How the Accordion Usurped the Erhu in Taipei:
The Sonic Construction of Place in the Formosan Cosmopolis

Ender Terwilliger
Wesleyan University
e-mail: aterwilliger@wesleyan.edu

Abstract

This article examines the sonic construction of Taipei through media such as film, television, and the Internet, and the real-world influences and consequences of these mediated sounds. In Taiwanese media, Taipei is often portrayed as a cosmopolitan, erudite city by using accordion and other allusions to Parisian sounds. By creating a framework to understand how sound can sculpt urban space, I first reference examples of urban space being sculpted by sound within ethnomusicology, construct a theoretical framework and then apply this framework to parts of Taipei as they are represented in Taiwanese media. I propose that the sonic representation of place in media is a way for Taiwanese artists and the general public to understand and create a cosmopolitan identity. Finally I return to the titular case study and highlight the implications that the soundtrack used in the media portrayal of a city can affect the real-world soundscape.

Keywords soundscapes, place, Taiwan, cosmopolitan, mediated

SETTING THE SCENE

Living in a new city, all the senses tingle with unfamiliar stimuli. The sights, smells, sounds all become salient in their novelty. When I first moved to Taipei in 2010 to study Chinese music, two unexpected sounds became the most important to my daily life: *Für Elise* and the Family Mart jingle. The former sounds throughout the city and is a signal of hygiene as Taipei denizens gather at their designated times and locations to drop their refuse and recycling into the garbage trucks that blast the opening lines of Beethoven's melody on a loop. Now whenever I hear the *garbage truck song* (垃圾車歌 as I hear Taiwanese children call *Für Elise*), I vividly remember the smell of rotting leftovers and used toilet paper and feel the social tension as our most private gastrointestinal matters became part of a government-mandated public performance, all soundtracked to Ludwig van.

The automated threshold-crossing jingle that signals entry into Family Mart also triggers memories of buying cheap, premade meals, and ironically considering the name of the convenience store, the loneliness that necessarily prompted me to eat by myself. The jingle requires a response as the store policy dictates that the store attendant follows the jingle with *Welcome and thank you for patronising our*

store! (歡迎光臨！) in what is usually an apathetic and rather unconvincing voice. In short, Family Mart's mechanic jingle and its human echo are meant to create a welcoming and friendly place, but actually produced a cold, corporate reminder of my own isolation. Both of these examples demonstrate incongruities between the intended and actual affect produced by a piece of music within Taipei.

On my way home from the night market in 2010, I would often hear a street performer playing his *erhu*, a two-stringed fiddle. Occasionally I heard this performer play *Horse Race*（賽馬）, *Jasmine Flower* (茉莉花), or other famous Taiwanese folk tunes, but often he played the tunes I associated with the city: *Für Elise* and the Family Mart jingle which often caused amused passersby to toss coins his way. In the autumn of 2015 when I returned to Taipei and revisited my old neighbourhood, the erhu player was gone and in his stead was an accordion player. The accordion player in my neighbourhood had a repertoire from soundtracks of Taiwanese dramas and the French film *Amélie* (2001). Although the instrument had changed, this performer too played variations of *Für Elise* and the Family Mart jingle, and again I witnessed pedestrians both take delight in and give monetary reward for the reference to their shared aural experience of the city.

In 2015 I returned to Taipei and over these past several months, I have noticed that accordion players now outnumber the erhu players I have encountered on the streets. My personal observations are all taken from my time researching music in Taipei in 2010 and again in 2015. While I was interviewing professional musicians and purchasing tickets in concert halls, the street performers piqued my interest. I interviewed a handful and saw by chance dozens more as I explored the city or merely walked from the metro to my various destinations.

To me, Taipei is shaped by government and corporate policies of garbage collection and convenience store jingles and this also holds true for the street performers and their audiences in the anecdotes above. But when represented in mass media, such as film, television, and Mandopop, there is an erasure of these aural dimensions. Instead of the literal references which the aforementioned street performers used to reference their city, Taipei is represented with a distinct sonic identity, divorced from the sound of the streets, but vivid in the Taiwanese imaginary. Therefore, for the majority of this article I am concerned not with the actual sounds one hears in the physical city but, instead, with the strategic, sonic portrayal of Taipei through mass media. At the end of this article, I return to this opening vignette, arguing that the media portrayal of Taipei is responsible for an imagined soundscape that has influenced these street performers, and instead of remaining in the imaginary, has already manifested itself in physical form in the new prevalence of accordion players.

ROADMAP

In this article, I first look to frameworks, borrowing from geography, history, and anthropology to understand how sound can sculpt urban space. Next, I look to specific examples of urban space being sculpted by sound within ethnomusicology and make some necessary adjustments to my framework. Then I apply my framework to parts of Taipei as they are represented in Taiwanese media. This entire investigation is informed by Steven Feld's acoustemology and attempts to adapt the concept to film and other media, positing that the sonic representation of place in media is a way for Taiwanese artists and the general public to understand and create a cosmopolitan identity. Finally I close by contemplating how the imaginary can affect very real change in the city and attempt to satisfactorily answer the question, "*How did the accordion usurp the erhu in Taipei?*"

THEORIES AND FRAMEWORKS

During the twentieth century, media representation has shifted with Taiwan's changing politics, adjusting to Japanese colonial rule (1895-1945), Nationalist martial law (1949-1987), and the post-martial law indigenisation policy (1987 to present). Western orchestras, traditional Chinese instruments, and most recently and at the heart of what this article endeavours to understand, the accordion, have variously ruled the mediated soundscape representation of the city.

       Yet, there is not one Taipei sound as the media portrays different parts of Taipei with different sonic identities. So I seek to understand the complex musical representation of Taipei in Taiwanese media and how a motley crew of neighbourhoods represented in disparate ways can represent a cohesive, imagined whole.

       Taipei is my subject, and the city is just a smaller version of Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (1983), which refers to the nation-state. Anderson writes that the nation is a community comprised of a heterogeneous population that perceive themselves to be part of a cohesive whole. Because all the members will never meet, the group identity is imagined. A large city is necessarily also an imagined community. However, as the literature on nationalism highlights, cosmopolitans are often seen as bland and generic. For the purposes of nation building, the cosmopolitan capitals often need to bring in exotic and pastoral cultural elements to create a unique identity. [1]

The position of different non-cosmopolitan elements within the city varies with the politics of the moment (as is demonstrated in the account provided on night markets below).

       To make sense of the paradox of the city, I propose the use of Steven Feld's *acoustemology*. Feld defines acoustemology as a way of "acoustic knowing, of sounding as a condition of and for knowing, of sonic presence and awareness as potent shaping forces in how people make sense of experiences" (p.97). To adapt Feld's study to my own, I need to leap not only from the rainforest to an urban setting, but also from *real life* to a mediated representation. However, I do not

believe either jump to be problematic. When the media juxtapose a soundtrack with images of Taipei this is a way of knowing or conceptualising experiences of the city, and this broadcasted process affects the imaginary of the city for all who perceive it.

To understand how the audience position themselves during this process, I refer to *Auralities* (2014), where Ana Maria Ochoa Gautier describes the tension between the listener and the sounding object. Ochoa coins the term *acoustic assemblages,* which she defines as a "mutually constitutive and transformative relationship" (p.23) that develops between the listener, notions of the sound producers, and notions of the relationship between the listener and the sounder. Listening to the soundscape that accompanies a city is necessarily an acoustic assemblage, which seeks to place the listener in a relationship with the media and the city portrayed therein. I interpret acoustic assemblage to be the passive form of the acoustemological process. Therefore whether a creator of mass-media or an experiencer, the people of Taipei are taking part in an acoustemological process that strives to understand the city and the individual's role within it.

In *The Imaginative Structure of the City* (2003), Alan Blum presents the city as a dialectic struggle of "its two-sided character as an organisation ruled by its self understanding as a division of labour *and* by its need and desire for community" (p.3). For Blum, the city exists as tension between the different views of its character, which exist as a collective. Martin Stokes explores the way music is used to understand dichotomies within a city in his 2010 monograph, *The Republic of Love: Cultural Intimacy in Turkish Popular Music*. Stokes contemplates the way popular music is used to create and maintain life in Turkey and specifically Istanbul, dealing with themes of sentiment, intimacy, and nostalgia, showing how they are contextualised into issues of love and intimacy, the global city, and neoliberal transformation. For Stokes, modernity is the dialectic fissure that erupts between East and West, local tradition and Western superculture.

Looking at specific parts of the city, Henri Lefebvre delineates in his heavily cited 1974 monograph, *The Construction of Space*, that there are three practices which produce space: (1) spatial practices (2) representations of space and (3) representational spaces. This article is concerned with practice two which is "tied to the relations of production and to the 'order' which those relations impose" (p.33). Lefebvre's practice two describes how mass media help specific spaces within a city to develop meanings beyond their physical form.

Japhy Wilson, writing on public urban spaces in Panama, further expounds on Lefebvre (2014), arguing that the concept of abstract space is inherently problematic and a violent act of capitalist imperialism:

> The concept of abstract space should be understood as an attempt to grasp the ways in which the space of capital embodies, facilitates and conceals the complex intertwining of structural, symbolic and direct forms of violence that Lefebvre refers to as 'the violence of abstraction', and it is in this sense that the concept offers a unique contribution to our understanding of the capitalist production of space (p. 190).

I use Lefebvre then as a reminder that the production of space is always political and issues of power accompany even the most banal issues of public space.

Georgina Born also contributes to this discourse in the introduction to her edited volume, *Music, Sound and Space* (2015), stating that one of the most important distinguishing features of an auditory experience is its capacity to reconfigure space. Born states that a space is never static but always becoming. I find this an important distinction to make, especially when discussing specific sites within a city, that even if the cityscape goes unchanged the soundscape inevitably changes over time. In other words, although the architecture may go unchanged, it is possible for the sonic imagination to evolve with the change in media representation. Picking up the thread of Lefebvre's practice two of the production of space, which deals with mediation, Born theorises that music interacts with musical publics through the production of emotional affinity. Born goes on to create a dichotomy between spacialities produced by performance or gathering on site, and those created virtually by the media. Born writes:

> At issue is the capacity of music to engender emotional identification in its listeners, an identification that is at the same time musical, cultural and social. A musical public is, in this sense, an aggregation of the affected, of those participating in or attending to a musical or sonic event (p.35).

Adam Krims writes on the diachronic malleability of the *urban ethos* in his monograph, *Music and Urban Geography* (2007). Krims defines the urban ethos as a "multimedia phenomenon developed among music, music video, films, television, newspapers and magazines, novels, theatre, and recently the Internet" (p.8). Krims uses the brief infatuation with grunge and Seattle as an example of the fleeting and iconic moments that comprise the urban ethos. Krims further analyses the changes that have occurred in lyrics that describe "the hood" (p.9). Diachronic shifts change because of physical changes in the neighbourhoods but also because of the imaginary of what the place sounds like. From Motown to gangsta rap, the soundscape has shifted. Here the cities Krims is writing about changes, while only the designation of the ghetto remains a constant.

Finally before I examine music that is associated with specific parts of the city, I need to explain a distinction that is not observed consistently in the literature: the difference between *space* and *place*. In the writings I cite, the use of the terms is not consistent which is extremely problematic for conducting interdisciplinary work, but I am adopting the use of the terms as they exist in geography (Krims, 2007; Tuan, 1977). *Space* can be seen as a negative force or a physical constraint. *Place* involves the way people put positive and cultural value back into a location. For example, in my understanding of these terms, when talking about a small room with plumbing, we are talking about a space; but when discussing a women's restroom we are talking about a place.

SONIC CONSTRUCTION IN OTHER CITIES

Before looking at Taipei's soundscape, I look to writers who have already touched on accounts of sounds sculpting urban space into place. In this section I go over what has been written and coin terms I find useful for a clear discussion.

In Andrew J. Eisenberg's article *Islam, Sound, and Space* (2015) on the sounds of the call to prayer in Kenya, and Tong Soon Lee's article on the loudspeaker's role in the Islamic community in Singapore (1999), both discuss the role of technology in redefining traditions. In both cases the politics of controlling the spaces was controversial. Nevertheless, the association of the area to a specific religious group was clear and unproblematised. Anywhere within range of the broadcasting loudspeakers that stood in for the traditional minaret became an Islamic place. Although technically mediated by technology, the ethnographic account of the sounds is not transmitted to a deterritorialised audience but rather an *in situ* one. Because the technology is being used only to amplify I do not consider this a mass-mediated situation. So I argue that here the technology carved the space into an Islamic place.

In order to better deal with the tricky situation that develops as technology is involved in the creation of soundscapes and place, I wish to designate two terms: *mediated* to describe the use of technology to broadcast sound to audiences independent of geographic location (i.e. radio, television, Internet apps) and *irl* to discuss sounds broadcast *in real life* or to geographically-bound audiences. An acoustic street performer performs *irl*, but so does one who uses an amplifier. Whereas a radio mediates because it broadcasts identically to multiple locations, but a street performer who uses an amp, or a call to prayer that uses a loudspeaker to project to the surroundings, is still done *irl* because, although these examples are using technology to increase their audiences, in both examples they are still geographically bound. To further elucidate what I mean by this term *irl*, I go over examples below that involve technology to create sound but which are *irl* productions of place.

Nicholas Cook writes on the way that classical music disperses loitering teenagers. In this way, the space is carved into a socially undesirable place by loudspeakers just like the Islamic place discussed above. Interestingly, loitering teens so vehemently wish to distance themselves with the uncool music that they flee. Still sound is used to create 'in groups' and 'out groups'. Instead of a positive affiliation, this is an example of a negative affiliation that is nevertheless very strong.

Jonathan Sterne also discusses the complex algorithms involved in selecting tracks for different stores within the Mall of America (2006). The Muzak to be played is determined by store settings. The sounds preferred by the actual clientele are not considered. Instead the sound is played to the desired customers. Breaking the capitalist trend and writing from the other side of urban planning, Phillip Bohlman writes how rappers used the 'el train' in Chicago as stages (1993), using their boomboxes to reconfigure the public space, changing each car into a stage, their reclaimed place in the city.

In the examples above, technology is used to create place. However, these are not mediated but *irl*, with geographically bounded audiences. As I return to

Taipei, I spend most of my time not on *irl* accounts, such as the one that began this article but look mostly to mediated representations of the city. Finally I finish by analysing the fascinating phenomenon of how mediated soundscapes have begun to affect the *irl* soundscapes of the city.

In studies on film music, there is a distinction between diegetic and non-diegetic sound. Diegetic sound's source can be identified onscreen, whereas non-diegetic sounds have an unseen source. Mark Slobin, in *Global Soundtracks* (2008), expresses his preference for the terms 'source' and 'score' so as to better address the complications of ambiguity in whether or not a specific sound is something that the characters can hear (source) or only the audience (score). The sonic representation of a city or site-specific places within a city is always a choice whether it is source or score. Here, however, I focus primarily on score, the styles of music that are associated with Taipei and how this affects the collective assemblages and acoustemology of the cosmopolis.

Non-diegetic sounds are reminiscent of Brian Kane's acousmatic sound, or sound that one hears without being able to see the cause. From the silver screen to iPhones, we now accept and even expect invisible accompaniment with our visuals. Kane identifies acousmatic sound as possessing a source, cause, and effect. Whether mediated or *irl*, this article is concerned primarily with the effect. Kane. Kane defines acousmatic listenining as "a shared, inter-subjective practice of attending to musical and nonmusical sounds, a way of listening to the soundscape that is cultivated when the source of sounds is beyond the horizon of visibility, uncertain, undetermined, bracketed, or willfully and imaginatively suspended" (p.7). I believe that Kane is making an argument that can be adapted to mediated accompaniment. Because we do not see, and do not expect to see, the symphony orchestra, Chinese orchestra, or small tango ensemble that often accompany the action of our stories, their power in the imagination becomes ever stronger.

MEDIATING TAIPEI

Because of Taiwan's history, Taipei has been richly and diversely represented throughout the twentieth century as the governments in Taipei variously pushed Japanese, Pan-Chinese, and indigenous identities. Recalling Born and Krims, it is important to remember that the urban ethos of Taipei is ever becoming and not static. The specific emphasis, historical or cultural, that the government wishes to emphasise is created through the musical construction of place. A soundtrack can be employed to (subconsciously) promote agendas to map today's ideas on to historical locations.

Beginning with the Nativist literary movement in the 1960s, Taiwanese artists have imagined Taipei as both a uniquely local city and a bustling, worldly cosmopolitan centre. This untroubled contradiction has continued to persevere in new media representations, wherein regions of Taipei are alternately mapped to sounds and musics from Taiwan's history, or the West. The interplay between local sounds and supercultural sounds reveals not just the perspective of the artist in

question, but also highlights the role that each part of the city plays in constructing the imaginary of the city.

For example, Nancy Guy, writing on the Tamsui River that runs along Taipei, analysed the change in song lyrics about the river from Japanese rule to the present. Guy uses the lyrics to understand the way people perceived the river. When the songwriters were from Japan, the river was exotic and tropical. When the lyricists were Taiwanese and as the river became more and more polluted, the description of the physical beauty waned in favour of descriptions of its pedestrian walk area. The mediated representation of Tamsui has shifted diachronically, and Guy uses this shift to reveal the historical ethos of the river specifically and the city more generally.

Writing on street music in Taipei, Hsiao-Wei Chen mentions three specific locations where street music flourished. Chen argues that Ximending, Xinyi, and Tamsui symbolise a youthful spirit, a metropolitan present, and a reminiscent past, respectively (p.420), but also that in everyday music in Taipei, it is not possible for "more essential or deep transformation of city life to emerge via street music" (p.409). Here, Chen sees the street performances as being controlled by the Taipei City Government in an attempt for the city to control and strengthen "the image of Taipei with cultural vitality and to attract tourism" (p.426). Indeed, I have already attended the Exit Concerts that the city sponsors, where musicians are paid to perform at specific metro exits as part of the city's initiative to sculpt its own sound. However, below I refute his conclusion that street performances are inconsequential to the creation of Taipei's soundscape.

Through the use of sound, public spaces become imagined as places, connotation-laden and much more than the sum of their physical parts. Below, I look to interchangeable, yet specifically Taipei locales which are often featured in media. The sites below are useful in media for generically referencing Taipei without being specific (in contrast with the specific sites mentioned by Guy or Chen's examples above). I assess the unspecific representation of convenience stores, night markets, and trendy cafés and bookstores. As I discuss, convenience stores are not marked by their *irl* sounds of cold, cooperate modernity (i.e. their threshold-crossing jingle and the notoriously apathetic *Welcome* shouted by the store attendant). Instead they are often associated with scored, less-literal music, which I argue illuminates particular filmmakers' acoustemological understanding of convenience stores. Similarly, night markets, although housed in the heart of the city, are often musically accompanied by temple music and other indigenous musics. Looking at films made just two decades ago, a shift has occurred in the value placed on indigenous sounds that accompany the government's cultural policies. Finally, cafés and bookstores are a site for an established French verisimilitude style which represents erudition. And it is these scored café sounds that have through the media, become dominant in the Taipei ethos as the acoustemology préféré.

CONVENIENCE STORES

In the film *Au Revoir Taipei* and the Taiwanese television drama *In Time With You*, a number of themes are used for various situations. Following an East Asian formula for movies and dramas, an OST (original soundtrack) of limited precomposed pieces is used for not just films, but dramas as well. Because a single album is used for roughly two dozen hours in a drama series, a small number of pop songs and music themes without words are used to set the mood for many different kinds of scenes. In both the aforementioned film and TV drama, convenience stores employ Muzak-style music that is often comically juxtaposed with manic chase scenes happening in other locales to high tempo, frantic music. Convenience stores are sonically sealed from the violence and chase scenes that occur outside of the sonic environment. In both media, the music helps accentuate the slowness with which the protagonist makes her selections as she is unaware that elsewhere there is an exciting chase.

A variation of this is used in the music video for *Welcome* by parody duo OneTwoFree. Intertextually, the track is much slower than their other pop/dance songs. The lyrics describe the boredom and repetition involved in working at the convenience store. In all three of these portrayals of convenience stores, the stores are sonically sealed from trouble (for example, chase scenes, troublesome ex-boyfriends) and are a haven where the characters can rest assured that nothing of interest will ever occur.

NIGHT MARKETS

Night markets originally developed in Taiwan around temples and many of today's popular night markets still have temples at their centre. According to interviews with monks of temples in Taipei, throughout the 1980s these temples were the home bases for gangsters who caused trouble for the night market at local businesses. Today, however, the gangs are mostly gone and the night market is now a safe place inhabited by mostly college-aged students. Therefore, today's mediated soundscape of the night market usually involves romantic music, especially the French verisimilitude described in more detail in the next section.

Au Revoir Taipei and *In Time With You* both feature trips to the night market. The characters wander around, buy food, and fall in love - all of this while the audience hears romantic pop songs. Recent films no longer depict the night market as a place of violence, and the exception proves the rule. In the 2010 gangster film, *Monga*, set in 1980s Taipei night markets, temple music is used during acts of violence, identifying the origins of the night market. Temple music and local Taiwanese art forms, such as Taiwanese opera, *nanguan* music, and puppet theatre were suppressed during martial law. When it was featured on national media (such as crime dramas) it was associated with gangsters and thugs. Interestingly, although today this music is being reclaimed in the performing arts as the government has begun supporting indigenisation projects, to my knowledge, these art forms have yet to be mediated into the soundscapes of mass-media protagonists. Instead, French verisimilitude has become today's sound for protagonists in Taipei.

CAFÉS

Taipei is a café city. New, trendy places pop up all the time. Eclectic and arty, the one thing that many of the cafés in Taipei have in common, from my experience, is a poster of the film *Amélie*. I argue that this soundtrack is now resonating throughout the streets of Taipei, mediated and reified by the café and bookstore culture that has become an essential part of Taipei's urban ethos. Defining an urban ethos is difficult to quantify, but I look now to wide release films and primetime dramas that have contributed to this Parisian flavour in Taipei.

I first turn to two Taiwanese films centred on Taiwanese people who are planning to move to France. Both films feature phone calls to France and Taiwanese people speaking French, but no actual French people! Only in the first of these films do we see France in an epilogue. The tracks which represent *Frenchness* in the films all score scenes set in Taiwan. Below I show how Taiwanese filmmakers codify the off-screen French people's influences while maintaining their silence.

Figure 1 Posters and leaflets advertising cafés were stuffed into my mailbox in the autumn of 2015 and boasted slogans such as *Foreign fashion, scholarly flavour: Da'an District has the most romantic scenery* (異國風、書卷氣，大安區最浪漫的風景）and *Bookstores, cafés, Taipei is so Parisian* (書店、咖啡館，臺北很巴黎).

Starry Starry Night (星空) is a 2011 fantasy drama film based on the children's book of the same name. The film is told from the perspective of a 12-year-old *girl* as she befriends a classmate and deals with death and divorce in her family. *Starry Starry Night* takes place in three different worlds: Taiwan, France,

and a fantasy world into which the protagonist occasionally escapes. But, the film provides only two distinct musical worlds. Taiwan and the Fantasy World are blurred together visually through special effects, and aurally through the continuous use of the score's leitmotifs in both settings. Although a majority of the film takes place in Taiwan, in both urban and rural settings, there is absolutely no local or vernacular music. The score is standard supercultural Western orchestra - featuring lush, romantic strings and pensive piano plucking, employing classic Hollywood tropes throughout and belonging to no particular place.[2]

Contrastingly, France is strongly represented via stereotype and three types of music: French pop songs, classical music, and Christmas music. The music portraying France is all source, as the score remains strictly generic. This source music is significant in that the invasion of the French otherness into the Taiwanese setting always foreshadows trouble. The protagonist's mother drinks red wine and listens to French pop records and cassettes, foreshadowing her impending divorce. In a shop featuring puzzles with famous European painters, classical music plays, foreshadowing an awkward encounter with a shop attendant.[3] Finally the protagonist and her mother dance to classical music playing in a restaurant. When the source music vanishes, the mother continues dancing, signifying that she is mentally unbalanced. Here we see that too much *Frenchness*, while fun, can also be a negative influence. Finally, we flash forward to an epilogue set "years in the future" in Paris. We see the River Seine and see an accordion player singing in French. A child is delighted with the performer and hands him a coin.

In the next film, a guitar and violin theme starts *Au Revoir Taipei*, affecting a French vernacular. Our protagonist is saying goodbye to his girlfriend as she embarks for France. The protagonist then does his first voiceover in French, revealing that he is attempting to learn French to be able to go to visit his girlfriend. The film then cuts to source karaoke singing. The genre and instrumentation are similar to the score we were just hearing, but the song is in Taiwanese. This establishes that the setting is in Taiwan and not France, while continuing to play with the audience's expectations in that they do not expect an Asian to narrate in French, or a Taiwanese singer to sing in that style of music. But this usage also allows for a sophisticated cosmopolitan feel to be established in the streets of Taipei, empowering the local scene and its people.

Nonetheless it is also used ironically. When the protagonist is fleeing from gangsters with his new romantic interest, they trip and fall into a lovers' embrace. Their awkward faces are scored with the romantic French theme. Next, the cool jazz gangster theme is applied to a kidnapped friend of the protagonist who wins the upper hand. Now the jazz theme is extended to accompany people who exploit others. The guitar riff that originally soundtracked the police is applied to the protagonist and his new romantic interest. They join the ranks of old women dancing in the park in order to avoid the gangsters. The source music - presumably playing from a visible boombox - is drowned out by the guitar riff. At the end of the film, when the audience is unsure whether or not the new romantic interest will accept the protagonist's apologies, the guitar riff theme plays and we know the couple will reunite. They begin dancing the same dance again in a bookstore to the score. It is a surreal moment as everyone else joins in too. The application of the

French theme to the streets of Taipei promotes the cosmopolitan image the filmmakers wish to affect on the city.

Finally, the Taiwanese drama *Patisserie et Amour* follows three pastry chefs as they strive to open patisseries and maintain love lives. The score is accordion music and pop songs. Descriptions of pastries, opening a bottle of red wine, or romantic glances all trigger the accordion to begin playing. Scenes shot in France, where the pastry chefs attained their training are scored to French themes. These themes then follow the protagonists back to Taiwan where they spread via their café which is so popular that customers queue unsuccessfully for days to get in.

CONCLUDING REMARKS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

A city is constructed of disparate parts, and the urban ethos of a city shifts diachronically. Any part of Taipei could become emblematic, from the corporate coolness of the convenience stores, to the indigenous Taiwanese sounds of the night markets, but in recent years it has been the Frenchness of Taipei's café culture that has gained popularity. In this article I have shown how iconic, nonspecific locales within Taipei are given mediated soundscapes. Convenience stores are shown to be calm havens, both comically and tragically. Night markets have experienced a sonic gentrification over the years, shifting from a noncosmopolitan centre of violence to a safe place to fall in love. The mediated soundtrack of Taipei's bookstores and cafés have pushed away the local and unsophisticated image of Taipei and replaced it with a cosmopolitan and French identity. I argue that this mediated soundscape is promoted via mass-media as a type of acoustemology that artists use to understand their urban ethos. Enjoying mass-media portrayals of one's city also allows the viewer to create a place for oneself within the imagined community.

During my first time living in Taipei in 2010, I often heard erhu players on pedestrian areas performing and shaping the city's *irl* soundscape. But while currently living here in 2015, the erhu players have all but disappeared. In their sonic wake, accordion players have emerged as the new champions of the streets. I posit that this shift occurred as a result of the shift in the mediated soundscape of the city. The interactions between the imagined city and the real city, which deal with hegemonic capitalist power structures that control media are beyond my investigation here but an area that I hope to investigate in the future. Nevertheless, a lag in the influence of the mediated soundscape and the *irl* soundscape reveals, I argue, which is the chicken and which is the egg. After the media portrayed Taipei via accordion, it took less than a decade for the street performers to follow suit, sounding the mediated soundscape *irl*. The implications of this process are vast. Whereas previously one might assume that the media reflect life, here the soundscape was determined by media portrayal.

Figure 2 Accordion player at the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall metro station.

The Taipei City Government sponsors special programmes in the metro and in the National Concert Hall above the performer pictured here. However, this busking accordion player, playing daily for over two weeks has been heard by more people in passing than the government funded projects that surround him. This begs further research into the decision processes of government sponsorship and their affect on artistic expression and freedom, which I hope to pursue in further research. Attempting to track the imaginary or ethos of a city has been a provocative and extremely challenging endeavour; one that is exceedingly more difficult than merely recording the literal soundscape of a city. My hope is that this article inspires further research in a direction towards which I have merely begun to gesture.

Finally, in answering the titular prompt: *How the accordion usurped the erhu in Taipei*, it is important to remember that the erhu also usurped local Taiwanese instruments, such as those of *nanguan* (Chou, 2002). The introduction of the erhu, a Mainland instrument invented in the 20th century, was initiated under the Pan-Chinese identity policies of the Nationalists' martial law. Martial law was lifted in 1987, but between my observations in 2010 and 2015 I could see a shift in the ratio of erhu to accordions as erhus faded from street performance prominence. There are many factors and complications to consider, but what I posit is a slow chain reaction. Government policy affects the media. The media create the people's mediated soundscapes, and the mediated soundscapes eventually affect the *irl* soundscape of the city. Today the accordion is here in Taipei, it is not here to stay. The ethos of the city is never static. So while we cannot know what will next usurp the accordion in the Taipei imaginary, I believe that you will not find it attending concerts or listening to street performers. Instead, I suggest you watch a movie or catch the latest drama on TV as an indicator of what is next to come.

ENDNOTES

[1] For more examples of this, see. Agawu, 2003; Askew, 1992; Aubert, 2007; Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983; Tuohy, 2001; Turino, 2000

[2] This includes Steinerisms such as *Mickey Mousing*, pitches going from high to low as an object falls, and *stingers* to punctuate scenes. See *Global Soundstracks* for more on these film methods.

[33] Although many of the painters represented are not French, for the Taiwanese imagination, there is a conflation between the Louvre housing great artworks and all European paintings being French. Continental may be a more accurate description for the general, Paris-based culture they are attempting.

REFERENCES

Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism.* London and New York: Verso.

Askew, K. (1992). *Performing the nation: Swahili music and cultural politics*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Aubert, L. (2007). *The music of the other: New challenges for Ethnomusicology in a global age.* Aldershot, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing.

Blum, A. (2003). *The imaginative structure of the city.* McGill-Queen's University Press.

Bohman, P.V. (1993). Musicology as a political Act. *The Journal of Musicology, 11*(4), 411-436.

Born, G. ed. (2013). *Music, sound and space: Transformations of public and private experience.* Cambridge University Press.

Chen, H. (2014). Everyday Musical Spaces: Street Music in Taipei. In Natalie Aveline-Dubach, Sue-Ching Jou, & and Hsin-Huang Hsiao. Editors. *Globalization and new intra-urban dynamics in Asian Cities. (407- 436).* Taipei: National Taiwan University Press.

Chou, C. (2002). Learning processes in Nanguan music of Taiwan. *British Journal of Ethnomusicology, 11*(2), 81-124.

Chu, Y. & Lin, J. (2001). Political Development in 20th-century Taiwan: State-Building, Regime Transformation and the Construction of National Identity. *The China Quarterly, 165*, 102-129.

Cook, N. (2013). Music and the politics of space. In Georgina Born, Editor. *Music, Sound and Space: Transformations of Public and Private Experience* (224-238). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Eisenberg, A. J. (2013). Islam, sound and space. In Georgina Born. Editor. *Music, Sound and Space: Transformations of Public and Private Experience* (186-202). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Feld, S. (1996). *Senses of place*. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research.

Guy, N. (2009). Flowing down Taiwan's Tamsui River: Towards an Ecomusicology of the Environmental Imagination. *Ethnomusicology*, *53*(2), 218-248.

Hobsbawm, E. & Terence R. eds. (1983). *Invented traditions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hong G. (2011). *Taiwan Cinema: A contested nation on screen*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Hsu, W. (2013). Troubling genre, ethnicity and geopolitics in Taiwanese independent rock music. *Popular Music, 32*(1), 91-109.

Kane, B. (2014). *Sound unseen: Acousmatic sound theory in practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Krims, A. (2007). *Music and urban geography.* London: Routledge.

Lee, T. S. (1999). Technology and the production of Islamic space: The call to prayer in Singapore. *Ethnomusicology, 43*, 86-100.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The production of space.* Translator D. Nicholson-Smith. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Ochoa Gautier, A. M. (2014). *Aurality: Listening & knowledge in nineteenth-century Colombia.* Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Qiao L. (2014). *Girls at Taipei metro stations (*台北捷運女孩*).* Taipei: Locus Publishing.

Slobin, M. ed. (2008). *Global soundtracks: Worlds of film music.* Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press.

Sterne, J. (1997). Sounds like the mall of America: Programmed music and the architectonics of Commercial Space. *Ethnomusicology, 41*(1), 22-50.

Stokes, M. (2010). *The republic of love: Cultural intimacy in Turkish popular music.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Tuan, Y. F. (1977). *Space and place: The perspective of experience.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Tuohy, S. (2001). The sonic dimensions of nationalism in modern China: Musical representation and transformation. *Ethnomusicology, 45* (1), 107-131.

Turino, T. (2000). *Nationalists, cosmopolitans, and popular music in Zimbabwe.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wilson, J. (2013). Contesting the Plan Puebla Panama. *Planes geoestratégicos, desplazamientos Y migraciones forzadas en el área del proyecto de desarollo y integracion de Mesoamérica*. Medellin: Universidad de Antioquia.

BIOGRAPHY

Ender began researching Taiwan on a Watson Fellowship, during which he conducted a year of independent research on music in Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Japan. At Oxford, he received a distinction from the music faculty for his master's thesis on Taiwanese identity. He is currently a PhD candidate at Wesleyan University and on a Fulbright Grant to further research the use of traditional instruments in contemporary music in Taipei.
Email: aterwilliger@wesleyan.edu