

Cinema, Identity, and Resistance: Comparative Perspectives on *A City of Sadness* and *The Wind that Shakes the Barley*

Ming-Yeh T. Rawnsley
University of Leeds

Abstract

On the surface, A City of Sadness (Beiqing Chengshi, 1989, dir. Hou Hsiao-Hsien, Taiwan) and The Wind that Shakes the Barley (2006, dir. Ken Loach, UK) may have little in common. However, both films employ powerful filmic languages to express contested identities. While the latter depicts proactive and passionate heroism, the former embraces silent and passive endurance. A comparison between these two films will help illuminate the cinematic strategies adopted by filmmakers to reflect identity politics in different contexts. It will also demonstrate the complexity and diversity of resistance as a concept and as a form of action.

Introduction

According to Sheldon H. Lu and Emilie Yueh-Yu Yeh (2005), it is important to consider carefully both the issues surrounding films as language and languages used in films. This is a useful approach that may be applied to resistance films for two reasons: first, film itself is a special symbolic language that is composed of cinematic codes such as camera shot, lighting, framing, performance, narrative structure, editing and montage, sound and music, *mise-en-scène*, etc (Monaco 1981: 121–191). This has made cinema an effective medium for communicating and representing identities on many levels (personal, regional, national, cultural, social, and political). Second, the issue of languages employed in cinema can be extremely significant when used to express identities. For example, in Taiwan and in Northern Ireland, the troubled histories of both places mean that the use of verbal and written language in many of films may be, consciously or unconsciously, laden with political meanings. Language may evoke a sense of nostalgia or hostility, enhance regional flavour or promote national unity, or create intimacy or distance, for various linguistic communities and for different reasons.

This paper seeks to compare two seemingly unrelated films: Taiwanese filmmaker Hou Hsiao-Hsien's *A City of Sadness* (*Beiqing Chengshi*, 1989, Taiwan), and British director Ken Loach's *The Wind that Shakes the Barley* (2006, UK). Upon close examination, both can be categorized as resistance films, although they offer different discourses and representations of resistance. The term 'resistance film' is loosely defined here to refer to cinematic works that foreground

the actions and notions of resistance. Most typical examples can be found in the cinema of anti-colonialism. One example is *The Battle of Algiers* (*La Battaglia di Algeri*, 1966, dir. Gillo Pontecorvo, France/Italy), which depicts events during the Algerian War against French occupation in 1954–1962. The film focuses on the years between 1954 and 1957, when the freedom fighters struggled to combat a systematic attempt by the French colonial power to eliminate them.

Studies of resistance cinema include Del Mundo's (1998) book on native resistance in Filipino cinema and colonialism, and Burns (2006) on cultural resistance in Turkish-German cinema. Diawara (1988) pays particular attention to racial politics, and discusses how spectators of different racial backgrounds may problematize identification and resistance. For example, the 'Gus chase' sequence from *The Birth of a Nation* (1915, dir. D.W. Griffiths, US) shows a white young girl chased by a black man. Diawara points out that the editing, *mise-en-scène* and narrative content 'all combine to compel the spectator to regard Gus as the representation of danger and chaos' (68). The spectator, regardless of race or gender, is supposed to identify with the white hero, Little Colonel, in the film and to hate Gus. However the resisting spectator recognizes that

The Birth of a Nation appears to misread history for ideological reasons. Not only is Little Colonel a fake father and hero' as he symbolizes resistance to the ideals of democracy, 'but the black experience is rendered absent in the text... It would be worthwhile to note how spectatorial resistance to the racist ideology encoded in *The Birth of a Nation* is expressed, often in 'realist' terms, by invoking an alternative account based on Afro-American historical experience.

(Diawara 1988: 70)

In other words, 'resistance films' can be a vast and diverse discursive category. Yet when we situate *A City of Sadness* and *The Wind that Shakes the Barley* within this category, it becomes particularly striking how comparable these two films have become. In both cases, the filmmakers employ similar cinematic languages in distinctive ways to signify conflicting identities and to portray diverse forms of resistance.

Hollander and Einwohner (2004: 533) observe that 'there has been a rapid proliferation of scholarship on resistance but little consensus on its definition.' After surveying a wide range of literature in sociology, anthropology, and political science, the two authors recognize that the term 'resistance' is used to describe 'a tremendous diversity of behaviors and settings', among which

the most commonly studied *mode* of resistance is material or physical, involving the resisters' user of their bodies or other material objects. 'Resistance' is most readily thought to refer to social movements... and 'contentious politics'.

(Hollander and Einwohner 2004: 535–536)

Loach's *The Wind that Shakes the Barley* deals mainly with the most overt form of resistance: military combat. The film is set in 1920, when the Irish Republican Army (IRA) was fighting a guerrilla war against the British for the independence of Ireland. When a truce is reached and the Irish Free State proclaimed in 1922, the Irish Civil War then broke out between radicals and moderates. As the film critic

Nick James has noticed, many familiar elements of the resistance film can be found here. For example, 'the training of rookies, the experience of torture, the near-rape of a lover, the first betrayals and the need for them to be punished by death, the difficult transition to wielding local power' (James 2006: 26). According to a typology outlined by Hollander and Einwohner (2004: 544–545), what is portrayed in *The Wind that Shakes the Barley* is the least controversial type of resistance, as the action is both intended and recognized by the actors and the observers as resistance.

On the other hand, scholars have identified that in addition to the physical mode of resistance, other forms of resistance may be 'accomplished through talk and other symbolic behaviour' (Hollander and Einwohner 2004: 536). Hou's *A City of Sadness* tells the story of a Taiwanese family during the turbulent years between 1945 and 1949. This is the transitional period during which Taiwan's former colonizer, Japan, left the island and Taiwan was taken over by the Nationalist (i.e. Kuomintang or KMT) government of the Republic of China (ROC). *A City of Sadness* depicts mostly a more subtle and less visible form of resistance than that performed in *The Wind that Shakes the Barley*. Described as an 'everyday' form of resistance, the film stops 'well short of collective outright defiance' (Scott 1985: 29), but still qualifies as resistance because it allows the powerless to 'deny or mitigate claims made by appropriating classes' (302). As Hollander and Einwohner (2004: 539) note, low-profile techniques of everyday resistance 'can go unnoticed by the powerful, which helps protect the powerless from repression by masking the resistant nature of their activities.'

Nevertheless, explicitly confrontational actions and more implicitly commonplace resistance are not mutually exclusive. While *A City of Sadness* pays particular attention to ordinary details of how the characters in the film maintain their quiet dignity under difficult circumstances, we also learn of the formation of citizen groups that intend to voice oppositional opinions, and witness a riot involving everyday items as well as traditional weapons. Similarly, although *The Wind that Shakes the Barley* gives the viewers brutal accounts of guerrilla warfare, there are reserved moments which signal inner strength and resilience. It can be argued that both films echo Hollander and Einwohner's (2004: 537) observation that while 'resistance is generally understood to be a *political action*,... resistance can also be *identity-based*.' In other words, what is resisted is sometimes 'not (or not only) political or social conditions but also the resister's expected or attributed identity.'

I will firstly offer an overview of the historical backgrounds to *A City of Sadness* and *The Wind that Shakes the Barley*. I will then investigate how both films employ cinematic strategies to deliver a representation of their respective histories. I aim to focus on how narratives and languages are used by Hou Hsiao-Hsien and Ken Loach to express different cultural identities. Finally, I will examine how the two filmmakers use the portrayal of female characters to express their own political convictions.

Background to *A City of Sadness*

A City of Sadness is Hou Hsiao-Hsien's ninth feature film, and it is iconic in both the history of Taiwan and the history of Taiwan cinema. The island was under authoritarian rule for forty years, until martial law was lifted in 1987. Political reform

posed serious challenges to existing norms and ideology, but the process also brought with it anxiety and uncertainty. For the first time in living memory, people on Taiwan were able to have a needed open discussion about their suppressed history and identity in order to re-establish a new consensus. *A City of Sadness* is the first film to embark on this soul-searching journey. Hou Hsiao-Hsien admitted that he sees *A City of Sadness* as a 'self-conscious practice of discovery, recovery and remembrance' (Harrison 2004–2005: 13). He said that making this film was 'a process of learning about history, people and life itself' (13). When the film was first released in Taiwan, it attracted much attention and controversy. People fought to get into the theatre to watch it. As Reynaud (2002: 48) recalled:

A City of Sadness had a tremendous, long-lasting effect on Taiwanese audiences. In one of his earlier made-for-TV dramas... Tsai Ming-Liang shows spectators lining up in front of the theatre to make sure they would get in, and poor people stockpiling tickets to sell them at higher prices.

A City of Sadness has been canonized because it is part and parcel of the process of political, social, and cultural democratization in Taiwan.

Moreover, *A City of Sadness* was the first film from Taiwan to win recognition at a major European film festival, when it received the Golden Lion Award in Venice in 1989. Hou Hsiao-Hsien's 'minimalist imagery, complex framing, elliptic rendering of interpersonal relationships, and the disruptions created by his storytelling techniques' has led *A City of Sadness* to be hailed as 'one of the supreme masterworks of the contemporary cinema' (Reynaud 2002: 9). The Golden Lion Award generated much pride and excitement in Taiwan. As a result of media frenzy over *A City of Sadness*, box-office receipts in Taipei alone exceeded US \$3 million and 'it was the number one movie in both Taiwan and Hong Kong. It did even better outside Taipei' (Curtin 2007: 97). This was a sensational box-office record for a domestically-produced film on the island, at a time when the home audience was beginning to lose interest in all Chinese-language films. In fact, Udden (2007: 193) notes that *A City of Sadness* enthused an imitative trend in Taiwan cinema in which many filmmakers, including newcomers (such as Lin Zheng-Sheng) and established veterans (such as Edward Yang), began to follow Hou's distinctive style.

Furthermore, the subject matter of *A City of Sadness* is of particular significance to people on Taiwan. The film is set against the historical backdrop of the most contentious political event in pre-democratic Taiwan, commonly known as the 2-28 Incident. This began when a relatively minor accident on the street on 28 February 1947 ignited long-accumulated social tension which spiralled into a near-revolution. As a result of 2-28, it is estimated between 10,000 and 20,000 citizens in Taiwan were killed by the Nationalist (KMT) army.¹ The trauma of this tragedy has haunted Taiwan's politics and society for several decades and the Incident itself was taboo until 1987, when the government finally lifted martial law. However Taiwan viewers' immediate reaction towards the film was polarized. For example,

¹ For more details on the 28 February Incident of 1947, see Kerr (1966); Chen (1989); Lai, Myers, and Wei (1991); 2-28 Research Committee of the Executive Yuan (1994); Li (1998); Rawnsley and Rawnsley (2001: 77–106).

Liao (1999: 85–114) was bitterly disappointed that the film did not seize the historical moment of democratization of the 1980s and produce a more aggressive Taiwanese nationalist declaration. On the other hand, Qi (2000: 331–332) argued that Hou's work has become a critical social text and thus has inspired multidimensional discourses.

Background to *The Wind that Shakes the Barley*

The Wind that Shakes the Barley is the nineteenth feature film of seasoned filmmaker Ken Loach, and it won the Golden Palm Award in Cannes in 2006. Prior to *The Wind that Shakes the Barley*, Loach had received numerous international film prizes, dating as far back as *Kes* (1969, UK), and including *Looks and Smiles* (1981, UK), *Fatherland* (1986, UK/Germany/France), *Hidden Agenda* (1990, UK), and *Land and Freedom* (1995, UK/Spain/Germany/Italy). Loach is well-known for his socialist ideals and political activism (Hayward 2004; Jacobson 2007: 21–22; Hill 2011). Interestingly, while *The Wind that Shakes the Barley* is a recognized British production, it also won the Best Irish Film Award in 2007 as voted by the audience of the Irish Film and TV Awards (IMDB, undated).

The film takes place between 1920 and 1922, and is based on historical events. It 'employs a fictional cast of characters synthesized from the experiences of real-life participants' (Crowdus 2007: 55). While the Irish rebellion against the British in the early 1920s was a painful history, it has never been a taboo subject and public discussion has never been suppressed. Ten years prior to the appearance of *The Wind that Shakes the Barley*, *Michael Collins* (1996, dir. Neil Jordan, UK) was another high-profile project, similarly dealing 'with the Irish War of Independence (1919–21) and the ensuing Civil War (1922–23)' (55). This film was nominated for Academy Awards and won the Golden Lion Award at the 1996 Venice Film Festival.

Loach was thus on a very different historical and political trajectory from Hou Hsiao-Hsien when he produced *The Wind that Shakes the Barley*. In 1989, Hou dealt with the subject of the 2-28 Incident for the first time in Taiwanese history. Thus there was a tremendous sense of remembering, recovery, and reconciliation in Hou's desire to produce the film. In contrast, Loach's purpose in shooting *The Wind that Shakes the Barley* was not to search for an Irish identity, but instead to remind viewers 'that the IRA's original cause was irrefutably just, whatever its subsequent behaviour' (James 2006: 26). As Loach's scriptwriter Paul Laverty has revealed in an interview:

I have always been fascinated about how empires tell lies about their history and there have been more lies told about Ireland, Britain's oldest and closest colony, than anywhere else.

(Archibald 2007: 29)

Therefore, Loach and Laverty 'have never shrunk from using their artistry to promote romanticized versions of history in what they see as a good cause' (James 2006: 26). As a result, Loach and Laverty demonstrate repeatedly in *The Wind that Shakes the Barley* that 'revolutionary violence, with its demand for

internal discipline and purity, is inherently tragic... Loach has made a film for our moment, a time of bewildering internecine warfare' (Denby 2007: 150–151).

Narrative Strategies, Contested Histories and Identities

In her study of Aborigines in Taiwan, Brown contends that:

One of the most fundamental misunderstandings about identity is the widely accepted view that ethnic and national identities are based on common ancestry and/or common culture and therefore that identity is grounded in antiquity... However, culture and ancestry are *not* what ultimately unite an ethnic group or a nation. Rather, identity is formed and solidified on the basis of common social experience, including economic and political experience... [It is] real in the sense of being meaningful and motivating to people.

(Brown 2004: 2)

This allows us to begin to see Taiwan's contested history in a new light. The importance of narrating this history as a journey of self-exploration and self-discovery is also heightened.

In directing *A City of Sadness*, Hou Hsiao-Hsien did not aim to provide one authoritative account of past events or to speak on behalf of one particular political perspective, but to look at histories from bottom-up in order to reflect the previously suppressed, 'the very personal, experienced-based feelings of individual members of identity groups' (Brown 2004: 2). By representing the political reality of the late 1940s indirectly through a fictional family saga, *A City of Sadness* chronicles the intertwining lives of four brothers in an apolitical Taiwanese family from the end of the Japanese colonization in 1945, to the breakout of the 2-28 Incident in 1947, and finally to the arrival of the Nationalist (KMT) government in Taipei in 1949.

Family Saga and Brotherhood

A City of Sadness opens with a credit sequence-shot of total darkness. The only background sound is the voice of the Emperor Hirohito in a radio broadcast, announcing the unconditional surrender of Japan. The setting is then faintly illuminated by candles. We witness an anxious Taiwanese family busy preparing for the imminent birth of a child in the middle of a power-cut; when the electricity is restored, the father-to-be tries to fix the light and then leaves the room. Hence the light that continues to shake slightly becomes the main focus of the scene, while outside the camera shot we hear the sound of a crying baby after the painful screams of the expectant mother. An inserted text then reveals that Lin Wen-Heung's mistress has given birth to a son, whom they name Kong-Ming, meaning light.² The *mise-en-scène* is rich in meanings and metaphors. The parallel is with Taiwan's liberation from Japanese colonial rule, an event which had given people on the island a real sense of optimism, though also uncertainty; Kong-Ming is Wen-Heung's illegitimate son, and his legal status may become a problematic in

² The Romanization of characters' names is based on the English subtitles provided by the video released in the UK by Artificial Eye.

the future. This can be taken as a metaphor; identity has been a thorny issue for people on Taiwan since 1945, while Taiwan's collective identity has been problematic for the international community since the Nationalists (KMT) were defeated by the Chinese Communists (CCP) in 1949.

Wen-Heung is the eldest brother of the Lin family. He is a local business owner, and has a background involving gangsters. He finds his livelihood constantly undermined by ambiguous government policies and subject to severe interference by politically-connected Shanghai gangsters. Eventually, his business is closed down and he becomes an alcoholic, before he is finally shot dead by the Shanghai gangster boss. Wen-Heung has one of the most memorable lines in the film: 'How pitiful we are living on this island! First it is the Japanese, then the Chinese. Eaten by everyone, ridden by everyone, sympathized by no one.'³

We do not see the second brother, Wen-Sun, at all. He is a diligent physician and is missing in action in the Philippines. We are reminded of his existence by his wife's insistence on cleaning his clinic every day in the hope that he will return one day and everything will go back to normal.

The third brother, Wen-Leung, was originally a victim of shell-shock during the Japanese campaign in Shanghai during the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945). When he recovers from hospital, he joins the family business but also gets involved with Shanghai gangsters. After a dispute with his business partners, Wen-Leung is arrested and physically tortured. When his eldest brother secures his release from prison after bribing mainland officers through well-connected gangsters, Wen-Leung is already permanently brain-damaged.

The youngest brother, Wen-Ching, is a deaf-mute photographer. He communicates through photographs, and by pen and paper. Throughout the film, he is mostly an innocent observer, although he is sometimes forced to be a participant. The audience often witnesses events through the eyes of Wen-Ching and the narrator of the film, a young nurse named Hinomi⁴ who later becomes Wen-Ching's wife. It is often commented that Wen-Ching's 'inability to speak symbolizes the Taiwanese as silenced by their oppression' (Harrison 2004–2005: 14). While some critics are deeply offended by Hou's choice of a deaf-mute character to represent Taiwanese history, I will argue that by making the main protagonist a deaf-mute photographer, Hou Hsiao-Hsien turns Wen-Ching into an intense and perceptive witness of his surroundings, of people, and of his time. For the audience, Wen-Ching's account of events not only conveys a more rounded and reflective impression of the past, but also represents in more depth the intricate and problematic process of history-writing.

The Wind that Shakes the Barley adopts a similar strategy, similarly dramatizing the history of the Anglo-Irish War from a grassroots perspective. For example, the Irish revolutionary leader Michael Collins is only glimpsed in a newsreel; Arthur Griffith, the founder and the third leader of Sinn Féin, does not appear; and Eamon

³ The dialogue quoted here is based on the English subtitles provided by the international version of the film released by Era Communications Ltd at the time of the 1989 Venice Film Festival (Reynaud 2002: 13).

⁴ 'Hinomi' is the Japanese pronunciation of the female character's Chinese name, written as 'Kuang-Mei'. During the Japanese colonial period, it was customary for the Taiwanese middle class to adopt the Japanese pronunciation of their Chinese names.

de Valera, who was against the Peace Treaty of 1921 and who later became the Irish prime minister, is not even mentioned. This perspective is like that of *The Wind that Shakes the Barley*, and Loach structures the major storylines around two fictional brothers from County Cork, Damien and Teddy O'Donovan.

The younger brother, Damien, is a junior medical doctor-turned-freedom fighter. He was on his way to London to embark on a medical career, but he was instead prompted to stay after witnessing insufferable harassment and injustice inflicted on ordinary Irish citizens by vicious British soldiers. He joins his elder brother, Teddy, and other IRA members including farm labourers, army veterans, and factory workers, to form a flying column to wage guerrilla warfare against the British army. When the Anglo-Irish Treaty is signed to establish the Irish Free State while preserving Ireland's dependent status as a dominion within the British Empire, the O'Donovan brothers are finally forced to part ways, for their beliefs now differ. Damien continues to fight for complete separation from the United Kingdom and a socialist revolution in Ireland, while Teddy agrees to a ceasefire with the British by accepting the Treaty as the best possible compromise for the time being.

As Ken Loach has pointed out in an interview:

There are many different points of view within the Republican side. We wanted to relive the experience of the people who went through it and to examine why the British acted the way that they did, which the character of Teddy understands better than anyone else. Teddy understands the *realpolitik* of why the Republicans are not going to get everything that they want in one go. That's why he argues that the British are never going to cede full independence.

(Loach, quoted in Archibald 2007: 28)

Loach's primary political target 'is not the British per se but rather the divisions sown among the [IRA] forces' (James 2006: 26). What is problematized in *The Wind that Shakes the Barley* is not Irish identity, but the history of internal struggle for independence and the ideologies of socialist revolution. Therefore, in the first half of the film the enemy is clearly defined, as the audience can easily identify what and whom Damien and Teddy are resisting *against*. Yet towards the later part of the film, what and whom our revolutionary heroes should fight *for* becomes more opaque. As Denby (2007: 150) summarizes it, 'The British are gone (except from Northern Ireland), but revolutionary solidarity among the Irish collapses into civil war. There's our theme: the revolution devours its children.'

The Use of Languages and Sound

In addition to the intricate narrative structures, characterization, and visuals, Hou Hsiao-Hsien inserts another layer of text that is equally compelling and intriguing and further enriches the complexity and meanings of *A City of Sadness*: languages and soundscape. I shall focus on these two elements to demonstrate how Hou creates an aural world that reflects Taiwan's identities as multiple, fluid, and politically problematic.

This can be seen in relation to the languages used in the defining moment of the film; that is, the sequence depicting the events of the 2-28 Incident. Hou Hsiao-

Hsien avoided retelling the Incident directly through one linear viewpoint or timeline, but to allow the tension and confusion of events to unfold before our eyes.

Governor Chen Yi's heavily accented Mandarin is first heard in an announcement imposed against a rural skyline, informing the public that 'on the night of the 27th, during an investigation in Taipei, someone unfortunately was killed... We have arranged treatment for a woman with slight injuries.'⁵ Meanwhile, we see a group of doctors and nurses gathering to listen to the radio. Wen-Ching, and the young nurse Hinomi's brother, Hinoe,⁶ are at the hospital waiting for Hinomi. When Hinomi appears, Chen Yi's broadcast gradually fades out. Later, when we hear Hinomi's narration in Taiwanese as she writes in her diary, we get a private account of the story that differs from the official version announced earlier. Hinomi writes:

Today, the radio reported fighting in Taipei between Taiwanese and mainlanders. Taiwan is under martial law. At the hospital, we're all afraid. A war has just ended. How can another begin? My brother came to see me. He's going to Taipei with Wen-Ching. It's so dangerous. They must have important business to do there. I'm very worried but I dare not say so. Wen-Ching with his handicap, you must take care of him, brother.⁷

Night falls. Hinomi is at home, but she can hear distant noise through her window. Next, we see the hospital becoming busy and chaotic. Civilians, doctors, and nurses rush in and out carrying the wounded. A group of people march towards the hospital carrying torches and shouting, but they are turned away by the doctors. At this point Chen Yi's Mandarin speech again cuts in, to report 'measures to handle the unrest'.

As we see the doctors and nurses in the office listening to the radio, the transmission is interrupted by static interference. A young doctor fixes the receiver and Chen Yi's Mandarin broadcast resumes, announcing that 'a special committee will be set up. They will be representatives from government, the judiciary and the council member of the public will also be included in order to reflect the true opinion of the people.'

The image turns to the hospital hall. Wen-Ching walks in and sits on the doorstep. There are dark circles around his eyes and he looks confused. He tries to scribble something, just before Hinomi finds him. She is worried, takes his notepad, and writes him a question. Wen-Ching manages to write her a reply and then passes out. The next day, over an empty landscape, we hear Chen Yi's third Mandarin broadcast declaring martial law. He gives warnings to 'the majority of peace-minded people' and asks them: 'do not listen to the rumours about spies...

⁵ Chen Yi's radio broadcast in the film follows the text of his actual broadcasts in 1947. English translations in this section are all based on English subtitles provided by the video released in the UK by Artificial Eye.

⁶ Hinoe is the Japanese pronunciation of the character's Chinese name, Kuang-Rong.

⁷ Hou and his screenwriters 'read government documents, interviewed survivors or victims' families, reviewed diaries and personal letters' in order to grasp and represent 'the overall 'structure of feeling' of the period' (Yeh and Davis 2005: 166). Hinomi's diary and letters are constructed based on materials from the creative team's field research.

Our target is only a handful of rebels and traitors for each day that they are not eradicated peace-loving citizens must endure another day of unrest.'

Hinomi pays Wen-Ching a visit at his studio. Through their exchanges we are given another piece of the jigsaw about what happened to Wen-Ching and Hinoe during their trip to Taipei. Wen-Ching writes: 'Hinoe is safe. He sent me ahead. Mr Lin, the teacher, is on this special committee. Many in Taipei have died. People are scared.' A flashback shows a train stopping in the middle of nowhere. A group of hoodlums with weapons chase after someone. There is shouting and screaming. Hinoe stands in the field looking disgusted by what is happening around him. Two hoodlums with sticks in their hands get onto the train. They cruise the corridor and spot Wen-Ching, who sits nervously, and they ask him in Taiwanese: 'Where are you from?' Wen-Ching stands up slowly, takes off his hat and mutters hesitantly in the same language but in a strange voice: 'I am Taiwanese.' Unconvinced, one of the hoodlums decides to ask the same question in Japanese: 'Where are you from?' Since Wen-Ching can neither hear nor answer the question, the hoodlums are just about to beat him up when Hinoe arrives in the nick of the time.

Hou Hsiao-Hsien does not directly imply in the long sequence described above who is right or who is wrong, but he portrays the fear, confusion, hatred, and danger that spread throughout the island at that time. Many mainlanders became victims of street violence during the riot, but the Taiwanese paid a harsh price in the aftermath. We can analyse the languages used in this sequence to understand how Hou Hsiao-Hsien expresses different cultural identities and political convictions in the film.

Chen Yi's accented Mandarin is the official language and is identified as the oppressor's language. The locals mainly speak Taiwanese among themselves. However, Taiwanese can be the language of aggressors, too: for example, the shouting and cursing outside the hospital is conducted in Taiwanese. The two hoodlums who almost beat up Wen-Ching on the train also speak Taiwanese and force him to articulate his identity in a language that he is not able to use. When Wen-Ching pushes himself to utter in broken Taiwanese about where he is from, the two hoodlums then ask him the same question in Japanese.

The use of the Japanese language, aside from the Japanese Emperor's announcement at the beginning of the film, is less political than cultural. It symbolizes a shared life experience for the Taiwanese and is a part of the cultural identities of that particular generation. While many mainlanders from Fujian Province are able to speak Taiwanese, and some others have learned to speak local languages while living in Taiwan, most are unable to understand Japanese at all, as they did not live through 51 years of Japanese rule. Hence, the Taiwanese language as spoken by the native characters in *A City of Sadness* 'is laced with Japanese words and phrases' (Reynaud 2002: 61).

The second element that I would like to focus on concerns three songs: (1) a Mandarin song, *Liuwang San Bu Qu* (*The Song of the Exiles*); (2) a Japanese song, *Huang Mache Zhi Ge* (*Song of the Carriage Sapporo*); and (3) a Taiwanese song, *Chunhua Menglu* (*Drifting*). In an early part of the film, Hinoe and his intellectual friends have a social gathering in a restaurant where they swap amusing anecdotes about misunderstandings between Taiwanese and mainlanders. Although Hinoe admits that he does not trust Chen Yi, he and his

associates all feel hopeful about the future of Taiwan as the island has finally returned to the motherland. Hence when they hear from outside the restaurant some strangers singing *The Song of the Exiles* in Mandarin, they decide to join in. The act of singing in Mandarin expresses their desire to connect with their imagined motherland and mainland compatriots.

However, their dream of autonomy is soon dashed. Following the 2-28 Incident, we see Wen-Ching locked up in prison and sitting by a jail door. The guard comes and calls out two names. Two young men stand up and gather their things quietly. At this moment a Japanese song, sung by a male chorus, fades in. Because the framing of the cell on screen allows us to see only Wen-Ching and the two men who are led away by the guard, we cannot see the inmates who sing *Song of the Carriage Sapporo*. It was a popular Japanese song in Taiwan during the 1940s, and it expresses the mood of someone who is watching friends leave by a carriage, knowing that they will never meet again. When the song stops, we hear two gun-shots from outside the frame. The song not only suggests that these Taiwanese intellectuals are aware of the death penalty awaiting them, but also reveals their bitter disappointment with nation-building under the KMT (Chiao 2000: 60–61). In contrast with the Mandarin song playfully sung earlier in the film, the Japanese song sung here before their lives are to be abruptly terminated seems particularly poignant. By singing farewell in a language to which the oppressor cannot make a claim, the disillusioned elites display their ultimate defiance and invisible resistance.

When Wen-Ching is released from prison, he visits one inmate's widow and children in order to deliver the personal belongings of the deceased, including a will. It reads: 'Face the world without shame. Your father is innocent.'⁸ As the widow cries over the will, non-diegetic music fades in and the screen cuts to Wen-Ching's family home, where Grandpa Lin and his folk-musician friends are playing and singing a Taiwanese tune, *Drifting*. The non-diegetic music turns diegetic.⁹ The mournful sound and lyrics originally referred to the sorrow of Taiwanese wives when their husbands were drafted into war by the Japanese and never returned home; however, the same song sung here becomes an accusation against KMT brutality as Taiwanese women continue to grieve over lost husbands when the new regime kills innocent men in order to consolidate power (Chiao 2000: 56).

The soundscape does not occupy as prominent a position within *The Wind that Shakes the Barley*. However, Loach's use of languages and music performs several important functions.

In an early part of the story, we see that the O'Donovan brothers' revolutionary war efforts are aided by a young woman, Sinead, and her family members in a local farm house. Sinead's brother, Micheál, was a 19-year-old lad who had been beaten to death by brutal British Black and Tans paramilitaries at the beginning of the film simply because he refused to speak in English. Micheál's name is mentioned repeatedly throughout the film and turns him, and his insistence of speaking in his mother tongue, into a symbol of martyrdom and heroism.

⁸ This writing is taken from a genuine historical document.

⁹ Diegetic music is defined as an integral part of the film, while non-diegetic music is added externally to the film (Gow 2010: 171).

Moreover, at Micheál's funeral, we hear the Irish rebel song which is used as the title of the film, *The Wind that Shakes the Barley*, for the first time:

T'was hard the woeful words to frame
To break the ties that bound us
But harder still to bear the shame
Of foreign chains around us
And so I said, 'The mountain glen
I'll seek at morning early
And join the bold united men
While soft winds shake the barley.'¹⁰

The song is sung in English, just as most of the dialogue in the film is delivered in English. However, as the storyline progresses, the use of Gaelic increases. There is a sequence when a young member of the IRA unit is coerced into leaking information to the enemy. As a result, the O'Donovan brothers and their IRA brigade are captured by the British army. Teddy O'Donovan is interrogated and tortured. On screen we see the British officers pull out Teddy's fingernails when he refuses to give names. In the next prison cell, Teddy's IRA comrades at first feel powerless and helpless, until they begin singing in Gaelic in unison to show their moral support for Teddy. The sequence expresses a strong Irish identity and demonstrates the protagonists' courage and defiance against the British. This passionate display of cultural and political identity inspires an Irish-Scots soldier in the British camp to defect in the subsequent sequence, and to help all but three IRA prisoners to escape.

Moreover, the skilful employment of the tranquil background Irish music complements Loach's endeavour of depicting a cultural Ireland, as 'the look, feel, and form of a film are just as important as its "themes"' (Denby 2007: 150). The combination of the visual and the aural enhances Loach's version of Ireland

as a naturally gentle rural place populated by handsome freedom fighters battling the hateful, sadistic British soldier. That they do so in fetching trench coats and dashing flat caps of sumptuous browns and reds set against vivid green countryside is certainly part of their appeal as cultural heroes — as freedom fighters shaking free of British rule at last.

(James 2006: 26)

Nevertheless, *The Wind that Shakes the Barley* is not a standard, overly sentimental resistance film, because Loach refrains from relying too heavily on idyllic Irish folk tunes or rousing rebel songs. The written messages and letters and the arguments in late-night meetings add to the sense of the danger, excitement, and importance of the clandestine activities in which the protagonists engage. Further, in a sequence set in the courthouse, Loach allows the viewers to witness and listen to a heated discussion about what kind of an Irish society the freedom fighters should strive to establish. Similar debates resume among Teddy's IRA squad after they are informed of the Peace Treaty, firstly through a written

¹⁰ Based on the English subtitles provided by the DVD released in the UK by Pathe.

message delivered to them from their national leaders and later through the public screening of a newsreel. The ideological dilemma experienced and quarrelled over among the protagonists does not only lend a fresh look to the film (for it shows how public debate may contribute to shaping a future), but also offers an important moral anchor to the internal conflict that follows within (and without) the film.

Female Roles, Civilization and Resistance

While a patriarchal force is seen to drive forward the plotlines of both *A City of Sadness* and *The Wind that Shakes the Barley*, the female characters provide the story with a sense of hope and optimism. This is because women in both films represent stability and civilization. For example, in *The Wind that Shakes the Barley*, when Teddy's flying column is losing ground, it is Sinéad and her family who offer them much-needed shelter, cover, and all kinds of assistance until the freedom fighters have regrouped and regained their strength. In the previously discussed courthouse sequence, it is the women (Lily, Sinéad, and another unnamed female character) who are in charge of the Republican Court and who try to establish a new social order that is different from that of the English Court. When Damien and Teddy finally part and the latter is forced to execute his younger brother, Damien writes his final letter to Sinéad declaring his eternal love and his dream of true freedom. It is through Sinéad's tears over her lover's letter that the audience is made to accept Damien's sacrifice for the cause he believes in and to hope with Sinéad for a brighter future.

The female roles in *The Wind that Shakes the Barley* perform overt functions of resistance alongside the male characters, to great effect. They actively assist the men in their war effort, while at the same time offering emotional support and comfort when required, familial and social stability to the local community, and an attempt to build and maintain a new, free, and just society.

In contrast, the female characters in *A City of Sadness* are seemingly much more passive and inactive. Nevertheless, women are indeed the real anchor of Hou's masterpiece, even though many of them are background characters. It is through the female cast that Hou delivers the most subtle but long-lasting signs of everyday resistance. According to the typology categorized by Hollander and Einwohner (2004: 545), everyday resistance may be of at least three types: (1) *covert resistance*: this refers to 'acts that are intentional yet go unnoticed (and, therefore, unpunished) by their targets, although they are recognized as resistance by other, culturally aware observers' (545); (2) *unwitting resistance*: this 'is not intended as resistance by the actor yet is recognized as threatening by targets and other observers', even though sometimes such acts (for example, socially unexpected behaviours by girls) may not truly have a target; and (3) *externally-defined resistance*: this refers to 'those acts of resistance that are neither intended nor recognized as resistance by actors or their targets, but are labelled resistance by third parties'. For example, the unconscious act of using a specific language in verbal or written form, as well as the private expression of self-identity through the self-writing of history in a way that differs from the official account.

Two female roles depicted in *A City of Sadness* in particular demonstrate this. The first role is a category that includes several domestic women who do not necessarily have names in the film: the first brother's wife and their daughter Ah-

Shue, the first brother's mistress, the second brother's wife, and the third brother's wife. These women stand for family, endurance, and everyday existence. Their collectivity offers stability and symbolizes civilization. For example, as previously mentioned, the second brother, Wen-Sun, went missing in action during the war. However, his presence is felt throughout the entire film because his wife keeps her daily routine of cleaning and tidying his clinic in preparation for his eventual return. Although the disused clinic accentuates a sense of loss (the loss of a husband, a father, a brother, and a son due to Japanese colonial rule), it at the same time sends a signal that life goes on and normality can resume.

The act of normality is not only a strategy of survival, but also a form of resistance: resistance to being consumed and beaten by grief and trauma. Whatever tragedy occurs in *A City of Sadness*, women are always calm and busy cooking, cleaning, taking care of children, working on household chores, and keeping things in an orderly, civilized manner. By maintaining a normal pace of life, these women in the film appear dignified and resilient, even though they may experience inner sadness. For example, when Ah-Shue finds the brain-damaged Wen-Leung eating offerings put on the altar of the ancestors, she tries to take the food off him gently, but without success. So, she simply leaves him be and makes herself busy in the kitchen without making too much fuss. Afterwards, it becomes a fixture of the film that we see Wen-Leung sitting quietly next to the altar gobbling food, and occasionally someone will try to stop him. Sometimes they succeed but sometimes they fail. It becomes a new normality for the Lin family.

After Wen-Heung is killed by Shanghai gangsters, we witness a funeral where everyone stands still. Wen-Ching is positioned in the centre of the procession as the new head of the household, and the atmosphere is sombre. The funeral scene then cuts to a long take and long shot of a silent landscape.¹¹ We then begin to hear faint non-diegetic noise. As the sound becomes louder, the setting changes to Wen-Ching and Hinomi's wedding, at which women are in charge. The family has moved on, everyone has a role to play, and the scene is full of life.

In the final sequence of the film, after we learn of Wen-Ching's off-screen arrest and eventual disappearance through Hinomi's narration in her letter to Ah-Shue, we see on screen another family, gathering at a dinner table. The brain-damaged Wen-Leung sits next to Grandpa Lin and both eat as normal. The brother of Wen-Hueng's mistress comes in and out of the dining room, holding a rice bowl and eating casually. Meanwhile, domestic women are busy serving food for everyone and looking after the children. In his interview with Reynaud, Hou explains:

A woman accepts what is happening outside – silently. Yet this is how woman becomes the really strong persistent force in the Chinese family. This is what I

¹¹ In cinema, a long shot is typically taken by a wide-angle lens to show the whole object (for example, an entire building, human figure, landscape, and so on). The purpose of using a long shot is normally to place the object in relation to its surroundings. A long take is 'a single piece of unedited film, which may or may not constitute an entire sequence' (Henderson 1992: 315). The combination of a long shot and long take has become one of Hou's favourite techniques to achieve his desired narrative effect.

wanted to show by staging so many eating rituals, in which we see men eating and women standing on the side, taking care of domestic affairs, of the kids.

(Hou, quoted in Reynaud 2002: 70)

Moreover, the trivial activities performed by the female characters add another important function to the film: 'they furnish an appearance of everyday life, adding small but significant details' that enhance an appeal to the day-to-day reality of the time' (Hallam and Marshment 2000: 16). In other words, the authentic atmosphere of emotions and feelings in *A City of Sadness* is grounded in the existence of these domestic women.

The second role that I would like to address in detail is that of Hinomi, Wen-Ching's female counterpart. According to Hou:

Hinomi plays the role of an observer. It allowed me to create an ambiguity in the narrative structure which I found very exciting – how the whole story is told from the point of view of a woman, who reports the events while expressing her emotions – a point of view that is both objective and subjective.

(Hou, quoted in Reynaud 2002: 69)

The meeting between Hinomi and Wen-Ching proves an ingenious device for structuring and narrating the stories before and after 2-28. It is through Hinomi's writing, her written exchanges with Wen-Ching, and her occasional letters to Ah-Shue, that the audience receives an intimate, independent, and female viewpoint that has been largely ignored both by Taiwan history and Taiwan cinema. Her written words become an integral part of the film that conveys dreams, thoughts, passions, and memories in a measured way. It also relays a distant perspective that abolishes barriers of verbal language between the characters in the film.

Moreover, Hinomi's demure disposition renders her quiet for most of the times when she is around men who can hear her. Hinomi's silent modesty is sometimes interpreted as Hou's exclusion of women from participating in history and another sign of Taiwanese people's passivity in taking control of their own fate (Mi and Liang 1991; Qi 2000: 325–327). Nevertheless, I shall argue that, upon closer analysis of Hinomi's character, she is much more proactive, independent, and determined than the first impression gives. In addition to the fact that *A City of Sadness* is a Taiwanese historiography woven through Hinomi's active writing and narrating, two examples further demonstrate Hinomi's courageous quality.

First, immediately after the 2-28 Incident, Hinomi accompanies her injured brother home. Their parents decide, for everyone's safety, to send Hinoe away into hiding and to forbid Hinomi from going back to work or having further contact with the Lin family. However, as soon as she receives a letter from Ah-Shue telling her that Wen-Ching has been released from prison, Hinomi goes to visit the Lins against her own family's wish. It is not surprising that Wen-Ching's eldest brother, Wen-Heung, has to shame Wen-Ching for not proposing to Hinomi after her visit. Wen-Heung says to his brother: 'When a girl visits us, with no regard for her self-respect, it's very clear what's up. Can't you see? What are you waiting for?' This shows Hinomi's quiet determination in steering the course of her own destiny. Therefore, shortly after Wen-Heung's tragic death, Wen-Ching follows his brother's advice and marries Hinomi.

Second, the final section of the film is told through a series of silent images accompanied occasionally by the soulful theme tune of *A City of Sadness* as non-diegetic background music, and by the soothing voice of Hinomi's narration in two pieces of writing: a diary entry and a letter to Ah-Shue. These are dramatic events, yet Hinomi's presence on screen and her voice-over remain poised and full of self-dignity. Partly through her diary but mainly through the silent images, we learn that since the wedding, Hinomi has given birth to a baby boy, Ah-Chieh. Although, like most families at that time, they are living under a dark and oppressive political, social, and economic cloud, Hinomi says that she feels content as long as she has Wen-Ching and Ah-Chieh around her. They continue to make financial donations to Hinoe in the mountains and feel reassured whenever someone from Hinoe's community is able to come and collect money from them, because this is the only way they know that Hinoe and his friends are safe and continuing to struggle for their ideals.

Hinomi's diary entry ends here. What follows are several scenes without narration. We see that one evening, Wen-Ching receives notification that Hinoe has been arrested, and both Wen-Ching and Hinomi appear devastated. We then witness: a sequence showing the police making arrests in the mountains; Wen-Ching, Hinomi, and Ah-Chieh on a platform with two small suitcases, watching a train leaving; and Wen-Ching dressed up, combing his hair carefully, and taking a family portrait for himself, Hinomi, and Ah-Chieh. We hear a camera click, and the frame freezes to form a photograph.

Afterwards, we hear Hinomi's voice-over once again, narrating her letter to Ah-Shue. Hinomi discloses the news that Wen-Ching has been arrested. Her letter reads:

We thought of running away, but there was nowhere to go. I'm writing so long afterwards because only now do I feel calmer. The photograph was taken three days before Wen-Ching's arrest. When they came he was taking someone's portrait. He insisted on finishing the job before they led him away. I've searched and enquired everywhere in Taipei but I've no news. Ah-Chieh is teething. He has a lovely smile and he has your uncle's eyes. Please come and see us soon. It's getting colder in Chiu-Fen. The autumn blossom is out. The hills are all white. It's like snow.

This is a letter written by a woman with tremendous self-control. Her passion is displayed through her stillness and silence, and her strength is manifested in her courage to lead a normal life as much as in the external circumstances which allow her to. The contrast between her description of the scenery here and her description of the scenery when she first appears in the movie reveals the change of space and time, and reflects her internal journey. Hinomi's writing has invited the audience 'into a cinematic space, not to understand, connecting cause and effect, but to experience'. It is 'an aesthetic of deliberation' that privileges 'aura, ambiance, and mood, leaving temporal markers as mere footnotes' (Yeh and Davis 2005: 134). This is why the history and identity revealed in *A City of Sadness* feel authentic but ambivalent, reserved and yet powerful.

Conclusion

Resistance can be an enabling analytical concept. When we recognize that *A City of Sadness* and *The Wind that Shakes the Barley* share a central theme of resistance in dealing with the respective colonial histories of Taiwan and of Ireland, a comparative approach to the two movies not only enriches our readings of the narratives and characters in the stories, but also highlights vast variations in representations and notions of resistance. Hollander and Einwohner (2004: 547) note two core elements of resistance, which are action and opposition, and define “overt” resistance, which is intended by the actor and recognized by both targets and observers’. They also find that two issues, recognition and intent, lie at the heart of disagreement regarding the limits of the concept.

This paper has attempted to add to our understanding of resistance by analysing filmic languages employed by Hou Hsiao-Hsien and Ken Loach. While Loach’s *The Wind that Shakes the Barley* depicts proactive and passionate heroism, Hou’s *A City of Sadness* embraces silent and passive endurance. On the one hand, both films portray overt and covert resistance, in varying degrees, through familial storylines, grassroots perspectives, written and verbal exchanges, as well as direct and indirect representations of violence on screen. This shows commonalities of resistance against oppression, whether the background be Taiwan or Ireland. On the other hand, *A City of Sadness* articulates much more extensively an externally-defined, identity-based resistance, which not all observers may interpret as a form of resistance. The differences between the two films therefore become particularly revealing of the different cultural, political, and historical trajectories taken by the two filmmakers when they produced their works. In this way, a comparison between *A City of Sadness* and *The Wind that Shakes the Barley* helps illuminate the cinematic strategies adopted by filmmakers to reflect identity politics in different contexts. The comparison also demonstrates the complexity and diversity of resistance as a concept and as a form of action.

Bibliography

- Archibald, D. (2007) ‘Correcting Historical Lies: An interview with Ken Loach and Paul Laverty’, *Cineaste*, 32 (2): 26–30.
- Brown, M.J. (2004) *Is Taiwan Chinese? The Impact of Culture, Power, and Migration on Changing Identities*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Burns, R. (2006) ‘Turkish-German Cinema: From Cultural Resistance to Transnational Cinema?’, in D. Clarke (ed.) *German Cinema Since Unification: New Germany in Context*, London: Continuum, pp. 127–134.
- Chen, F.-M. (1989) (ed.) *Er Er Ba Xueshu Lunwen Ji [A Collection of Academic Essays on 2-28]*, Taipei: Qian-Wei.
- Chiao, P. (2000) ‘Xunzhao Taiwan de Shenfen: Taiwan Xin Dianying de Bentu Yishi he Hou Hsiao-Hsien de Beiqing Chengshi’ [‘Searching for Taiwan’s Identity: Taiwan New Cinema’s Local Consciousness and Hou Hsiao-Hsien’s *A City of Sadness*’], in Jean-Michel Frodon (ed.) *Hou Hsiao-Hsien*, Taipei: Taipei Film Archive. Translated by Z.M. Lin *et al.* from French edition published by Cahiers du Cinema (1999), pp. 47–64.
- Crowdus, G. (2007) ‘*The Wind that Shakes the Barley*’, *Cineaste*, 32 (2): 55–57.

- Curtin, M. (2007) *Playing to the World's Biggest Audience: The Globalization of Chinese Film and TV*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Del Mundo, C. (1998) *Native Resistance: Philippine Cinema and Colonialism, 1898–1941*, Manila: De La Salle University Press.
- Denby, D. (2007) 'The Critics: The Current Cinema: Taking Sides', *The New Yorker*, 83 (4): 150–151.
- Diawara, M. (1988) 'Black Spectatorship: Problems of Identification and Resistance', *Screen*, 29 (4): 66–79.
- Gow, K. (2010) 'Heroic Music: From Hunan to Hollywood and Back', in G.D. Rawnsley and M.-Y.T. Rawnsley (eds) *Global Chinese Cinema: The Culture and Politics of Hero*, London: Routledge, pp. 169–183.
- Hallam, J. and Marshment, M. (2000) *Realism and Popular Cinema*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Harrison, M. (2004–2005) 'Cinema and National Memory', *CSD Bulletin*, 10 (3): 12–14.
- Hayward, A. (2004) *Which Side Are You On? Ken Loach and His Films*, London: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Henderson, B. (1992) 'The Long Take', in B. Nichols (ed.) *Movies and Methods: An Anthology Volume 1*, Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 314–324.
- Hill, J. (2011) *Ken Loach: The Politics of Film and Television*, London: British Film Institute.
- Hollander, J.A. and Einwohner, R.L. (2004) 'Conceptualizing Resistance', *Sociological Forum*, 19 (4): 533–554.
- IMDB (undated) 'Awards for *The Wind that Shakes Barley*', *The Internet Movie Database*, at <<http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0460989/awards>>. Accessed 27 November 2011.
- Jacobson, H. (2007) 'On the Job', *Film Comment*, 43 (1): 21–22.
- James, N. (2006) 'Cannes Preview: Kind Hearts and Bayonets', *Sight and Sound*, 16 (6): 26.
- Kerr, G.H. (1966) *Formosa Betrayed*, London: Eyre & Spottiswoode.
- Lai, T.-H., Myers, R.H., and Wei, W. (1991) *A Tragic Beginning: The Taiwan Uprising of February 28, 1947*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Li, X.-F. (1998) *Jiedu Er Er Ba [Interpretation on 228]*, Taipei: Yushan-She.
- Liao, P.-H. (1999) 'Passing and Re-Articulation of Identity: Memory, Trauma, and Cinema', *Tamkang Review*, 29 (4): 85–114.
- Lu, S.H. and Yeh, E.Y.-Y. (2005) (eds) *Chinese-Language Film: Historiography, Poetics, Politics*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Mi, Z. and Liang, X.-H. (1991) (ed.) *Xin Dianying Zhi Si [The Death of New Cinema]*, Taipei: Tang-Shan.
- Monaco, J. (1981) *How to Read a Film: The Art, Technology, Language, History and Theory of Film and Media*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Qi, L.-R. (2000) 'Jiuling Niandai Taiwan Dianying Wenhua Yanjiu Lunshu: Yi Beiqing Chengshi Weili' ['Taiwan Cinema Cultural Studies in the 1990s: A City of Sadness'], in K.-H. Chen (ed.) *Wenhua Yanjiu Zai Taiwan [Cultural Studies in Taiwan]*, Taipei: Ju-Liu, pp. 319–333.
- Rawnsley, G.D. and Rawnsley, M.-Y.T. (2001) 'Chiang Kai-Shek and the 28 February 1947 Incident: A Reassessment', *Issue and Studies*, 37 (6): 77–106.
- Reynaud, B. (2002) *A City of Sadness*, London: British Film Institute.

- Scott, J.C. (1985) *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- 2-28 Research Committee of the Executive Yuan (1994) *Er Er Ba Shijian Yanjiu Baogao* [Research Report on the 2-28 Incident], Taipei: Shi-Bao.
- Udden, J. (2007) “This Time He Moves!”: The Deeper Significance of Hou Hsiao-Hsien’s Radical Break in *Good Men, Good Women*, in D.W. Davis and R.-S.R. Chen (eds) *Cinema Taiwan: Politics, Popularity and State of the Arts*, New York: Routledge, pp. 183–202.
- Yeh, E.Y.-Y. and Davis, D.W. (2005) *Taiwan Film Directors: A Treasure Island*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Address for Correspondence

Dr Ming-Yeh Rawnsley, Institute of Communications Studies, Faculty of Performance, Visual Arts and Communications, University of Leeds, Leeds, LS2 9JT, UK.