed Tokyo; the debris left by the earthquake is being used for landfill. This fantasy may have been inspired first by the well-known visual images of the cities flattened by earthquake (1923) and by war (1945) and second by familiar scenes of perpetual reconstruction as the city emerges from the debris so often[12]. In fact, the Great Hanshin Earthquake of 1995 actually caused new destruction of the city and it was said that the original story of the *Patlabor* series predicted the incidents.

In addition, traditional wooden structures have allowed easy transformations of cityscapes. In the film, this transformation is represented as the decay and demolition of wooden buildings in the *low city*. As already shown, two detectives step into the deep urban fabric of Tokyo from the Kanda River through the *low city* to the ruins, in search of the tracks of the prime suspect. In this process, the film clearly contrasts high-rises with vulnerable wooden buildings. Oshii illustrates the traditional wooden buildings in the *low city* with familiar, nostalgic and intimate touches in midground. In contrast, Oshii seems to hate the high-rises which are painted always in the background against the *low city,* a contrast of cityscapes that is familiar to Tokyo residents. These high-rises stand silently looking down on the *low city* like tombstones without people working or living in them.

In the 1980s-90s, Japanese architects overlooked the limited durability of hitherto existing buildings and the enhanced durability by new technologies. Buildings in Japan depreciate year by year like cars because of the decay caused by small earthquakes and by climate[13]. The legal durable years of any buildings are estimated at no longer than fifty years. Buildings have their own limited life; buildings should be demolished after a certain number of years for security reasons. From an economic perspective, old buildings over fifty years have no value because no one can predict when they may collapse. Simultaneously, using advanced technology, construction companies have been trying to build long-lasting, robust and fireproof buildings, especially high-rises[14]. In retrospect, what is paradoxical is that architects seldom refer to these two aspects of durability by focusing only on the traditional and the cultural. More importantly, it should be noted that the Japanese must shoulder the huge burden of this metabolic construction cycle.

During more than a decade of stagnation after the collapse of the bubble economy and under the global pressure to encourage sustainable developments, the ephemeral aspect of Japanese architecture has became less appealing. As described in Bognar's article, the strong

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[12] 'Between 1603 and 1872 there were ninety-seven major conflagrations including catastrophic fires in 1657, 1682, 1720, and 1872; there were major earthquakes in 1855 and 1923; the fire bombings of the Second World War razed the city' (Bognar, 1997:35)
[13] Such as humidity, typhoons, rainy or snowy season as well as acid rain.
[14] Such high-rises sometimes use flexible structure responsive to earthquakes.

economy[15] in the late 1980s and the systems of fragmented or patchwork landownership[16] and of taxation such as estate and death duties[17] supported the continuous production of space as well as the Japanese cultural mechanism. In these systems, the natural outcome of Tokyo's developments would be the replacement of small wooden houses by fireproof, middle or high-rise buildings owned by companies. This change is visually illustrated and these two types of building are contrasted in Oshii's *Patlabor 1*.

Oshii's hatred of high-rises culminates in the finale. In the story, Captain Goto proposes several ways to prevent the crime and one of these is the demolition of the highrises in central Tokyo. Instead of demolishing the highrises, Oshii decides to make a symbolic gesture, by toppling the remaining structure of the ocean base into the sea. This conclusion suggests the ultimate victory of the prime suspect's sabotage of, or lengthy delay to the construction in Tokyo Bay. Seemingly, Oshii's desire to stop and to make viewers think about the meaning of the construction is achieved. Ironically, however, this conclusion does not provide a drastic solution to the problem, i.e. giving up the production of space, but merely causes a disturbance to or delay in the project. In other words, there is no doubt that the construction of the new city and destruction of the old city will still continue after this crime. Construction and destruction are unstoppable; we cannot control nature or our environment or the economic cycle. "Maybe that's what Oshii wanted to tell us".

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[15] In the bubble era, land prices soared and 'more than 90 per cent of the budget will go towards the cost of the land property and just ten per cent will go towards construction costs and architecture'(Academy International Forum 1994: 12) especially in central Tokyo. Consequently, designer buildings sometimes could last for only a few years like high fashion trends; such buildings became commodities.

[16] The plot division in Japanese cities is relatively small. Each landowner owns a building and the value of the building is underestimated. As a result, when a new owner takes over a plot, it is usual for a new building to be constructed.

[17] By using a biological analogy, owned plots are repeatedly subdivided like cell divisions generation by generation because of inheritance tax which frequently is set at 50% of the estimated property value. It is difficult for landowners in central Tokyo to pay this tax, and therefore the plot or part of the plot is sold. In central Tokyo, residents would be evicted and companies would often take over their properties.

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Cinematic Uses of Athenian Monuments, or revisiting the 'Athenian Glory'

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Introduction

The aim of this essay is to present cinematic ways in which important monuments and sites of memory—the most important among them the Parthenon and its wider area the Acropolis—are represented in contemporary Greek cinema.

Under a complex contemporary urban context (Immigrant influx, Olympic Games, Gentrification etc), Athens, a city always related to its ancient past, has claimed a new image and a huge urban discourse has been produced from art exhibition to academia and from documentary to feature films. Contemporary Greek cinema responded in different ways, one of them being the filming of the Athenian landscape marked by its historic sites. Behind this statement, there lies a question: how is contemporary Greek cinema dealing with specific monumental forms within a new urban context?

Referring not only to monuments but also to *lieux de memoire,* as defined by P. Nora (1989) and relying on *monumental time* by M. Herzfeld (1991), I will focus on two films, *Polaroid* (An. Frantzis, 1999) and *Real Life* (P. Coutras, 2004)*,* apposite examples of a contemporary tendency. Mentioning elements (and not an extensive analysis) of genre, narration and style I will give an example of how these films treat the historic side of the city.

The *monumental time* of the Athenian landscape

A monument as a spatial form can be anything: contemporary buildings, city squares, temples, public spaces, public art, and even empty spaces. In this essay, though, I shall be referring not only to monuments in the narrow sense but also to sites of memory under the meaning of Pierre Nora (1989). Nora's definition *lieux de memoire* includes spatial forms (museums, archives), characters (real or not) or other entities and artifacts (statues) where memory "crystallizes and secretes itself" and where three aspects of *lieux*—material, symbolic and functional—are meeting. I will refer to *lieux de memoire* like the Acropolis, the Old Parliament (nowadays a museum) and the Kolokotronis Statue, the Parliament (King Otto's palace) and the Monument of the Unknown Soldier, sites where "the play of memory and history" (Nora 19) is connected with the building of a national past and of a national identity, but also connected with the image of Athens as a space of local claims and global fame (to utilize the title of E. Yalouri's book on the Acropolis).

I will focus on these sites of memory, firstly because other monuments (or sites of memory) like monuments of WWII, or the Civil War for example, are missing from Greek cinema (and this already states the presence of political dominant and dominated *lieux de memoire*); secondly because if every city is "already social and ideological, immersed in narrative" as argues McArthur (1997), then Athens is the paradigm of a city that is, at the same time immersed in and has emerged from a narrative concerning its ancient past (i.e. the neo-classicist face of the city constitutes part of this narrative) and stemming from the besieging, deforming and transforming of memory by history, a procedure that enables *lieux de memoire* to exist (Nora 1989: 12)

This procedure consisted of, among others, a mise-en-scène that suggested the imposition of a *monumental time. Monumental time* as defined by M. Herzfeld (1991), is a "reductive and generic" time, that "reduced social experience to collective predictability", that focused on the past, and deprived these sites from their *social time,* "their grist of everyday experience". (Herzfeld 1991:10)

For instance, as Yalouri (1996, 2001) and Hurwitt (1999) under different theoretical approaches, argue, that the different mise-en-scènes on the Acropolis, from the 'purification' process (where Ottomans' traces were effaced), to the demarcation of its territory (where access was controlled) and from the lighting when ever important foreigners were visiting the city to the Sound and Light spectacle nullified its historicity and turned it from a lived space into a landscape ascribed with qualities of 'uniqueness' and 'sacredness'. As a result, the Parthenon and the Acropolis served different kinds of objectives and played multiple sorts of roles: from legitimizing the nation-state to glorifying Athens for touristic purposes and from empowering protesters' claims against official ideologies to appropriating Acropolis' above qualities when for example Jane Mansfield, the sex symbol and cinema star of the 50s was photographed in front of the monument (Yalouri 2001). Uses of the Acropolis and other sites of memory by contemporary Greek cinema are inscribed in an already rich realm of meaningful, moral or heretical, practices and representations.

Filming the monumental aspect of Athens

During the 50s, the monumental aspect of Athens was put on screen with the landscape treated as a post-card, as spectacle, while in the 60s shots of sites of memory were associated to the monumental modern buildings (like the Hilton). Spaces became more and more symbols of the postwar touristic growth of the city (Poupou 2007) or, consequently indicators of the tradition-modernity dichotomy (Kartalou 2004: 293). However, we can notice that, after the studio era of the 60s, the so-called New Greek Cinema ascribing itself in a modernist cinema style, did not elaborate the same relation to space and in particular, to sites of memory, since memory became a theme on its own and the *dedramatized*[1] spaces of Theo Angelopoulos were the esteemed style paradigm for dealing with space.

During the 90s, the influx of immigrants, the Olympic Games preparations and works that were undertaken such as the metro, not only changed the image of the city and everyday life but also produced a discussion in different fields that seem to focus around the multifaceted Athens expressed in various discourses: from the consideration of Athens as a metropolis in art exhibitions like *Athens, a Metropolis by accident* (Bios Exhibition) to the discursive re-evaluation of urban anarchy of *Absolute Realism* (Venice Biennale 2002) and of new aesthetic criteria that ignores architectural principles (Scoffier 2000). However, part of the new image of Athens, at least in the official works and discourse[2] was among others to set off the monuments accomplishing the Integration of the Archeological sites, the displaying of the excavation findings during the Metro works, the appointing and lighting in a new way of the sites by Pierre Bideau. Athens is under construction, literally but also theoretically.

The response of contemporary Greek cinema towards the above complex urban context was immediate.

It is true that Greek cinema underwent a transition in the 90s where in parallel with the generation of the so-called New Greek Cinema, a new generation of filmmakers appeared and adopted new technology and style, undertook independent productions, TV co-productions, opened itself to the international market, employed a know-how from its advertising

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[1] On the *dedramatized* spaces of Theo Angelopoulos, see D. Bordwell (2005).
[2] For example, D. Avramopoulos, the Mayor of Athens, stated in the *Hellenic Quarterly*: "The visitor requires a large historic center, free of cars, which allow him to enjoy the archeological sites, the historic setting, which will allow him to digress from the everyday reality of the contemporary city and transport himself mentally to the atmosphere of Ancient Greece" (12).

experience and explored themes from the everyday life. (Georgakas 2002, Horton 2000, Scopeteas 2004)

Fig. 1. An example of a digital composite image with the Acropolis on fire. *Real Life,* **2004, Panos Coutras.**

Greek films gazed upon the contemporary city by either completely avoiding monuments and exploring stylistically the local residents' contemporary 'decontextualized' urban experience (Thanouli 2003) or/and insisting and illustrating the sites of memory in rather elaborated ways. Monuments' stylistic elaboration and their function in the film system are much more complex, than simply admitting the treasuring or trashing or just displaying of the monumental side of the city. These films are using digital composite images (*Woman is a tough person, The Attack of the Gigantic Moussaka*, *Touch of Spice, Real Life*-Fig.1), extravagant mise-en-scène (*Black Milk, Polaroid*-Fig.2), canted framing or distorted perspective (*The Attack of a Gigantic Moussaka*), props in the décor (like the first shot of the Acropolis poster in *Hardcore*), techniques and devices that cannot be unmotivated or unnoticed. In the following section I shall refer to two films in an attempt to reveal their relation with the Athenian *lieux de memoire*.

Polaroid came as a surprise for Greek Cinema standards in 1999 since it was extremely low budget, shot on digital-video and then transferred to film, that seemed to have been created by a group of good friends in their 30s, filming their summer derives in Athens while they are attempting among other things to produce a theatrical piece of work.

The film borrows loosely from the comedy genre but more importantly, employs some art-house conventions[3]. Namely, it uses episodic story with multiple events of equal importance that are filmed on location in the streets of Athens. It constructs multiple subjectivity and a highly self-conscious narration that manifests itself by the actual mixing of diegetic and extra-diegetic world (amateurs and actors appearing as themselves, the director of the film is playing himself writing a musical script), by foregrounding elements of the aesthetics of home movies (at the same time masking and unmasking the construction of the

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[3] For a presentation on the art-house conventions see Bordwell, D (1985).

profilmic event) and by the theme of art creation itself. But, more importantly, the film states and stages an overt cinephilia to Greek cinema and Greek popular culture of the 60s.

Fig. 2. Post-card view shot of the Acropolis: extravagant clothes and dancing in front of the monument. *Polaroid,* **1999, Angelos Frantzis.**

Polaroid (1999, Angelos Frantzis)

In this multi-referential film, there are two ways in which *lieux de memoire* are used. Sites of memory like the Parliament and the Monument of the Unknown Soldier, the Olympion and so on, are part of the protagonists' surroundings, but they are not marked as special landmarks of Athenian landscape. The shots are rather medium close-up shots focusing on the protagonists. Only parts of the monument are revealed and rarely can one see all of it. Additionally, these surroundings are followed and mixed with other non-historic urban spaces like clubs, bars, cafes, cinema theatres, hotels and gyms. For *Polaroid,* in the late 90s, every part of the city is of equal importance as sites where the protagonists are rehearsing their theatre play or where episodes take place.

L. Papadimitriou (2000) argued similarly for the Greek musical of the 60s. Cities are marked by their monuments and by their modern constructions (hotels, roads), popular culture seemed to have the same value as historical sites. *Polaroid,* though, differentiates itself from this practice of monuments' representations, because of the citation[4] to the film *Randevou ston aera* (1966 by Y. Dalianidis) during its final scene.

This final scene reproduces a musical feature transtextually motivated by the 60s Greek musicals. The actors sing playback to the original song from *Randevou Ston Aera,* dancing in front of important sites of memory: the Acropolis (Fig. 2), Zapio, Parliament and Monument of Unknown Soldier, with shots that imitate the specific style (theatrical staging, frontality as in tourist photos, long shots intercut by close-ups) of the 1960s musical. However, a musical scene produced during the studio era meant a certain controlled staging and mise-en-scène. Frantzis' film moves in a completely different direction, 'capturing the moment' of the city (i.e. they dance in Syntagma Square and the Monument of the Unknown

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[4] I would say that it is more in a free indirect style.

Soldier is hiding because of the Metro works) with its raw texture. Ultimately, this scene surfaces as, among other things, a self-conscious commentary on two different modes of production and representation. Frantzis associates these *lieux de memoire* with his low budget production, the carnival-like clothes and the amateur-actors dancing, and foregrounds their playfulness over the monuments as 'sacred' sites but also as icons of popular culture. Frantzis integrates into his urban geography monuments both as transient spaces of everyday life and as already cited images, paying attention to the results of *monumental time* in popular culture (i.e. musical genre, tourist photos).

Real Life (2004) by Panos Coutras

Real Life, is about the socially inappropriate love story between Aris, an extremely rich, but troubled young man, and Alexandra, a young poor fashion-design student and follows a completely different trajectory than that of Frantzis' film. Adopting the conventions of melodrama (communicative narrative, expressiveness, coincidence (Bordwell 1985)), it is organized around dichotomies in every aspect of narration and style: extravagant mise-en-scène that consists of a trashy décor and costumes for Alexandras' petit-bourgeois family, a colorfully lighted and glass made set with grandiose costumes for Ms Kalliga, as well as the extravagant use of the Acropolis in a climactic point of the story.

More specifically, the film depicts the Acropolis and the Olympion—that stands on the Acropolis foothill—in long shots, as a prop in the décor and as CGI image: during the opening credits, Acropolis is sunk in water and surrounded by bright colored 3-D fish, while, as the plot unfolds, the Acropolis (Fig. 1) is burnt, restored (in one year diegetic time, in 30 min screening time) and virtually duplicated. These depictions are motivated by the genre's astonishment effect (Karakitsou-Dougé 1995) but one needs to contextualize and stylistically describe this effect to understand how Acropolis is used.

In Greece, melodrama was a dominant and rather popular genre throughout the entire Greek studio era but gained little or no respect from intellectuals and film critics of the period and later, who characterized it as "fake" and "cheap". (Kartalou 2004, Karakitsou-Dougé 1995). Coutras uses a rather disgraceful but popular genre for the Greek culture refreshing it with cinephilia towards Douglas Sirk, a gay subplot, a slightly ironic performance from Themis Bazaka (Mrs. Kalliga) and extravagant mise-en-scène, re-evaluating at the same time as highlighting the unrealistic excessiveness of the genre.

Under the same lines and in terms of cinematic space construction, *Real Life* creates its own geography. Ms Kalliga's villa, is a luxurious construction that one can only find in the suburbs of Athens since in the city's centre there is no space available anymore for such luxury. However, the digitally inserted Acropolis post-card within such an unrealistic distance from the villa and in a rather unconventional building-free landscape indicates the villa's proximity to Athens center. This is important because all of the exterior action is placed either in unrecognized streets or in the villa's garden. Therefore, the only feature that indicates the viewer that, diegetically, the story should be taken place in Athens are the shots with the digitally inserted Acropolis. *Real Life* introduces us to an artificial urban geography by using exactly the most familiar and trivial landmark of the Athenian landscape, challenging the Acropolis characteristic as a landmark and as a compass of the Athenian landscape.

Additionally, the precise way of creating synthetic images by the mixture of 'cheap' (in comparison with Acropolis status as 'sacred' and 'unique') material like the aquarium with the Acropolis and the digitally inserted post-card in the background of the villa as well as its imperfect digital burning, questions its status as an image. Neither use implies, nor provides a certain kind of perception or cinematic experience of a hyper-real Acropolis, meaning that digital effects in *Real Life* do not provide a perfect image according to

mainstream cinema[5]. The above uses point to the Acropolis' artificiality as a landmark of the Athenian landscape, as an image, as an object of popular culture (i.e. post-card, aquarium etc).

Obviously both films are very different in terms of narration, style, even in terms of themes. *Polaroid* with genre citation and self-conscious narration points to two modes of production and representation and treats monuments either as popular images or like any other contemporary urban construction. *Real Life,* reevaluating and foregrounding genre conventions and with a cinematic style that unmasks artificiality, points to Acropolis construction as an off-context image.

What is important here is to note that a certain tendency of contemporary Greek Cinema uses the monuments more as already mediated images, referring to the implications *monumental time* had on the Athenians' (of Greek origin) conceptualization of space.

If we borrow Hurwitt's (1999) scheme on the multiple restorations on the Acropolis we may understand a new memory schema that the films suggest for these sites of memory. Hurwitt argued that if the Acropolis as the construction it is today is an artificial composition, it is still an authentic cultural artifact in the sense that it can give us more information about a place as an ideological tool in the re-creation and promotion of a new nation. To explain further his statement, Hurwitt seems to suggest that the imposition of the *monumental time* is part of the monument's cultural history.

Similarly, these films retrieve the multiple re-appropriations and 'abuses' of the monuments from post-cards to cinematic uses that for years were touristic objects and popular spectacle, not negating but negotiating *monumental time* through its implications, negotiating between official imposition and popular practices. These two examples point to the monumental aspect of the city as something fictitious, yet part of Athens, revisiting the monuments not as sites of memory but as images bearing their own history and memory in popular culture.

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[5] To give an example, the CGI images of the Acropolis burning in *Real Life* stem from a different tradition and cinematic context than the depiction of the White House in *Independence Day*. For 'hyper-real' perception and digital effects see Manovich, L (2001).

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Baltics – Images of City and Europeanness in Soviet Cinema

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In my paper I will discuss urban images of Riga, Tallin and Vilnius, as well as other Baltic cities in the Soviet films of different genres. I will argue that the Soviet cinematic imaginary was creating a complex urban imagery for the huge Soviet audience. In different narratives of identity and stories of place filmic images of Baltic cities were utilized as "real materials, which retain their original quality"(Nowell,-Smith 2001:103). But they took shape and derived meaning in and through a system of differences by being represented as a certain "European"/"Western" space, by serving spatial substitutes of 'a European city'.

On the other hand, film-makers at the three so-called republican studios created images of Riga, Tallinn and Vilnius, relating their internal audiences in Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, to their urban spaces as places of memories, historical controversies and existential insecurities (Latvian film *I Remember Everything, Richard*, Estonian urban films, films by a Lithuanian film-maker Šarūnas Bartas), with spectatorial affects of "peripheral locality", from its everyday life to its carnivalesque qualities.

The use of Baltic cities and landscapes as sites of shooting "West"/"Europe" was made already in the propaganda of the 1950s. As Eva Naripea points out:

The actual West (Sweden in this case) is in the 1950s only represented in the film *Uninvited Guests*: the dark rain-wet asphalt streets are lit up by tens of bright and alluring neon-tube advertisements, the bourgeois youth grooves to intoxicating jazz-beats, and the headquarters of Swedish-Estonian spies are equipped with Bauhausian metal-tube furniture and decorated with abstract paintings – all this adds up to describe the ultimate depravity of the West. (Naripea 2007)

Figure 1.

This miniuarized and noirish-Ruttmannesque image of hostile and degenerate, spying and corrupting West "played" by the Baltics (See Fig.1, *Uninvited Guests*) was proliferating in the Soviet popular cinema of the later periods (*Lost Souls*, 1971, *The Secret Agent's Blunder*, 1968, *The Secret Agent's Destiny*, 1970, *The Secret Agent's Return*, 1982). A very popular cult spy film in which Tallinn enacted an imaginary European place was *Out of Season* (A. Mitta, 1968), about a search of a Nazi criminal by a Soviet intelligence agent Ladeinikov in Europe. An anonymous European city of immersion and escape looms as the space of existential alienation and overwhelming crowd, of criminal mimicries and hidden

identities, and at the same time, this image draws attention to the specifics of its setting. Filming becomes a signature of the setting's European 'authenticity', a re-assertion of "the ontological link between nominal setting and actual location".(Nowell-Smith 2001: 103).

Another group of spy films was about intelligence service battles during the Second World War. Each day, after 11 August, 1973, Soviet militia reported that a number of street crimes and apartment robberies radically decreased in the Soviet cities in the evening, when a TV-series *Seventeen Moments in Spring* (T.Lioznova, 1973) was shown to the huge Soviet TV-audience. One of the first home-made TV-series, the film became a national success overnight. The filmic action takes place in Europe, mainly Germany, in March 1945. The main character of the film is an SS standartenfuhrer Max Otto von Stirlitz, an operative in the SD, the Nazi political intelligence agency, and in reality, a Soviet intelligence officer Maksim Maksimovich Isaev. This spy film, a screen adaptation of Julian Semjonov's novel (1968), drew people into their homes, leaving streets, shops and movie-theaters of the Soviet cities literally empty.

In this film, authentization of the cinematic space as European (specifically, German and Swiss) was achieved by moving the film-making process to the streets of Riga and Tallinn, transformed into the streets of Berlin and Bern. This was not exception to the rule as the Baltic capitals typically "played" non-Soviet Europeanness in Soviet spy films. To be more precise, the shooting of this TV-series took place in different parts of the USSR (not only in Riga and Tallinn), as well as in East Berlin. The Zoological Museum in which Stirlitz meets with Borman was shot in Leningrad. One of the characters, pastor

Figure 2: Meissen as Bern

Schlag, crosses the Swiss border in the mountains of Georgia. A secret apartment of a Soviet intelligence agent in Bern is failed in Riga, in the legendary Jauniela street.

In Figure 1 professor Pleishner (Fig.1) is in Bern,heading for a secret apartment, already in the hand of gestapo. He starts walking in Meissen (Germany), then he enjoys looking at bear-cubs in the Tbilisi Zoo, then he reaches Blumenstrasse and commits suicide in Riga, in the already mnetioned street Jauniela in Old Riga.. Since then this street has become a sightseeing attraction for the nostalgic tourists from former Soviet republics. This street became a real "star", and the title for this recent picture (below) taken by a tourist from Russia emphasizes the intersection of reality and famous cinematic image of the street: Riga, Jauniela, Baker-street, Blumenstrasse.

Another exceptionally famous Soviet spy-film was a TV-series *File Omega* (*Variant "Omega"*, Antonis-Janis Vajazos, 1975, screen adaptation of the novel by N. Leonov and J. Kostrov). This film playing heavily on authenticity, shows Tallinn, the capital of Estonia, as an alienated city, under fascist occupation. The main character, a Soviet intelligence officer Skorin, is isolated in a villa after his arrest, under observation of an Abwer officer Schlosser. Similarly to *Seventeen Moments of Spring* the plot unfolds as an intellectual duel between these intelligence officers. The Tallinn cityscape, whose description is practically absent in the literary original, emerges as the film's

Figure 3: Jauniela, Baker Street, Blumenstrasse

protagonist. As the space of the narrative setting, its manifests itself as a location of

underground reality, its secret signs and codes, ambushes and mysteries, double identities and conspiracies. At the same time its historical (European/Hanseatic) "essence" projected through the images of the Old Town streets, houses and spires, the private space of an old aristocratic villa, valorizes it as a territory of intellectual collision of analysts and strategists, for the film's major effect – demonstration of Skorin's victory as a Russian brain-machine over a German aristocrat Schosser, with enviable genealogy and education.

Figure 4: Riga as London

Another genre that projected a certain image of Europeanness upon selected sites of the Baltic capitals and cities, was a screen adaptation. The *plein air* scenes of the film *Ideal Husband* (Georgiev, 1980), made after Oscar Wilde's comedy, were mostly screened in the parks of Riga. A very popular TV-series on the adventures of Sherlock Holmes was made by Viktor Maslennikov (1980) as a screen adaptation of Arthur Conan Doyle's famous stories. Most of Holmes's adventures took place in London "played" by Riga, but for *The Hound of Baskervilles*, a filming site for its peat marshes was found in Estonia. The Baskerville Hall itself was "played" by several sites including the mansion of the earl Orlov-Davidoff, very close to famous Kadriorg.

Aleksandr Dumas' three musketeers enjoyed their adventures in the streets of Tallinn. Friedrich Dürrenmatt's *The Visit of the Old Lady* as well as *The Legend of Til* after Charles de Coster's *Til Eulenspiegel*, took place also in Tallinn. Its roofs became the panorama of a Soviet TV-version of Little Boy and Karlsson's adventures by Astrid Lindgren. Some musicals, e.g. *Straw Hat*, were shot in Tartu. The place in Tartu where Innokentii Smoktunovskii pronounced "To be or not to be" in Grigorii Kozintsev's screen adaptation of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* is now called Hamlet's Hill. A half-destroyed electric station not far from Tallinn became the Zone in Tarkovskii's *Stalker*. Cinematic Europeanness of the Baltics had, however, certain psychogeographical limits. Vilnius was not filmed for its "European" qualities as much as Tallinn and Riga, most probably for the absence of the Hanseatic skylines, Baltic German downtowns and Nordic proximity

The cities, with their architecture and historical scapes, pre-existed the act of filming, due to their European history and belonging. However, it was the act of filming these cities that crystallized certain fantasies of Europeanness. Historical and literary, contemporary and nostalgic, distant and alienated, nocturnal and dystopic, they loomed large in the city images "played" by the Baltic urban sites and inflected them with the connotations of existential and exotic otherness, if not sublimated alterity. On the one hand,. the 'Europeanness' – historical and political – of the Baltic societies was a transgression in their otherwise successfully peripherilized status in the USSR. On the other hand, visions of undifferentiated European "city" underscored the tensions of the Baltic Sovietization, and filmic topographies of 'foreignised' Baltic urban scapes, inflected the meanings of the regional difference. They came to embody 'Europe', and 'West' which gradually became a measure of cultural primacy in the perception of the region, a kind of a 'spectacle' perspective upon the otherwise subaltern social experiences of the Baltic societies. Furthermore, the films increasingly fetishized 'Baltics' and its capitals and cities as zones of 'European' difference consumed by Soviet tourist industry developing since the 1960s. Such „tourist" images of Riga and Tallinn as 'heterotopic places' (Foucault 1967) mainly exploited the architecturally and historically 'frozen' skylines of old towns in the proliferating genres of adventure and musical films at the national studios, as for example, Estonian films *Stone of Blood* (1972), *Old Toomas Was*

Stolen (1970), Latvian films *The Devils' Servants* (1970), *Devils' Disciples on the Devil's Mill* (1972).

The dramatic historisizing of the city, a former European capital and a contemporary city, subjected to the Soviet political order, is an important narrative element in the Latvian film *I Remember Everything, Richard!* (or *Stone and Splinters,* Rolands Kalniņš, 1965) about Latvians who served in the German army during the World War 2. This film was banned several times, many episodes were eliminated, and the title of film was changed three times. The main character comes to Riga of the 1960s, modern and rebuilt, from abroad. His entry into the city takes place out of the newly-constructed building of the Riga railway-station. Richard is walking towards the station's main exit. A flashback episode about his pre-war youth in Riga, then the capital of a European independent nation, is followed by his going out of the station into the capital's new Soviet life whose image looming large behind the huge paned glass wall. The paned glass wall is, however, an impairing image as it can also be looked at as a barring grid upon the glass disrupting the harmonious cityscape behind it, a metaphor of enclosure and imprisonment. It can also be read as a metaphor of a boundary between lost past and divided present, between those who are „here" and those who are „there" after 1944.

The next episodes show Richard's nostalgic walking in the street of his youth, mundanely washed by a yard keeper in the morning. No less important, he is visiting the Riga Central Market and tasting milk brought by a local peasant woman, like in the older times, and as a signature of his belonging and origins. Soviet and modernized Riga is pictured as peaceful, quiet and living its own intensive working life. At the same time, Richard's flaneur walk represented in a „documentary" manner (he is a „tourist" in the city) brings in the mood of nostalgia for the lost past and the desire to 'remember everything' in his and his friends' life. The filming dramatizes the city by using its central landmark as the opening setting for future dramatic events. First, the camera shows Richard at a distance, next to the concrete wall. This shot, as a gradual close-up, is alternated with the shots upon the Monument of Freedom, erected in the times of political (and European) independence.. We follow what Richard looks at and what he hears in the alien urban environment.The next shot represents the statue as alienated from the spectatorial (and Richard's) gaze with trolley-bus wires and trivialized by the passing trolley-bus, a symbol of Soviet modernization of the 1960s. The Monument of Freedom is untouched in its sculptural wholeness, as a symbolic 'navel' of the national capital. However, montage technique masterfully demonstrates how mundanity of everyday public traffic acts as a procedure of erasure in de-sacralizing the statue's symbolic value for the nation on a daily basis, in the eyes of the city dwellers and tourists. The motive of barring and enclosure (paned window at the railway station, trolley-bus wires), divison and alienation, persists in the private as well when the filming of his friends' apartment from the outside shows Richard with his Rigan friends sitting behind the gridded window.

The late 1960s-1970s the Baltic region faced a start of economic modernization, industrialization and urbanization. Rapid social changes and the emergence of contemporary city environments in the Baltic societies were reflected in the rise of the urban novel and its screen adaptations, for example, in Estonia.Eva Naripea argues for the Estonian cultural context:

A number of feature films were made, the problems of which were greatly concerned with the 'alien' parts of the town – with the new residential districts and their (Estonian) population. The modernist new town acquired the meaning of a negative influence on the human psyche, symbolising alienation on the societal level as well as on the individual level, or appearing as the background for deviated or broken family relationships." (Naripea 2003: 424)

Figures 4 and 5: I Am Not a Tourist. I Live Here.

Estonian urban cinema of the 1980s retreated into the motives of boredom, alienation and distress, a deep anxiety about the loss of national and European identity in the dystopic representations of modern and overpopulated residential districts, an easily recognisable signature of Soviet urban modernity. (Fig. 4 & 5) In Peeter Urbla's film *I Am Not A Tourist, I Live Here* (1988), its characters oscillate between nomadic and sanctioned modes of occupying urban space. The main character moves through the city as a objectifying panoptic system to find "a space of his own", let it be only a tiny spot at the crossroads, under a roadsign signalling to "turn West". (Fig.6 & 7)..

Figures 6 and 7: I Am Not a Tourist. I Live Here.

In the Lithuanian cinema of the late 1980s-1990s it was Šarūnas Bartas who brought out an image of Kaliningrad, as a Soviet "deviant body" in the European space, Vilnius, transitional in moving from the Soviet territorial control and 'returning to Europe'. Likewise Tarkovsky's specific optical perspective, Bartas shifts from storytelling toward minimalism, plotlessness and speechlessness, closeups and statics, silence and associative technique. His Euroasian cinematic space from Königsberg (Kaliningrad, Karaliaučius) to the Siberian Sayan mountains has been loaded with borders and conquests, erasures and palimpsests, exclusions and abjections. These are intriguing 'peripheral' territories still emanating 'forgotten' feelings, as postcolonial/postsocialist spaces embracing European Kaliningrad-Königsberg-Karaliaučius in *Three Days* (1991), a North African desert near the ocean in *Freedom* (2001), extreme conditions of the Asian Sayans in *Few of Us* (1996) and the Crimea (the Kerchenskii peninsula) in his *Seven Invisible Men* (2005).

One of his early films *Three Days* was made at the time of the USSR implosion. Two young Lithuanian men travel away from their distant home in the countryside to Kaliningrad for three days. In the beginning of the film, Kaliningrad as a European city, dysfunctional and corroded in the Soviet urban modernity emerges as a territory of ontological difference to the

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Lithuanian countryside represented as the peripherilized terrain of authenticity and origins. A young woman, a Tarkovskean stalker, becomes a guide of the two young men, however, not into the Dead Zone, but into the Dying Zone – the urban 'catacombs' of Kaliningrad of the late Soviet period. A cinematic vision of Andrei Tarkovsky's wasteland becomes a real Zone of Kaliningrad that spreads less across a wreckage of rusted industrial plants, collapsing telephone lines, and buildings overtaken by dark forests, but more around a 'wreckage' of humans that does not emanate a mysterious and deadly force. Amid the human 'relics' of Soviet industrial decay, Bartas's city emerges on the screen as a zone of overwhelming exclusion. Unlike Tarkovsky's tattooed and scarred Stalker, Bartas's silent and fragile 'fallen' woman is more of a Euridice, in the final embrace with the protagonist before he returns home. He returns from the capital of the region that historically had been part of Lithuania Minor (excluding Königsberg itself). In the late 19th-early 20th century the Lithuanian language was forbidden as a language of education and reading in Lithuania Major, part of the Russian Empire at that time. In Lithuania Minor the books in the native language were printed and smuggled over to Lithuania Major, thus, playing a significant role in the process of cultural nation-building. Smuggling a book is re-inscribed by Bartas into his film's metatextual function of 'smuggling' the emotions of loss and neglect, anger and hopelessness - across invisible boundaries between authentic Us and alien/migrant/deviant Them - into the still unchanging meanings of untouched and sacral home.

His another film, *Corridor* (1994), can be seen is an intense attempt to look into interior spaces of Vilnius vis-a-vis the urban space of social changes and political transition. He incorporates documentary footage of desolate urban space dotted with alienated people, then a linear grieving march along a bridge, under the flag of Lithuania, and a funeral in a huge hall.(Fig.8 & 9). In the private of a communal flat, on the contrary, different places overlap and co-mingle in the nameless characters' wordless movements and glances, in their search for home and community, borderless and anyway, insecure, beyond the promises and politics of borders and security.

Figures 8-9: Corridor

He creates a carnivalesque space of diasporic community in Vilnius (a communal apartment with shifting boundaries of private/public becomes its trope), as the valued human condition in Bartas's "return to Europe" vis-à-vis monotonies of a national spasmatic project, revising the corrupted Soviet sublime.

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Non-Places at Cinema

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Introduction

Since the beginning of Modernity we have entered an era of socio-economic and cultural transformations as a result of increase in the pace of everyday life. In the search of new avenues in the architecture, the social sciences, and the art the way the space and the place are designed, utilized, viewed and perceived have changed. All of these changes attached new meanings to the place which caused changes in its quality and depicted itself as an interdisciplinary concept.

The architecture has been totally transformed during the era of industrialization. Especially during that era, the relationship with the cinema became explicit. The most important arena where these new forms of spaces and concepts can be observed is the *oeuvre of cinema*.

In order to have a better understanding of the *place* today, one should focus on the relationships of the people who inhabit them. Since the change of place to non-place did places become free of relationships or is it only the nature of relationships that have changed? The cinema provides us a great medium where we can observe the relationship between people and place while displaying beyond the built environment.

Research in the world of movies is like a maze in which it is easy to get lost. In this paper the movies are analyzed through the places that they are filmed at rather then their genre, actors, directors, cities etc. This research aims to establish an understanding of relationships in non-places of super-modernity through three different movies and their "places": *Paris-Texas, Terminal* and *Lost in Translation.*

The Concept of Place

The technological advances of 19th century such as accessibility of mechanical transportation tools and innovations in construction and communication technology had a direct influence on the built environment. During this period, Europe and United States of America urbanized at an increased pace. Also, the tools used in cinema industry have developed as fast as the cities did by benefiting from the technical advances.

The 20th century imposed an occidental model of capitalist development to the whole world. The Latin America, Japan, and the 3rd world countries urbanized with different rhythms and morphologies. The cities shown in movies became dense, more cosmopolitan, and limited to defined places (e.g. house, street, neighborhood, store) especially in downtowns.
During 20th century, theoreticians of different disciplines explored the concept of place from the perspective of the relationship between the architecture and the place. Christian Norberg-Schulz (1981), who is well known with his books on this topic, tells that place cannot be defined solely with the Cartesian approach. He aims to show the "spirit of the place" through the use of phenomenological methods. Norberg-Schulz, inspired by Heidegger's (1958) views on architecture, defines three important values, namely "meaning, identity, history", to explain the "Genius Loci".

A distinction between the space and the place does not exist in traditional societies. Similarly, the movies that show traditional societies portray a collection of unique aspects of places that serve to represent memories. However, this traditional and anthropological meaning of place has changed after the modernity. It no longer seems to include the social and public interferences.

Baudelairean Modernity preserves anthropological aspects of a place and its history by combining the old and the new. However, during late 20th and early 21st century the urbanization is planetary, random, and derogatory. Architecture is more and more standardized and globalized. The customs, routines, capacities of cities have changed. The image of the city has been changing while revealing new organizations for living. Also, the traditional cities are not portrayed in movies as much as they used to be. The expressions "Edge-city, gated-community, screen-city, reality shows, global city, megalopolis, etc" are heard more often with every passing day. We are in an era of post-city in which non-cities are scattered on a vast territory. The actual cinema seems to have lost its interest in the concept of place. Even the city, at least the image of it, is consumed once it is seen on the movie screens.

The Concept of Non-Place

The new places and the new ways of living raised the need of new concepts to help them understood. The starting point has been with the rupture of the space and the place during 20th century. Issues such as the identity transformations in cities and buildings as a result of cultural globalization, the transformations in local, cultural, and architectural values, and the sense of belonging to place are among the mentioned concepts.

- Why do the majority of new buildings look like each other despite of their location in the world, their function and, their physical and socio-cultural environment?
- Do some places perpetuate a sense of anonymity? Do some alter our perception of normal social conduct? Do we create this sense of anonymity or does the space create it for us?

Both of these questions seem to be related to the concept of *surmodernité* according to Augé (1997), or *supermodernism* according to Ibelings (2002). Supermodernity is a quality of living in a state of superabundances, where the consumption of images and experiences is excessive. In the search for answers to these questions we encounter a new concept: non-place.

The underlying reasons for the formation and diffusion of anonymous non-places the lack of relation between spaces and the place, the transit use of space, homogenization of places and their lack of identity, and the rise of materialistic values as a result of the consumption mentality. A direct impact of the transformation of the place is reflected on human relationships and vice versa.

The following paragraphs summarize Augé's (1997) work to provide basis for my analysis on three chosen examples of the contemporary cinema. Augé's most relevant work to this topic is his study on "anthropology of every day life": "Non-lieux: Introduction à une Antropologie de Surmodernité". In this book, he defines non-places in the absence of relational characteristics and in comparison to the traditional anthropological places:

- Consumption places: Hypermarkets, shopping malls, fast-food chains
- Tourism and fun places: Hotel chains, holiday villages, theme parks
- Transportation places: Airports, train terminals, service stations, car parks, highways
- Gated community housing

The definition of conceptual and contextual dimension of space in Augé's own words is (Augé, 1995: 77-8): "If a place can be defined as relational, historical and concerned with identity, than a space which can not be defined as relational, or historical or concerned with identity will be a non-place…"

According to Parker (2002), urban sociologists like Weber, Jacobs, Cox, Relph used the concept of non-place to describe the American sub-urban city and its shapeless, repetitive, characterless, and impersonal setting. (see section below on Paris-Texas) (Martinotti (2003) insists that Webber (1964) is the first to use this concept and marc Augé is the one who makes it popular. But Augé does not refer to Webber in his work.)

Augé stresses that the concept of non-place attract our attention to the new spaces of communication and transportation, and the consumption that spread all over the world. According to Thierry and Paquot (2004), it has assumed an "empirical value".

It is very possible to show that a *non-place* for someone can easily be a *place* for someone else. For Augé, in an airport, you can have 50,000 people, but non of them need to have a relationship between them. For example a mall placed at an equal distance to four different villages can be a perfect example of a non-place but also can be a meeting point for the young people living in these villages.

Analysis of Movies

In this paper, three movies that mostly take place in non-places are analyzed: "Paris-Texas" on a highway, "Lost in Translation" in a hotel and "Terminal" in an airport. These movies are not chosen arbitrarily. In fact they are selected because they demonstrate how the places that are lived in define the life of their habitants and how the life of the people define the places that they live in.

In these movies crisis in human relationships are observed. The individuals portrayed in these movies look as if they are alone and anonymous even when they are in the midst of a crowd. The commonality of the selected movies lies in the questions that they raise:

- Why do transit spaces that do not hold enough significance to be considered a "place" often become the subject and/or the object of the contemporary cinema?
- Why some places are filmed more than others?
- Why, in the movies produced in the past, we often see houses, urban places, streets, and train stations as opposed to movies recently produced we see facilities needed for the rapid exchange of people, goods, information, and services (e.g. a highway, a taxi, an airport, a plane, a hotel, an ATM, a movie theatre, a fast food restaurant, etc)?
- Did spaces which are transitional by nature have become spaces where people spend most of their time?

Paris-Texas (Wim Wenders, 1982), Place: Highway

The movie starts with a man, Travis, wandering in the desert without knowing who he is. (Figure 1) His walk leads himself to an almost abandoned gas station.

Figure 1. Highway that cuts through the desert (Paris-Texas, Wenders)

Travis walks into a no-man's land, close to American-Mexican border. The highway that cuts through the desert looks as if it is coming from nowhere and going nowhere. According to Chauvin (2005), Wenders shows the surroundings of the city more than the city itself or the urban core.

Travis is lost in the place and in himself. He makes a journey both internal and physical. According to Petit et al. (1985:23), the universe of Wenders' movies is full of perpetual motion; physical or mental, geographical or metaphorical, in space, time, or context.

The name of the movie hides a "word game" on the names of two different places. The name does not come from the cities of Paris and Texas, but from a town called "Paris" in desert. In In the movie we learn that Travis had acquired a piece of land in this desert. The land is shown empty and without any inhabitants. In the movie, the crowds and everything that makes up the everyday life in a metropolis is ignored.

After Travis' brother finds him, he helps Travis to remember the life he led before he walked out on his wife and son four years ago. With the return of his memory, he starts to meet with various people from his past in various non-places. He takes a journey to Houston with his son to find his wife (but also to find his lost identity) .
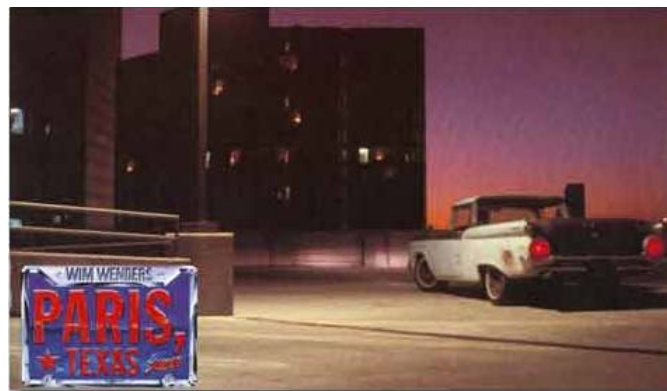
Figure 1: to Houston (Paris-Texas, Wenders)

(Figure 2) Houston, an example of modern American urbanism, has got a usual skyline that we encounter in many of the cities of the globalized world. The director shows some panoramas which expresses how gigantic the city is. In one of the scenes Travis shares these panoramas with his son while they are travelling in the car. (Figure 3) The scene starts on a highway but it quickly embraces the whole urban landscape. The audience feels the imbalance

in the size of the city in comparison to the size of the little human body. However, conflicting with the definition of non-place, it is not scary, not dominant at all, just vast.

Figure 2: Travis and his son in front of the
urban landscape (Paris-Texas, Wenders)

The director's intention was to portray the loneliness of anonymity and also the pleasures one can get from being anonymous on a motorway, at a man-made landscape, or a non-place. In this movie, relationships at non-places are not completely missing however they are simply different.

Lost in Translation (Sofia Cappola, 2002)**,** Place: Hotel

Figure 3: Charlotte alone in the hotel room
(Lost in Translation, Cappola)

"Lost in Translation" is about two unrelated people who have nothing in common but the mere fact that each one of them are in an absurd landscape of modern cosmopolitan Tokyo away from their respective partners. An American women, the young wife of a visiting photographer (Charlotte) and an actor (Bob Harris) who are on a journey are brought closer through their feeling of abandonment while they are staying at a hotel (Fig.4) in Japan.

Auge's (1997) argument is that although we do not "reside" in these spaces and we merely pass through them as if they are interchangeable; we, nevertheless, enjoy a contractual relationship with the world and the others symbolized by our plane ticket, bank card and hence anonymity and identity are oddly drawn close.

It starts as a comedy showing communication issues in the world which are becoming more and more globalized. But according to Serroy (2006) it is an existential movie. Bob and Charlotte experience both confusion and amusement due to the cultural and language

differences between themselves and the Americanized Tokyo. Lost in a foreign country, they are looking at themselves through their reflection on each other's fugitive mirror.

The only moments that Charlotte feels "the spirit of the place" are at a prayer in a temple and then at a traditional wedding. In the rest of the movie the main characters enjoy their anonymity and search for human contact in non-places. And somehow, in those non-places, they manage to share a very unusual and intense relationship without sexuality.

Terminal (Steven Spielberg 2004), Place: Airport

Viktor Navorski, an Eastern European visitor becomes a resident of a New York airport terminal when a war breaks out and erases his country from the map, voiding his passport. He has to remain in the airport, at an area which does not belong to any country until his status is cleared. He is without papers, therefore (from the definition of non-place) without identity. (The story is inspired after a real person who had to live at Charles de Gaulle Airport because of political reasons.)

If you have seen an airport, you will feel like you have seen them all. You can say that the airport is a global cultural void. If you have been to an airport it does not mean that you have seen the country or the city where the airport is. Actually, it is not a coincidence that Spielberg made a movie that most of it takes place in a terminal. In fact, it is as a result of increase in traveling, and also increase in the attention that this subject has been taking.

The airport scene at the beginning of the movie shown in Figure 5 is very significant as it displays the loneliness of the individual. There are

Figure 5. Navorski alone in the airport terminal (Terminal, Spielberg)

a lot of people in this scene but none of them are making eye contact or have a social relationship to each other. They all have to spend limited amount of time at this place. The situation is temporary. The airport is a place of transition; it does not need to describe a history or posses a culture because no one comes to the airport to be at the airport. They come to the airport in order to leave.

In the airports personal places do not exist. Because the structure of the airport does not require individuality in order to function. Airports are identical and uniform and they provide an efficient order in which people's movements can be controlled smoothly. However, Navorski somehow manages to adapt to the airport life and sets up his residence. He personalizes this non-place (the waiting hall in construction) by making it "his place". Navorski tries to be friend some of the people who work in the airport and also he is attracted to a flight attendant.

Conclusion:

The effects of urbanization are often filmed in the past; the cinema is always the witness of all the evolutions. However, the urbanization evolves in a way that we have never seen before. The cinema does not give a name to this world like social sciences do; but it shows us beyond the "named" world.

Architecture and cinema are both exceptional concretizations of the state of the world at a given period and also very useful tools for comprehension of this state of the world and human relationships from a social and historical perspective.

In this paper non-places are evaluated through three different movies and yet they have a uniform aspect. They all portray relationships that are lived in non-places, these relationships are not traditional nevertheless they exist.

The collage of places presented through movies in this article aims to show that non-places are becoming the new places of the contemporary world. The places which "are removed of their meaning" produce new means of communication, therefore relations.

The cinema gives access to place and time simultaneously and within a condensed form. This gives a chance to the contemporary life to unfold with characteristics that were never known before. Therefore, the cinema provides for new ways of relations that are lived in global, neutral, undefinable, generic, non-symbolic and above all common non-places that we should be calling the "new places".

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Car City: a documentary film mapping the components, modalities and malfunctions of Melbourne's regime of automobility

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> Cars are everywhere. They take us to work, shop and play. They monopolise our streets and roadways and mould the landscape to their insistent demands … They are love objects and status symbols; also symbols of danger and sudden death. (Davison, 2004: ix)

The terrain I want to explore in this paper - an overview of my research project - is informed by the concept of automobility. It follows on from the research undertaken over recent years by sociologists John Urry and Mimi Sheller (see Urry, 2000, 2003 & 2004; Sheller and Urry, 2000 & 2006) who have explored issues relating to flows, movement, travel, mobility and complexity within and across contemporary social life. Their work has helped to form an emergent 'new mobilities' paradigm, challenging the traditional 'a-mobile' nature and extant *sedentarist* outlook of the social sciences. This 'mobility turn' has sought to capture the multiplicities associated with one of the dominant forms of physical mobility, automobility.

Understood as a system of '… production, consumption, circulation, location and sociality engendered by the 'motor car'' (Urry, 2000: 57), automobility, once a neglected topic of research within sociology, continues to significantly constitute a diverse array of economies, media, spaces, subjectivities, networks, environments and neighbourhoods. Urry (2004) writes:

> Automobility is a Frankenstein-created monster, extending the individual into realms of freedom and flexibility whereby inhabiting the car can be positively viewed and energetically campaigned and fought for, but also constraining car 'users' to live their lives in spatially stretched and time-compressed ways. The car is the 'literal' iron cage of modernity, motorized, moving and domestic. (28)

Melbourne is one of many cities that continues to provide, develop and foster a regime of automobility. The sociologist Paul James (2008) highlights the problems associated with the city's dominanting car culture:

> … sucking on an increasingly mechanised countryside … Roads and cars, once fetishised as a source of freedom, now increasingly imprison us all in tracks of bitumen and layers of carbon fibres. Melbourne, for all that it avoids the horrors of the mega-cities and their slums, is still part of the problem ...

Transportation researcher John Stone (*The Age*, 2007) is direct in his disdain for Melbourne's car-based reliance:

> Melbournians have been given more freeways and worse public transport … and they make their choice … We need to stop the massive freeway building which has seen Melbourne build the greatest length of freeways of any city in Australia. If you make driving easy, then we'll do it.

The city's regime of automobility exists as a non-linear, coercive and flexible system of linkages between cars, car-drivers and roads. It is expansive and remains constantly in operation across the greater metropolitan region. Regardless of recent rises in public transport usage across Melbourne - a direct result of increases in the price of fuel, stemming from high world oil prices, and a lack of competition in the national petroleum industry - the city has continued to dramatically shift away from sustainable travel modes. The Melbourne historian Graeme Davison (2004) notes in *Car Wars* (a detailed account of cars and the city) that: 'By the 1990s many Melbournians regularly travelled 30 or 40 kilometres a day from home to work. Public transport became the transport mode of choice only for children, old people and the poor' (258-259). Additional factors, such as the deterioration of infrastructure, services and safety on the privatised metropolitan train network, have only further aided the long-term migration away from public transport patronage. The result of this decline is evident in the high-levels of car dependence across Melbourne, particularily by resident's living on the city's outer fringes. Over a ten year period the State of Victoria's roads swelled with 500,000 more private cars, of which 350,000 were bought by Melbourne residents, with two-thirds bought in Melbourne's outer-fringe municipalities (Lucas, 2008). Transportation researcher Paul Mees (2005) writes:

> Parallelling the decline in public transport, walking and cycling, has been a dramatic increase in car travel. In 1951, 95,000 Melbournians travelled to work by car on a typical day; by 2001 the figure was just over a million. Melbourne's population had more than doubled over this time, but the number driving to work increased by a factor of 11.

My current research attempts to critically interrogate the socio-spatial configurations of automobility across Melbourne, explore how its character of domination is being exerted and convey the inherent problems of such a regime. It aims to produce a critique detailing the possibilites for a refiguring of the regime. Employing an audio-visual driven qualitative research method my project aims to map the existing components, modalities and malfunctions of Melbourne's regime of automobility within a multi-modal (expository, observational and interactive) documentary film. Additionally, my documentary aims to explore the ways in which contemporary spaces and landscapes of commuter travel and mobility (often referred to in critical literature as placeless, abstract and ageographical) could be considered as organic and historically infused places, meaningful and familiar to their road travellers. This notion is centred on concepts of 'relationality' central to complexity theory (see Urry, 2003 & 2004), actor-network-theory (see Latour, 1993 & 2005) and other post-structuralist formulations. The sociologist Peter Merriman (2006) suggests:

> … that while academics have tended to see the driver's inhabitation of their vehicle and the spaces of the road as giving rise to detached experiences of 'placelessness' (see Relph, 1976) in ubiquitous 'non-places' (see Augé, 1995), these are quite specific feelings which arise from momentary associations and *attachments* that are integral to the ongoing, performative constructions of places. (77)

The generic components informing Melbourne's regime of automobility include: spatial production (organisation, mobility and flows), materialities (cars, roads and related technologies), trade (sites of economic exchange and new vehicle production) and experiences (driving and vehicular spectacle). Modalities - less clealry defined at this point - include the (embodied and sensuous) practice of driving, and/or 'passengering', arguably, 'as

rich and convoluted as walking' (Thrift, 2004: 45). Driving, as sociologist Jack Katz (1999) suggests: 'requires and occassions a metaphysical merger, an intertwining of the identities of the driver and the car that generates a distinctive ontology in the form a person-thing, a humanized car or, alternatively, an automobilised person' (33).

Other imporant modalities centre on the car's ability to significantly reconfigure civil society via '… distinct ways dwelling, travelling and socialising in, and through, an automobilised time-space …' (Urry, 2000: 59). The malfunctions of Melbourne's regime of automobility include: an exploration of ecological/environmental damage (produced by rising CO_2 emissions from expansive car ownership/dependence), trauma (injury and death), traffic congestion and (possibly) the phenomena of 'hoon' driving. All practices linked to everyday experience. Melbourne-based blogger Simon Sellers (2007) writes:

> The Melbourne sprawl, with its endless ribbons of freeways and dual carriageways, is among the world's largest exurban conglomerates. It's designed for cars to move quickly between long distances … [where] cyclists flirt daily with death … when ill-thought-out and inadequate bike lanes suddenly vanish at intersections and high traffic areas … merging with drivers weilding their vehicles like weapons.

My documentary is centred on a specifc car territory (a self-fabricated zone) encompassing a heterogeneous range of spaces and places across Melbourne's Eastern and South-Eastern suburbs. Of particular focus are the interlinked geographies of two (cross-city) roads - the congested 30-kilometre arterial Springvale Road (noted for its mad and scrambled commercial appearance (see Boyd, 1960)), and the partially completed 45-kilometre EastLink Tollway (the city's second privately constructed road in ten years) - providing significant socio-spatial, cultural, environmental and imaginary terrain for visual documentation and analysis. Although similiar in length, geographical orientation and function, both roads create distinct trajectories: '… performing and producing divergent types of space and place …' (Merriman, 2004: 145), whilst reflecting significantly different urban histories, capacities and designs. My intention is to capture and analyse the divergent experiences of driving and 'passengering' through the various '… geographies, sociologies and anthropologies …' (Merriman, 2004: 146) located along these two roads. Finally, I hope to produce in-depth understandings of the multiple panoptic and panoramic (car-centred and road-related) views - derived from a collection of human and non-human actors/informants - across these environments.

The basis upon which my documentary attempts to identify and describe Melbourne's regime of automobility is through a mapping motif, designed to provide an open and flexible framework for heterogeneity in subject matter and observation, including themes encompassing a historical dimension. This notion of utilising maps (literally or metaphorically) can be characterised as rhizomatic: '… entirely orientated towards an experimentation in contact with the real … open and connectable in all of its dimensions' (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987: 12) across multiple geographies and narratives.

By emphasising the ability of a film to provide a rigorous and legitimate methodological alternative for research production and the creation of new knowledge, my documentary - influenced by filmmaker Patrick Keiller's (2007) long-held notion that film is able to '… imaginatively transform already-existing space …' (115) - will attempt to produce a connection between the imagined environment (see Donald, 1999) of Melbourne, and the actual practices and processes that delineate its regime of automobility. In a sense, my documentary is attempting to investigate the everyday world in an inventive spirit similar to that of essay filmmakers like Patrick Keiller with *London* (1994), Christopher Petit with *London Orbital* (2002), a film co-directed by the author Iain Sinclair, and John Smith with

Blight (1994-96). Collectively, these documentarians retain a consistent inventiveness and aptitude for investigation, which according to film scholar Adrian Danks (2003) '… sees within the minutiae of familiar surroundings a range of philosophical, aesthetic, technical and quotidian challenges and revelations that extend far beyond the realm of much other comparable cinema'.

A combination of methodological approaches will be employed in the production of my documentary, underpinned by an ethnographic audio-visual framework that aims to deploy a highly flexible and open filming strategy enabling opportunities for socio-spatial 'associations' to be configured. Ideally, my documentary will produce multiple narratives that explore the ethnographic and spatial complexity, richness and depth - present or potentaily absent - along the 'autogeography' of Springvale Road and the EastLink Tollway. All located within a series of filmed encounters with human and non-human actors, informants and agencies, across past, present, imagined and (potentially) virtual terrains. Additionally, I intend undertaking critical reflection (electronic note-taking and the construction of filmic vignettes) via a web blog. The idea of an ethnographic audio-visual approach is to embrace Walter Benjamin's (1936) belief in the enormous potential of the camera as a tool of perception and inspection of contemporary social life. In this sense the documentarian through photographic means is able to increase '… insight into the necessities that govern our existence … by emphasizing hidden details … by investigating banal milieus … thus becom[ing] obvious that a different nature speaks to the camera from the one that speaks to the eye'(Snyder, 1989: 171).

Reyner Banham Loves Los Angeles (BBC TV, 1972), *London, Robinson In Space* (Dir. Patrick Keiller, 1997), *London Orbital* and *Radiant City* (Dir. Jim Brown & Gary Burns, 2006) are models of critical (narrative/semi-narrative) documentary filmic practice. These films are vibrant, experimental and entertaining, and serve to indicate the ability of the documentary film form to encompass an array of imaginative guises: interview, essay, fly-on-the-wall, travelogue, diary and performance. Banham's film, for example, is an extension of his seminal text *Los Angeles: The Architecture of Four Ecologies* (1971), and allows him the latitude to extend his study of the city in ways unachievable through written description. Banham appears (on screen) successfully navigating the urban geography and built environment of Los Angeles. The film both augments and extends his previously published architectural thesis, and at the same time produces new knowledge through a combination of 'thick description' and playful visual dscription, open-ended interviews, the use of archival photographs, and first-hand experiences/accounts of the city. The fragmented nature of the film alludes to Banham's conscious desire to challenge, widen and extend the horizons and boundaries (Vidler, 2000: xxiv) of scholarly architectural practice, thought and description. By seeking to draw upon the spirit, sophistication and appropriateness of the visual descriptions produced by Banham, my documentary aims to produce an equally thought provoking and vivid representation of contemporary Melbourne's regime of automobility within the wider field of transportation, urban and cultural studies.

Graeme Davison writes:

> Terrace-dwelling intellectuals occasionally sneer at the delight of suburban Australians in their cars. Yet it does no service to the cause of environmentalism or better cities to suggest that most people can give up their cars and take public transport - even if good public transport were on offer - and experience no significant loss in personal wellbeing. [Automobility] - the liberty promised by the car to travel where, when and as often as we like - may be ultimately self-defeating and unsustainable. It may have to be curbed in the interests of our children and the health of the planet. But there is no point in trying to tell those who will suffer that limitation

that it is really no loss at all. If we want to understand Australians' attachment to their cars, therefore, we must make an honest and open-minded appraisal of how cars have both enriched and impoverished our lives. We must resist the instinct to draw up a balance sheet until we have allowed all the interests that cluster around the car to speak of their experience, and give voice to their aspirations and regrets, their pleasure and pains.

My documentary film embraces Davison's ideal of an open and rigorous approach towards understanding the full impact of the car on Melbourne. It is my belief that a qualitative methodological approach will present many possibilities for in-depth understandings of the city's regime of automobility, and produce a valuable contribution to the growing body of inter-disciplinary reasearch exploring the present and future city of Melbourne.

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Cinematic cartography:
movies, maps and the consumption of place

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Cinematographic tourism

> *The non-place is not only a space: it is virtually present in the gaze, which, too accustomed as it is to images, cannot see reality any more*. (Augé 1996: 179)

In his essay 'Paris and the Ethnography of the Contemporary World' the anthropologist Marc Augé describes, in quite withering terms, the *bateaux-mouches*, or 'fly-boats' which operate site-seeing cruises along the River Seine. In the evening trips or 'shows', the boats, which are equipped with huge floodlights, illuminate key landmark buildings and riverside monuments: 'irradiating them' as Augé observes, 'with a somewhat obscene glare' (1996: 179). Augé cites this example to illustrate the ways in which urban landscapes are increasingly transformed into images, shows, or life-sized stage sets for consumption by tourists and others, their gaze directed towards illuminated emblems of, for example, a 'Metonymic Paris' (ibid).

This very theatrical urban *mise-en-scène* – the cityscape as a *son et lumière* backdrop or screen – is premised on a passive and disembodied mode of urban spatio-visual engagement. Moreoever, with its attendant trope of *projection*, the spectacular space of consumption which the tourists inhabit plays host to an essentially 'cinematic' urban topography: its landmarks pressed into service of an unfolding visual narrative. Mapping a virtual geography of the city, the projected gaze of the site-seer, like that of the cinema spectator, defines a landscape whose function, economically at least, is to be seen (Urry 2002; Roberts forthcoming).

It is these imbricated geographies of 'mapping' – of virtual and material engagements with urban landscapes – that I am concerned with in this paper. Drawing on examples of post-industrial consumerscapes in cities such as Liverpool, I consider some of the ways in which filmic or cinematic renderings of space and place have become cartographically embedded in discourses of consumption, heritage and urban place-making. The increasingly co-extensive geographies of tourism and film, as illustrated, for example, by the production of 'movie maps' as marketing tools for urban and rural tourism, is indicative of a growing synergy between the two industries. As I argue, this prompts critical reflection on the commodification and consumption of post-industrial urban landscapes, prompting in turn a renewed focus on the political economy of film location sites (Swann 2001), as well as a consideration of alternative cartographies of film, place and memory, which I briefly outline by way of conclusion.

One of the shibboleths of postmodern theory, whether in discussions of film or, indeed, those of tourism, is that of the critical redundance of ideas of the 'authentic' in an increasingly mediated and image-saturated world (Harvey 1989). Despite, or perhaps because of this putative 'postmodern condition', a (spatial) politics of authenticity, as evidenced, for example, by groups reflecting a more psychogeographic sensitivity to urban space, has continued to underpin many of the debates and practices surrounding the construction of place, space and identity in the urban imaginary. In a recent article examing the parallels between tourism and film, Mazierska and Walton note that the discussion of authenticity in tourism has its counterpart in debates on realism in film studies (2006: 8). For the traveller in

hyperreality that a landscape or destination might be merely the 'inauthentic' product of its own simulation is to miss the point: it is precisely the capacity of a place to match up to its film or television persona(s) that affirms its authentic credentials. This represents a strikingly different perspective from those advancing a more realist aesthetic or ontology of 'travel' (virtual or otherwise).

For a good illustration of this we need look no further than a recent marketing campaign aimed at overseas visitors to the Unites States, a country where, for Baudrillard, 'the materiality of things is, of course, their cinematography' (1988: 85). The tagline of Saatchi's 'See America' campaign, which featured iconic landscape scenery culled from famous Hollywood films, was 'You've seen the film, now visit the set'. Similarly, in Britain the 2006 Beatrix Potter biopic 'Miss Potter' has played a central role in the recent marketing of the Lake District as an international tourist attraction. The campaign by Cumbria Tourism, which includes a movie map of key locations in the film, invites tourists to 'Visit Miss Potter': an imagined geography that fuses map, movie, and territory into a single, undifferentiated entity (see www.visitmisspotter.com).

The growth in what has been dubbed 'film or movie-induced tourism' has given rise to a number of recent studies examining the economic impacts or potential of this form of destination marketing (Tooke and Baker 1996; Riley, Baker and Doren 1998; Busby and Klug 2001; Kim and Richardson 2003; Beeton 2005; Hudson and Ritchie 2006a, 2006b). Alongside these more industry-based perspectives there have been few if any critical or spatial examinations of film-induced tourism or, more specifically, of 'movie mapping'. Moreover, studies have also tended to focus on rural rather than urban destinations. A notable exception is Schofield's (1996) discussion of alternative heritage tourism in Manchester (based on the 'Hollywood of the North' tour of the city). Embracing the potential of what he terms the postmodern or post-tourist heritage market, Schofield argues that film and television images of a city represent an intangible 'heritage of ideas or images', which, in contrast to a 'heritage of objects' (such as architecture), provides the foundation for a newly emerging niche market: that of the 'cinematographic tourist' (ibid: 336). For Schofield, '[the Manchester cinematographic history tour] epitomises a new product development in a "new tourism" environment…and represent[s] the coming of age of urban heritage tourism as a postmodern media image experience of place' (ibid: 339). I will return to these arguments shortly when considering the example of Liverpool, which, like Manchester, is a post-industrial city (and rival 'Hollywood of the North') that has also sought to exploit its more intangible – and cinematographic – urban heritage.

The (movie) map is not the territory

Although 'movie mapping' is a relatively recent development in tourism, it is by no means without precedent. In 1904 the Swedish Tourist Association produced a map of the city of Härnösand which featured nodal points indicating positions where site-seers could obtain familiar ('touristic') views of the city contained in postcards, guidebooks or film. The 'filmic nodes' consisted of arrows representing shooting positions in *Bilder fran Härnösand* (Images of Härnösand), the earliest known moving images of the city (Snickars and Björkin 2002: 279). As Patrick Keiller has shown in his 'navigable' installation *City of the Future*, much of early film was essentially topographic in form (see also Rohdie 2001: 10). Arranged on a series of screens and historical maps, Keiller's exhibit is comprised of actuality footage of urban landscapes, filmed between 1896 and 1909, showing street scenes and 'phantom ride' views shot from moving vehicles such as trams and trains. Insofar as these early actualities exemplify a 'view aesthetic' – for Gunning (1997) one of the defining characteristics of early

non-fiction film – they map a space of representation homologous to that framed by the tourist or site-seer.

While these nascent modes of 'cinematic cartography' displayed a fascination with the topographies, rhythms and materiality of the modern city, their postmodern variants map a landscape whose topographic referents are the product of a markedly different tourist geography.

In recent years film-induced tourism has developed into something of a global phenomenon, prompting the publication not only of movie maps of cities and regions (often, as I have noted, as tie-ins to major film releases), but also of a string of travel guides, most notably Tony Reeve's 'The Worldwide Guide to Movie Locations' (first published in 2001), the success of which, as with its London counterpart (Reeve 2003), has spawned many similar publications.

The British Tourism Authority's (BTA) Movie Map of Britain was the first national campaign that sought to capitalise on the economic potential of film-induced tourism. First published in 1990, the map became BTA's (now Visit Britain) most successful printed product. Marketed largely at overseas visitors, the aim of the map, according to Visit Britain's campaign manager, 'was to achieve a seasonal spread of visitors to heritage locations, city destinations and other areas of Britain's countryside' (Busby and Klug 2001: 324). The organisation has since gone on to produce a series of movie-maps and is a global player in the film tourism market. Working with film production and distribution companies, Visit Britain now has dedicated film tourism offices in Los Angeles and Mumbai, and typically plan with movie studios at least 12 months in advance of the date of a major film release (Visit Britain Press Release, 24/10/07; Hudson and Brent Ritchie 2006a: 259).

As Beeton observes, 'the publication of movie maps, both in hard copy and on the Internet, has become a significant marketing tool in the arsenal of many DMOs [destination marketing organisations]' (2005: 63). This is clearly demonstrable in the case of Britain, with the success of the national model prompting many local and regional authorities to exploit the marketing potential of movie mapping. In the capital, the organisations Film London and Visit London have produced a number of tourist maps of films that have featured prominent and iconic London landmarks, including *Love Actually* (Richard Curtis, 2003), *Bridget Jones: The Edge of Reason* (Beeban Kidron, 2004), and Woody Allen's *Match Point* (2005). Replete with what Shonfield calls the 'tourist hardware' of a cinematic London (in Brunsdon 2007: 33), the locations mapped in these films proclaim, in no uncertain terms: 'This is London'; serving both to anchor the diegesis within an immediately recognisable or 'legible' (Lynch 1962) landscape, as well as branding the (extra-diegetic) site a space of touristic consumption.

Citing the work of Pierre Sorlin, Brunsdon notes that the use of 'typical' landmark iconography in films, such as views found in postcards, guidebooks and other tourist media, establishes a visual citation of place that more often than not has the effect of 'blocking' viewers engagement with these landscapes, rather than 'inciting' responses designed to draw out the embedded narratives and histories attached to a given location (2007: 26-28). Eschewing otherwise open, oblique or counter narratives of place (the defamiliarised image of the Tower of London in Patrick Keiller's film *London* (1994) provides a good example of *incitement*), the London movie maps produced by Visit London/Film London are designed less to incite a keenly felt sense of place than a form of urban heritage tourism in which the city's landmarks and locations function primarily as product placements (for consumption of both movie and 'set').

In their assessment of the effect of television film on visitor numbers at film locations, Tooke and Baker conclude by recommending the introduction of a subsidy to encourage film companies 'to choose locations which display attractive national landscapes or urban vistas' (1996: 94). Leaving aside the question as to what might constitute an 'attractive' urban vista,

this appeal to policy-makers on behalf of the tourism industry signals an emerging politics and aesthetics of 'location' that is underpinned by a neo-liberal model of economic instrumentalism. As a tool for urban regeneration, the increasingly important role of film (or rather film *locations*) in the economic revival of post-industrial cities such as Liverpool is the result of a growing synergy between local film offices and screen agencies on the one hand, and destination marketing organisations on the other. The production of tourist maps of film locations represents a materialisation of this relationship. As I discuss in the next section, in a critical spatial analysis of film, tourism and movie mapping it is the operational similarities between the two industries that invite particular scrutiny: both are economically premised on a semiotics of attraction; and both are key agents in the transformation of urban landscapes into postmodern spaces of spectacular consumption.

Location, location, location: the case of Liverpool

> I came looking for a beach and they sold me the whole city. International concert halls, Moscow hotels, Parisian apartments, golden synagogues, civic buildings, sand dunes and stately homes. (Andy Patterson, producer of *Hilary and Jackie*, quoted in 'Boomtown! Liverpool Movie and Television Map', 2002)

In the case of the London films cited above, the city that is 'mapped' (both cartographically and figuratively) is one in which London, for the most part, 'plays itself' (or at least a version of itself); that is, the landmarks and locations depicted in the films draw on an imaginary of place that is in some way expressive of the actual city. In instances where the production costs of shooting in the capital demand the search for more affordable 'stand-in' locations, it is increasingly likely to be Liverpool that producers turn to: a city whose landscape and architecture offer a ready-to-hand simulacrum of London as well as many other cities, past and present. After London, Liverpool is the most filmed city in the UK, yet in the case of the vast majority of film and television productions based in the city Liverpool all too rarely plays itself. Less the 'star' than 'body double' (Brown 1995: 10), Liverpool has served as a stand-in for, amongst others, Cannes, Vienna, Moscow, St Petersburg, Dublin, Amsterdam, Rome, New York, Chicago, Paris, war-time Germany, as well as London (ibid: 9; Liverpool Movie and Television Map 2002).

Published in 2002 by Liverpool City Council's tourism unit and the Liverpool Film Office, the Movie and Television Map was part of wider marketing campaign aimed at promoting the city's locations as a desirable destination for both tourists and filmmakers alike. Indeed, the above quote from the producer of the Jacqueline du Pré biopic *Hilary and Jackie* (Anand Tucker, 1998) would not look out of place in a tour operator brochure. As a site of consumption Liverpool's cinematic geographies reflect a heterotopic configuration of urban space in which markers of place denote a fragmentary and increasingly de-localised topography defined by style and genre rather than local urban specificity. Promising a 'world in one city' (which would later become the tag-line for Liverpool's European Capital of Culture 2008 bid campaign) these post-industrial consumerscapes were in part forged from initiatives begun in the late 1980s which sought to build on the city's new found role as a film set:

> When the Victorian and Edwardian merchant princes laid the cornerstones of Liverpool's imperialistic heyday, little did they know that they were building some of the best film sets of the late twentieth century. Focus a camera on the architecture, landscape or seascape of this city, and you can still be anywhere from pre-

revolutionary France to post-revolutionary Romania. ('Hollywood on the Mersey', Liverpool Echo, 1990?)

Buoyed by the unexpected success of *Letter to Brezhnev* (Chris Bernard, 1985), in 1989 the city council set up the Liverpool Film Office (LFO), which was the UK's first city film commission. The overall remit of the LFO was (and is) to provide a film liaison service to the film and television industry and to stimulate demand for local production skills (Hallam 2000: 264), thereby attracting much needed investment to the region. As well as its capacity to look like somewhere else, the desirability of Liverpool as a film location was based on its cheapness and accessibility (Brown 1995: 10), not to mention, in comparison to cities such as London, its relatively traffic- and crowd-free streets. A consequence of years of depopulation and economic decline, this somewhat down-at-heel urban situation (which the LFO initiatives were designed to address) was, ironically, one of the key selling points for attracting prospective filmmakers to the city.

In addition to the obvious economic benefits, it was also felt that Liverpool's increased screen presence would have a positive psychological impact on the city. As Paul Mingard, the LRO's first film liaison officer suggests, 'Imagine – you see your city, this derided place, up there on the screen, again and again, and it tells you that Liverpool is special…It tells you that faith in this city is justified' (Gilbey 1995; Brown 1995: 7). However, how much of itself Liverpool does in fact see up there on the screen is a moot point. While in *Letter to Brezhnev* Liverpool was uncharacteristically (and unflinchingly) 'playing itself' the industry it helped spawn is one in which, typically, locations count only insofar as they are able to enhance another city's screen presence, or to sustain the production of 'generic spaces' serving mostly grafted-on (or dis-located) narratives.

There is, as Paul Swann has observed, 'a postmodern inexorability in valuing cities as images rather than as sites of production' (2001: 96). Following the example of North American cities such as Philadelphia, Liverpool's transition from industrial to image-based economy – from 'workshop to backlot' as Swann puts it (ibid) – has been aided by the establishment of organisations such as Liverpool's Moving Image Development Agency (MIDA), formed in 1992 to develop and promote the region's moving image industries (Brown 1995: 44). In 2002 MIDA was absorbed into North West Vision (NWV), the strategic film development agency for the North West of England which, through a network of local film offices, promotes the region's locations and production facilities. As is now standard practice amongst film offices and screen agencies, the NWV's website hosts a location database and image gallery where filmmakers can sift through a broad array of location and spatial categories and images, many without any geographical contextualisation. Much like that of an estate or travel agent, the role of the screen agent is to market the attributes of a given location or destination and thus to match image (sought-after cinematic topography) with image (locations still):

> We guarantee you'll be impressed with our *stunning* mix of *eclectic*, contemporary buildings and *beautifully preserved* industrial architecture. Then there are *tranquil* lakes, *quaint* stone villages, *rolling* mountains and miles of *spectacular* coastline. (from North West Vision's Locations Database – see www.northwestvision.co.uk, emphasis added)

If the particularities of this form of destination/location marketing – here lifted from NWV's Locations Database website – appear little different from those of tourist marketing, then reports of location scouts by-passing the screen agencies altogether and enquiring direct with

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tourism information offices (as studies based on the use of Dorset as a film location have shown) are not altogether that surprising (see www.south-central-media.co.uk/report).

As these examples suggest, the increasingly synergistic relationship between the film and tourism industries has refined a very particular semiotics of place. While geographically embedded in actual landscapes, the visual commodification of the location site does little to put the 'real' city on the map (so to speak). In the case of Liverpool, the movie map signals the emergence of what Schofield describes as postmodern urban heritage tourism: a 'new, differentiated heritage [product]' (1996: 339) which is economically sustained by the production and consumption of urban-architectural simulacra. As Brown observes,

> the pic 'n' mix selection offered by Liverpool makes it a form of ultimate post-modern city…It is full of visual spectacle but increasingly unable to articulate its own identity. A significant tension in the fictionalisation of Liverpool comes from this schizophrenic self-image. It is hardly a mirror of itself on screen, more a hall of mirrors. (1995: 11-12)

As a strategic tool for destination marketing, the movie map epitomises a niche form of urban heritage tourism which, while stimulating more oblique ways of engaging with the city (for example, introducing visitors to areas they might otherwise miss as part of a conventional tourist itinerary), at the same time raises questions as to the ways in which filmic images of cities might sustain a more socially and culturally embedded geography of place, and how these in turn might shape alternative cartographies of urban memory.

Cinematic cartography: a tale of two cities

Commenting on the city locations portrayed in Italian neorealist cinema, Nowell-Smith notes that '[t]hey are there before they signify, and they signify because they are there; *they are not there merely in order to be bearers of signification*' (2001: 107 emphasis added). Similarly, as Iain Sinclair observes in relation to London, '[u]sing the city as a set diminishes it', reducing its urban landscapes to 'an approximate and convenient backdrop' (2002: 34). For Sinclair, 'Landscape is the story, memory and meaning. *You begin there*' (ibid, emphasis added).

As we have seen, while Liverpool's more prominent cinematic geographies can often be seen to function as little more than semiotic shorthand, conjuring, in an instant, another place and time (whether Edwardian London or 1980s Moscow, for example), there exists a rich and far more extensive corpus of Liverpool films which, by contrast, articulate an altogether more local and historically-grounded geography of film. Consisting of, amongst other genres, actualities, newsreel footage, local amateur films, documentaries, travelogues, and municipal films, the films compiled as part of the *City in Film* research constitute a comprehensive survey of a city on film from 1897 to the 1980s. Accessible in database form, this 'mapping' of Liverpool's filmic spaces of memory provides a spatial reading of landscapes and locations depicted in each film. Crucially, what these represent are not only the shifting topographical and architectural specificities of the city over time (and across filmic genres), but also the different forms of social engagement with the city's spaces (the rhythms and mobilities of everyday life; geographies of work, industry and leisure, etc.).

By situating filmic representations within the social and material geographies of Liverpool, this palimpsestic model of an 'archive city' (Roberts and Koeck 2007) provides the potential for an alternative form of 'movie mapping', in which the relationship between a city's cinematic geographies and its historical urban landscapes is brought into critical focus.

As the *City in Film* research has demonstrated, the compilation of spatial data drawn from an extensive archival trawl of images of the city lends itself to explicitly cartographic modes of analysis and representation, utilising Geographic Information System (GIS) technology to geo-reference historical films of the city within a digital mapping platform. When completed this resource will be publically accessible as part of a permanent, interactive display at the new Museum of Liverpool, enabling users to navigate through a series of historical maps and digitised film of the city, each spatially anchored in their contemporary landscapes.

Reflecting a more general 'spatial turn' in recent social and cultural theory, theoretical studies in film have begun to explore the critical conjunction of filmic and cartographic modes of represention (Bruno 2002; Conley 2007). However, despite these trends, the relationship between film, mapping and everyday social landscapes has yet to come under close critical scrutiny. This paper moves forward debates in this area by considering the role of movie mapping in a wider context of consumption, heritage tourism and urban place-making. The example of Liverpool has shown that, while the commodification and consumption of its cinematic geographies brings in much needed investment to the city, the downside is that this can further promote the loss of a sense of itself as a 'city in film'. By contrast, place-based initiatives aimed at tapping into a broader and more locally-defined geography of film can place an otherwise neglected filmic, social and urban-architectual heritage back 'on the map' of official city narratives.

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Framing the Scene: A Cinematic Approach to a Redevelopment at the Halifax Waterfront

Eva Russell

Cinematic techniques have the ability to evoke personal memories and establish narratives through devices such as framing and slow pans that create the sense of a passage of time. These techniques have the potential of being applied to a work of architecture in order to evoke cinematic conditions through the space and representation of the surrounding condition. This paper will investigate the changing condition of memory and history in the redevelopment of an industrial site in the City of Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada (figure 1), and the future implications of writing an industrial area into the storyline of the urban fabric. Through the use of cinematic techniques and the camera, a mode for intervention and investigation will be applied in order to explore the potential of the industrial port as a place for layered narratives. Three architectural proposals will accompany this paper, with the intention of relating the proposed theory with a built representation.

The three architectural proposals related to this investigation are situated on the vast industrial waterfront in Halifax, Nova Scotia and have the potential of evoking not only memory and personal narratives but provide a framework for future development of the surrounding waterfront area. The port of Halifax is unique in its geography, as it is an ice free port, allowing for commercial trade to occur all year round. In addition, the waterfront consists of a historical port area which caters to the city's tourism industry, and which is anchored on each side by active shipping and cargo facilities and a large naval base.

Figure 1. Ariel shot of the Halifax Waterfront.

Narrative was used as a foundation for the various investigations for program and site throughout the process of research. Narrative and memory can be described as subjective processes that depend mainly on an individual's memory and experience of a place and time. Through various processes of investigation, a fiction has been established for the way in which the proposed architecture will address and respond to the evoked memories and narratives associated with the site. It is the intention through this process of investigation to propose a way of integrating a subtle and humble architecture, which will not act independently of the site but rather enhance it as an important area for the city of Halifax.

Narrative of the site – the resident, the tourist and the passenger

The Halifax waterfront, as the site for investigation, is steeped in history and thus serves as a datum for the (re)creation of the stories, narrative and myths. The physical qualities of the landscape of the Halifax waterfront describe a change in the condition of memory of the site and the potential for the recreation of layered fictions. Through the process of regaining land for industry by filling in a portion of the harbour, a disruption was caused at the original shoreline which had previously been the interface between land and water. The portion of the site addressed by this project exists from a different period than the original site of Halifax

(figure 2). It acts as an artifact in itself, a place for the integration of other artifacts to find a home and communicate a past to the residents of the city. Therefore, a memory exists on the fundamental level of the physical qualities of the site, in the landscape which has the possibility of revealing its numerous transformations.

The result is a site which is embedded with layers of history, physically and through stories and narrative. It is the path of this embedded history which formed the guideline for the location of the architectural interventions.

Through the identification of individual characters which would interact through movement across the site, the role of the master planner for future development of the site also took on the role of the narrative writer. Three characters which were identified as "users" of the site were the resident, the tourist, and the passenger. These characters were explored through the conditions of memory, narrative and duration, with an architectural response with cinematic qualities that followed the principles of framing, montage and the pan.

Figure 2. Memory of the shoreline: layered

Memory (Framing) Resident

Memories of the past are made present through recollection. The extent to which a society identifies with its history is through the cultural memory of the landscape where the public eye searches and finds reminders of its past existence. This fabric of memory is only noticeable when it is torn; when familiar buildings are taken down, or when the common elements of a city street vanish suddenly. Therefore our own perception and sense of history affects the way in which we receive spaces of the city, and allow for the creation and overlapping of personal narratives and the narrative of cultural artifacts through identifying places of memory within the city. In the realm of architecture and urban planning, the reality of memory becomes significant at the moment when architects become aware of the possibility of applying the concept of memory through the method of cutting and shaping the fabric of the city with the sequences and places that were apparent in their own memories.

Experiences of the present largely depend upon knowledge of the past, as images can begin to inform and create a connection to a past condition. Cinema has a similar ability to capture fragmented images to inform a collective memory of a place or event. Unlike literature, cinema uses text as well as images to describe a condition, and conveys ideas and emotions to an audience. The cinematic image is essentially the observation of a phenomenon passing through time. Compared to other art forms, cinema distinguishes itself as giving time a visible, real form. Once recorded on film, the phenomenon is there as a given, even when time is subjective.

In the work of Andrei Tarkovsky, time is a factor in conveying collective memories and the changing conditions of characters in a place. In his film Nostalgia, Tarkovsky uses techniques such as slow pans, the sound of water running, and imagery of ruins and monuments to challenge the audience to conceive of the memories and passing of time which has occurred for the characters in the film. Through his provocative imagery, the site of the film is made accessible, as the audience is made aware of the scale of space and time. His work is based on the layering of the physical and emotional conditions of time in order to evoke a sense of narrative and memories. As Tarkovsky (1986) commented on the passing of

time; "Time cannot vanish without a trace, for it is a subjective, spiritual category; and the time we have lived settles in our soul as an experience places within time". It is time that plays an important role for Tarkovsky into the translation of fragmented memories and histories onto film and the influences onto a collective memory of a place.

As a fundamental technique for cinematic representations, framing serves as a viewpoint for moving images. Framing, in cinematic terms, refers to a closed system in which everything which is present in the image, such as sets, characters and props are framed (Deleuze, 1986: 2). The frame therefore forms a set which has a great number of parts, and elements which in themselves form subsets. This view of framing, as a cinematic device in order to bring together parts of different realms, begins to inform the design strategy for the architectural proposition which will address the notion of framing multiple viewpoints of the site as well as their differing events and programs. The frame isolates events that take place, and allows for a focusing on the specific details of a whole scene, while the surrounding context is masked out.

As the waterfront edge condition is one in which views have been blocked and cut off, aspects of strategic framing become important in the overall site development as a method for the reconnection of the viewer to the water and conversely to the surrounding city. The camera responds in the same manner as an architectural element which frames, as the lens "frames" the view which is projected onto the photographic paper. As the waterfront edge condition is one in which views have been blocked and cut off, aspects of strategic framing become important in the overall site development as a method for the reconnection of the viewer to the water and conversely to the surrounding city. The potential of the architecture to address this potential for multiple points of framing, both in the direction of the water and back to the surrounding site was explored through the idea of an elevated walkway. This created a meeting point for all three characters because the site has such an overwhelming scale, which cannot be completely understood as a network or in its entirety.

Proposal 1: The Elevated Pier

Piers and docks are a constructed layer that surrounds a natural coast to facilitate shipping and receiving by ships. For an observer, the pier also functions as a point of connection between land and sea; an intermediate point before reaching the water. The Pier becomes a meeting point, a destination for visitors to the water, a man-made construction which blurs the boundary of the shoreline and allows for an extension onto the surrounding water. The proposed Elevated Pier

Figure 31 The Elevated Pier – View along elevated walkways.

will therefore address these issues of framing and surrounding "sets" which can be "framed" into the view. The Elevated Pier reflects the surrounding structures such as the elevated towers and low sheds, through its industrial palette of materials and elements such as the tall stacked sleeping berths (figure 3). The proposed structure acts as a bridge in which the 3 characters (defined in the site development) can interact through the overlapping of their

narratives. The elevated pier serves as a point from which to observe the framing of the water through the architectural intervention.

Narrative (Montage) Tourist

The role of narrative in the context of this paper was explored for its potential relationship with architecture and urban design to gain a better understanding of human events and the spaces that are constructed for such events. Narrative was examined as a potential instrument for structuring the experience of the site, as it was vast in its size and needed to be addressed through an intimate scale of the story and the character. Narrative can be defined as a structured sequence of events centered on a plot, which are told as stories. Narratives are fiction; and have the effect of leaving the reader in a state of suspended disbelief, questioning what is real and what is fabricated.

In reference to the site as theatrical backdrop, the proposed interventions serve as theatre sets amongst an existing architecture of the site and perform the role as the set for the narratives of the three characters to interact.   Architecture can be considered as a system and structure that supports and informs the narrative and therefore plays an important role in the development of the story. When applied to a site condition, existing narratives, which are created through storytelling and memory, can be used as tools and a way to reconsider the design and development of a site in which historical traces may be hidden and need to be revealed or re-aligned to the site experience.

The waterfront site on the Halifax Harbour demonstrates a series of misused and left over spaces that have the potential for redevelopment and integration into the surrounding condition. Through the existing infrastructure, permanent landmarks are established such as the Pier 21 museum and other various structures that suggest a past and lend easily to an association to narratives. However, lying between these places are areas which present themselves as misused spaces or scrap sites, such as a series of gravel filled spaces which serve no function to the overall network of the waterfront. It is these scrap sites that will serve as locations for future interventions on the site, and will serve to begin to integrate the various site conditions.

Proposal 2: Antithesis Museum

The proposed program for the architecture which corresponds to the character of the tourist of the waterfront is centred on the idea of the "Antithesis Museum". This presents itself to the city as a place which does not house discreet artifacts, but the artifact in its construction. The space is created using existing objects from the site which are not contained but revealed in order to engage visitors to the site. The "antithesis museum" would consist of various abandoned railcars which are rearranged to create spaces for exhibits of artifacts that would reflect the history of the

Figure 4: Antithesis Museum with assembled rail cars.

site and the city of Halifax. A permanent structure spanning a large open space with a large overhanging roof is constructed on the site to allow for more permanent exhibits or as a large space for functions.   Through using the railway cars as exhibit space, the overall structure of
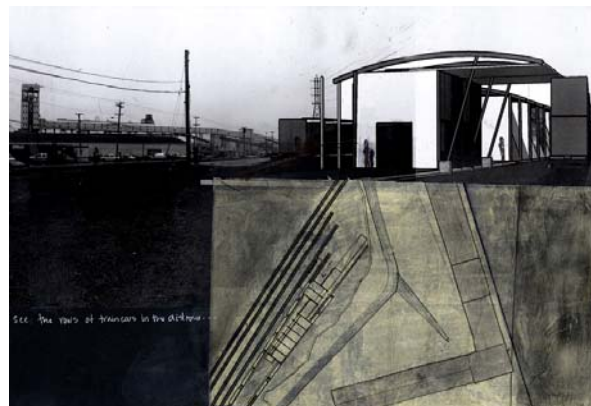
the museum will change according to the movement of the cars and therefore reinforce the changing nature of the site and the industrial uses which constantly change and reconfigure the landscape.

Duration (The Pan) Passenger

Movement Within vs. The Pan

The cinema can reveal to an audience multiple levels of interpretations of life's events and evoke personal memories and stories of a specific place or time.   Cinema captures something that can not be expressed in any other art form: the passing of time and duration expressed by moving images.   As expressed by Deleuze (1986): "The cinema even more directly than painting conveys relief in time, a perspective in time: it expresses time itself as a perspective or relief."   For architecture, cinema does not need to focus on acceptable notions of spatial successions, but rather has the ability to reveal a set of new spatial relationships which are random and unusual experiences.   It is through this representation of architectural space that memory and narrative are evoked, and the role of cinema can be identified as a key component in the investigation and representation of a narrative of non-sequential spaces.

Through changes in viewing distance, in the shape and size of the field of view, in the movement of a camera through space and the duration of the scene, cinema constructs alternative worlds to an audience. This in turn heightens ones perception of ones own space. Film can be an important tool in uncovering and evoking personal and collective memories of a place depicted on film, through the use of cinematic techniques and the composure of the narrative. Within the movement of the frame, a scene can be masked in order to focus on its details. Two camera movements, *the pan* with the camera and *movement within a fixed* camera reveal to the audience different scales of time within the frame. When the camera is *fixed*, movement within the shot relies on the movement of elements and characters in the frame. When the camera *pans* across a site, the vastness of the landscape is exaggerated by the duration and the speed that the camera is moving. Therefore, duration of the site is emphasized through the slow pan of the camera across the horizon. The shot exists as the unity of movement, and as Deleuze (1986) suggests, is "caught between two demands: of the whole whose change it expresses throughout the film, of parts whose displacements within each set and from one set to another it determines." The sequence and duration of the shot is the main instrument in expressing detailed fragments of the whole, and can alter the duration and perception of the scene through the camera's movements. This approach to observation of the whole and its parts framed by the means of architecture and identified through memory and narrative was a key component in the investigation of the subject site. The motion of the frame of the camera was utilized for its potential in developing "frames" across the site which would serve to outline and exaggerate specific moments of the characters' interactions on the vast site.

Proposal 3: Duration Film Galleries
Duration allows for a development of a suspended action or emotion of disbelief. Further, *duration* creates an extension of time, in which one is aware of the passing of time, with the exaggeration of the moment. As one walks through the container pier, the experience of a surreal extended duration of time is experienced, as two opposing sides reflect two contrasting spaces of time. On one side of the road, lie various industrial buildings which remain permanent in the landscape. On the opposite side is a changing pier that is constantly being reconfigured with the movement of cargo and shipping containers.   The third instillation on the site addresses this condition of changing space and time through a series of video

galleries, editing studios, and a drive-in cinema (figure 5) which will allow for the viewing of works in either an intimate or collective setting. As the intervention addresses issues of duration and integration, the building is represented in the landscape as a thin structure that is positioned between the existing rail yard on a long and narrow residual parcel of land, which is currently not used by the site's industrial functions.

The program of video galleries was chosen as a method of addressing the role of cinema in the recreation of certain narratives. Through choosing the cinematic condition of *duration*, the site was chosen as a point on the overall waterfront, which strongly represented a sense of panning and elapsed time, similar to a slow Tarkovsky pan, which slowly revealed the overall parts of the site and the city beyond.

Conclusion: Architecture as Backdrop for Narrative

Along with the three cinematic techniques, *framing, duration (the pan) and montage*, all of which can be applied to the expression of a narrative within an artifact or a site (micro or macro), programs were created which would address three specific conditions for three characters thereby creating a space for multiple narratives to occur. Vernacular forms of the site were explored through old suitcases, worn railroad ties, and cigar boxes as a means to engage the textured site condition. As this process has been centred on the concepts of narrative and film, as a sequence of events across a site, the final step in the process was explored through the making of a graphic storyboard.

Constructing a film narrative involves the making of a diagram of the different places which structure its development and the paths the characters follow within and between these places. Through the following narrative, the architect undertakes the role as the 'narrative writer", the proposed characters reveal themselves through the various spaces which have been integrated in each proposal to allow for interaction. The proposed architecture of the site is not intended to be grand, but rather a series of

Figure 5: Waterfront Drive-in Cinema & Galleries.

discreet events which are held together by cinema and narrative. The path therefore is a starting point for the investigations, and once removed, each intervention is able to stand alone in the site as proposals which enable the reanimation of misused space. The proposal is not intended to be a final scheme, but rather an addition to the existing condition which would facilitate future development and usage across the site.

Acknowledgements

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Gentrification and Spatial Tactics in José Luis Guerín's *En construcción*

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Representations of public everyday space contain historical narratives, and finding the underrepresented ones gives us a more inclusive socio-historical understanding of a city's environment. The conditions of the postmodern city complicate the legibility of these narratives. For example, gentrification, ubiquitous stimuli, manufactured images, and consumer attractions rapidly and simultaneously transform, add noise, and project totalizing cultural ideologies within the urban space. In addition, as Henri Lefebvre describes in *The Production of Space*, in a time of heightened capitalism, space is a dissimulated, fluid, and superimposed social product. To this claim, Jean Baudrillard adds that postmodern space "blurs the lines between what we believe to be 'true' and 'false', 'real' and 'imaginary'" (Baudrillard 2001: 171). In other words, many ever-changing and interconnected semiotic layers intertwine between our initial impression of public space and a more inclusive understanding of the city's environment. How can we discern the latter? This paper explores everyday resistances that confront the factors blurring social reality. I call these spatial tactics.

One of the main ideas of Michel de Certeau's *The Practice of Everyday Life* is that urban dwellers will always find clever ways of slipping around spatial regulations. He calls these maneuvers "tactics" and they form part of a larger category of everyday practices within the temporal and spatial framework of modern urban space. The creators of spatial tactics temporarily appropriate a space and give it a different function, not to make a political statement, but to make ends meet. De Certeau argues that everyday practices are replete with subtle, and often undermined, forms of resistance. Similar to Walter Benjamin's interest in the discarded commodities of nineteenth century Paris, de Certeau wants to uncover a similar byproduct of consumer society, one that is fleeting yet residual, a "remainder" or a "smudge", with "trace[s] or mark[s] that eat into the borders" (2002: 61, 155, 155).

My discovery of spatial tactics in downtown Barcelona led me to supplement de Certeau's idea. But before expanding the concept, discussing where we can find spatial tactics, and how they reveal socio-historical transparency, as illustrated in the film *En construcción* by José Luis Guerín (2001), I will provide a brief historical background on what has been going on in public space in Barcelona over the last three decades.

Three months after Francisco Franco's dictatorship (1939-1975) ended in Spain, protestors staged the largest demonstration seen in Barcelona in four decades. They took their long-suppressed discontent to the streets to demand not only freedom and regional autonomy, but also urban reform (McNeill 1999: 120-122). In the following decade, urban reform played a fundamental role in the transition to democracy (Balibrea 2001, Borja 1997, Capel 2005, McNeill 1999). Governor Pasqual Maragall summed up its importance in the early 80s with the motto "La mejora del espacio público es relevante para la resolución de los problemas económicos y sociales" (Capel 2005: 30).[1] Although the country was suffering an economic crisis at the time, local urban planners and architects, using public funds, worked closely together with the grassroots neighbourhood organizations and were able to modestly renovate old public spaces and create new ones. However, 1986 saw the end of this

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[1] Translation: "Improving public space is relevant to resolving social and economic problems."

communal effort. That year Spain became a member of the European Union and Barcelona was nominated to host the 1992 Olympics. Business boomed and unemployment began to drastically drop (Borja 1997).[2] At the same time, many political activists left the neighbourhood associations, either because they had gained trust in the new regional government or because they wanted to cash in on the opportunities that the Games would bring (McNeill 1999: 34). As construction enveloped the entire city, urban policy took a drastic turn towards large-scale projects incorporating private and foreign investments, architects, and urban planners.

As a major part of this local to global shift in urban policy, the Ajuntament (or "city council") has created a marketable city image to attract tourists and investors. This image, also referred to as the urban plan called "the Barcelona Model" (or for some dissidents "the Barcelona brand"), has packaged Barcelona as Southern Europe's culture and business capital—modern, socially democratic, unified, culturally-rich, and peacefully "multicultural."[3] This image is secured in many ways—by its mass reproduction in international media, the installation of surveillance cameras, and the increase of police forces in the historic quarter. Another component of the ideological construction of this image was the destruction of areas that did not fit the image, particularly those in the downtown areas most frequented by tourists. During the last two decades, the historic quarter, especially the Raval and La Ribera neighbourhoods, which date back to the Roman period, have become the main targets of gentrification and urban renewal projects.

These renewal projects have had their advantages—the historic quarter is now cleaner, safer, and smells better. The number of homeless people and drug addicts has decreased and the city's cuisine is now more ethnically diverse (Villar 1996, Balibrea 2005). But these advantages have been carried out at the expense of rapidly uprooting and dispersing century-old communities against their will; skyrocketing the cost of living; causing economic and ethnic segregation; polarizing cultural capital; and destroying historically rich spaces. Ironically, with an internationally praised urban planning model and over seven million tourists in 2007 alone, this eidetic formula to urban politics has proven successful (*El País* 2008).

Such is the environment in which spatial tactics can arise. In my reading of the concept, there are four conditions that prompt the creation of a spatial tactic: the non-fulfillment of a basic need, creativity, a bit of transgressive will (to do what one is not supposed to do), and an urban space that is regulated while still containing a certain degree of autonomy. The material regulations may be fences, no-signs, video cameras, or a policeman's glare. Sometimes these regulations are official, sometimes unofficial, but usually they're somewhere in-between, and arbitrarily enforced.

Because these tactical practices exist at the border between the legal and the illegal, they are necessarily temporary, vulnerable, mobile, and elusive. In Barcelona's historic quarter, for example, we can think of the subjects and spaces where prostitutes advertise their services, where recent immigrants sell their goods out on a sheet, or where *trileros* play their fraudulent betting games with the naïve.

This brings us to the central problem with approaching a vision of the urban space that accounts for the underrepresented and their spatial tactics. It is in the nature of spatial

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[2] According to the book La ciutat de la gent, from 1986 to 1992 unemployment lowered from 21.4% to 14% (Borja 1997: 282 and 284).

[3] The Ajuntament's website <www.bcn.es> describes Barcelona as "acollidora, progresista, sostenible, solidaria, intima, inquieta, innovadora, històrica, estimada, dinamica, verda, mediterranea, moderna, moderna, moderna, dialogant, cosmopolita, diversa, calida, blava." (Translation: "welcoming, progressive, sustainable, unified, intimate, bustling, innovative, historical, loved, dynamic, green, Mediterranean, modern, modern, modern, dialoging, cosmopolitan, diverse, warm, blue.") For more information on Barcelona's postmodern image, see Balibrea Enriquez (2001), McNeill (1999), and Capel (2005).

tactics *not* to be visible, not to call much attention. Spatial tactics may occur in places the state is trying to crack down on —for example, hide-outs, brothels, or illegally occupied buildings. While hidden spatial tactics interfere little with the city's image, those that are visible can function as an unintentional and harmless urban antagonist, defying the city's image. In the postmodern city, we can find spatial tactics where there are more niches and nooks, such as in the historic neighbourhoods and construction sites, and also where there is less vigilance, such as in abandoned areas or the periphery of the city. We can also find them during states of exception, in which individuals are driven to use their creativity and everyday space in a new way. Some examples of spatial tactics that I have seen in the historic quarter include—homeless people using the heated 24-hour ATM rooms as bedrooms, storefront hearths used as beds, plant pots used as benches, facade corners and trash dumps are used as urinals, and balconies used to hang clothes.

The accompanying photograph (Fig. 1) illustrates another example of a visible and ephemeral spatial tactic: a volleyball game in the Raval neighbourhood. Immigrants were playing inside an abandoned lot where a building had been razed. The lot was fenced in, and the bottom couple of feet were cemented off. On one side, a hole in the lower part of the fence (approximately half a meter by half a meter) had provided the players with room to crawl in individually and slip the poles and the net through. I took this picture from inside of that hole.

Figure 1: Playing volleyball in a fenced-off lot. (Megan Saltzman, March 2005)

Someone concerned with social and historical justice can interpret spatial tactics as a manifestation of a social problem, a sign that basic needs are unfulfilled. Once located, these practices can make a problem visible; they possess a unique potential for bringing oppositional discourse to the forefront where political action is possible. In this light, the examples of tactics mentioned thus far reveal that Barcelona lacks public sport facilities, employment, benches, public restrooms, affordable homes, and a free market at the grassroots level.

Also, because spatial tactics derive from the natural human instincts of creativity and survival, they are common to all human beings and so exist across time and space. Thus, if we find similar spatial tactics across time and space, we can recover missing narratives and connections buried under all those semiotic layers.

In the context of Spain, for example, spatial tactics work to illuminate narratives that the official discourse has actively tried to erase. To secure a peaceful transition to democracy, a cultural and political consensus known as the *pacto de olvido*, was instated in order to erase from the collective consciousness the years of the Civil War and the Franco regime.[4] It may have been easy for the government to bury a half a century of history in popular culture and history textbooks, but since spatial tactics are small, elusive and overlooked, they unintentionally sneak up from out of the dirt, showing themselves on the surface and creating

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[4] For more information regarding the erasure of historical memory during the transition to democracy in Spain see: A. Fernández (1996), Cardus i Ros (2000: 19), M. Menor (2002), Richards (2000: 44), and Vilarós Soler (1996).

a juxtaposition, or a dialectical image, to contrast with the present and to make us reconsider connections and exclusions.

Two examples of this phenomenon are the construction of *barracas* and the development of a black market. There is a correlation between waves of immigration and the tactical practice of constructing *barracas*.[5] In spite of the common disassociation or outright rejection of the similarities, the current immigration issues in Barcelona bear a resemblance to those of the wave of migration from other parts of Spain in the 50s (mainly from the south to Barcelona and Bilbao). However, new immigrant *barracas* have appeared on the rooftops in the Historic Quarter, recalling the *barracas* that proliferated along the beach during the 50s up until the 80s, when they were torn down in preparation for the Olympics (Capel 2005). The black market provides the same kind of historical echo. In the historic Quarter immigrants sell pirated CDs and DVDs. In the same area, the *estraperlo* market existed during the Franco regime.

Hence, in spite of the modern myths of progress, and a cookie-cutter version of history, spatial tactics have the potential to confront the present with its own repressed past. However, this potential is politically weak and obscure; it doesn't have a voice. Since the creators of spatial tactics often find themselves in precarious conditions, their practices need observant mediators to locate, translate, and make public the social injustices from which they derive. Whereas nationally important figures, events, and spaces have traditionally had a historian to document them, spatial tactics haven't. As de Certeau says, the tactic "marks itself (by smudges, lapses, etc.) but it does not write itself. It alters a place (it disturbs), but it does not establish a place" (2002: 155). While we are bombarded with daily information, if spatial tactics reach our eyes or ears at all, they do so usually through government-funded sources that present them as examples of moral degeneracy. For example, these sources show *okupas* ("squatters") being evicted, immigrants being arrested for illegal sales, and tourists being warned about *trileros*.[6]

However, some artists who have dealt with the everyday life in an urban milieu have provided a critical platform for spatial tactics. Because spatial tactics exist for only a brief time, this more-permanent and critical platform allows them to be put on pause and analyzed. For example, the documentary *En construcción* by José Luis Guerín focuses on a case of gentrification in the Raval neighbourhood in 1999 and captures several spatial tactics on film. A nineteenth-century flat building is being demolished and a new one is being constructed. In the old building lower-income families were paid the equivalent of about 3,600 euros to move elsewhere, while the new 70 square meter apartments sold for about 110,000 euros each (Winkels 2002).[7]

In this film, one doesn't see the manufactured image of Barcelona. There's no Gaudí architecture, shopping, or fun-n-sun. The film focuses on the small construction site, where an intimate community, a way of life, and 2000 years of history all become victims of the bulldozer. With wide-angle shots and long takes, Guerín's camera, like the creators of spatial tactics, pries into the semi-private realm, passes through the fences and keep-out signs, through the alluring consumer opportunities, and past the media and pretentious facades. His camera allows the viewer a relatively objective glance into a raw and ephemeral space and

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[5] *Barracas* are cheap unregulated housing that sprang up around the coast and outskirts of Barcelona during the economic boom on the 1950s.

[6] The first two examples were represented on television programs. As for *trileros*, during the summer of 2006 I saw large posters hanging from lampposts along Las Ramblas (Barcelona's main tourist strip) depicting the *trilero* game and reading "This is a trick!" in English and Catalan.

[7] Accordingly to Abdel Aziz el Mountassir, the Morrocan philosopher and local construction worker who appears in the film, tenants were paid 600,000 pesetas to abandon apartments that later sold for 20 million pesetas (Winkels 2002).

shows several examples of locals re-appropriating their transformed space. For example, children use beams laid against a wall as slides, and two men use planks of wood as benches. On the white floors and walls of the new unfinished apartments, a young couple has made a bedroom with a mattress; children make a playhouse with left out construction materials; and a homeless man has converted the terrace into a kitchen. Amid the debris, we even see stray cats making themselves at home.

Perhaps the most startling spatial tactic in the film is one reclaimed not by the living, but by the dead. During the demolition of the old building, workers discover a Roman cemetery. Fences are immediately erected around the remains, and while construction work is postponed, Guerín's camera continues filming, recording the disparate comments and facial expressions of the people who huddle around to speculate about what's been found. While the discovery of the archaeological remains reveals the historical and functional depth of the space, onlookers' irrational hypotheses reveal that they are unaware of the depth and tend to take space at surface value. As one observant onlooker states, "vives encima de los muertos y ni te enteras."[8] Four months after the discovery of the remains, they are removed from their location, and construction continues.

At the beginning of the film we see a series of eyes painted on a wall. Towards the end, the camera zooms in on the eyes and a bulldozer tears the wall down. Besides denouncing gentrification, Guerín is asking us to look more closely at the paradoxical significance of space at a time when visibility is being literally and symbolically torn apart. On one hand, we observe the dense socio-historical network that space provides and retains, but on the other hand, we observe its superfluity and irrelevance. We see walls going up and being torn down, floors being installed and ripped apart, doors being knocked down and put up again—constant movement on a variety of planes, transition, replacement, demolition, construction: all these spatial transformations on fast forward. In the end, it is as if all the material barriers cancel each other out or disappear. We see how silly they are or, how silly we are to give such importance to putting up a bathroom door, or a wall between my apartment and my neighbours', when soon they'll be torn down again. One woman shrugs while gazing down at the Roman skeletons and comments "todo el mundo en el mismo agujero, tanto los ricos como los pobres."[9]

So, to conclude. Change and destruction are obviously inevitable. A city where all spaces of all ages were preserved would be not a city at all, but a museum. But actually, as Barcelona, like other emerging global cities, becomes more privatized, the division between the centre and outskirts becomes more prominent, and historic buildings are replaced by souvenir shops, hotels, national chains, and surveillance cameras—the historic quarter is becoming a museum. But at the same time, the only spaces being preserved are the few that the local government considers official *patrimonio cultural* ("cultural heritage"). As autonomy and spontaneity disappear from the city, so do spatial tactics, degenerating the living conditions and histories not only for those creative or forgotten subjects that "make use of the cracks"—the lonely, the displaced, the cats, the kids, the dead—but for all of us living in an urbanized setting (de Certeau 2002: 37).

Acknowledgements

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[8] Translation: "We live over dead bodies and don't even know it."

[9] Translation: "Everyone ends up in the same hole, the rich the same as the poor."

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Empty Spaces? The Images of Berlin

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Filmmakers have been present in Berlin ever since the beginning of cinema. The Berlin Film Museum allows visitors to experience motion images recorded in the German capital at the end of the 19th century by the Lumière Brothers as well as by the Skladanowski Brothers, who invented the bioscope (*Filmmuseum Berlin* 2000). Berlin had thus frequently attracted not only home artists but also international directors. Among them were Roberto Rossellini [*Germany Year Zero* 1947], Billy Wilder [*A Foreign Affair* 1948], Carol Reed [*The Man Between* 1953], Bob Fosse [*Cabaret* 1972] and many others. The presence of Western directors in West Berlin is quite understandable as this area was under the political and economic influence of Britain, France and the United States. However, one should also note the recent interest in the city [*The Bourne Supremacy*, dir. P. Greengrass (2004), or *The Good German*, dir. S. Soderbergh (2006)]. In my opinion this interest is a result of Berlin's history in the 20th century, which may also be considered as the history of Europe in a nutshell. Based on this place, one can portray European modernism, totalitarian ideals, the Cold War, the fall of communism and the development of a unified Europe.

The paper focuses on films set in Berlin from the Weimar Republic period onwards. The purpose of the work is to present a concise specification of the city's space portrayed in those films and its connection with the history of the German capital. Many of the motion pictures were shot on location. This allows the analyst to treat the urban space as relevant.

The golden age of German cinema

The multiple urban images in the Weimar Republic cinema are connected with the ongoing modernist development at that time, especially with the process of urbanization. City-images of that period emphasize the urban environment, hustling vitality, industrial areas or means of transport. When Berlin was joined with the surrounding towns in 1920, the population rose to nearly two million (Zimmermann 2003). The complexity of the metropolis and the resulting social interaction became an important inspiration for filmmakers. The Weimar city-film reached its climax with Fritz Lang's *Metropolis* [1927]. Such pictures as *Blade Runner* [1982], *The Fifth Element* [1997] or *Star Wars: Episode II – Attack of the Clones* [2002] prove the immense impact of Lang's picture on future urban iconography. It is said that Lang was inspired by New York's skyscrapers. However, evidence shows that the concept of the film was ready long before the director's visit to the United States (Kłys 2006: 247-249). A close analysis of *Metropolis* proves that contemporary Berlin had an enormous influence on the final visual concept. In Lang's film one may find many objects resembling architectural projects of the late Weimar-Berlin. As an artist focused on architecture (he even studied architecture in Vienna for one year), the director was sensitive to the city's transformation in the 1920s. Still, one cannot neglect Ernst Kettelhut's work as a production designer. Kettelhut also worked on two other important Berlin films including the famous Walter Ruttmann's *Berlin: the Symphony of a Great City* [*Berlin. Die Symphonie der Großstadt* 1927] and Joe May's *Asphalt* [1929].

Both, Ruttmann's and May's, pictures derive from modernist motifs, showing Berlin as a city of fast change, growing industry; grand and multiple, yet at the same time ravaged by such problems as crimes, loneliness and anonymity. This is especially seen in *Berlin: the Symphony of a Great City* – one of the first pictures ever using on-location shots to such a

degree. The film itself could well constitute an illustration to Georg Simmel's classic essay *The Metropolis and Mental Life* (1903), describing the city as an area dominated by monetary economy, where social relations are based on the distribution of labor and time is marked by the rhythm of industry (Simmel 1998). Pointing at the relations between film and modernism is nothing new. Nevertheless I would like to stress that the case of Berlin and its cinema is recognized as a model, as it was Europe's largest industrial metropolis at the turn of the 19th and 20th century.

The problems typical for Berlin in the first three decades of the 20th century are also recognizable in the adaptation of Alfred Döblin's novel *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, although in this case the focus is put on social aspects. Published in 1929, the book belongs to a set of works, which established literary conventions in portraying large cities. The film under the same title, directed by Piel Jutzi in 1931, shows its 'metropolitan' potential. Not on the visual side (Jelavich 2003: 66-69), however, but on the basis of the presented themes. Jutzi's adaptation shows many social phenomena from that period: the high crime rate, extreme social attitudes, unemployment. It shows a Berlin of simple people living in rental barracks called *Mietskasernen*. This particular motif is also present in Reiner Werner Fassbinder's 13 episode television series (1980). Fassbinder was inspired by Döblin's novel, too. Both adaptations are studio-shot, which undoubtedly determined the final images of the city. As a result one can see a city of dark, gloomy and closed spaces, whereas the bustling and living character of the metropolis had been put aside. Fassbinder referred to his method of creating the city-image as „internal urbanization" (Vogt 2001: 631), stating that he wanted to present the influence of a large metropolis on his character's psyche. This area of interest is also close to the thesis presented by Simmel.

The Weimar cinema neglects a very important aspect of that period as it focuses on the consequences of modern development of the city and fails to refer to the Prussian and national tradition or places of political meaning. Similar trends can be observed in post-war cinema, where Berlin was frequently treated as a metaphor of global and socio-cultural change while it was hardly a basis for national themes. From the point of view of a Polish researcher this tendency is very clear as cinematic portraits of Warsaw often referred to Polish issues. The capital in such films as Andrzej Wajda's *Kanal* [*Kanał* 1957] or the comedies by Stanisław Bareja symbolized the dilemmas of the entire country.

The time of division

For obvious reasons the era of the Third Reich did not belong to a period when city-images were highly exposed. Filmmakers of these years preferred rural landscapes (Stucke 2006: 174) and most motion pictures were dominated by propaganda pieces. Many directors who referred to modernization processes before – both positive and negative – were either forced to emigrate (Fritz Lang), or had to change their views radically (Piel Jutzi joined the NSDAP in 1933 [Jacobsen]). During the Second World War Berlin appeared only in a couple of films (e.g. *Großstadtmelodie* [1943, dir. W. Liebeneiner], although it is set in pre-war Germany), as well as in few chronicles made at the end of the War, which presented the image of a totally destroyed city (Barber 2002: 54). Large-scale images of Berlin re-appeared in feature films only after 1945. A new way of portraying the city arose at that time. Berlin's radical historical experience made filmmakers approach the matter from an entirely different perspective. The categories of modern development, the dynamic lifestyle and the fast urbanization turned out inadequate to new realities. At the same time destructions in the landscape and an unprecedented political situation allowed Berlin to become an attractive place for film plots again. It is for no other reason that Roberto Rossellini shot in Berlin his *Germany Year Zero* [1947], a couple months later Billy Wilder came here to work on *A Foreign Affair* with

Marlena Dietrich, and five years later Carol Reed set here the plot of the third part of his trilogy on divided cities. These pictures, although made by foreign directors, could find a place in the realm of *Trümmerfilme* ('Rubble Films), which deal with the hardships of life in a demolished country.

Referring to other non-German films about Berlin, Ewa Mazierska mentions *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold* [1965] by Martin Ritt, *Funeral in Berlin* [1966] by Guy Hamilton and Alfred Hitchcock's *Torn Courtain* [1966]. Mazierska notes that "the narratives of these films are built around people trying (…) to flee from East to West Berlin and unscrupulous double agents who pray on their desire for freedom and a better life" (Mazierska, Rascaroli 2003: 118). Thus the post-war Berlin films were modeled from a Western point of view, represented by either a West German perspective or from the point of view of other capitalist countries. "East German directors rarely discussed present-day Berlin" (Mazierska, Rascaroli 2003: 118). This obviously resulted from the ideological limitations of the GDR, whereas Western cultures would discuss political and historical matters much more freely.

The problem of recent historical events do not merely appear in the plot of the films. It is rather the image of the city that embodies historical meanings. In the period directly after the war, filmmakers developed a strategy that makes use of urban emptiness. It was first Hitler's architect, Albert Speer, who had prepared a renovation scheme for Berlin, which was preceded by a demolition of large areas. Beginning with 1943, the capital was constantly being destroyed by air raids and in 1961 further destruction was needed for the erection of the Wall. The resulting „empty spaces" are one of the themes most frequently taken up by analysts considering the urban space of Berlin. These are mentioned by, among others, Wim Wenders (2001) and Richard Shusterman (1997), whereas Andreas Huyssen calls them 'voids' (Huyssen 2003).

In Hubertus Siegert's documentary *Berlin Babylon* [2001], the architect Axel Schultes calls these empty spaces 'Un-Orte' (literally: 'non-places'). However, one should not treat these 'non-places' as it was presented by Marc Augé, who wrote: "If a place can be defined as relational, historical and concerned with identity, then a space which cannot be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity will be a non-place" (Augé 1995: 77-78). In such an interpretation 'non-places' are means of transport, waiting rooms, parking lots etc. Many contemporary films about the German capital make use of such locations. Mazierska says: "Apart from the building sites, the most common architectural features (…) are underground passages, railway stations and metro trains" (Mazierska, Rascaroli 2003: 124). Unlike such places, Un-Orte, according to Schultes, refer to history, as the empty spaces in Berlin remained after the War and the division of the city. Even though they are present in many films, their unsightly nature rarely makes us pay attention to them.

The fact that one may find 'Un-Orte' in *Germany Year Zero*, *A Foreign Affair*, *The Man Between* and the remaining *Trümmerfilme* is obvious, but this motif returns in contemporary pictures. It is most exceptionally identified in *Wings of Desire* [*Der Himmel über Berlin* 1987] by Wim Wenders and also in a 10 year younger film, Wolfgang Becker's *Life is a Building Site* [*Das Leben ist eine Baustelle* 1997]. Wenders had confessed many times to being aware of the uniqueness of these open areas and was constantly in search of them during principle photography (Wenders 2001). One of the best known scenes in his film takes place at the empty Potsdamer Platz. The old narrator, Homer, brings back memories of a time when this location was the heart of the city. In this way the director points to the dramatic reality of a destroyed space and the visible scars in urban architecture. Homer says:

> "I cannot find the Potsdamer Platz. Here? This can't be it. Potsdamer Platz, that's where Café Josty used to be. (...) It was a lively place. Tramways, horse-drawn

carriages... and two cars (...). The Wertheim store was here, too. And then suddenly, the flags appeared. Here... The whole Platz was covered with them. And the people weren't friendly anymore ... and the police wasn't either. I will not give up... as long as I haven't found the Potsdamer Platz."

Figure 1. Frame from *Wings of Desire*

In *Life is a Buildings Site* – a film made after reunification – history is expressed similar to that of Wenders' film. However, the director had not achieved the powerful visual influence *Wings of Desire* had. Becker's Berlin is marked by empty spaces, gray and empty asphalt squares with tin plate barracks which in no way resemble that of a living, breathing contemporary metropolis.

Figure 2. Frame from *Life is a Building Site*

Covering up the traces

After 1989 German cinema turned out to be more varied than anywhere else in Europe. Yet, contrary to earlier years, many post-unification pictures portray Berlin's everyday life. Mazierska claims that they turned away from history and global politics. "They do not suggest a nostalgic retreat into the past or the resurrection of some 'German identity' as a way of overcoming the present problems" (Mazierska, Rascaroli 2003: 136). Although this remark can easily be treated as a reference to the plot of post-1989 features, the situation looks

different when referring to the urban space in Berlin films. Mazierska notes that "when the historic centre of Berlin (…) is shown, it looks like a grim area of dark streets of old tenements with crumbling walls" (Mazierska, Rascaroli 2003: 136). Indeed, in contemporary pictures Berlin appears to be presented as an unfriendly environment. This is particularly visible in the before mentioned *Life is a Building Site*, but also in *Night Shapes* [*Nachtgestalten* 1998] directed by Andreas Dresen, *Quiet as a Mouse* [*Muxmäuschenstil* 2004] by Marcus Mittermeier or the sequel of Wenders' *Wings of Desire* directed in 1993 under the title *Faraway, So Close*! [*In weiter Ferne, so nah!*]. Contemporary Berlin films thus show a split. On the one hand the characters are determined by the problems of the present; on the other, they live and act in a city which is determined by a historical process. Berlin's urban space is marked by official and unofficial places of remembrance and many new objects constantly involve ideological debates. In my opinion, Berlin is nowadays hardly portrayed as a modern and dynamic metropolis, because it is a city haunted by its past – the Third Reich, Second World War and the Cold War.

Two filmmakers have decided to show the process of Berlin's post-unification change. Interestingly, it has been done through a quasi-documentary style. The first of these two is the before mentioned Hubertus Siegert, who documented the rebuilding of Berlin in *Berlin Babylon*. As the filmmaker stated, what struck him most in the early years after the reunification was the feeling of emptiness and destruction. He thus decided to make a film that would show how this is eliminated. The creator of *Berlin Babylon* balances between empty spaces, construction sites and modern architecture. The remake of Ruttmann's *Berlin: the Symphony of a Great City* made in 2002 by Thomas Schadt has a similar structure. The filmmaker also moves around the city and shows its many faces – those with the ballast of the past and those totally new. Schadt's work is a return to the golden age of the German capital – as it is a direct reference to one of the most famous pieces of work of Berlin modernism. It also shows that the city's wounds caused by the 20th century are finally healing.

Conclusion

It is quite obvious that films about Berlin reflect the socio-historical processes that occurred in the German capital. It is interesting, however, how it takes place. Some filmmakers point to the complicated history of the city, making their protagonists face political or historical situations. Still, one cannot omit the character's environment. Berlin is a city where the traces of the past play a vital role. Even when the plot concerns the present, the urban space often gives reference to the city's past and its historical implications. One of the most expressive signs of history are the empty spaces and their evidences of destruction. They do not only define Berlin's space on both sides of the Wall. They are also an important visual 'leitmotif'. Furthermore, the urban space does not denote national issues but rather global themes connected with the political situation, or with the history of the city itself.

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Harold Lloyd's Safety Last (1923): Gendered Celebration of Los Angeles's Modernity

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In accord with cinema's European urban symphonies by Ruttmann and Vertov, Harold Lloyd's comedy Safety Last (1923) pays homage to the Los Angeles metropolis – its skyscrapers, careening automobiles, pleasure- seeking crowds, jam-packed electric railways, department stores, and advertising signage. By drawing on views of modernity (e.g. Baudelaire, Kracauer, Bhabha), I argue that Lloyd harnesses the "spectacularized" city as a staging ground for the realization of his character's gender identity. He uses specifically the International Bank Building on Spring Street, or the "Wall Street of the West," where "The Boy" must prove himself a man (Fig. 1). At first, Harold is destabilized by modernity's

Fig. 1 Harold Climbing the Skyscraper

rapid pace and the department store's aggressive customers in the "lowly" feminized spatial environs where he works. However, his ascension begins when he is juxtaposed with other men who serve as paradigms of masculinity -- an effete floorwalker, an African American porter, a Jewish store owner, and a drunkard, thus valorizing Lloyd's white middle-class manhood. Salesman Harold further increases his stature by hatching a publicity scheme to have his construction worker friend climb the store's skyscraper as a "human fly" before a crowd. However, due to a mishap, the bespectacled and suited character (the actor's trademarks) makes the ascent himself, becoming a dual cipher of modernity, a human billboard and an analogue to the tall buildings he is poised to surmount, while absorbing the laborer's courage and superseding the city's "others." In one scene, the slightly unsettled Harold hangs from the hands of a huge skyscraper clock, thereby temporarily subverting bureaucratic time, before arriving at the top where he meets his prospective wife in full wedding regalia, a consummation of his heterosexual identity. Los Angeles's modernity is implicated in the narrative, especially its towering architectural monuments, which are employed as obstacles that Harold must overcome, thereby "performing" both physically and metaphorically the capitalist success ethos of upward mobility and individual initiative. As John Kasson (2001) has recently noted, performing one's masculinity in a physical manner

was often a necessary component of a new male subjectivity in an era of increased dependence on the mass media.

Harold's confrontation with, and reaction to modernity is an amalgamation of the ideas of Parisian Charles Baudelaire and Berliner Siegfried Kracauer. Baudelaire who employed the term "modernity" in the 1860s, viewed city life served as an intoxicant; immersion in the urban crowd provided the *flaneur* with novel creative stimuli, at once electrifying and replete with energy. For his part, Kracauer claimed in the 1920s that modernity had a direct effect on the nervous system, arguing that its shocks prompted a need for heightened stimulation, which explained the development of sensationalism. Baudelaire's notion of modernity's vigorous effects, melded with Kracauer's belief that city dwellers required intensified experiences and, by implication, strategies, because of over stimulation inform the depiction of Harold in the metropolis. These include the hero's continual confrontation with the machine, his invention of a hair-raising stunt to promote consumerism, and his company's promotional article in a tabloid newspaper to hype the skyscraper climbing escapade. In addition, Homi Bhabha (1991) identified a "time lag" in western depictions of modernity between so-called paragons of progress and timeless, antiquated "others," a split that describes Harold and several of the film's male characters. The hero is subjected to urban trials and tribulations in the cinematic narrative; while he is juxtaposed with "primitive" visions of ethnicity and race which serve to underscore his speed, initiative, and drive.

Even before he sets off from Great Bend, Indiana for metropolitan Los Angeles, Harold must negotiate the vagaries of transportation, mistakenly jumping on a milk wagon instead of his train, which is pulling away from the station. Once he arrives at his destination, Los Angeles is depicted as both a trap and an obstacle course that he must outsmart in order to remain a viable competitor and not lose his job; yet it also provides the requisite impetus for him to compete and ultimately prevail. Although he arrives to work before the department store's doors open, he is unwittingly locked up in a laundry car which drives to the opposite side of town. When he is finally released and with less than ten minutes to make it back, he tries to jump on a trolley that is crowded with commuters hanging precariously off its sides, who push him off in the dog-eat-dog world of limited space and opportunity. This depiction of Los Angeles was consonant with developments in both population growth and transportation. As Robert Fogelson (1967) pointed out in his book The Fragmented Metropolis, between 1919 and 1923, electric railway revenue passengers increased almost twofold; for example Los Angeles Railway service saw a steep jump from 145.4 to 248.6 million dollars while its rival Pacific Electric Railway enjoyed an increase from 68.3 to 100.1 million (Fogelson 1967: 172). After finally securing a place on the moving vehicle; however, Harold changes his mind and decides instead to hitch hike a ride with a motorist, reinforcing the competition between trolley and automobile traffic which had just commenced. When that gambit fails, he hijacks

an ambulance by feigning illness, employing it as a taxi to bring him to his destination, underscoring that his success is dependent on his wits and drastic measures. A mobile camera is placed in the racing, screaming vehicle as it takes the viewer on a hair-raising journey through Los Angeles's downtown, escaping accidents with trolleys and automobiles, while avoiding pedestrians, creating a vicarious sense of modernity's rapid pace and heightened sensations noted by Baudelaire and Kracauer.

Before long, we discover that in spite of his letters home bragging to the contrary, he is employed in the lowly environs of the De Vore department store's fabric department where he is shoved into submission by crowds of acquisitive and often bellicose female customers who, in one scene, literally rip the clothes off his back, a metaphor for the era's frenetic consumerism. Indeed the manner that he finally triumphs over one of modernity's initial challenges is by dressing up as a female mannequin, and turning back an electronic punch

clock, before being carried in by an unsuspecting black porter. Hence, he begins his job as a putative feminine presence in an environment which demands rigid conformity and punctuality from which he seeks release. In order to escape this stultifying realm of upper class feminine consumption to one of manly production, he employs both his brains and brawn.

In addition to the depiction of femininity, the film stages various types of masculinity as tropes of antimodernity for both comedic and ideological purposes. Harold is contrasted to masculinities in deficit, including a Jew and an African American, both pictured as either Old World types or timeless depictions of superstition and antiquated customs. For example, the porter who unwittingly carries the cross-dressed Harold into the department store, thinking that he is a mannequin, is meant to convey that the African American is also a "dummy." After Harold sneezes accidentally, the porter is so rattled that his eyes crisscross as he affects a frantic escape. Several scenes later, he is still shuddering high atop a ladder, and refuses to be coaxed down by more reasonable white employees (Fig. 2). In spite of the porter's position as a store employee and Harold's coworker, he is depicted as a synthesis of a "coon" and a "savage," both an object of amusement and superstition in order to reinforce his subjugated status, thereby promoting an ideology of economic and spatial segregation (Bogle 1973: 3-9). However, the porter's putative naiveté and hasty ascent in <u>Safety Last</u> are not simply used for

Fig. 2 African American Porter Shuddering Atop Ladder

laughs; they are meant as a premonition of, and a spatial contrast to Harold's more purposeful skyscraper ascent later in the film.

Harold's whiteness and regular features are also contrasted with a Jewish store owner's bulbous nose, uneven teeth, and darkened and hairy complexion. Historian Sander Gilman has shown that Jewish physiognomy and skin was linked to pathology in anti-Semitic discourse, believed to be caused by inbreeding, which resulted in congenital nervousness and sexual ailments. According to Gilman (1989), Jews had disease written on their skin, "the silent stigma of the black skin" or "the syphilitic <u>rupia</u>." By the mid nineteenth century, "being black, being Jewish, being diseased," and "being ugly" were inextricably linked (Gilman 1989: 99, 173). Harold is lured into Silverstein's curtained and clandestine establishment by a suspect "one-day" sale, underscored by the Semite's obsessive hand-rubbing designed to signify his greed. Moreover, the Jew also deprives Harold of the opportunity to eat lunch or nourish his body, which is symbolized by montage-like atmospheric inserts of Harold's food fantasy, which picture the disappearance of each course of a meal. With Shylockian disregard, Silverstein counts the money coin by coin, thereby symbolically exacting his pound of flesh. It is worth noting that these depictions of African

Americans and Jews echoed actual racist and anti-Semitic economic and legal practices in Los Angeles; hence the film's representations of various "marginalized" masculinities may be seen as both descriptive of the actual conditions of minorities, while serving, perhaps unconsciously, as a prescriptive strategy for the status quo (Connell).

The Boy's big break occurs at a moment of cowardice, when he is forced to fetch Mildred's purse from the boss' office. Listening stealthily at the door, he overhears the manager say, "I'd give a thousand dollars to anyone with a new idea that will attract thousands of people to the store." Harold jumps at the chance with a scheme to have his construction worker buddy, Limpy Bill scale the skyscraper as a human fly, offering him half the proceeds. On the day of the event, a policeman, on whom the roommates had previously played a practical joke, pursues Bill like a Keystone Cop. Bill asks Harold to begin the climb instead, and assures him that he will take over on the second floor. When real human fly is unable to lose the officer, Harold is compelled to complete the publicity stunt himself. The event is publicized by a bold newspaper headline -- "MYSTERY MAN IN DEATH DEFYING THRILL -- TO CLIMB WALL OF TOWERING SKYSCRAPER --" in the tabloid press (Fig. 3). The sturdy physique of an anonymous daredevil appears beneath the announcement with his face obliterated, to increase the suspense and the feat's promotional appeal. This scene serves multiple functions; it demonstrates the inextricable link between dual tropes of modernity - tabloid sensationalism and skyscrapers - and the manner in which they are implicated in the realization of his temporarily destabilized masculinity.

Fig. 3 Tabloid Headline Advertising Skyscraper Stunt.

As the well-dressed, suited Harold climbs higher and higher, he is subjected to every side splitting obstacle, including pigeons landing on his head, a mouse crawling up his trousers, and getting caught in the mechanical innards of a clock, before dangling from the hands of the huge skyscraper timepiece. As in his former encounter with the punch clock which highlights modern business' dependence on Scientific Office Management, he is able to temporarily stop time or create his own "time lag" by recourse to ribald antics, thereby thwarting modernity's exacting regime. This is humorously underscored by his formal dress attire; that is, Harold acts as a company advertisement while intervening in the labor process for the enjoyment of office workers who view his escapades from their windows (Fig. 1).

These skyscraper scenes were shot on location on several streets and tall buildings in downtown Los Angeles. The long shots of Harold's climb (performed by Strothers) occurred on the exterior of the International Bank Building on Temple and Spring Streets. According to producer Hal Roach, at least four Los Angeles skyscrapers were employed for publicity stills,

including the Los Angeles Investment Company, the Western Costume Building, the Merchant's National Bank Building, and the "whopping 13-story" Washington
Building (qtd. in D'Agostino Lloyd 1991: 306-14). Several of these office buildings were
located on Spring Street, which was known as the "Wall Street of the west" (Kaplan 1987:
75). A tourist postcard of 1914 with the title "A Few of Our New Skyscrapers" announces that
the city was proud to show off its burgeoning new heights. The painted skyscraper billboards
seen in the film, another hallmark of modernity declare prominently – "Blackstone's
California's finest," "Largest in THE WEST" and "Los Angeles Stock Exchange" (Fig. 4).
Safety Last may thus be viewed as one of the first full-length urban films in the United States
to advertise Los Angeles, not New York, as a site of commerce and modernity.

**Fig. 4 Harold Swinging Through the Air Near Painted Los
Angeles Stock Exchange Sign.**

In addition to exploring towering skyscrapers, Safety Last plumbed the meaning of the
crowd as a trope of modernity, particularly the individual's relationship to a consuming mass
audience. Harold is dialectically related to the crowd; he is an Everyman yet he must also
supersede the group in order to distinguish himself. This is highlighted by the manner in
which the camera crosscuts from Harold's various climbing escapades to the delighted urban
audience who view the spectacle (Fig. 5). Seen from above, they applaud and urge the young
aspirant to perform more entertaining and dangerous feats in accord with Gustave Le Bon's
(1895) notions concerning the often primitive, collective nature of crowd psychology.

Fig. 5 The Crowd Viewing the Skyscraper Stunt

Harold's dependence on the urban crowd as a necessary component for his stunt also reflects the metamorphosis of Los Angeles into a major metropolis, with most of the population density concentrated in the city's downtown region. Beginning in the 1870s, a series of land booms, which were orchestrated by the major railroad companies who acted as the city's first boosters, promoted Los Angeles as a healthful, subtropical paradise. By the 1920s, due to the increase in employment occasioned by "green and black gold," and the motion picture industry, the city experienced the most dramatic growth in its history (Soja 1989: 191). Over two million people moved into the state, while Los Angeles alone gained 272,037 denizens, prompting urban historian Carey McWilliams (1973) to characterize this period as "the largest internal migration in the history of the American people"(McWilliams 1973: 141). In an era of shrinking personal autonomy due to the rise of corporate capitalism, and the concomitant pressure to succeed by recourse to one's own initiative, it was necessary to gain singular recognition.

Hence, Lloyd's <u>Safety Last</u> may be viewed as heir to the nineteenth-century capitalist-inspired belief that success was attainable by one's individual efforts and creative agency, which could be realized if only one tried hard enough. Los Angeles's skyscrapers were seen as the material incarnation of inventiveness and aspiration, the analogues of inventors, builders, and the entrepreneurs who inhabited them. The city's large department stores, office building, crowds, and numerous advertisements – or modernity itself -- are also staged as impediments over which the character must triumph. Climbing skyscrapers for fun and profit as a human fly echoed the era's desire for greater entertainment spectacles as tabloid journalism and the mass media created a more public masculine subjectivity. Even though Lloyd employed irony to temporarily undermine the work-a-day world seen in his various ruses to subvert time, he seemed to ultimately subscribe to corporate ideology. In order to be a fully integrated, middle-class man, he had to battle the era's monument to modernity, the skyscraper, and win. Working- class human fly, Limpy Bill provided Harold with the requisite manhood to escape from the clutches of feminine acquisitiveness and emotionalism, Semitic greed, and primitive superstition, to a redeemed masculinity that is both cerebral and physical. Yet it is only when Harold arrives at the tall building's pinnacle, can he claim the prizes -- money, fame, and the "girl."

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Mapping Narrativity in Public Space:
The Space of Locative Media in the City

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When the moving image came to prominence at the beginning of the 20th century, the understanding of architectural and urban space and our connection to it was transformed by film's capacity to trace the spatial dimension and shifting points of view. Filmic structure, such as the filmic montage effect, brought about a relationship between the pace of movement and the rhythm of the space it defined [Vidler 2000, p.121], and the camera became a vehicle to explore the world and the city street through another's experience. The zeitgeist of the early 20th century aspired to record and reveal the narratives of everyday life —life that is undefined and inexplicable, yet an important part of our collective unconscious. The street came to be seen as "not only the arena of fleeting impressions and chance encounters, but a place where the flow of life is bound to assert itself" [Kracauer 1960, p.72]. Architect and film theorist, Siegfried Kracauer, goes on to describe film's revelation of so called 'life on the street' as one that intoxicates, where "each [person] has a story" and "an incessant flow of possibilities and near-intangible meanings appears"[Kracauer 1960, p.72]. Because everyday life had not been chronicled or depicted on such a direct visual scale, artists, newly equipped with a moving image, were interested in the city as a place to document and express the "chance encounters and social observation" that were a part of their lives.

The enthusiasm for novel techniques that engage narratives and the sharing of hitherto unknown stories and patterns of everyday lives continues to resonate with contemporary artists, and is of particular interest to locative artists and locative media producers. There is a heady optimism within the realm of current locative media projects, endeavoring to create an awareness amongst people, which can be interpreted as an approach for resolving a sense of disorientation and distractedness found in contemporary urbanity. Contemporary locative artists, producers and theorists, by mapping and critiquing the social space of the city, share in the early modernist desire to understand the patterns of life on the street that express shifting perspectives and bring to light the relationship of spatial construction to identity [Vidler 2000, p.13]. They strive to create the mappings of the unconscious that Walter Benjamin describes when he relates the act of filming as a medium that "explore[s] commonplace milieus" and enables "an unconsciously penetrated space [to be] substituted for a space consciously explored by man" [Benjamin 1935, p. 114]. Contemporary locative narratives become place-makers, creating a spatial dimension, where a virtual overlay of paths and stories can be found by the fortuitous who, like those from a century earlier, may "lose [themselves] in the incidental configurations of their environment" and in the streets and passageways of a place [Vidler 2000, p.113].

The flaneur of the early 20th century was conceived as an individual who identified with life on the street, and who moved to capture the flow of fleeting impressions characterized by Georg Simmel as "snapshots of reality" [Vidler 2000, p.114]. The spirit of the flaneur is echoed in the work of a number of present-day locative

artists, whose compositions seek to engage the physicality of the world by exploring a space of consciousness existing in the anonymous crowds of the city streets and in the quiet of the wilderness. The emerging work of locative artists range from the representational abstract; where otherwise inexplicable patterns of movement and motion are revealed through an imagery of geographical data, to the experiential; where narratives are sited within the experience of the city street. Artists such as Morgan O'Hara and Brett Stalbaum find their canvas in a geography that traces their explorations over space and time. Whereas Psychogeographers, such as Wilifried Hou Ye Bek, Iain Mott, and Jim Sosnin look to the geo-locational landscape as an opportunity for a shift in consciousness through collaborative performance. Experiential works include locative gaming projects where the physical landscape becomes an annotated playground in works such as those by the Blast Theory group. The novel approaches that these contemporary artists bring to the spatial mapping of narratives, including the autonomous creation of mappings that are publicly accessible, contribute to the modernist ideal of the individual, and the individual's impact on dynamisation of space that creates the spectacle of everyday life.
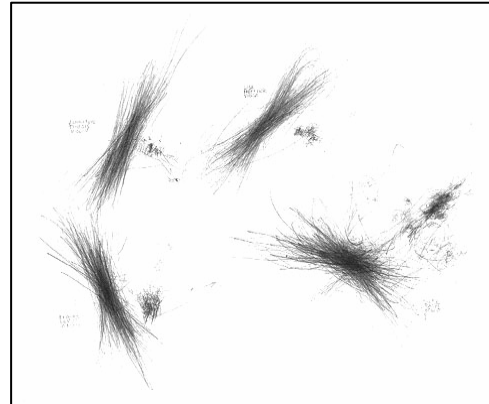
Figure 1 (left): Morgan O'Hara 2003, *TEKENKETEN PROJECT* **Movement of people streaming to memorial service for Johann Stekelenberg, Mayor of Tilburg.**
Figure 2 (right): Morgan O'Hara 1997, *LIVE TRANSMISSION Movement of the hands of members of the ELYSIUM QUARTET during rehearsal of "Minimax" by Paul Hindemith.*

The representational technique of tracing and rendering movements through time over geographical territories is a common thread in the artistic practice of locative artists such as Morgan O'Hara and Brett Stalbaum. Morgan O'Hara's work, dating from the1970's, includes graphs, charts and drawings that are based on her premise that societal suffering stems from "individuals' inability to find pattern and significance in their experience of the world" [Hewitt 1983, p. 265]. Her early personal portraits make visible the passages of space and time and, in recording memory traces, they aim for an awareness and a "live tracking" of time over periods of years [Hewitt 1983, p. 265]. O'Hara's more recent work, *Live Transmission: Attention and Drawing as Time Based Performance* [figs. 1-2]*,* tracks people's movements and gestures in the spaces that they inhabit. She describes the series as "unremarkable or normally unnoticed movement patterns [that] are rendered visible through…drawings done in real time in real life" [morganohara.com/drawings.html]. Brett Stalbaum's work also uses GPS data modeling in order to render representations of sequential activities that would otherwise not be seen

as a whole. His drawings model the "relationships that emerge where data, and the real it derives from, interact generatively" [Stalbaum 2006, p. 1]. One of the pieces from his collaborative group, Painters Flat, titled *Remote Location, 1:100,000* [fig. 3], exhibits a geographic recursion of thirty-six geo-referenced drawings of thirty-six points of desert landscapes and "invites visual comparison of three representations of the landscape, revealing connections between the data about the landscape as data" [Stalbaum 2006]. As in O'Hara's work, Stalbaum aspires to reveal experiences over a landscape where "data and information [are] an increasingly intimate part of the real" [Stalbaum 2006]. In both of these artist's works, there is a consciousness of patterns and activities and a desire to express these societal patterns through visual representations of time and space — composite movement images.

Figure 3a: Painters Flat 2003, *REMOTE LOCATION, 1:100,000*. **Paintings of 36 points of a 6 kilometer topographic grid.**
Figure 3b: Painters Flat 2003, *REMOTE LOCATION, 1:100,000. Output from Landscape Database representing a 6 kilometer topographic grid.*

Another subset of locative artists, who also refer to themselves as Psychogeographers, see the landscape as a performative mechanism for art that is immediately contextual. Psychogeographer Wilifried Hou Ye Bek's collaborative performance, titled *.walk* [fig. 4], creates GPS-enabled "algorithmic strolls" where participants embark on so-called 'generative walks' along city streets by following paths that shift courses depending on the collaborative exchange of data and the directional movement of participants. The performance concludes once all of the streets of a city area have been traversed through the collective efforts of participants. Hou Ye Bek's work at once draws attention to choices made and how a small shift in paths can bring about a greater change in the outcome; where people engage in walking for the sake of shifting their perspectives. Iain Mott and Jim Sosnin's early piece, titled *Soundmapping* [fig. 5], also focuses in on the performative potential of locative media where groups of people might affect a larger whole through their actions. In the case of *Soundmapping*, it is aural media rather than visual media that engages the participants whose strolls bring about public performances based on relative locations within the smaller limits of a city square. Music is created by an ensemble that rolls along suitcases equipped with sensors measuring location, tilt, and

wheel rotation. Movements of participants, along with their relative distances to each other and their landscape, create a musical composition that is transmitted via radio into their immediate environment. The artists describe *Soundmapping* as a piece that "aim[s] to assert a sense pf place, physicality and engagement to reaffirm the relationship between art and the everyday" [http://www.reverberant.com/].

Figure 4 (left): Wilifried Hou ye Bek 2006, *.WALK. Algorithmic Stroll in Enschede*
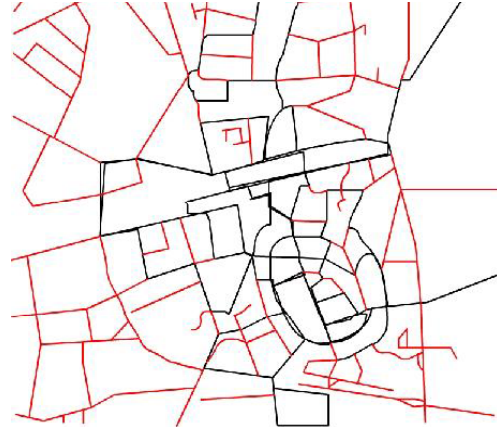
Figure 5 (right): Iain Mott and Jim Sosnin 1998, *SOUNDMAPPING*
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Locative artworks that are experiential in nature have a commonality with psychogeographic works in that they also have a causal relationship, with participants engaging their streets and finding direct outcomes through their individual and collective actions. Artists such as the Blast Theory group have created several pieces that crossover between performative art and location-based game play. Their more recent game, titled *Rider Spoke* [fig. 6], engages participants in bicycle rides through London city streets, where they find and record voice messages in allocated 'hiding places' —annotating the city with words and thoughts for others to find. An earlier project, titled *I Like Frank* [fig. 7], was a locative game through the city of Adelaide, where participants walked through the city in search of Frank and shared information with each other to find locative annotations, Frank's 'footsteps', left around the city. Again, in both of these projects by Blast Theory, there is a longing to engage the city and to convey traces of existence as well as to find other perspectives and relationships to inhabited space.
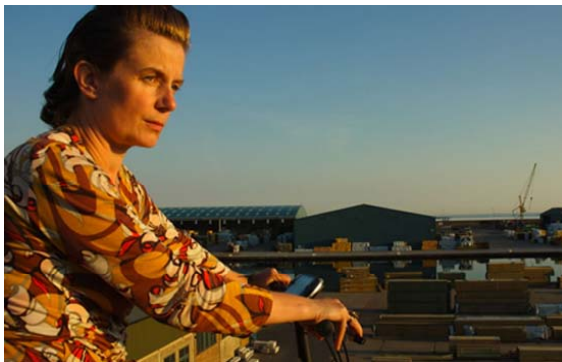
Figure 6 (left): Blast Theory 2007, *RIDER SPOKE*
Figure 7 (right): Blast Theory 2004, *I LIKE FRANK*

Filmic movement through cities has had a significant impact on our sense of how cities can be visualized, explored and documented through the power of the camera and the filmmaker. Just as Benjamin declares the revelation of the moving image as something that has: "burst this prison world asunder by the dynamite of the tenth of a second...an unconsciously penetrated space is substituted for a space consciously explored by man" where "the camera introduces us to unconscious optics as does psychoanalysis to unconscious impulses" [Benjamin 1935, p. 114], so too have locative media artists and the narratives that are sited by locative media. These narratives and so-called 'snapshots of reality' that are directly associated with places have the power to bring the dialogue of the street to view and, as they become more prevalent with the onset of burgeoning social networking and self-authoring tools, have the potential to significantly impact how we understand the social dynamics that make up our cities.

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One Week By Buster Keaton:
Envisioning Prefab Architecture in Motion

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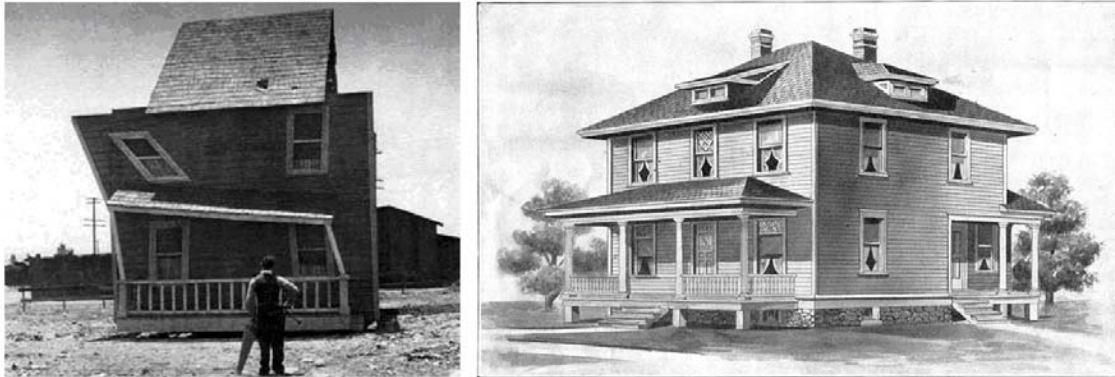
Figure 1: Keaton versus Sears Modern Home: While Sears factory was manufacturing and shipping catalogue houses like Modern Home 102 (right image); Keaton was building his 'customized version' of a similar mail-order Modern Home in the film One Week (left image). Sources: http://www.archive.org/details/OneWeek and Sears Archives, http://www.searsarchives.com/homes

Keaton's Houses: Living Systems in Motion

"Nearly every American house I've lived in has long ago been demolished to make room for some other building. There is a delicious (though painful) paradox here: Americans long for stability, but all they get is stationary impermanence. No wonder then many of us long to become permanent nomads, snails with houses on our backs, Touareg tribesmen, and Gypsies". Poet Andrei Codrescu [1]

The limits of architecture flow between what is stationary and what is in motion. What happens to architecture when the foundation is removed? To investigate this question, we should search on the origin of prefabricated houses. Manufactured parts of buildings have been made in factories for at least two centuries in America and Europe. Whole buildings – houses, hospitals, schools etc. were made in kit form and shipped to remote contexts all over the world. Beside what the architectural scene has written about the failure of prefab systems, the fact is that these constructions have succeeded. Luckily architecture is not yet art but commodity.

Nowadays proceeding on the assumption that social change and a change of residence are closely correlated, post-modern sociologists aim to gain an understanding of societal trends such as *pluralization* and *flexibility,* and thus to draw recommendations about future housing requirements. Living in motion indicates that modes of housing are becoming visibly pluralized, moving away from canonical models towards a new type of *content-design* mobility. As classic models of nuclear families erodes, new housing forms are emerging that offer new flexible ways of living.

Keaton was a visionary *architect*. As an organiser he was obsessed with the idea of capturing the Modernity of domestic life mainly by the house as a kinetic lab. In order to illustrate this let us consider some examples. *The Rough House* was Keaton's first film as a

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[1] Siegal, J. *Mobile: The Art of Portable Architecture*, Foreword by Andrei Codrescu. 2002, Princeton Architectural Press, New York, p. 10

director, a 1917 short-comedy film. Nevertheless one of his main films is *One Week*, a 1920 short-comedy film also written, directed and performed by him. The runtime is 19 minutes. Many special effects, such as the house spinning around during a storm and the train collision, were filmed as they occurred and were not model work. The story involves a couple, Keaton and Seely, who receive a build-it-yourself house as a wedding gift.

The house can supposedly be built in one week. An enemy secretly re-numbers the packing boxes containing the house parts. The movie recounts Keaton's struggle to assemble the house according to this new random arrangement. As if this weren't enough, Keaton finds he has built his house on the wrong site and has to move it. Wheels replace the original foundations and the house is moved like a caravan by car. The movie reaches its climax when the house, now a mobile system, becomes stuck on railroad tracks on which a train is coming. The house won't budge and the train hits it producing a shower of debris. Keaton stares at the scene, places a 'For Sale' sign with the heap and walks off with Seely.

At the same time Le Corbusier was carried out preliminary sketches for the Maison Citrohan; a mass-produced house [2]. The shape is basically a non-ornamental cube. Nevertheless, the reinforced concrete frame is constructed on-site and bearing walls are filled with local materials. We can deduce that this standardized prototype was a romantic idea of treating industrial fabrication. This purist object was not an invention but a traditional reproduction.

Figure 2: Maison Citrohan by Le Corbusier. Plaster model, 1920-1922. Le Corbusier's initial vision of adopting mass-production techniques never developed to what he had hoped for. Unfortunately off-site housing fabrication is still associated with the idea of automated *shoe boxes*, allocated in trailer parks or the like. Source: http://www.usc.edu/dept/architecture

Figure 3: PHS (Pallet Housing System) design patented by Dr. Suau. It shows new possibilities for flexible housing by recycling pallets shipping boards. It can be assembled or disassembled anywhere. It is a manifesto of new Nomadism. It is eco-design, which provides alternatives for those who have disposable income but not enough capital to enter the standard housing market. It has expandable and contractible spaces within simple frameworks, according to standard climatic contexts. Sources: Cristian Suau's private collection & http://www.flexiblehouse.org

Nonetheless, how can we define the house we are confronted with in Buston Keaton's *One Week*? By investigating several of Keaton's silent films and comparing them with the housing production in US in this time, we are able to obtain some remarkable answers.

Firstly, the house of *One Week* is similar in shape and sizing to the Sears Modern Home, prototype 102, which was published in the 1920's Catalogue called *Honor Bilt, Modern Home*. The film's script is structured according to the *Catalog Modern House*'s

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[2] The French term Maisons en Séries use by Le Corbusier does not imply the Anglo-Saxon notion of factory or off-site production. It is an even definition of industrial fabrication, which can tolerate on-site fabrication and components.

framework: mailing, shipping, delivering and rapid-building. Secondly, the film critic Malcolm H. Oettinger, in his essay called *Low Comedy as a High Art* (1923) [3] explained *One Week*'s house, saying that *"(…) Buster has ordered a Sears-Roebuck [4] bungalow for his bride-to-be. The wicked rival mixes the numerals on the various parts, and the comedy ensues when Buster attempts to assemble the jazzed sections"*.

The One Week housing model as collapsible design is classified according to their uses or capabilities: *Transporting; adaptation; combination; assembling and disassembling process; folding/unfolding; and carrying*. Therefore, the *One Week*'s house is a complete organism. Its initial generic housing pattern is modified, by altering the sequence of packing boxes containing the house parts. The *One Week*'s house is a sort of customised variation of the so-called *Catalog Modern House,* a prefab dwelling manufactured and shipped by Sears, Roebuck and Co.

Figure 4: Serial of *One Week* (1920) by B. Keaton. Source: http://www.archive.org/details/OneWeek

Modern Conveniences and Appliances: Towards Customised Prefab

If *One Week* was an investigation of the Sears Modern Home as a collapsible and mobile hardware, *The Haunted House* (1921) and *The Electric House*[5] (1922) were focused on mechanical appliances, simply innovative domestic devices, providing a great deal of comic business for Keaton. *The Electric House* represents a visionary conceptualisation of the house

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[3] Oettinger, M. *Low Comedy as a High Art* (1923) Picture-Play Magazine. Source: accessed in 02/02/2008 http://www.geocities.com/~oldbrit/bkppint2.htm

[4] *Sears Catalogue Homes.* People had learned to trust Sears for other products bought mail-order, and thus, sight unseen. This laid important groundwork for supplying a home, possibly the largest single purchase a typical family would ever make. In 1908, the company began offering entire houses as kits, marketed as Sears Modern Homes, and by the time the program ended in 1940, over 100,000 had been sold. Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sears,_Roebuck_and_Company#Sears_catalog_homes

[5] *The Electric House* (1922). Director: Buster Keaton. Cast: Buster Keaton; Joe Roberts; Virginia Fox; Joe Keaton; Myra Keaton; and Louise Keaton. Originally this film started shooting in 1921, but an accident on the set forced all the previously shot footage to be abandoned and the film entirely reshot on a newly designed set in 1922. The Electric House starts with Buster's graduation ceremony as the first of his comic misfortunes, including a mix-up of diplomas so Buster receives a diploma in electrical engineering. This leads to a job opportunity: electrifying the family house of the girl he's sweet on. A great chance, so Buster studies hard and soon installs a useful and impressive set of electric appliances.

as a plug-in system, which performs as a sort of *software*. The idea of electrical innovation was naturally in the forefront of people's minds in the early years of the 20th century. The film goal was to keep the existing house framework and only electrify everything in the professor's house, both furniture and devices. They consisted of an escalator type stairway, which could be reversed; one idea that later became practical in department stores in the form of the escalator. Here Keaton brings this device into domestic life.

In addition, the pool table, which racks its own balls, has become available to us. Conveyer belts are in evidence along with electric trains for bringing food and dishes to the dining table. Buster Keaton, of course, adds the enthusiasm to this Scandinavian *smorgasbord* of comedy delights. The set comprises of a house interior in which everything had been mechanized, including the stairs. Keaton used his own house, the *'Italian Villa'* for the exterior scenes of the dean's house. The family is ready packed for their vacation, and they leave Buster alone to work on the house. Buster sits on the front steps reading the book: *'Electricity Made Easy'*.

What is surprising in this film is to observe how inventive new devices can rejuvenate a traditional house. The appliances are the following:

1. Mechanical escalator.

2. Book selector. An open faced, book sized box, travels along behind the books, selects the required one and then delivers it to you on a long pole.

3. Foldable bed, mechanical doors and mobile bath. Foldable walls have already been used in *One Week* and the bathroom is also in the upper floor. The bath travels out of the en suite bathroom along a track and stops next to the bed. The bed folds up into the wall at the touch of a push button; the doors too open and shut when a button is pressed.

4. Swimming pool fast-empty mechanism.
Buster is showing the control system to the dean. Suddenly the escalator speeds up with Buster and the dean on it, sending the dean across the landing, out the window at the top and out into the swimming pool, Keaton jumped clear just in time. He is concerned for the dean, and tries running down the ascending escalator, he gives up and slides down the banisters instead. After he helps the dean out, he demonstrates the pool's rapid emptying and filling abilities controlled with, what appears to be, a railway signal lever.

5. The automatic pool table and drinks cabinet
After returning to the library, Keaton demonstrates the automatic pool table. The balls go along the floor, up the wall and into a storage rack. When ready for a game, press a button and the triangle is lowered and the balls run down into it. The dean asks Buster if he would like a game. Buster, obviously has no idea how to play, but says yes anyway. They get thirsty, so Buster presses yet another button and the drink cabinet rises from the floor. The next stage is the dining room.

6. Dining table as railway track
The dining table has a circular railway track in the middle, in the centre of that is a small revolving tray with the condiments on it. A drawer bridge lowers from the wall, revealing the kitchen behind, along the track come a toy train pulling low wagons loaded with soup bowls. When the soup is finished the bowls are replaced on the train and returned to the kitchen.

7. Dish conveyor belt

They are put on a conveyor belt towards the kitchen; they travel along to a dishwasher, are washed and return along another conveyor belt to the cupboards ready for putting away.

Figure 5: Serial of The *Electric House* (1922) by B. Keaton. Source: http://www.archive.org/ details/TheElectricHouse

Such as Keaton shows in *The Electric House*, Sears introduced the latest technology available to modern US dwellers in the early part of the twentieth century. Central heating[6], indoor plumbing, and electricity were all new developments in home design that Modern Homes incorporated, although not all of the homes were designed with these conveniences. Indoor plumbing and homes wired for electricity were the first steps to modern kitchens and bathrooms. Sears Modern Homes program stayed abreast of any technology that could ease the lives of its homebuyers and gave them the option to design their homes with modern convenience in mind.

In *The Electric House*, all new appliances fail. Nevertheless, in Keaton's comedy, the accident is the generator of inventions and each thoroughly envisions new needs in the Modern domestic life. Technology is also comedy.

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[6] Central heating not only improved the livability of homes with little insulation but it also improved fire safety, always a worry in an era where open flames threatened houses and whole cities, in the case of the Chicago Fire. Source: accessed in 04.02.2008, http://www.searsarchives.com/homes
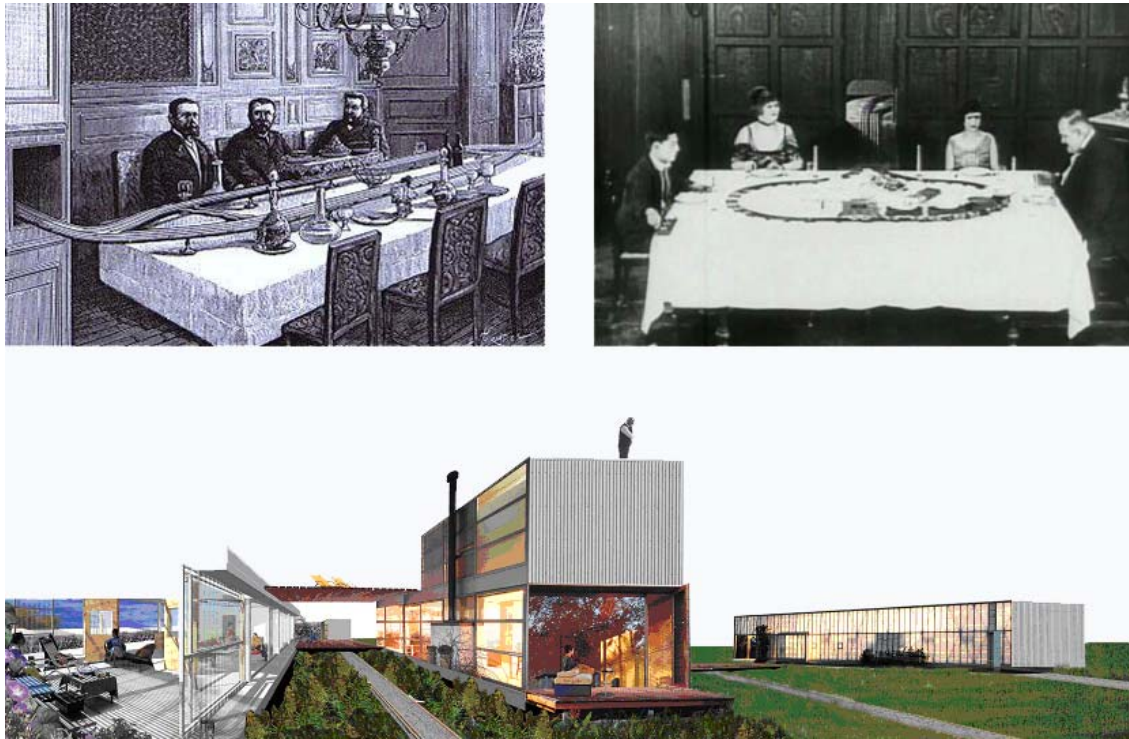
Figure 6: Comparative images: Learning from a Railway. Above right, the electric table (*Le Chemin de Fer de Table*) by Gaston Menier, 1887. Above left, Dining table as railway track in *The Electrical House* by Keaton (1922). Below, Railtown, Europan 8, Norway. Runner-up prize, 2006. Authors: Suau, Markuerkiaga and Zappulla. The *Railway Dwellings* are an elastic self-ruling entity in motion. It is organized as a cluster and performs as a sponge or hearth, and its porosity and sizes vary according to the breathing's rhythm. Car park areas are set up along the internal road and through the cluster's ramifications. Source: Cristian Suau's private collection

Sears Mail-order Homes: Standardization and the Do-It-Yourself

Purchasing a house from a mail-order catalogue seems like a fantastic story made for comedy value but in fact it was a pioneered practice in the US in the 20's. The entire process consisted of the following sequence: *catalog* or pattern book design; mailing order; pre-cut timber fabrication (balloon frame); and shipping and delivery by rail, typically in two boxcars each. The Sears' prefab house has been chosen as a drive for discussion to a certain extent because it is a current topic of critique but also due to it the fact that it challenges the reductive notion of what architecture should be. According to Sears' archives, *"from 1908–1940, Sears, Roebuck and Co. sold about 70,000 - 75,000 homes through their mail-order Modern Homes program. Over that time Sears designed 447 different housing styles"[7]*. To buy a house in kit form saved about 40% of labour cost; quality custom design and favourable financing; and provided accuracy and efficiency of the machine-cutting timber. Apart from this, customers could choose a house to suit their individual tastes and budgets. Modern Home's customers had the choice to build their own dwellings. All these features are exaggerated but still remain in *One Week*, creating a random pattern based on the mixed-up sequence of parts.

Sears was not an innovative home designer. According to Colin Davies, *"Sears Roebuck never claimed to make any contribution to the progress of Modern Architecture"[8]*. The company was instead a follower of non-architect home designs, generic rather than

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[7] Nevertheless, no official tally exists of the number of Sears mail-order houses that still survive today. It is reported that more than 100,000 houses were sold between 1908 and 1940 through Sears's Modern Homes program. The keen interest evoked in current homebuyers, architectural historians, and enthusiasts of American culture indicate that thousands of these houses survive in varying degrees of condition and original appearance. Source: accessed in 04.02.2008, http://www.searsarchives.com/homes

[8] Davies, C. *The Prefabricated Home*, 2005, London, Reaktion Book Ltd., p.53

monumental; but with the ingenious advantage of modifying and adaptable houses, both hardware and software, according to buyer's way of living [9].

Patching Balloon Frames

Sears was rather than a frame-maker a patch-maker. Instead of introduced a new physical framework or an innovator in home design or construction techniques; he was producing a conceptual system where the 'patches'[10] can be fabricated in any order and assembled together in any number of permutations. In the manufacturing sector, the components are the patches. However, Sears designs did offer distinct advantages over other construction methods.

The ability to mass-produce the materials used in Sears homes narrowed manufacturing costs, which lowered purchase costs for customers. Not only did precut and fitted materials shrink construction time up to 40% but Sears's use of balloon framing, plasterboard, and shingles greatly eased fabrication for home-buyers:

A. Chassis. Essentially a balloon frame[11] is a wall and flooring modular system. Foundations and roofs vary in sizes. This system uses precut standard timber for framing. The walls are formed by vertical studs (50mm times 100mm) in cross section, spaced at 400mm in apart and nailed to horizontal plates top and bottom. In a two-storey house, the studs extend over the entire height, with a ribbon let into them on the inside, to bear the joists or beams of the upper floor. When the framing is completed, it is covered with siding, traditionally of overlapping timber clapboards nailed to the studs. The Balloon Frame systems did not require skilled carpenters, as previous constructive methods. Sears' balloon frames were built faster and generally only required one carpenter. Precut timber, fitted pieces, including the nails, and shipped by railroad directly to the customer made popular this frame-kit.

B. Plasterboard. Before drywall (US term for plasterboard), the most common wall-building techniques were plaster and lathe. Sears housing fabrication took advantage of the new material called drywall by shipping large quantities of this inexpensively manufactured product with the rest of the housing components. Drywall offered advantages of low price, ease of installation, and was added fire-safety protection.

C. Shingles. According to the Sears archives: *"It was during the Modern Homes program that large quantities of asphalt shingles became available. The alternative roofing materials available included, among others, tin and wood. Tin was noisy during storms, looked unattractive, and required a skilled roofer, while wood was highly flammable. Asphalt shingles, however, were cheap to manufacture and ship, as well as easy and inexpensive to install"*. Asphalt is also a fireproof material.

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[9] Individuals could even design their own homes and submit the blueprints to Sears, which would then ship off the appropriate precut and fitted materials, putting the home owner in full creative control. Source: accessed in 04.02.2008, http://www.searsarchives.com/homes
[10] Framing is a system where several parts are aggregated into a whole. Patching it is a non-linear system. It consists of elements that are made in different locations and then assembled to form the whole. It is based on less segregation and ore integration.
[11] Balloon frame was invented in 1833 in Chicago, US.

Figure 7. The Sears Modern Home: Catalogue, Type and Framing. Sears Archives, http://www.searsarchives.com/homes

Finale: Fabrication Out of Control

Process sets the stage for the outcome [12].

Beyond this synopsis, what are the Keaton houses? They are simple mistakes, ungovernable places. Nevertheless, Keaton's housing design introduces three features: *flexible plan, advances in construction technology and the role of the individual in the design process*. His houses capture the random daily activities in domestic scales and mostly ruled by fortuitous circumstances. In terms of forms, they are extreme dwellings, treated in a radical and on-the-edge way. Through Keaton houses, modular fabrication is not longer a result of mass production, repetition, and uniformity.
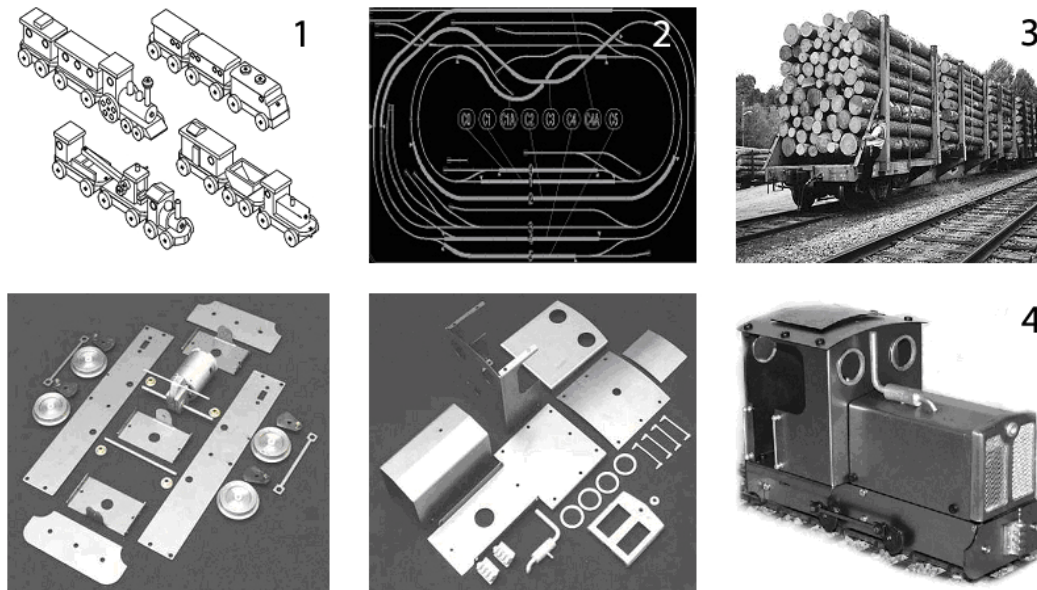

Figure 8: Fabrication of the Keaton's House: 1. House as a game; 2. House as organism; 3. House as movable system; and 4. House an easy-to-make kit. Source: Cristian Suau's private collection

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[12] Kieran, S. & Timberlake, J. *Refabricating Architecture*, 2004, New York, RR Donnelley. p. 107

The Keaton's films envision the idea of mass customization as a hybrid system. They conceived new process to build using manufacturing/automated production but with the ability to differentiate and personalised spaces and appliances for those that are generically fabricated.

In opposition to traditional aesthetic of the Modern Avant-garde, the Keaton's houses are always *machines for failure*. In a classical sense, only the accident generates the invention.

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Films of Towns

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Before the invention of cinema a large number of devices established a cultural tradition of urban depiction spanning from engravings and maps to paintings and photography. With cinematography a new vision emerged for it allowed a space-time manipulation of the city that was absent in previous representations of urbanism and architecture. Editing, slow motion and aerial views introduced us to a non-linear spatiality and temporality that reinvented our perception and our mental system of representation of the urban landscape. Cinema reflects the urban condition through a multiplicity of observation points, building a powerful and identifiable visual language. It provides an analytical look on the spatiality of the city thus becoming an instrument of knowledge of the urban tissue.

Travelling around the world

From the 16th century on the atlases or books of towns were common throughout Europe. Those were collections of city engravings like Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, one of the most important editions from the early days of modern cartography and topographical illustration. Georg Braun, the editor, and Frans Hogenberg, the engraver, worked for over twenty years to produce the first systematic depiction of city views. The engravings relied mainly on existing maps but also on drawings made by the Antwerp artist Joris Hoefnagel (1542-1601), who had travelled through most of Western Europe. This impressive production, issued in six volumes from 1572 to 1617, was designed to complement Abraham Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, the first modern atlas. These two atlases were a response to a new interest in the nature of the world by the Western European population. This emerging interest was spurred both by the existence of a growing middle class and the relatively new general availability of printed books. The idea of joining in same volume different images of cities also implied a hegemonic vision of the world that can be linked to the discoveries and the expansion that followed it, justifying the dominant position of Europe in the frontispieces of those editions.

Figure 1. *Civitates Orbis Terrarum,* **Braun & Hogenberg, Cologne, 1572.**
Figure 2. Lisbon, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum,* **Braun & Hogenberg, Vol.I, Cologne, 1572**

In *books of towns* cities were as concrete as they were abstract for their representations were frequently the result of copies or done by descriptions. With their sense of totality these collections of urban images became visual systems that generated a new idea of city, creating the

desire for visiting popular places like capitals or great monuments. But in those times travelling was the privilege of a wealthy elite willing to learn from wandering through the main cities of Europe. With this cultural background it comes as no surprise that the contents of most of the devices that led to the invention of the cinematograph had urban motifs as one of the main themes. Before its invention people knew about places by personally visiting them or by visual representations and story telling. They had partial visions of those places through painting, engraving and later photography. But unless they had seen the place with their own eyes it was imagination that provided most of the images. Everyone was eager to see the mythical places of collective imagination – the Venice Canals, Egipt's Pyramids, all the big cities that could not be known by those who could not travel.

From *camera oscura* to panoramas

In 1955 Henri Langlois, the mythic director of the French Cinemathèque, organized an exhibition entitled "300 years of cinematography – 60 years of cinema". This was not just a line to cause the perplexity of visitors. As he himself explained the Grand Café projections by the Lumière Brothers on the 28th of December 1895 only marked the beginning of the commercial use of an invention that could be dated from much earlier. According to Langlois (1955) *(…)* *"from the dawn of times men played with shadows, with animated drawings, waiting for the cinematographic image."* The term pre-cinema was casted by Pierre Francastel when he questioned whether "*there wasn't already in a very far past a pre-filmic attitude. With people using totally different material forms of expression that didn't allow ancient men to express themselves in the way cinema allows us today, wasn't there a certain kind of desire to organize the images that pass through our eyes in a way resembling film?*" (Francastel 1955) In the quest for the origins of cinema we can go as far back as the Chinese shadows or the Cave Allegory. To be considered as being in the origins of cinematography an object must necessarily have a quality that still exists in cinema. These objects can be perspective and optic treatises, shadows and silhouettes devices, mirrors and optical views, camera oscura and magic lanterns, dioramas and panoramas.

The **camera oscura** is a compartment or a box, where light breaks through a lens. Artists used it as a drawing auxiliary becoming a useful and efficient means of projecting reality in scientific practice as well as in pictorial research and artistic representation. Its principle was known from Euclides but by the 15th century its extraordinary power to reproduce our surroundings was enhanced. Leonardo referred to it in a famous quotation that paralleled the camera oscura to the eye, describing *spezie delli obbieti alluminati* that make way *per alcuno spiraculo rotondo in abitazione forte escura.* In 1447 Alberti made a discovery to represent landscapes and diminish or enhance figures by means of a useful instrument to art that might well have been a camera oscura. But to get to the cinematograph some intermediate stages were necessary which denoted not just the desire for movement but also a different notion of display.

For some it was an image included in the second edition of *Ars Magna Lucis et Umbrae* by Athanasius Kircher in 1671 that became the starting point of cinematography. The device depicted was actually a simple machine, the **magic lantern**, a small box fitted with artificial light, a concave mirror and a system of lens that allowed the projection of amplified images of painted glasses into a white surface. The success of this new entertainment device derived from its real effect as naïve and simplistic it might be. (Campagnoni 1996: 88)The magic lantern was one of the most popular shows until the end of the 18th century. By that time the fashion of Chinese Shadows emerged in Europe brought by explorers from its origins where one can find references to this kind of show as early as in the 11th century.

The **optical views** created in the first decades of the 18th century used engravings seen in a specific optical device that the French called *l'optique*. This apparatus, which in its simpler

version comprised a fixed lens and a mirror, was used to enhance the image's perspectic effect and to bring the viewer inside. Editors from London, Paris, Augsburg and Bassano produced entire series of views to be seen exclusively through the optical device. Large circulation along with the recycling of images from different origins made these engravings very popular. In order to reach a vaster audience language was simple and immediate – the deformation of perspective was exaggerated, some less important details were suppressed and strong contrasting colouring was used. Hundreds of views of the most important European capitals were produced by this time.

Figure 3. La lanterna magica, Bartolomeo Pinelli, Roma, 1815.

While optical views depicted reality with some objectivity, even if sometimes with exaggerated vigour or fantasy, the **theatrical diorama** interpreted and reinvented reality itself. Although preserving the mirror/lens binomial the structure of optical boxes for the theatrical dioramas required the presence of a sequence of engravings inserted in different plans. These engravings were illuminated through a sliding door covered in fabric or paper. A single impresser monopolized the theatrical dioramas market – Martin Engelbrecht from Augsburg, active between 1717 and 1756. Themes varied from urban and war scenes, military camps, earthquakes, the four season's agricultural activities, Carnival ballrooms, hunting, etc. (Milano 1996: 96)

In 1789 *Mr. Barker's interesting and novel view of the city and castle of Edinburgh,* a **panorama** in 360º view that could be enjoyed by a viewer in the center of a cylinder with huge walled canvas, premièred in London. Although it cannot be regarded as a revolutionary date in the history of vision and representation this event marked the beginning of a new form of exhibition that influenced collective screening habits. This new form of entertainment enjoyed a remarkable success throughout the 19th century. In 1793 Barker launched the Panorama's Rotunda in Leicester Square in London, the first of several distinctive buildings located in gardens, theme parks and Exposition sites. In Panoramas city views prevailed but natural landscapes and battle fields were also depicted. Panorama reached its maximum splendour between 1800 and 1830 and enjoyed a revival period in the last quarter of the century to finally be replaced by the cinematographic show in its multiple initial versions.

Under the same principle **Moving Panoramas** appeared. The illusion of travel was suggested by unfolding a long canvas in front of windows. One of the most popular shows was a train trip through the Siberian veldt, but main streets like Regent Street in London, Unter der Linden in Berlin, the Boulevards in Paris, or the Nevski Perspective in San Petersburg, all saw their length compressed in these limited cylinder spaces. One of the most popular shows was the

360º city views as seen from the top of famous buildings. **Seaoramas**, on the other hand, generated the illusion of being inside a boat, its waving movement outlining coast views and river landscapes.

In 1882 the French painter Louis Daguerre created a different kind of **dioramas** where the illusion of reality and the establishment of a particular ambience were more important than the exactness of the scenes they depicted. In order to make the picture complete sound effects, motion and three-dimensional objects were added. These dioramas involved a theatrical production that was implicit in the chosen sequence of the different scenes, a narrative value that clearly brings them closer to cinema.

As seen cinematography had all its theoretical principles well established at least since the 16th century and in that perspective Lumière's cinematograph invention in 1895 was just a technical development. In fact we can lose track trying to trace the origin of animated shadows, the magic of the moving image.

The Lumière City

With its universal language cinema was able to capture the different urban elements. Born from urban and industrial technique the Lumière's cinematograph turned deliberately to the street filming its diversity and showing the viewer his habitat - the city. At the beginning of its history cinema configured itself as an instrument of documentation and a witness of reality. French or foreign, metropolis or simple agglomerates, cities never ceased to show their diversity and simultaneously their omnipresence. People and cars moving in an orderly and haussmanian architecture was the main theme of the first movies depicting the stage of development of western society. The first viewers particularly enjoyed street scenes, fascinated by the realness of urban vibrancy in which they recognized themselves. In a train, a boat or a gondola the camera captured long travellings depicting urban landscapes. Paradoxically it was not architecture itself that interested the earliest filmmakers. (Gardies 1995: 13) Apart some unavoidable monuments buildings were not the object of particular attention for they are not particularly kinetic and in those early years focus was all on movement. By wandering through the busy streets of city centres and promenades like *flaneurs* these filmmakers incidentally and selectively reproduced various views of different subjects and urban motifs. In a civilization dominated by urban space movement was above all evident in crowds – workers leaving a factory, people gathered and passing by Les Champs-Elysées, trains arriving at stations. From the moment of its birth, cinema showed city crowds, street attractions and urban traffic. The first film shows were primarily "big city" affairs and were experienced under the spirit of wonder and awe. By watching a simple image of a train speeding into the camera people were scared enough to close their eyes and turn their heads sideways.

"Living pictures" is the most appropriate expression for these 1 to 2 minutes length films. They simply add movement to photography in a quest for reality that we can find in thousands of analogous works by Edison, Paul, Skaladanowski, Friese-Greene and Notari. This documentary style developed steadily and was firmly established by pioneering cinematographers by the 1900s, which produced both a relatively correct, accurate record of the current architecture and urban development. Certainly one of the major reasons why pioneering filmmakers were so fascinated by metropolitan motifs, motion and development was the fact that cinematography could depict urban reality scientifically as visual evidence. Early examples of film were received, like photography, as true-to-life documents and therefore as scientific proof of something that most people could only imagine. They showed without much attempt at rhetoric or aesthetics that the incorruptible camera-eye was a reliable tool that made the magical appear in the seemingly bland and banal of everyday places and situations. (Weihsmann 1997: 9)

The same use of urban space has appeared in early Portuguese films. Essential reference in the history of Portuguese cinema is the date of 18th June 1896. That was the night in which the first cinema projection in Portugal took place, at the Royal Coliseum of Lisbon. On the 17th July 1896, a month after the capital's first show, and only six months after the world's premiere in Paris, the new invention arrived to Oporto's Royal Prince Theatre. To that seminal session attended Aurélio da Paz dos Reis (1862-1931) who went to Paris the following month to bring the patent of the *quinetograph* - probably a Bedts device as the Lumière Brothers refused to sell him their invent. On the 8th of September he recorded on film "Fireman Manoeuvres" the oldest know movie made by a Portuguese. Paz dos Reis's main occupation was floriculture and he own a store in the city's main square. No one knows for sure when or why he became interested in photography and then cinematography but the fact remains that there are thirty three films of his authorship inventoried by the Portuguese Cinemathèque. (Costa 1991: 8) *Workers Leaving Confiança Factory, Cattle Fair in Corujeira* and *The Garden* are some titles of his films that premiered in a famous session in November 1896 in Oporto.

Figure 4. Aurélio da Paz dos Reis
Figure 5 - *A Saída do Pessoal Operário da Fábrica Confiança*, **Aurélio da Paz dos Reis, 1896**

But before Aurélio da Paz dos Reis other animated images were produced in Portugal. The oldest preserved were captured by Robert William Paul's cameraman Harry Short, who joined Edwin Rousby in Lisbon. Rousby was the man behind the first cinematograph session in June 1896 at the Royal Coliseum. The press identified Rousby as an Hungarian electrician but he was probably neither. The name is certainly not Hungarian and electrician was the common designation for those who handled lights and shadows – the "live photography" machines. It is noteworthy that in 1896 Lisbon's public lighting was provided by gas (electricity only arrived in 1904) fact that gave a special aura to the handlers of such a marvellous invention. Rousby started by showing some Edison's movies and probably some of Lumière's as they made some printouts that fitted Paul's teatrograph (Costa 1991: 9). Animated by the colossal success of his 1896 summer shows all over the country Rousby was determined to include some Portuguese pictures in his set. That was the reason of Harry Short's coming to Lisbon. On the 28th September the movies *Boca do Inferno, Algés Beach Bathing, Fish Market in Ribeira Nova, The Town Hall Square, Bullfight in Campo Pequeno* were exhibited. The presence of the King's brother Infante D. Afonso attested to the prestige that these projections attained in the Portugal of the turn of the century. Portuguese movies travelled around the world and were staged for the first time outside of Portugal on the 22nd October, 1896 at the London's Alhambra in a fourteen films set entitled "Tour in Spain and Portugal".

Figure 6. *Feira de Gado na Corujeira*, **Aurélio da Paz dos Reis, 1896**

Conclusion

The city in early films was a symbol of human genius, the mark of the *homo faber* and his inventive capacity, the mark of the western civilization's power and evolution. The city was ideal to depict that evolution through monuments, different architectural styles, well proportioned and animated squares, vast avenues crowded with people and cars. The western city was the symbol of modernity, the result of industrial revolution and colonial expansion. More than anything else urban architecture had a civilizational value for those who believed in technological progress. From a semi-deserted periphery filmed in a block near Lumière's factory to the heart of the city in Potsdamer Platz in Berlin or Piccadilly Circus in London, passing by some inevitable travelling spots like the Place de la Concorde or the Broadway, the multiple faces of the city were explored in early movies. In fact from the beginning of its history cinema was a way of travelling around the world. Cinema, stemming from visual, theatrical and literary roots, logically continued this tradition of 'story telling' through spatial walks on the built environment and on the public spaces of cities. Like urban archaeologists, the first filmmakers came closest to the 'reality' of urban chroniclers, engravers and photographers, by depicting the hidden yet omnipresent and commonplace character of everyday existence in public places as the images of those places became an indelible part of our memory.

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'A Journey for Body and Mind'? – The Urban Dreams of Modernism in Matthias Müller's shortfilm *Vacancy* and in 21st-Century Car Commercials

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Imaginary cities

The city is built of white concrete and glass, its bridges are cast in gleaming steel and its multi-lane highways are covered in smooth grey tarmac. It is a city of dreams, of light and air and clear blue water. A city that can only exist in the fantastic world of Calvino's imaginary cities… until a single car moves noiselessly through its spacious streets and places it firmly within the realm of the car commercial. As the car drives past buildings and bridges the city's shapes and patterns are reflected in its sculpted bodywork – a high-tech harmony where driving is 'a journey for body and mind' as we are told by a seductive female voice (Toyota, 2004). The city of this type of car commercial is always a virtual city. Even when the commercial is shot in an actual location, the city appears as artificial as an architectural model. It promotes a dream of high-tech living in a city without inhabitants, where every angle breathes perfection and every building is in total harmony with its surroundings, pristine and undisturbed by human presence. Often the only figure of identification is the car, in which we can imagine ourselves and through which we may become part of the dreamscape of the perfect city.

Change of film. We are in another city, a real city. This city, too, is built of white concrete and glass, with bridges cast in gleaming steel and multi-lane highways clad in smooth grey tarmac. It, too, is a city of dreams, of light and air and clear blue water. The city is Brasília in the early 1960s. However, the city that appears in these bright clean scenes is as unreal as Toyota's dream-city and soon it is replaced by bleaker scenes from the late 1990s. Both visions of the city form part of Matthias Müller's film 'Vacancy' (1998), which merges amateur footage and feature films shot in Brasília in the early sixties with the artist's personal exploration of the legacy of Modernism in the city's largely abandoned centre[1] in the late 1990s. 'Vacancy' examines the discrepancies between ideology and reality by juxtaposing the perfect images of the new city with scenes shot forty years later. Rather than a documentary the film is a sentimental journey where the blithe optimism of the space-age has turned into nostalgia and a strangely lyrical sense of desolation. Seen through Müller's camera, the Brasília of 1998 appears no more real than the Brasília of 1960. Like the city of the car commercial, it is wholly imaginary – a utopia, a non-place.

Katherine Shonfield (2000) suggests that architecture exists tangibly in the perception of the beholder rather than as a pristine impervious whole. She argues that hence cities can be accessed and explored as much through fiction as through architectural history. In the case of Brasília, Richard Williams claims that architectural historians are as prone to fictionalise as novelists or poets. (2007: 321) I, too, will approach Brasília through fiction – the fiction of Müller's 'Vacancy' and the virtuality of 'Lexus-city', but also the fiction of Lúcio Costa's

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[1] Though the pilot plan of Brasília had been conceived for a population of 500,000 only 198,422 people lived there at the time of the latest census in 2000 with more and more people moving to the satellite towns around the capital, which are constantly growing. The largest of these, Ceilândia, already has 150,000 inhabitants more than Brasília and Taguatinga, which tops the capitol by some 50,000 inhabitants is already referred to as real centre of the Federal District. (Williams, 339)

pilot plan, which, I will argue, is based on an urban layout that does not only facilitate but almost demand a cinematic and hence quasi-fictional perception of the city.

A city built for the age of the motor-car

Costa's pilot plan was heavily influenced by Le Corbusier and the Congrés Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM). James Holston argues that Brasília is 'the most complete example ever constructed of the architectural and planning tenets put forward in CIAM manifestos.' (1989: 31) The parallels between Le Corbusier's 'Contemporary City for Three Million Inhabitants' (1922) and the Pilot Plan are undeniable (Fig.1 & 2). Though Costa refrained from Corbusier's monumental skyscrapers in favour of low-rises of an average height of five to six stories, Brasília, like the Contemporary City, has a varied skyline of higher and lower buildings, which are each surrounded by ample space and parkland. Further, the city's layout with its different sections for entertainment, living, working, shopping etc. conforms to CIAM's Athens Charter from 1933.

Fig.1 Le Corbusier, perspective of *A Contemporary City for Three Million Inhabitants***, 1922**

Fig. 2 Brasília: the Monumental Axis leading towards the National Congress (2007)

The most striking parallel between the Contemporary City and Brasília is undoubtedly the prominence of the urban highway, which answers Le Corbusier's demand for a radical shift in urban planning which would meet the needs and standards of the age of the motorcar. He denied the traditional street as a vital site of social interaction for urban life and saw the narrow alleyways of the naturally grown city as the source of slovenliness, inefficiency, vice and disease. The new city with its wide straight avenues and large open spaces would not only enable its future inhabitants to live in harmony with each other and with nature but it would also transform them into healthy, honest, proud and efficient citizens. (Le Corbusier 1998: 242f.) The city built for (the age of) the motor-car would by dynamic, progressive and democratic.

Before we look at Brasília's infrastructure and Müller's vision of the city, let us enjoy the pure celebration of the flow of traffic and the aesthetics of form and function in Toyota's dream-city. This, too, is a version of the Contemporary City, albeit not for three million inhabitants but rather for one car and its driver. The camera following the car fuses images of seemingly opposing quality into an overall sensation of 'clear and radiant harmony' (Le Corbusier, 1998: 242) as though it wanted to illustrate Le Corbusier's dictum that 'architecture is able to […] harmonize simple elements with complex ones and small with great, to blend the forcible with the graceful.' (237) Buildings blend into each other, the shape of a traffic light is mirrored by the windows of an office block, the grid pattern of a skyscraper is reflected in the railings of a bridge. Constructed according to the Modernist ideal of the straight line and the purity of form, the city is opposed to the organic fluidity of the water that surrounds it and reflects Corbusier's recognition that nature is essential to humanise the rigidity of the Modernist urban environment. (237) In a clever twist, the car

appears as arbitrator between nature and city. As it drives past its buildings, the city becomes liquid and the water no longer reflects its skyline but instead trees and woodland (Fig. 3).

But of course this city is built exclusively for cars. The only human is the driver, whose happy features we glimpse briefly. In fact, the perfect harmony can only be experienced through the windscreen of the Lexus. Lexus-city reflects Le Corbusier's concepts but reduces the Contemporary City to a wholly aesthetic experience. It can do so because it was never meant to be perceived as more than a dream. After all, it was created for the sole enjoyment of the Lexus-driver (and the audience in front of their TVs) who can only participate in this city from behind the windscreen (TV screen).

Figure 3: Still from French commercial for Toyota Lexus GS (2004)

Brasília's spacious infrastructure and its horizontal spread caused Hannah Baldock to suggest a similar problematic for the Brazilian capital when she says that the city was made for a 'race of hyper-intelligent Volkswagens' (2003 n.p.). In 'Vacancy', the bright scenes of inauguration day are juxtaposed with Müller's pensive voiceover, which calls the city 'a place not for now but for the future, a model city for a man anticipated and to be born.' Later, scenes from 1998 are cut in between the perfect shots of 1960, accompanied by the narrator's voice:

> That night I dreamed the city was emptied of people again, abandoned before it was inhabited. […] Streets join in a kiss. Seeking others of their own kind, they lead nowhere. (Müller)

Figure 4: Still from Müller, 'Vacancy' (1998), courtesy of the artist

Whereas the scenes from the 1960s show a thriving city full of cars and people, the 1990s material is dominated by an overpowering emptiness. Progress seems to have reversed. There are no cars on the streets, only a solitary man on a fully packed horse cart leaving the city. Filmed in close-up so that the red dust on their surface is magnified, empty streets blend into each other, overlap and disappear. In a wide-angle pan we see a few people, small and lost like ants futilely trying to clean a dust-covered wall along an abandoned highway (Fig 4).

Even in the 1960s footage people are often dwarfed by the monumental buildings. Like the Lexus-driver they seem only able to become a harmonic part of the city when they are behind the wheel of a car. Particularly one scene from the 1960s resembles Toyota's 'journey for body and mind': it begins with the camera filming through the windscreen of a white Chevrolet driving along the Monumental Axis. When the car approaches the Alvorada Palace the camera position switches to a point behind the car so that the viewer can appreciate the doubling of the white arches of the Palace in the tailfins of the car.

A look at the pilot plan suggests that people are not imagined as pedestrians but as motorised citizens. Brasília's arteries and access roads, its ring road, avenues and surrounding

highway system have been carefully planned to allow sweeping vistas of the cityscape and monumental views of its iconic buildings. Here is Costa's description of the bus station:

> One-way traffic forces the buses to make a detour on leaving […]; this gives the travellers their last view of the monumental radial artery before the bus enters the residential radial artery, and is a psychologically satisfactory way of saying farewell to the national Capital. (400)

Framed in the bus window the city becomes a postcard, a souvenir for the traveller to take on their journey. Indeed, it appears as though the city was built to be experienced exclusively through the windscreen of a car.

> Having run the length of the city's monumental axis, it can be seen that the fluency and unity of the layout from the Government Plaza at one end to the Municipal Plaza at the other does not preclude variety, and that each sector forms what we might call an autonomous plastic unit within the whole. This autonomy creates spaciousness on a noble scale, and permits the appreciation of each unit's individual qualities without adversely affecting their harmonious integration in the urban whole. (400)

The urban whole however, can never be experienced from the perspective of the pedestrian who would be lost on the vast expanses between Government Plaza and Municipal Plaza. Car ownership is understood as the norm and driving as prerequisite for the urban dweller of the Modernist city, whether this is Corbusier's Contemporary City or Costa's pilot plan. And if we are to believe James Holston's cinematic description from 1989, then seeing Brasília through the windscreen of the car is indeed spectacular:

> As one travels across the desolate plateau toward the city, the landscape abruptly changes about 40 kilometres from the capital. The highway widens. Billboards announce lots for sale […] A gigantic, modern sculpture appears out of nowhere to suggest that something is about to happen. Still without visible signs of settlement, one is suddenly swept into a coverleaf intersection of superspeedway proportions. At one carefully choreographed moment, Brasília begins: a 14-lane speedway roars into view and catapults the traveller into what is hailed as 'the New Age of Brazil.' (3)

The windscreen of the car mimics the lens of the cinematic camera and allows us to experience the city like a film projected onto the air over the dusty earth. And here it might occur to us that the model man anticipated by Modernism can be no other than the driver of the Lexus GS.

A city built into air

In prose and poetry and often also in architectural histories Brasília is represented as unreal, built into air; it is praised by writers and poets for its mystic, utopian and artistic spirit. While the pilot plan aimed to attract the cultural elite with the lyric and poetic qualities of its architecture (Costa 1957: 399), Williams describes that it is now marketed on the basis of its myth, an adventure zone, a literally extra-ordinary place (2007: 322).

Costa has planned the city's roads like guidelines in a carefully choreographed dance which affords the spectator/citizen the best possible views of the city, which is no longer a stage but the leading character in this parade of architecture. Müller picks up on this and has the city emerge as a protagonist in its own right. While the voiceover at first appears to

present the artist's own view (though it must be understood as exemplary for the figure of the traveller in general), in the middle of the film the perspective shifts and the city begins to speak for itself:

> I might as well have told a different story.
> I've become empty. I am a stranger to others and to myself and I refuse to pretend that I am familiar or that I have history attached to my heels. I am a carbon copy of my form. I've been dropped into all this from another world and I can't speak your language any longer. I am a stranger and I am moving. (Müller)

The words are jumbled, bump into each other and overlap. The city appears to be speaking in several voices, no longer able to define itself, to mark out its place between utopia, myth and concrete existence. Its status appears as tenuous as the liquid dreamscape of Lexus-city.

Müller's Brasília is heavily mythologised. The fusion of archival and new footage removes it from time and space and shows it at once under construction and already decaying. We see the city through the camera, but we also perceive it through the contemplative monologue that accompanies the images and which is made up of texts by Italo Calvino, Samuel Beckett, David Wojnarowicz and Müller himself. Most of it is spoken by a pensive North American voice, but sometimes this is joined by snippets in Portuguese and longer passages in German. Sometimes the three voices overlap, sometimes they translate each other, sometimes they don't. The three voices mirror the roads of the dream image, running parallel to each other, sometimes following one another or crossing each other randomly. They also mirror the shift between narrative perspectives from traveller to city and back. Languages become mixed just as past, future and present, narrator and narrated, old and new footage become confused.

Müller's wide-angle shots of emptiness, his still images of abandoned buildings, streets without people, dusty plazas and an over-towering monumental architecture make the city appear as unreal as the virtual city of the car commercial. Müller in fact suggests that there is no city in the first place, that it is indeed entirely virtual, a dreamed city, dependent on the stories that are told about it. Behind the veils of mysticism there is nothing: 'Emptiness is hidden beneath the thick coating of signs. The city repeats its signs so that it can begin to exist.' Müller consciously avoids showing Brasília's most impressive sign, the airplane-shaped urban layout which is only visible from above. Instead he shows a rusty arrow[2], a platform number at the bus station, a hotel sign, traffic signs. There are no street names, nothing personal, just a repetition of signs that could be anywhere in the world. These commonplace signs appear as the only official part of Brasília that link it with the traditional conception of a city.

If I say 'official' here then I mean to differentiate these street signs from the unofficial marks that human society has left on the canvas of the city and which tie it to the tangible reality of lived experience: the unofficial paths that have been walked into its green spaces beside the roads (Fig. 5), the rare bit of graffiti.

Ultimately it seems the dream image of the city that was abandoned before it was inhabited is refuted: 'Nights falls, windows come alight' is the final sentence in English. We might leave

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[2] As a matter of fact the rusty arrow points to the memorial for Juscelino Kubischek, the city's founder, and is thus another indication of absence and death. However, this can only be understood by those who have been to Brasilia ad know the real meaning of the arrow.

the film here and think that the desolate abandoned utopia was but a bad dream. But the German voice carries on:

> At night, when you lie flat on the ground, your ear in the palm of your hand, sometimes you can hear a door falling shut. (*my translation*[3])

The German voice, which had also started the film with the death of the old cities and the birth of Brasília, ends with the death of the utopian dream. However, the end of the dream can also mean the beginning of waking life. It suggests that behind the myth of the failed utopia which is spun on by the film, there is a real place, a real living city, which has nothing to do with the projected city of the film, or, for that matter, with the city envisioned by Costa's pilot plan. There might be a different Brasília growing somewhere outside the rigid system of the pilot plan and behind the myth of the abandoned utopia… but this would be subject of a new film and a new investigation.

Figure 5: Still from Müller, 'Vacancy' (1998), courtesy of the artist.

Conclusion

We have started with the assumption that Brasília reflects the concepts of urban planning set out by CIAM and specifically Le Corbusier's Contemporary City and his demand for a car-friendly layout. 'I had called it "A Contemporary City"; contemporary because tomorrow belongs to nobody,' Le Corbusier wrote (1998: xxv). Brasília, too, was built for 'today', so much so that Costa even determined the make and colour of the city's taxis and the bus drivers' uniforms, which placed the city firmly within the late 1950s.

'Vacancy', however, suggests that the city was built for a tomorrow that belongs to nobody. Built for a future that was only possible in the late 1950s but never happened, it has become a museum, self-sufficient, independent of and indifferent towards its inhabitants, who are unable to interact with its architecture. The unity of the urban design which was to delight Costa's imaginary driver in his description of the Monumental Axis, can only be enjoyed by the traveller who passes through the city, not by those who live there.

Brasília is often regarded as the most complete failure of Modernist urban design. Müller's film, too, suggests that it has indeed failed as a viable metropolis of the 20th or 21st century. On screen, however, the Contemporary City comes into its own. If we look at the bright scenes of Brasília in the 1960s and Müller's lyrical camera-drive through the city forty years later, and if we accept the virtual reality of the Lexus commercial as a 21st-century version of the Contemporary City we can claim that on screen Modernist urban planning reaches perfection creating a wholly aesthetic experience – a journey for the mind, even if not for the body.

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[3] The German original reads: „Nachts, wenn du dich flach auf die Erde legst, dein Ohr in der Höhlung deiner Hand, dann hörst du bisweilen eine Tür, die zuschlägt."

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Projecting and Performing the Contested Landscape of Toronto Through Archives and Images

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How can the complex and contested history of a "post" colonial landscape be presented to the current residents of that space, if so much of its human history is invisible today? This is the problem that my colleagues and I face as we attempt to piece together a grand-scale projection that will speak to the varied, rich and contradictory histories of our city. The Humber River runs though the west end of the city of Toronto. The river ends where it joins Lake Ontario, and this convergence of waterways is rich with Aboriginal, French, and Anglo histories as this particular location, which is now a multipurpose urban space, was the site of multiple habitations and has always been a key intersection for transport and human activity. It is often said that Canada, unlike other European settler colonies, was created by trade routes and communication technologies. The Humber River, which runs from north to south, transported the first French traders and cartographers from the French colonial outposts in northern Ontario. The French trader Etienne Brûlé has the ominous and somewhat inflated reputation as being the first "white" man to set eyes on Lake Ontario, as he travelled southward on the Humber River while seeking a short cut to Detroit in 1613. Naturally, Brûlé was not the first human to travel this river, as it had been used as a key trade route by the Indigenous peoples for millennia. Today, the mouth of the Humber, and the site of our proposed projection project, is rather thoughtlessly named, Étienne Brûlé park – as homage to the "first" white person to "discover" this spot.

History texts that recount the presence of the French in this area claim that when Brûlé arrived by here canoe, he encountered a flourishing Huron settlement. To the Huron, this area was known as Teiaiagon (Finley 2005; Gonda 2006; Jones 1986). In the late 17th century, other French colonizers including Samuel de Champlain also stopped to camp, trade, and establish missions at the mouth of the Humber River. According to these sources, the Huron were rightly suspicious of the French explorers and the Jesuits who followed closely on their heels, as they came to expect that plague, drunken debauchery, and general havoc followed the arrival of Europeans.

In the 18th century, as the French and English quarrelled over control of the area, the Indigenous peoples made allegiances with either side. The Huron, who sided with the French, were driven away from the mouth of the Humber and were replaced by their rivals, the Iroquois who established alliance with the British. Over the next century and half, the Iroquois and Huron fought over this land and in Huron legend, the forests there are said to be soaked in the blood of their peoples. Ultimately, the British won control over the area and in 1820, a large tract of land on the east
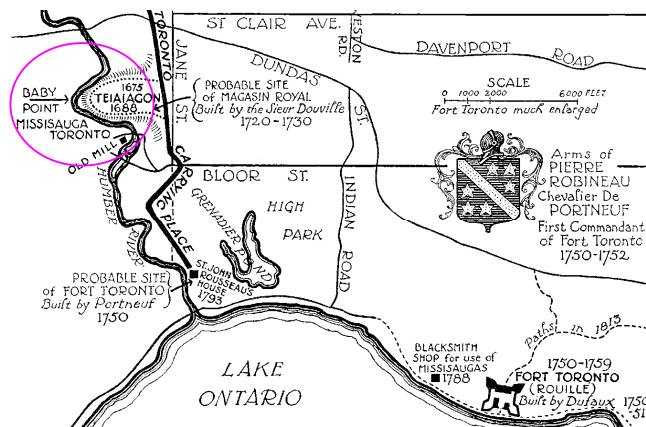

Figure 1: Map of French Forts, 18th century (site circled in pink). From Robinson, 1933.

bank of the Humber River was granted to James Baby, a member of the political elite. Baby Point is now the name of the upscale neighbourhood that lies adjacent to Étienne Brûlé park.

If you were to take a stroll along the banks of the Humber River to its mouth at Lake Ontario, you would see that it is a mix of urban parkland nestled into mixed urban spaces. At this spot, you can still see how important this site is for transport. A 19th century mill rests on the west bank of the river where it once harnessed the power of its waters, a tribute to early industrialization of the area. Footpaths now carve out walkways for park-goers, and the space above the area is latticed with commuter subway rails, road bridges, and transport railways. It is a hub for human movement, as it has always been. What is absent, however, is narrative. The current topography of the landscape says nothing of its contested past or of the waves of human activity that took place here. There is no evidence of the Aboriginal presence, no signs of the massacres and conflict between the French and Huron, or between the Huron and the Iroquois. There is no story provided to explain the conditions under which the Aboriginal settlement there was purged or how it was parlayed into a land parcel grant for James Baby. We do know that in 1925, this lush precipice was levelled and divided to make room for modern, upscale, single family homes. Urban space may be rich with activity, but its embedded history is silent.

Figure 2: The site as it appears today. The Baby Point residences are in the background, Étienne Brûlé Park and the Humber River are in the foreground. Tennis courts occupy the former Huron and Iroquois settlement.

Last year, we embarked on a project to uncover the history of this part of the city. Unfortunately, the city archives offered little. The archive, with its double etymology from the Greek root 'arkhe', signifies both the domicile and the forward command of the superior magistrate who resides in the arkeheion. The colonial bias inherent in this epistemological metaphor implies that the archive wields a power of a problematic sort: of stone, steel, paper and law, which preserve a hegemonic narrative of progress in the name of western civilization. Accordingly, the archives contained only land surveys created for the purpose of urban development and records of land ownership transfers. The few early photographs of the area were taken for this purpose, and a handful of other photos were taken while World War I corps were conducting training exercises in the area (Fig. 3). In other words, the archives offered only one kind of history – a linear history of power and ownership through European eyes.

These images show that the land was considered open, wild, and free for the taking and that cultivation or development signify the land's "usefulness". Only events deemed noteworthy by city or government officials were recorded and archived, leaving the rich human history undocumented. We encountered a similar

Figure 3: Archival photo of WWI Cycle Corps training at the Humber River. 1914.

problem with historical records in the books published about the area. Traditional history texts offered biased and romantic tales of the settlement of this land by Europeans (e.g., Lizars 1913; Robinson 1933). These resources tell the story of the land through Anglo or French eyes, selectively choosing sides and generally dismissing the aboriginal presence on the land. We were left with fractured, contradictory, and subjective histories that could not co-exist textually.

Archival methodology theoretically stresses the organization of information rather than its interpretation, and fails to mediate the myriad perspectives offered by a diverse community. This contrasts to our actual experience with the Toronto Archives. However, the land, viewed as an archival, monumental, or architectural formation, embodies difference and holds multiple discourses. The collective narratives embedded in this part of Toronto have a particular version of the "truth" which supports worldviews and systems of collecting and preserving the dominant narrative. In *Archaeology of Knowledge* (2002), Michel Foucault illustrates the archive as it "breaks the thread of transcendental teleologies; and where anthropological thought once questioned [human] being or subjectivity, it now bursts open the other, and the outside…It established that we are difference, that our reason is the difference of discourses, our history the difference of times, our selves the difference of masks" (2002: 131). Foucault's work, unfortunately, is entrenched in the text, and our research seeks to align the archival theory of difference with visual methodologies. With the creative indexical discourse that visual media provide, we find the opportunity to enter into history, confront it and use it, exposing the darker corners in order to examine latent power dynamics and to contrast the multiple forms of meaning that are absent in the grand narratives of Progress.

To present a complication of traditional epistemologies and entrenched worldviews, we must confront common conceptions of the archive and its problematic privileging of text. It is clear that the concept of ownership in the European settler society is sanctioned through state institutions, such as monuments, archives and knowledge production. Traditional conceptions of the archive further perpetuate the Eurocentric dichotomy between

Figure 4: Archival postcard of the site, 1940's. The caption reads,

oral and written history. The Americas' collective memory is rooted in the privileging of written history over other ways of preserving knowledge. Writing and photography are the predominate forms of archival preservation, dismissing other forms of knowledge preservation such as embodied knowledge or oral histories. Embodied expression is part of the transmission of social knowledge involving non-verbal practices such as dance, cookery and ritual. These actions allow for a preservation of communal identity and memory and yet by institutional standards are not considered to be proper 'archival' forms of knowledge. The City of Toronto Archives lack any form of preserved knowledge that does not fit within the West's exclusive concern for linearity and textuality. Diane Taylor argues, "Histories were burned and rewritten to suit the memorializing needs of those in power. The space of written culture then, as now, seemed easier to control than embodied culture. But writing was far more dependent on embodied culture for transmission than the other way around" (2003: 17). Conquest, or coloniality/modernity, imposed writing and linear or textual ways of knowing

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onto their colonial subjects and this remains evident today in modern archives. Taylor contends that the departure from embodied knowledge is not based on the tension between the written and the spoken word, but between the archive (texts, documents, building, bones) and the repertoire of embodied practice/knowledge (spoken language, dance, sports, ritual). Hence, archives contain reams of land transfer record, land surveys, and civic records, but one is hard pressed to find in them evidence of embodied knowledge.

The archives, then, provide a breadcrumb trail of power relations between state and citizen, but only at the points of transfer or transaction. Researchers may also find archives that document natural or human disasters as these provide a spectacle of violence, but not of the mundane quotidian. For example, Hurricane Hazel swept through this area in 1954 and caused significant damage, flooding, and loss of life. These events were extensively photographed and documented. Conversely, the purging of the Iroquois from this area at the turn of the 19th century was perhaps too mundane to warrant documentation, as the story of these people's departure was not preserved in the archives. Decades of Indigenous occupation of the area are left as a void in the archives, with no historical evidence to vouch for their presence or contribution to the city.

Taylor writes that the repertoire of daily living allows for individual agency and it requires a presence in the situation. To participate in the production and reproduction of knowledge, the producer is part of the transmission. The actions which form the parts of the repertoire are in a state of flux and transformation. Taylor writes, "The repertoire allows for an alternative perspective on historical processes of transnational contact and invites a remapping of the Americas, this time by following the traditions of embodied practices" (2003: 20). Individual performances disappear in the repertoire but less so in the archive. As Taylor argues, a performance that is recorded is not really a performance and a live performance can never be archived. This does not mean the performance is fleeting or disappears; rather, performances continue to live in the form of communal memories, histories and values for future generations. The modes of storing and transmitting knowledge are many and mixed and embodied performances have often contributed to the maintenance of social orders. Through our own work, we hope to engage the audience and to invite them to become part of an embodied experience that creates new repertoire – one that layers multiple narratives of the past and present.

Taylor and Foucault's rather different theories of the archive expose a critical gap at the intersection where the interpretation of text and the presence of the image meet. The archive cannot be understood as a unified narrative or as a key to truth: "it is that which differentiates discourses in their multiple existence and specifies them in their duration" (Foucault 2002: 129). In traditional historical research, documents become monuments, and stand for the cultural and intellectual significance that Foucault is attempting to unpack and critique. As we have found, the firm structures associated with History with a capital H cannot adequately describe the monuments of culture, which have become the contemporary equivalent of the document, or the traditional stalwarts of historical research.

In contrast, the archive may stand as a monument of multiple meanings, a presence that is full of possibility. The archaeological metaphor of 'excavating the archive' provides Foucault with a method to gain knowledge that is not concerned with interpretation (2002). Archaeology does not require that the individual and the social be reconciled in any type of narrative, and it does not attempt to restore, recapture or return to an origin in order to provide explanation. Rather than drawing out stable answers, irreducible rules of specific discourse are revealed. In other words, a differential analysis overrides the establishment of a continuum. There is more to the schema of ordered calculability that traditional interpretations provide; one gets the sense of a larger, diverse and disordered multiplicity of discourses that

are potentially dangerous to the power exerted by those controlling the thin surface meaning that has crystallized like a thin veneer of ice.

When viewed through a presence-oriented performative or visual lens, the archive and the slippage it provides between subjectivities becomes a site of resistance as well as preservation. André Bazin (2004) writes that the screen must not be thought of as an escape hatch, but rather it should be considered for its potential as a device to prepare us for what is to come. As we begin to examine the archive critically through methodologies that challenge its textual privileging of 'the record,' an analysis of visual culture and perspective of projection will help us dismantle the architectural archive and its monumental status. Through the mechanics of the camera obscura, projection is tied to an architectural model of visuality and the production of virtual images. Embodied knowledge, linked to visual sense and the eye, opposes the disembodied Cartesian single point perspective. The subjectivity inherent in vision confronts the disembodied perspective of a "centred and stable, autonomous and thinking, standing outside the world" objectivity coinciding with enlightenment and the colonial 'command and conquer' spirit (Friedberg 2006: 46). Anne Friedberg (2006) assigns perspective an unfixed and variable capacity to capture multiple meanings. The screen can offer a montage of spatial and temporal views, allowing for both continuity and multiplicity. Further, a large scale projection has the power to aggrandize themes and motifs, allowing the viewer to identify exaggerations and diminutions, thus revealing the ideological codes within the narratives.

The image can be used to break through the oral/written, archive/repertoire and the colonizer/colonized dichotomies by juxtaposing multiple narratives. The power lies in the image's agency to become part of the object and the affect, allowing for a different kind of relationship to take place. As Gillian Rose agues, images themselves *do* something, and an image is a site of potential resistance (2001: 10). Therefore, there can be power and agency in the creation and the dissemination of a still or moving image. This space allows play and "talking back" to the linear versions of the narrative to become a site where social difference is visible, bringing the invisible histories to collide with the dominant discourse. Rose (2001) warns that an image can take on a particular appearance, but the focus or punctum, as Roland Barthes (1981) would say, impacts how the image may be perceived. An individual's subjective gaze affects the image's creation of meaning, and an image may be a site of resistance to only a specific audience (Rose 2001). An image's communicative power is complicated when viewed collectively by a community and the roles of the image/spectator/object are obfuscated.

Contradictory and incompatible history is the theme of our project. We are seeking to explore ways in which we can present the histories of this area to its current residents and simultaneously include them in the creation of new visual narratives of the space. How can we confront the problematic power of narrative and history in cultural conceptions of space, land and legacy through visual methodologies? We are proposing that a large scale, community-based projection can showcase the non-linear, atextual, and layered visual narratives that are embedded in the human history of this area. Images can perhaps demonstrate the three interpretations of the space (Indigenous, British, and French) simultaneously and subjectively in a way that confronts the dominant linear, textual, colonial history. We plan to blend archival images, taken out of their colonial contexts, and new images drawn from the area's communities and we will project these on a grand scale onto a large surface in the area. During the exhibit, we hope to engage the audience, record their reactions and interactions, and help them to feel like they too are a part of the land's rich history.

We have taken much of our inspiration from Krzysztof Wodiczko, a video-projection artist who has created large scale interactive projections in Japan, Mexico, and the United

States. Wodiczko's projections blend architectural space, personal narratives, and shared historical experiences that blur the lines between subject, object, and space. In 2001, he used Tijuana, Mexico as a site for a large projection work in which viewers' faces were projected, in real time, onto the façade of the Tijuana Cultural Center (www.pbs.org). His aim in that project was to integrate images, narratives, the human body, and architectural surfaces in Tijuana – a site whose human history is also contested and contradictory. Despite the conflicting histories of the Humber River site, our own projections will capture the memory embedded in the land, allowing this conflict to be voiced, for difference to settle, and for multiple discourses to commingle. The contested histories of the Humber River can be layered visually in a way that texts cannot provide. A projection of illuminated images creates an immaterial architecture of light and a virtual space that plays with spatial, temporal, and technological dimensions. Jacques Rancière (2007) posits that today's image seeks to "increase a new sensitivity to the signs and traces that testify to a common history and a common world" (67); however, our own project calls upon the potential of the image to stress a common drive for subjectivity, the privileging of that which is disparate and heterogeneous in both presentation and in any type of 'resolution' rather than a communal and coterminous denial of difference.

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