Film Geography: A Review and Prospectus

Laura Sharp and Chris Lukinbeal

With this paper we review past works that have established film geography as a sub-discipline. The paper is organized around the author-text-reader (ATR) model and pays particular attention to its role in defining the area of study and how it is approached theoretically and methodologically. The textual metaphor from which the ATR model is derived is a signifying practice associated with the cultural production of meaning through various forms of representation. Textual analysis is a hermeneutical method that became hegemonic in film studies beginning in the 1970s following Christian Metz's influential application of semiotics to film, which occurred concomitantly with the establishment of film theory as a serious discipline (c.f. Shiel 2001). The method came to geography later during the "linguistic turn" in the social sciences that did not take full effect until the late 1980s (Lukinbeal and Zimmermann 2008). While the ATR model consists of three modalities, researchers have tended to focus on only one at a time (Dixon et al. 2008). An author-centered approach focuses on the pre-filmic processes of meaning creation. Here, the emphasis is on production, labor, the auteur, the generative process of meaning creation, and the overall economic conditions within the creative industries. A text-centered approach analyzes the construction of meaning within the film's diegesis and mise-en-scène. Reader-centered approaches investigate film as a spectatorial practice, the audience as market, the situatedness of consumption, the ethnography of film audiences, and film exhibition.

The textual metaphor is not the only way to approach film geography. Moreover, though it has enjoyed a period of dominance within the field (Cresswell and Dixon 2002), it is not without its problems. As Dixon et al. (2008) have demonstrated, because the ATR model relies on the temporary stabilization of textual meaning

L. Sharp (✉) • C. Lukinbeal
School of Geography and Development, The University of Arizona, Harvill Building 437B, 85721 Tucson, AZ, USA
e-mail: laurasharp@email.arizona.edu; chris.lukinbeal@arizona.edu

relative to a specified context – the conditions of production, the researcher's own theoretical and intertextual framework, or the time and place of audience viewing and interpreting – the ATR model operates on an essentialist ontology, even as it draws from otherwise poststructuralist theories. A second noted concern undergirding the metaphor is the real/reel binary. This lurking epistemological trap conceives of the reel, onscreen world as a representation of the real, offscreen world. This manner of thinking has significant implications for how geographers approach film. Attempts to overcome the binary have been made by deploying dialectics, simulacra, and haptics. Where dialectics and simulacra maintain the conceptualization of film as text, haptics moves the discussion away from text and optics and onto a reconceptualization of film as an embodied and emotional event. Despite the flaws of the ATR model, because much film geography research up to this point has implicitly or explicitly relied upon it, it remains a useful heuristic for discussing the breadth of film geography thus far (Lukinbeal 2009, 2010). Recently, some welcome avenues away from the text and its attendant binary have begun to appear. Therefore, although we rely on this model as a framework, we also expand upon it to explore the ways that it can be used to accommodate non-textual approaches.

Author-Centered Approach

Often, studies of films from the author modality employ the notion of *auteurship*, the idea that films possess a unique aesthetic and philosophical outlook that is inscribed in the film by the director (the auteur, or author). Film theorist Andrew Sarris (1962) identified three aspects of auteurship: technical competency, aesthetic signature, and the creation of meaning that derives from the relationship between the director and the film content. In this vein, some geographers have been interested in the spatial meanings found in the works of specific directors, including Bill Forsyth (Aitken 1991); Peter Weir (Aitken and Zonn 1993); Gus Van Sant (Lukinbeal and Aitken 1998); Werner Herzog, Carlos Diegues, and John Boorman (Godfrey 1993); Jacques Tati (Marie 2001); independent documentary filmmakers McGuiness, Fugate, and Palos (Dixon 2008); and Sergio Leone (Starrs 1993). These analyses are classically textual in that they use information about the director(s) as a launch pad for their interrogation of the construction of geographic meaning within the text. In contrast to the emphasis placed on the auteur by the author-centered approach via the textual metaphor, non-textual approaches to this modality position it within a broader economic series of productive practices.

The most common non-textual author-centered approach is to focus on the economics of production, which can be sub-divided into political economy and economic geography. Writers outside of geography have taken a Marxist and/or critical approach to examine how power relations within the media industries contribute to the hegemony of globalization (Bagdikian 1992; Miller et al. 2005). In the current compilation Brett Christophers's chapter takes this approach, exploring the geographically distinctive nature of media's political economy. Approaching

the television industry from the standpoint of labor, Vicki Mayer (2011) has taken a similarly critical approach by illustrating the mutually-producing relationship between television commodities and the subjectivities of the unseen "below the line" labor (anyone who is not an actor, director, producer, or writer) that makes them possible.

The more common approach to film production within geography, however, is to use economic theories to examine national centers of production. Most notable in this area is the work done by Susan Christopherson (2002, 2006, 2008, 2013; Christopherson and Rightor 2010; Christopherson and Storper 1986, 1989) and Michael Storper (1989, 1997; Storper and Christopherson 1985, 1987), as well as Allen Scott (2005). These researchers have focused on the economic geography of the Hollywood film industry. They have charted the transition of Hollywood from a craft-based industry, through its heyday during the Golden Age when it was underlined by Fordist practices, to its more current configuration under flexible specialization. Flexible specialization is characterized as networks of sub-contracted companies and major conglomerates that are flexible enough to come together around specific projects and then dissolve and re-configure as needed. Further, through sub-contracting, the industry has at its disposal more specialized skills available to hire for specific projects. This reorganization of the industry has created a unique landscape where production is concentrated around specific agglomerations of industry, and yet dispersed by way of location production incentives, tax credits, and below the line talent pools.

Where American geographers have focused primarily on the Hollywood film industry, others have examined the geographies of other global film industries. In this compilation Curtin's chapter explores the historical geography of Chinese cinema through a focus on how the cinema of Hong Kong has been affected by Hong Kong's incorporation into Mainland China. Both Mike Gasher (1995, 2002) and Neil Coe (2000a, b) have detailed the cultural and economic geographies of the film industry of British Columbia, Canada. Where other studies tend to naturalize a national film industry, the case of British Columbia highlights the effects of globalization and the phenomenon of Hollywood's runaway production. Neil Coe does this by focusing on the economic geographies of capital and labor relations, while Mike Gasher is more concerned with the cultural implications of Hollywood's hegemony and British Columbia's control over their own representation. According to Gasher (1995, 234), "it is the definition of a Canadian reality which is at stake in the struggle for control of the mediascape."

Inspired by Gasher's work, Lukinbeal (1998, 2004, 2006, 2012) has emphasized an approach to film geography that combines cultural studies and cultural economy. This approach makes two demands. The first is that we understand the creation of a cultural text or product as ontogenetic, embedded within the ongoing political and economic practices of the industry. The second is that we recognize that hermeneutical analyses of cultural texts necessitate an engagement with the political economy of the production practices that went into the text's creation. Rather than examining the representation of gender relationships, sacrifice, and territoriality during the American Civil War in North Carolina – all themes that could be key topics of

interest in a textual analysis of the film *Cold Mountain* – Lukinbeal's (2006) analysis focuses instead on the politics associated with where the film was made and how this impacted the text. To save money, the producers of *Cold Mountain* chose to film in Romania. To save face, they argued that North Carolina did not offer enough historical realism. This statement, which obfuscates the producer's economic motivation, is questionable however, as the book's setting in Asheville, North Carolina was used just a decade earlier to shoot *The Last of the Mohicans*, a story based on the French and Indian War. Amidst calls for a boycott of *Cold Mountain* at the Oscars for its runaway production practices, one cannot but be critical of the state's own practice of doubling for other locations in film and television.

Text-Centered Approach

Textual inquiry assumes that cultural products and practices, such as landscape or film, are systems of signification that can be interpreted if one knows the "language" in which they are written. This approach to film analysis is not exceptional to geography. As Shiel (2001, 3) notes, "Film Studies has been primarily interested in film as *text* [...] and with the *exegesis* of the text according to one or other hermeneutic." He goes on to suggest that this approach is largely due to the fact that the origins of film studies lie in literary analysis. In geography, the rise of the textual metaphor can be traced to the linguistic turn and the adoption of post-structuralist theories in the social sciences. It is important to recognize the significance of the linguistic and discursive nature of geography's adoption of post-structuralist thought, influenced as it was by thinkers such as Foucault, Derrida, and Barthes; it was because of this linguistic-epistemological approach that the textual metaphor became widespread in geography and dominant as a method of research on film in particular (c.f. Natter and Jones 1993a; Cresswell and Dixon 2002; Dixon et al. 2008; Lukinbeal and Zimmermann 2008).

   In order for a text to be interpreted it must be understood in relation to some context – of production, for instance – that might include factors such as the cultural era in which it was produced and the personal vision of the auteur. This juxtaposition between text and context leads to the oft-noted issue of the real/reel binary (c.f. Cresswell and Dixon 2002), the belief that film is a representation of reality. Some examples of the binary have been overt, taking it as a research topic in itself. This can be seen in Benton's (1995) "Will the Real/Reel Los Angeles Please Stand Up?" or Horton's essay where he argues, "All landscapes in cinema are 'reel'" (2003, 71). Frequently, however, it is more insidious, appearing as the omission of the researcher's ontological orientation to the object of study, accompanied by slippery language about what the researcher hopes to gain by examining a film. Often, the researcher is interested in a given film because it is taken to be either a particularly astute or a particularly problematic representation of what is understood to be the "real" situation "outside" of the film. An example of this is Klaus Dodds's (2013) paper examining the depiction of the US-Canadian border in the film *Frozen River*. Introducing the film and topic, Dodds writes:

> In marked cinematic contrast to the US-Mexican border, the US-Canadian border, and as *Frozen River exemplifies*, the 'internal borders' of the United States, are rather 'hidden' in comparison. The *actual border*, as the film *vividly portrays*, is not simply one between the Unites States and Canada [. . .] *The border*, *in this film*, is shown to [be] a complex space of alienation, containment, dispossession, and incorporation. (2013, 2–3, emphasis added)

The remainder of Dodds's article is an interpretation of the film, which acts as foil for Dodds's discussion of his primary concerns: the material, social, and biopolitical nature of borders. Here, while Dodds maintains a distinction between the "actual border" and the border in the film, or between the real and the reel, he nevertheless implicitly treats the film as an unmediated window to the world, a representation of such caliber that it can be used, in effect, as a case study on which to base claims about reality outside of the film. This subtle contradiction is enabled by Dodds's failure to account ontologically for his object of study. Making a similar critique, Glynn and Cupples (2014) have also pointed to the often binarizing analyses of media texts in Dodds's work, as well as to the tendency of Dodds and other popular geopolitics scholars toward conceiving of texts as coherent, self contained systems lacking in attention to the theoretical complexities therein. As Glynn and Cupples show, this demonstrates the need for popular geopolitics to engage with the extensive literature of cultural studies (and vice versa). As our own example suggests, this argument should be extended to include the need for scholars of popular geopolitics to engage with the broader media geography community in order to enrich and strengthen the theoretical conceptualizations of both sub-disciplines.

The real/reel binary provides a simplistic ontology that has overt ramifications for film geography. First, it positions film as a secondary object, a cultural text that functions only to reflect lived conditions. In so doing, it enforces a hierarchy of research in which "true" meaning production comes only from first-hand or real experiences and not from second-hand or mediated experiences. This hierarchy strengthens the normative belief in geography that film is mere entertainment (Gold 1984; Harvey 1990). The second implication of the binary is that it constricts research to the geography *in*, *of*, or *from* film (c.f. Hopkins 1994). Whereas research on the geography *in* film focuses on the production of meaning that occurs within the film text, research on the geography *of* film examines the spatial practices of film production and consumption. The study of geography *from* film looks at how a text can influence geography outside of the text. The relationship of the real/reel binary to the textual metaphor is especially thorny owing to the epistemological and ontological implications of the textual metaphor. The oft-cited dictum, "There is nothing outside of the text" (Derrida 1998, 158) negates a distinction between the real and reel at the level of epistemology, rather than at the level of ontology, by suggesting that there is no way to look beyond our own linguistic-cultural ways of knowing and thus no way to access an ontological reality outside of the text. The result of this ontological evasion is that the focus of research becomes a textual analysis of a film's narrative, with an occasional reference to the mise-en-scène and film form. Thus, while geographers frequently use film as a means to

explore concepts of gender, sexuality, race, colonialism, or class, very few have paid attention to film qua film (Doel and Clarke 2007).

Three Approaches to the Real/Reel Binary

One of the first responses to the real/reel was to approach it through dialectics, which is to suggest that social life and representation are mutually producing. In their textual analysis of the Michael Moore documentary *Roger and Me*, Natter and Jones (1993a) investigate the portrayal of economic decline on Flint, Michigan, arguing that Moore's elision of traditional "objective" documentary techniques in favor of an overtly politicized narrative renders the film more authentic. For the authors, it is because of the dialectic nature between representations and their contexts of production and reception that geographers need to take movies such as Moore's seriously. In their words, "the power of representations to intervene in the ongoing reformation of material life should not be underestimated" (1993, 156; c.f. Jones and Natter 1999). Significant to this approach is that film is still seen as "representation," signaling the continued belief that film is attempting to be something other than itself. A second way of getting beyond the real/reel complicates the idea of representation by calling on Baudrillard's notion of simulacra.

According to Baudrillard (1994), in the society of late capitalism the signs and symbols necessary for meaning production have ceased to have any relation to reality and instead are simulacra, a copy without an original. To say that film is simulacra then, is to say that there is no reality other than the film itself, that film is its own reality. While it was David Clarke (1997) who first began to ponder the implications for film geography that a simulacral approach might offer, it has been in Clarke's prolific work with Marcus Doel that there developed a historical account for how the simulacral nature of film came to be. In a series of papers Doel and Clarke (Clarke and Doel 2006, 2007; Doel and Clarke 2007; Doel 2008) document the transition from animated photography of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to cinema. Where anima-photographers were driven to capture and present reality as found, through the adoption of the montage editing technique, cinema became a means to manipulate space and time and thus engineer a reality-effect.

A third approach to the binary has been to treat film as no longer representational, but as a geography in and for itself. This approach eschews the notion of an immobile viewing subject segregated from an object of vision, the film. Bruno (2002) highlights this distinction by juxtaposing the conceptual pairings of *sight*- and *site*-seeing and *voyeur* and *voyageur*, shifting our understanding of cinema from an optical to a haptical affair. Haptics focuses on corporeality and the porous boundary between inside and outside, the skin, thereby repositioning our attention to the sense of touching and being touched (Laine 2006). According to Sharp and Lukinbeal (forthcoming) "This redirection occurs not merely as an add-on to vision, but as an emotional resonance affecting the body." In a similarly tactile approach Craine and Curti (2013) suggest that we treat televisual realities as "bodies among bodies" (2013) and, along with Stuart Aitken, propose that through our affective

relations "we become the image" (Craine et al. 2013, 264). The emphasis placed here on viewing as a (bodily) experience further applies to the reader-centered approach.

Reader-Centered Approach

The reader-centered approach takes as axiomatic "the death of the author," the notion that a film text is always re-written as it is read depending on the positionalities of the viewers and their contexts of viewing. Following this, reader-centered studies tend to focus on the multiplicity of meanings derived during film reception and effects these interpretations have, as well as the situated act of consumption. Of the ATR model's three modalities the reader-centered has been the least discussed by geographers. In part, this may be attributed to the theoretical rather than empirical nature of traditional spectatorship research within film studies (Mayne 1993), as well as to the problems of essentialism and relativism that are quickly unearthed within these theories. Essentialism in spectatorship research is when the researcher's interpretation of the audience's perspective is taken to be everyone's viewpoint. Relativism, or the fact that meaning is always dependent on the viewer's positionality, works to expose that meaning has been made to appear natural, rather than contingent.

Some ways forward into audience studies by geographers have been discussed by Jancovich et al. (2003), who divide practices of consumption into four categories: the audience as market, the situatedness of reception, ethnographies of reception, and exhibition. The first category, the audience as market, focuses on audience demographics and tastes, as well as how the audience is conceptualized and targeted by the film industry. Ethnographies of film consumption, Jancovich, Faire, and Stubbings's second category, engages the everyday practices and motivations of viewing. Here, the preference of the viewer is of less interest than the social activity of cinema-going and the opportunities for interaction that it affords. The third category, the situated approach, is archival and intertextual in nature; it explores movie reviews, marketing material, news stories, billboards, and other media that help contextualize the reception of a film by a social group in a given era. The fourth category is the place of the audience, which looks at the history and geography of film exhibition sites. Some venues of interest to exhibition studies have been film festivals (Stinger 2001; Elsaesser 2005; Wong 2011), movie theatres (Zonn, Chap. 9, current volume; Jones 2001; Bruno 2002), and the home (Klinger 2006).

One of the most significant elements of film reception to the exhibition studies approach is the historical geographies and architecture of film viewing venues. Allen (1990) has demonstrated how empirically based historical research on film can break down myths about movie going, for instance the belief that cinema has always been a primarily urban trend. Rather, in the United States during the first decade of cinema's commercialization, 71 % of the population lived in small towns and rural areas. Thus, although urban nickelodeons and vaudeville theatres are often cited as cinema's origins, Allen points out that these origins are as much a small

town and rural phenomenon, with film exhibition occurring wherever equipment, space, and interest aligned. Allen's research is only the beginning of a fascinating and under explored historical geography of film exhibition in the United States. This history begins with film's origins in the public spaces of small towns and rural areas, as well as in urban nickelodeons and vaudeville theatres in ethnic enclaves. Pursuing a dream of respectability, theatre owners sought out locations at the edge of shopping and central business districts, giving rise to the movie palace and the transformation of film into an architectural event (Merritt 1979; Hanson 1991). As televisions became readily available reception locations became striated. The movie palaces followed the post-World War II demographic shift to the suburbs and away from the struggling downtowns (Christopherson and Storper 1986). Suburban shopping malls, as they began to appear, were a natural site for housing the increasing size and numbers of screens that theatres maintained (Friedberg 1993). Facing years of neglect, movie palaces across the country fell into decline. Today's cinema theatre landscape is a variegated one, filled with the carcasses of movie palaces, penny-arcade museums, abandoned drive-ins, and monster-plexes hungry for more attendance. While in some cities undergoing gentrification movie palaces are enjoying a rebirth, others have been cut up, spawning a postmodern spectacle: the palace-plex.

The Viewing Subject

The reader-centered approaches cannot be understood without thinking about the people that have populated the festivals, nickelodeons, home-theatres, and roadside attractions of exhibition studies: the viewing subjects. How we conceive of the viewing subject has important ramifications for how we understand and research cinema generally, and the ATR model specifically. The historical trajectory of spectator theory has roots in Marxism, semiotics, and psychoanalysis, all of which came to occupy a prominent position in film studies of the 1970s through *apparatus theory*, as applied by such influential film critics as Christian Metz, Laura Mulvey, and Jean-Louis Comolli. According to this theory it is through the filmmaking apparatus and the mechanics of film construction (camera movement and angle, for instance) that a film's meaning is brought into being. Moreover, because film is an always-flawed attempt at mimesis it is inherently ideological. Through Lacan's mirror stage this imperfect representation of reality constructs the viewing subject in ideology. The understanding of the spectator through apparatus theory is a voyeuristic or one-way model that creates an automatic binary distinction separating the subject (the viewer) from the object (the film). This voyeuristic aspect of the film spectator has two connotations. The first is of an immobile subject tied to the disembodied gaze. The second is sexual and alludes to scopophilia. These questions have led film theorists to consider who is the "ideal" viewing subject. For the influential feminist film theorist Laura Mulvey (1975), Hollywood cinema is founded on the male gaze, where the male character looks, the audience looks,

and the female character is looked at; through the male gaze of the camera both male and female audience members are constructed as male. Hollywood's ideal viewing subject is not only male, however, but also white, young, middle class, and an agnostic Christian (c.f. Mayne 1993). As Gledhill (1998) as pointed out, however, the question of the female viewer identity is more complicated than Mulvey and others have proposed in that it must take into account the different sites of negotiation: the text's production, the text itself, and the text's reception.

While psychoanalytic theories remain strong, the more recent uptake of haptical and affective theories has posed significant challenges to the mind/body dualism of the voyeuristic approach to cinema as a primarily visual-cerebral activity. Bruno's (2002) haptical mobilization of the spectator and transformation of voyeur into voyageur (discussed above) has been significant for helping conceptualize film viewing as an emotional and bodily experience. Under the voyeur model the notion of film as representation is upheld by keeping the theoretical focus on optics and sight. Due to cinema's much-heralded visual realism, the focus on optics positions the viewing subject as occupying a reel or real space, producing an indexical relationship between image and reality. Through haptical mobilization the spectator is not chained in Plato's cave, but free to wander (Bruno 1993). Additionally, where optical theories produce a heterological subject, haptics produce an embodied subject whose senses work in cooperation. Our attention thus shifts to corporeal experience of the subject; consciousness is not established through the mind/body dualism, but rather resides in the porosity of the skin (Kirby 1996; Laine 2006). According to Laine (2006, 104), "consciousness has no permanent 'place' anywhere; rather it arises whenever one touches another, in the mutual act of shaping." This haptical voyage of the spectator is, moreover, architectural in character, as architecture transforms film into cinema by providing a house within which the perceptual journey can take place, one that is "topophilically re-collected for public housing and exploration" (Bruno 2002, 50).

Carrying on Lacan's conception of the subject as formed through the gaze, Crang (2002), like Bruno (2002) and Craine et al. (2013) discussed above, also argues against a subject/object dualism, but does so by suggesting that we understand the image and the observer as always-already united, a coproduction wherein one does not exist without the other. For Crang, this is particularly relevant given the ubiquity of mobile cameras in today's hyper-mediated society, a fact that draws our attention to the mobile process of observation and capture and its relation to the screened content. Rather than thinking of capture, image, and reception as discrete moments (à la the ATR model), film becomes an assemblage, an active process of connecting people and things in space and time. By shifting our attention to the self's becoming with the image we are able "to move from a focus on the motion of images swirling around an analytically stationary and embattled subject to a view of the subject in motion and occupying the same terrain as the images" (Crang 2002, 27). In other words, while it has been conceptually useful to break cinema into the three modalities outlined here, continuing to do so may blind us to alternative orientations to film geography and the questions that can and need to be asked.

Conclusion

What is the future of the author-centered approach? While interest in certain directors will always come and go, this approach has not distinguished itself as being significantly different than text-centered approaches. For auteur studies to move forward they will need to situate the author and authorship within a broader milieu of productive practices and/or historically contingent inter-textual relationships. Where economic geography has embraced the importance of the film production industry, much of the political economy research has not had a geographic focus. Further, political economic or Marxist geographers have failed to give any credence to film or the film industry (excepting Christophers). This is perhaps due to a normative belief that film is mere entertainment or, as David Harvey has said (1989, 322), just "a sequence of images upon a depthless screen" that do not have "the power to overturn established ways of seeing or transcend the conflictual conditions of the moment." We find this interesting, considering the emphasis by the Frankfurt School on film and media, as well as in the works of Raymond Williams and Guy Debord.

The most fruitful area of future research for author-centered studies lies at the intersection of cultural economy and cultural studies. Within this there are two different tracts. The first comes out of the approach developed by Gasher and Lukinbeal, which emphasizes a critical engagement of textual meaning through a focus on the economics of location production and the politics of on-location filming. The second emphasizes the underlying power relations, inequalities, and uneven developments of the industry and how these influence meaning production. Meaning production here focuses on how social and economic production practices perpetuate, reify, and naturalize the hegemonic ideologies complicit in their own production.

What is the future of the text-centered approach? As people continue to study film-as-text, issues over the real/reel binary and the infinite deferral of research away from film qua film will continue. A dialectic understanding of the real/reel binary reifies the simplistic ontology of film as mere representation. We therefore see simulacra and haptics as the most productive avenues of future research in the text-centered approach. Simulacra provides a means to discuss representational discourse in relation to film without connoting that film is merely an image. It also helps shift the focus toward geographies of film form and its relation to the diegesis. Rather than segregating the viewer-reader from the text, a haptical approach positions the reader within an ontological understanding of the film viewing experience. A haptical understanding of film moves away from the connotation of subject/object relations, where film is merely a cultural object/product. In a similar way, geography's engagement with performance and non-representational theories seeks to overturn the focus of studying cultural products by switching the focus to cultural practices, affect, emotion, and the body. Particularly exciting paths of future text-centered research are those that combine simulacra and haptics with author or reader centered approaches. Fletchall et al. (2012), for instance, contextualize how

the production of Orange County, California, or "the OC," derives from a simulacral palimpsest of media texts. It is through an understanding of the OC as simulacra that reality television shows depicting this area are understood by viewers, rather than through the actual happenings of daily life in Orange County. Further, they argue that through emotional and geographic realism reality show fans engage in a haptical practice of place-making.

What is the future of the reader-centered approach? The most exciting aspects of reader-centered studies are twofold. The first approach in need of further development is the theoretical advances regarding the viewing subject, especially as this relates to haptics and psychoanalysis. These theories are of most interest because they challenge traditional notions of the spatiality of film reception centered on voyeurism, thus allowing for more nuanced understandings. Where voyeurism allowed us to point out certain underlying power issues relating to the images (e.g. Mulvey 1975), it also delimits a terrain that is constricted by the subject/object and mind/body binaries that lead to heterology, an unsustainable theoretical construct. On the other hand, the promise of affect, emotion, and non-representational theories in geography parallels the emphasis in film studies on haptics, the body, and psychoanalysis. Cross-pollination between these fields is much needed and these theories point the way.

The second needed area of research in the reader-centered approach is engagement with historical geographies of exhibition, especially as this relates to spectatorship and how we understand the production of meaning within the diegesis and mise-en-scène. Researchers here have mainly focused on the historical context of viewing within the United States and Britain. Little attention has been paid, however, to comparing the situatedness and spatiality of exhibition across countries. Further, the ATR model assumes a textually-centered spectator. Although poststructural theory has challenged this assumption through concepts of essentialism and relativism, Hanson's (1991) work highlights how, during the 1910s and 1920s, the textually-centered spectator was mutually co-constructed with Hollywood's classical paradigm of narration. The classical paradigm attempted to homogenize meaning across a national scale by eliminating the "empirically variable acts of reception" (Hanson 1990, 55). The development of the Hollywood narrative style would take decades to develop and is not a static construct (Bordwell 2002).

In this paper we have used the ATR model as a heuristic device to discuss past trajectories and future possibilities within film geography. Despite significant drawbacks to this approach, its continued relevance is seen in the work of the many geographers who continue to deploy it, wittingly or not. For this reason, we have found it necessary to provide a clear delineation of how the model has become entrenched in the discipline, as well as how it can be used to move forward. By recognizing the ATR model and its accompanying real/reel binary for what they are – scaffolding that allows researchers to safely and slowly work towards a stronger, more theoretically sound paradigm – it is our hope that we will soon be at a point where we can move beyond this approach to discover new and exciting vistas of research for film geography.

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