FILM CULTURE IN TRANSITION

THE AESTHETICS *and* POLITICS *of* CINEMATIC PEDESTRIANISM

Walking in Films

ASLI ÖZGEN

Amsterdam University Press

The Aesthetics and Politics of Cinematic Pedestrianism

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to all wonderful women of 318
to my sister flâneuse Gözde

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Table of Contents

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Acknowledgements

Deleuze and Guattari's opening words for *A Thousand Plateaus* read as follows: "The two of us wrote *Anti-Oedipus* together. Since each of us was several, there was quite a crowd." I cannot remember reading a better articulation of authorial multiplicity. There is always an immense amount of intellectual and emotional labour that goes into academic research, and eventually a book. While most of the time the process feels very lonely, the questions and the ideas cannot be separated from all the inspirational encounters all along the way. Deleuze would probably describe the process proceeding in *zigzags*. One's steps are not guided by the most direct and shortest line to the ultimate destination, but affected by chance encounters, rhizomatic connections, and sometimes intuitions. This includes all the encounters—some immensely enriching, some deeply shocking, some temptingly appealing, and some utterly unsettling—throughout the long journey.

This project was initially inspired by women's engrossing screen journeys on foot. That summer that I spent reading Deleuze's two-volume treatise on cinema while watching every film that he named, I met captivating protagonists whose dreamy wanderings, transgressive ramblings, and gleeful border-crossings intrigued my interest. While Deleuze did write on walking, these women were strikingly absent in his work.

It was that summer that I met Patricia Pisters at Deleuze Studies Summer School in Cologne, Germany. One of the few women academics writing and thinking on Deleuze back then, Patricia has been an inspiring mentor to guide me into this research. In my subsequent academic explorations, she continued to be a powerful inspiration through her scholarly perspective, professional guidance, and heart-warming attitude. I wish to thank her for her continuous support during turbulent times and for her enlightening feedback that always impelled me to broader intellectual discoveries. This book would not have been possible without her.

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pursue the research that I had in mind. I also wish to thank him for his ongoing support in the early stages of my academic career.

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Introduction: Cinematic Pedestrianism in the City

Abstract

In this introductory chapter, the ambulant protagonist of *Paris qui dort* (1923) provides a starting point to discuss the interrelationship between cinema and city via the figure of the pedestrian. Following a brief analysis of the film, this chapter formulates the concept of cinematic pedestrianism based on three key notions. Henri Lefebvre's contention that space is ideologically and materially produced enables a critical reading of the politics underlying urban and cinematic spaces. Michel de Certeau's 'pedestrian acts' points to the political potentials of walking, while Jacques Rancière's theory of aesthetics illuminates how walking in the city and its cinematic articulations can disrupt the dominant construction of space. The chapter concludes by outlining the itinerary of the book.

Keywords: film historiography, Michel de Certeau, Henri Lefebvre, pedestrianism, Jacques Rancière, walking

In René Clair's science-fiction comedy *Paris qui dort* (known as *Paris Asleep* or *The Crazy Ray*, 1923), the watchman of the Eiffel Tower Albert wakes up one morning to find the entire city at a standstill. As he looks down from the top of the Tower, he is perplexed by the absolute stillness of the streets. Bewildered, but not so bothered, Albert decides to snooze. As the clock ticks forward towards noon, the city does not wake up. The wide avenues, the meandering river Seine, the bridges, parks, and squares—all appear strikingly empty. Intrigued by the oddity of the situation and knowing what "the city should look like" at this time on an ordinary day, Albert descends the Tower and sets out for a walk along the streets of Paris.[1] He roves around the city's noted sights, such as the Pont d'Iéna, the Place de la Concorde, and

1 Quoted from the intertitles.

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the Champs-Élysées, only to find all of them completely deserted. In Clair's surrealist cinematics, Paris—"the capital of the nineteenth century"—appears strangely uncanny when drained of its bustling rhythm.

A large part of the film shows Albert's flânerie across the city, while he investigates the reasons that brought the city to this unusual motionless state. The still images are linked through Albert's walk: a car frozen in the middle of its journey, a man poised to jump into the Seine with a suicide note in his hand, a caretaker taking the garbage out, and a policeman about to catch a pickpocket—all paralysed in the middle of acting. In these shots, what we see for a couple of seconds is a scene of motionlessness, filled with "majestic inactivity," to quote from the intertitles. Without any intervening movement, it is hard to discern whether we are looking at a still or moving image. We are only certain that the film is rolling when Albert walks *into* these fixed frames. The inanimate picture is thus converted into an animate picture by the pedestrian's entrance into the frame. Specifically in this sequence, his walk interweaves stasis and movement, inanimate and animate, photography and film, which exist simultaneously on screen, making *Paris qui dort* a reflection on the emergence of cinematic movement. Produced at the height of the European avant-garde, the film stands out as a significant example to interrogate the aesthetic interrelationship between the city and the cinema via the figure of the pedestrian.

Paris qui dort tackles cinema's interrelation with urban modernity on a number of levels. Firstly, what brings the city to a complete halt is a recent technological innovation by mad scientist Dr. Crase, whose new machine emits a ray that can control time and movement within its range (hence the film's US release title: *The Crazy Ray*). With this invention, the doctor is able to still or animate movements, bring life into and out of motion, speed up or slow down the course of events in the city. This is conveyed in the film through the use of fast motion, slow motion, and freeze-frames. If Dr. Crase is a filmmaker,[2] as Annette Michelson argues, it's impossible to miss the phonetic similarity of his name with that of Clair. Just like cinema's ability to manipulate time and space on the screen, the doctor exerts dominance over the urban space. The film thus establishes an aesthetic correlation between cinema as a time- and movement-based medium and the city as the canvas of industrial modernity's increasing control over time and movement.

Secondly, the invisible ray is reminiscent of the "penetrating yet intangible new media," such as telegraphy, photography, and radio, which were based on

2 Michelson, "Dr. Crase and Mr. Clair," 47.

physical principles beyond the range of human sense organs.[3] Throughout the first decades of the twentieth century, cultural imagination was influenced by the invention of 'teleforce',[4] which the popular media called a 'death ray' or 'death beam.' It is therefore possible to situate *Paris qui dort* among such dystopic films as Lev Kuleshov's *The Death Ray* (1925) and Harry Piel's *The Master of the World* (1934), which similarly concern the destructive effects of a newfound invisible ray. These films ultimately depict the unwelcome effects of technology that enables the consolidation of authoritarian rule over the masses. From this perspective, we could also argue that *Paris qui dort* shares with Fritz Lang's *Metropolis* (1927) a similar criticism of the corruption of power due to an advanced form of technology that can control, regulate, and govern bodies. The protagonist Albert stands out as an ordinary man who evades the effects of such corrupt power over the masses.

Finally, following on from the previous point, the act of walking is represented as a privileged liberty as well as a protest against capitalist modernity's productivity-driven regime of time and movement. Albert seems to be immune to the effects of the ray, as he was above its range (in the Eiffel Tower) when it was operated. He enjoys this privilege by leisurely walking and idling around the city. Considering its wider cultural context, *Paris qui dort* could be read in light of E.P. Thompson's argument that the standardization and rationalization of time in industrial capitalism is closely linked to the structuring of the labour force as part of a "highly-synchronized automated industry."[5] This reading illuminates the politics of movement embodied by Albert's free-flowing pedestrianism vis-à-vis the industrialist standardization of movement and time symbolized by Dr. Crase's ray. From this perspective, *Paris qui dort* deals with the modernist tension between the dominant forms of time and movement (industrial time), on one hand, and the volatile, ephemeral, fleeting movement (wandering, flânerie) that evades such dominance, on the other. Unlike a conventional science-fiction hero, the protagonist of *Paris qui dort* is an everyman—a worker with no special powers. His only power is that he can leisurely wander at whatever pace he chooses while other people and objects in the city are stunned or compelled to move at an unusual pace (for example, when Dr. Crase operates his ray to accelerate the rhythm of the city).

Following this line of reasoning, we can see another important concept represented in Albert's idle wandering: *contingency*. Mary Ann Doane

3 See Blanco and Peeren's "Introduction."

4 For example, inventions by Guglielmo Marconi and Nikola Tesla.

5 See Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism."

argues that even though the rationalization of production and contingency might seem irreconcilable, the two are interdependent and allied in the structuring of *temporality* in modernity.[6] We can stretch Doane's argument and claim the same for *movement*. In modernity's refashioning of social structures, the rationalization of time cannot be considered independently from the rationalization of movement, the ultimate objective of which is efficiency in production. Hence, the so-called irrational movement, which is not productive in the sense of capitalist industrialism, equally needed to be eliminated from the system. Contingency, in the words of Doane, "emerges as a form of resistance to rationalization … Its lure is that of resistance itself—resistance to system, structure, to meaning."[7] In the film, pedestrianism thus encapsulates such resistance.

In the chapters that follow, I demonstrate how this ephemeral, contingent, ungraspable movement of the pedestrian has been translated into cinematic aesthetics throughout the history of film, especially at moments of socio-political tension when the city became a theatre of authoritarian control, on the one hand, and resistance, rebellion, and activism, on the other. My starting point for this research was to counter the popular view that associates walking with unbounded freedom that benefits the mind, body, and soul. Instead, based on my own experiences of walking in the city, I am interested in exploring the instances when walking comes across boundaries, at times eluding and/or transgressing them. In this venture, following Henri Lefebvre and Jacques Rancière, I approach the city as an ideologically constructed space. Thus, walking as an act is performed within the confines of such constructions or beyond, and sometimes despite them. The question is then, how are such nuances in the experience and performance of walking articulated cinematographically? If the filmmaker or the protagonist enjoyed the privilege of unbounded freedom in their walks, how is this translated into cinematic aesthetics? Alternately, if the filmmaker or the protagonist was at risk during their wanderings, how did this transform their filming and cinematic language? In order to answer these questions, I embarked on historical research into the cinematic articulations of walking as an act that is entangled in two aesthetic regimes: that of the city and that of

6 Doane, *The Emergence of Cinematic Time*, 11.

7 This relation forms the main conflict and source of comedy in Charlie Chaplin's *Modern Times* (1936), where the body of the worker cannot quite fit into the rationalization of production in the factory. In this film, the worker's inappropriate movements can also be considered as a contingency that needs to be eliminated from the system but is in fact never completely eradicable.

cinema. It is in this vein that the aesthetic interrelation between city and cinema became a central question that underlies the analysis of images of walking in this research.

In this diachronical study, I explore cinematic pedestrian acts in a mainly western European context from the 1870s to the 1970s, ranging from the emergence of industrial modernity to the burgeoning of liberation movements and the subsequent rise of globalized urbanism. Over the past two decades, there has been growing scholarly interest in walking, as can be seen in an increasing number of conferences, publications, and events dedicated to the topic. The activities of the Walking Artists Network, which brings together artists with researchers and scholars from a wide range of disciplines (including pedagogy, sociology, urbanism, and philosophy), have grown enormously since its foundation in 2007. The diversity of activities organized in connection with the network also attests to the interdisciplinarity of what can now be called the emergent field of Walking Studies. This scholarly and artistic interest has been accompanied by an increasing number of volumes in popular fiction, science, and philosophy that focus on walking. With the widening popularity of daily strolls and nature walks as healthy and safe pastime activities during pandemic lockdowns, the literature is likely to grow.

Scholarly and popular writing on walking is rich and broad. Two books by Giuliana Bruno proved to be of major influence on me, inspiring some of the questions I posed while beginning this research: *Streetwalking on a Ruined Map* (1993) and *Atlas of Emotion: Journeys in Art, Architecture, and Film* (2002). Bruno's analytical perspective, at the intersection of walking, urban space, and film (text and viewing), opened new horizons and encouraged me to tackle the aesthetic interplay between urban pedestrianism and the cinematic image of walking. Bruno's interweaving of theories and insights from a range of disciplines—for example, the ways in which Walter Benjamin's writings on arcades were expanded to explore pedestrianism and cinema—prompted me to see the potential of certain theories beyond their immediate field of application. In addition to Benjamin's words on the flâneur, the urban theory of Henri Lefebvre, the everyday pedestrianism of Michel de Certeau, and the aesthetic theory of Jacques Rancière provided a productive lens through which to approach the interplay between the practice of walking and the practice of filming walking.

In *Atlas of Emotion*, Bruno's approach is largely informed by psychogeography to explore affective dimensions of urban, imaginary, and cinematic architectures that put "emotions in motion." Suggesting a shift from "optic to haptic" in film theory, the book approaches cinema as a space of sensory

encounters, whereby film viewing becomes a form of travel and site-seeing: "film takes us to an elsewhere 'now here'."[8] Bruno argues that the spectator, at once "embodied and kinetic," is not a *voyeur*, as the highly influential psychoanalytical film theory has argued, but a *voyageur* (a traveller). This perspective prompted me to focus on the question: Why and how does the cinematic image of walking generate affective alignment with spectators? Or, to use an apt metaphor: How does the cinematic image of walking put viewers in someone else's shoes? Following Bruno's "feminist strategy of reading space," I looked for such haptic, affective images of pedestrianism in cinema. Lois Weber's *Shoes*—examined in detail later in this book—stood out for its reliance on lengthy walking shots to convey the predicament of its female protagonist, a low-paid precarious worker.

However, conceptualizing the female spectator as *voyageuse* who, by way of cinema, can now experience a liberated, female form of flânerie, has certain limitations. Most importantly, it contradicts the long and rich history of feminist activism that aims to reclaim visibility, freedom, and safety in public space. Overlooking the active presence of women on the streets may ultimately reproduce the invisibility of women in public space and justify their confinement to a spectator position. Here both Bruno and Anne Freidberg, who makes a similar argument about cinema offering a mobilized virtual gaze in her book *Window Shopping*, focus primarily on the speculative effect of cinema on the (female) spectator. My interest, in contrast, lies in analysing the cinematic aesthetics of walking that convey and communicate feminist activism, especially via women's pedestrianism on the street. In *Feminist City: Claiming Space in a Man-Made World* (2020), Leslie Kern points to the long history of women viewing the city as both the site and the stakes of struggle. Taking to the streets speaks strongly to the long history of women's marches, from suffragette rallies to female textile workers' protests in 1917 Russia, Take Back the Night and Feminist Night Marches, which attract masses of attendees every year. Considering such activism, women's spectatorship cannot be confined to a virtual mobile gaze and screen voyage. Moving the focus from spectatorship to women's presence on the street as filmmakers and protagonists, I explore in this book such activist aesthetics of feminist pedestrianism.

Zooming in on Walter Benjamin's musings on flânerie, in 1986 Susan Buck-Morss wrote one of the most influential essays on the intersectional politics of urban walking: "The Flaneur, the Sandwichman and the Whore: The Politics of Loitering." In this article, Buck-Morss focuses on gendered

8 Bruno, *Atlas of Emotion*, 51.

and classed cartographies, practices, and cultures of loitering. Practising Benjamin's historical method to illuminate the past images in relation to the present, and vice versa, Buck-Morss analyses social figures on the move, such as the flâneur, the sex worker, and the human billboard. Although these social types are characterized by 'loitering', their presence on the streets and their practices of walking had different class and gender implications. Such attentiveness to the cultural and political layers of walking in the city has been crucial to shaping my perspective in this research. Buck-Morss's emphasis on the subversive aspect of loitering underlies some of the key analytical angles in this book, particularly—as I explained earlier via the example of *Paris qui dort*—the pedestrian embodying the ephemeral, contingent, and uncontrollable. While Buck-Morss uses many images in the essay, her focus does not expand into the realm of the moving image. However, just like the snippets and notes Benjamin collected from a myriad of sources on the flâneur, filmic footage could provide such a dialectical image to illuminate the past with the present, and vice versa. Dialectical images, for Benjamin, are images in which the old-fashioned, undesirable suddenly appear current, or the new, desired appear as the repetition of the same.[9] In light of this approach, I was intrigued to explore the political potency of cinematic images of walking, especially its revival, refurbishment, and recycling in similar contexts of urban change. I explain the historiographical method more in detail below.

It is possible to see Buck-Morss's article as part of an increasing interest during the mid-1980s and early 1990s in the practices of walking and flânerie, and in the question of the flâneuse. Keith Tester's edited volume *The Flâneur* is a seminal work in the field for having compiled cutting-edge research on the topic in 1994. This book provided a map of various angles and fields from which flânerie can be analysed. Zooming in particularly on the studies of walking and gender, Deborah L. Parsons's *Streetwalking in the Metropolis: Women, the City, and Modernity* (2003) has been an important milestone for tackling gendered cartographies of urban walking specifically in women's modernist literature. Focusing on women writers and their representations of walking in major European capitals such as Paris and London, Parsons traces changing tropes of pedestrianism across a turbulent era, from the turn of the century to the Second World War. The stark distinctions as well as striking similarities that Parsons observes between literary representations of walking in the city across these years encouraged me to notice some similarities across the cinematic images of walking that stood out in my

9 Buck-Morss, "The Flaneur, the Sandwichman and the Whore," 100.

own research. For example, Lumière operators' inclusion of pedestrianism as a pre-filmic step to *read into* workings of space continued inspiring many filmmakers across generations, including Dziga Vertov from the Soviet Montage school and Cesare Zavattini from Italian Neorealism. When it comes to women filmmakers, there are overlaps in the cinematic aesthetics that articulate women's experiences of walking in the city, for example between Lois Weber's and Agnès Varda's feminist cinematics, especially in their subtle depictions of streets as unsafe, perilous, and sometimes liberating for women.

At the intersection of walking, gender, and cinema, the scholarship has been increasingly productive, but the focus remains mostly on cinemagoing and spectatorship. Addressing women's leisure and movie cultures, Kathy Peiss's *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (1986) studied loitering, walking, and idling on the street as non-commercial leisure activities among young working-class women, who could not always afford commercialized recreation. Although flânerie has widely (and reductively) been conceptualized as a commercialist activity, Peiss's study boldly showed how idle walking was in fact a non-commercial form of leisure among economically precarious working-class women. From this perspective, it became possible to reclaim flânerie from its reductionist, classed and gendered conceptualizations.

Peiss's book inspired similar studies about women and urban cinema cultures. Lauren Rabinovitz's *For the Love of Pleasure: Women, Movies, and Culture in the Turn-of-the-Century Chicago* (1998) paints a comparable picture of young women's activities of leisurely loitering and cinemagoing for entertainment. Anke Gleber's *The Art of Taking a Walk: Flânerie, Literature, and Film in Weimar Culture* (1999) was a seminal work that expanded the concept beyond the confines of literature and visual art, where it was widely studied, to the domain of film and cinemagoing in Europe. In *Off to the Pictures: Cinema-Going, Women's Writing and Movie Culture in the Interwar Britain* (2016), Lisa Stead adopts a comparable angle; however, it shifts the focus to textual representations and images of women's cinemagoing. These books enrich the understanding of walking in the city in its many (textual and visual) representations. They also enhance the analysis of walking, thanks to their intersectional perspectives, probing classed and gendered structures, cultures, practices.

While many popular titles have recently broadened the interest in the history, literature, and philosophy of walking, their study of pedestrianism have not always been as insightful as the titles I have mentioned above. Following Rebecca Solnit's bestselling volumes *Wanderlust: A History of*

Walking (2000) and *A Field Guide to Getting Lost* (2005), Geoff Nicholson's *The Lost Art of Walking: The History, Science, Philosophy, Literature, Theory and Practice of Pedestrianism* (2008), Frédéric Gros's *A Philosophy of Walking* (2015), Matthew Beaumont's *Nightwalking: A Nocturnal History of London* (2015), and Lauren Elkin's *Flâneuse: Women Walk the City in Paris, New York, Tokyo, Venice and London* (2016) have had great success. In the field of film studies, Thomas Deane Tucker's *Peripatetic Frame: Images of Walking in Film* (2020) provides a survey of walking in films from a film-philosophical angle. While this rapidly growing scholarship on walking addresses multiple aspects of urban pedestrianism, they hardly approach walking as an aesthetic practice that is socially, culturally, and politically constructed.

The examination of walking as an everyday act or its derivations—such as flânerie, the Situationist practice of *dérive*,[10] drifting, wandering, tramping, window-shopping, rambling, and roaming—requires an exploration of how these acts are socially and politically shaped. On this point, Henri Lefebvre's contention that urban space is ideologically produced and Michel de Certeau's examination of walking as an activity that is able to subvert those ideological constructions have been foundational in my analysis of cinematic pedestrianism.

Walking as an Act of Resistance

The proposition that walking can be examined and practiced as an everyday act of resistance was spelled out by Michel de Certeau. In *The Practice of Everyday Life,* the chapter "Walking in the City" starts with a trajectory from an elevated perspective down to ground level, similar to Albert's descent in *Paris qui dort* from the top of the Eiffel Tower to the streets below. Certeau describes "seeing Manhattan from the 110th floor of the World Trade Center." He is dazzled by the immense fluidity of the city: "a sea in the middle of the sea," with skyscrapers lifting up here and sinking down there. From this high-rise position, "the gigantic mass" of the city appears "immobilized."[11] Elevated above all the rules that govern one's movement in urban space ("one's body is no longer clasped by the streets that turn and return it according to an anonymous law"), he enjoys the anonymity

10 See Debord, "Theory of the Dérive."

11 Contrary to the ebb and flow that characterizes Manhattan in Certeau's essay, in *Paris qui dort* Albert is confronted with an unsettling absence of movement on the urban streets. See Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*.

of distance.[12] Positioned as the imagined totalizing eye of God, he can read the city as a text or a map. Such elevation thus transfigures Certeau into a *voyeur*, as he describes it, while his descent from the top of the World Trade Center (WTC) down to the streets feels like an "Icarian fall." Unlike the panoptic voyeuristic pleasure of the god-like celestial eye, street-level vision is that of an ordinary person: "The ordinary practitioners of the city" walk.[13]

Juxtaposing the elevated position offered by the WTC with ordinary people treading the urban streets fulfils a metaphorical function in Certeau's argument. The WTC is not only an icon of Western industrial capitalism, but also exemplifies the growth-oriented global urbanism of the 1970s. For Certeau, it is "the most monumental figure of Western urban development."[14] The project itself was an urban renewal venture of business tycoons, spearheaded by David Rockefeller, to make the New York City port area more attractive to transnational companies, and forced the displacement of a large group of local residents.

Thus Certeau's choice to start with his descent from the high-rise perspective at the top of the WTC to his exploration of the common everyday act of walking as resistance to the spatial order perfectly introduces two contrasting dimensions of the urban experience: on the one hand shaped, controlled, and monitored by the city planners, politicians, and the bourgeoisie; on the other hand, that of "ordinary practitioners" who confront, appropriate, or resist this prescribed experience. The example of the WTC also helps Certeau establish another axis: while the panoptic gaze from the 110th floor is privileged, it is also fixed. Against this all-encompassing mapping of urban space, Certeau reminds us that ordinary citizens down below are constantly mobile: they wander the streets and even sometimes "make use of spaces that cannot be seen."[15] Thus, he counterpoises an all-seeing panoptic power with buzzing, fleeting, and drifting pedestrians—the city's true practitioners. At a conceptual level, the opposition of these two forces shares the opposition of the strict rationalization of time and space in industrialist capitalism to the contingent, untamed, and ephemeral movements which I introduced earlier through the example of the pedestrian in *Paris qui dort*. Certeau's examination of walking as resistance and emancipation could shed light on the cinematic articulations of pedestrianism, especially at times of wider urban change.

12 Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 92.
13 Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 93
14 Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 93.
15 Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 93.

Defining Pedestrian Acts

Published in 1980 in French and in 1984 in English, "Walking in the City," was a strong inspiration for me as I tackled some of the problems that gave rise to this book. As an ordinary practitioner of the city, as a woman, I could relate Certeau's "pedestrian acts" to my own experience of the city. Since my experience of walking ranges from walking for pleasure to having to walk, for example, to save on transport fare, or to protest, Certeau's tactics of pedestrian acts offered an illuminating theory with which to reflect on my own pedestrian encounters with urban space. Meanwhile, as a film scholar, I became interested in tracing the articulation of urban experiences of pedestrianism in films from an intersectional perspective. How does the camera capture the insecurity or threat that sometimes comes while traversing the streets on foot? Why do filmmakers and others feel the urge to take the camera to the streets? How did the aim to film walking transform cinematic language?

In "Walking in the City," Certeau conceives of pedestrianism as a practice performed in public space, whose architecture and behavioural habits substantially determine the way we walk. For Certeau, the spatial order "organizes an ensemble of possibilities (e.g. by a place in which one can move) and interdictions (e.g. by a wall that prevents one from going further)" and the walker "actualizes some of these possibilities" by performing within the rules and limitations. "In that way," says Certeau, "he makes them exist as well as emerge."[16] Thus, as they walk, conforming to the possibilities brought about by the city's spatial order, pedestrians constantly repeat and reproduce that spatial order, in a way ensuring its continuity. However, a pedestrian can also invent other possibilities. According to Certeau, "the crossing, drifting away, or improvisation of walking privilege, transform or abandon spatial elements."[17] That is, pedestrians can, to a certain extent, elude the discipline of the city's spatial order. Instead of repeating and re-producing the permitted possibilities, they can deviate, digress, drift away, or depart from, contravene, disrupt, subvert, or resist them. These acts, as he calls them, are pedestrian acts.

Certeau's point of departure is a Foucauldian understanding of the structures of power. If one admits that spatial practices secretly structure the determining conditions of social life, would they then qualify as an apparatus that produces a disciplinary space? For Certeau, the implication is yes. In

16 Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 98.
17 Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 98.

the rest of his chapter, he sets out to investigate the "multiform, resistance, tricky, and stubborn procedures that elude discipline *without being outside the field in which it is exercised*."[18] For Certeau, this investigation concerns the domain of everyday practices, of lived space.[19] Pedestrianism is one such everyday practice that opens up a range of democratic possibilities to disrupt the rational plan of the city. Pedestrians may elude or subvert the possibilities shaped by the city's disciplinary spatial order. That is, pedestrianism is not entirely outside the city's spatial order because it operates within it; yet it also creatively (and playfully) challenges, transforms, and subverts that order. For Certeau, walking "affirms, suspects, tries out, transgresses, and respects, etc. the trajectories it 'speaks'."[20]

At this point, Certeau establishes a structural similarity between "the pedestrian act" and "the speech act" by claiming that "[t]he act of walking is to the urban system what the speech act is to the language."[21] If, from the perspective of semiotics, *la langue* refers to the entire system of a language, *parole*, translated into English as the "speech act," refers to individual creative performances within the system, sometimes subverting, eluding or disrupting the system.[22]

Certeau strongly emphasizes this double specificity of pedestrianism: "the long poem of walking manipulates spatial organizations, no matter how panoptic they may be: it is neither foreign to them (it can take place only within them), nor in conformity with them (it does not receive its identity from them)."[23] Recognizing this double specificity of pedestrian acts is crucial to countering romanticized discourses that often equate an uninterrupted and supposedly undetermined everyday walking in the city with boundless emancipation, unrestricted self-actualization, or a rite of passage to self-discovery. Influenced by Henri Lefebvre's ground-breaking analysis of the production of space, Certeau's approach to pedestrian acts allows for an analysis of the ways in which urban space and its experience are constructed at the material, discursive, and imaginative levels.

18 Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 96; my emphasis.

19 Here Certeau borrows a term from Lefebvre's triad: Spatial Practices; Representations of Space; and Representational Space (also known as Lived Space). Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*.

20 Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 99.

21 Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 97. Also, Lefebvre uses semiotic references to explain the production and practices of space, See Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*.

22 It is also possible to analyse the cinematographic articulation of pedestrian acts from a semiotic perspective in the light of such classical film semioticians as Christian Metz and Charles Sanders Peirce.

23 Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 101.

From the perspective of both Lefebvre and Certeau, it is possible to identify, for example, the following factors that act on pedestrianism. First, the velocities or types of mobilities in the city are "inscribed and prescribed" by the construction or non-construction of spaces, such as roads, paths, pavements, underpasses, bridges, zebra crossings, squares, and parks. In addition, walking trajectories are strongly determined by mobility habits, the time of day, discourses of safety or about the cleanliness of a neighbourhood.[24] They are also affected by one's identity, such as age, gender, class, and race. Walking alone or walking accompanied may also determine itineraries while desires may lead one through certain pathways in a city. The body itself can govern the trajectory: following some alluring smell or escaping from a repellent smell; taking shelter from the sudden rain to avoid getting wet; being attracted to a cosy café where you might recover from your fatigue; longing to extend the visual spectacle by walking further and more slowly along a beautiful street; satisfying your hunger in a park; or looking for a suitable place to sleep… This perspective allows for an understanding of the forces that act on and shape the experience of every practitioner of the city.

I will sum up by going back to the double specificity of pedestrianism. No matter how emancipated or boundless it may feel, pedestrianism is always caught up in certain constructions of dominant spatial (and body) politics. However, it is also an everyday act that opens up a range of possibilities to elude, subvert, or disrupt the material, discursive, and imaginative constructions of dominant spatial politics.[25] Within the framework of this book, I use the term 'pedestrian acts' in a strictly Certeauan sense to refer to those creative, subversive, and disruptive walking activities that disturb

24 For example, Jennie Middleton's research into the socialities of everyday urban walking explores several of these effects on the walking habits of a group of interviewees living in London. See Middleton, "The Socialities of Everyday Urban Walking and the 'Right to the City'."

25 At this point, Lefebvre's notion of *right to the city* can also be considered a good example of multiple forms of resistance to the dominant politics of space. Is pedestrianism a statement of right to the city? Lefebvre warns us against the constant battle between the planners and practitioners of the city: policymakers and ordinary citizens constantly act on, produce, and alter the urban space. Lefebvre warns us not to confuse the right to the city of policymakers, scientific urban planners, and the bourgeoisie as self-acclaimed owners of the city. Through the example of public protests that disrupt the usual rhythm and movement of public spaces, such as "in front of the buildings," he mentions the rights gained: "the rights of ages and sexes (the woman, the child, and the elderly), rights of conditions (the proletarian, the peasant), rights to training and education, to work, to culture, to rest, to health, to housing." However, he criticizes the "right to the nature," which he calls a pseudo-right, for veiling the ravaging of the countryside by the city. To avoid such pseudo-rights, Lefebvre clearly emphasizes that the working class, as the true practitioners of the city, can become the agents of the right to the city—a "transformed and renewed right to urban life." See Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities*, 147–59.

the city's dominant politics of space. I challenge overarching assumptions about the dominant politics of space by investigating in each chapter how it is constructed materially, discursively, and imaginatively. Therefore, in addition to the ways in which the pedestrian acts have been transposed into cinematic aesthetics, the following chapters also focus on the ways in which the dominant politics of space are articulated cinematographically.

Mapping the Trajectory

Even though cinematic images of walking are abundant in film history, especially in city scenes, walking has not been analysed as an aesthetic practice that has informed film theory and praxis since its earliest days. My primary aim is to draw attention to an under-examined dimension in film historiography, namely the influence of the changing aesthetic experience of pedestrianism with the rise of modernity on the aesthetics of the emergent medium of film.

In line with this aim, I chose to focus on a few canonical titles which contain walking as a central act but which have not been analysed from the perspective of pedestrianism, in order to show the ways in which walking has been a crucial stage in the films' production as well as aesthetics. Extending my research to the extra-filmic, for instance the writings of the filmmakers, provided evidence of the crucial importance of pedestrianism. Alongside canonical works, I also focus on a selection of relatively understudied films, filmmakers, and theorists which have been overlooked in film historiography. This shows the potential of cinematic pedestrianism as a lens to further examine a wider scope of films and moving images. When making the selection of the titles I wanted to examine in this book, I specifically singled out films in which pedestrianism was a key act.

Given this historical dimension, this book can be seen as a historical revisionist venture, in which I seek to re-interpret and re-explain certain moments in canonical and non-canonical film history through pedestrian acts. My position as a researcher working between history and theory is informed for the most part by recent scholarship in new film history and media archaeology, domains enriched by a poststructuralist critical perspective on history narratives and archival practices.[26]

26 Frank Kessler and Sabine Lenk address the perspectives offered by the new history of cinema, discussing their potentials and horizons within the historiographies of cinema in "Quelles perspectives pour l'historiographie du cinéma?."

The in-between perspective that engages with both film history and critical theory was tackled by Jane M. Gaines, specifically in her articles "Film History and the Two Presents of Feminist Film Theory" (2004) and "What Happened to the Philosophy of Film History?" (2013). In these two pieces, Gaines argues that the intellectual legacy of history as a discipline has in fact always been laden with a certain level of self-reflexivity or a critical outlook.[27] Quoting Annette Kuhn and Jacky Stacey, Gaines reminds us that the separation between history and theory is a false division, albeit one that persists in the intellectual legacy of the discipline of history.[28]

In "Film History and the Two Presents of Feminist Film Theory," Gaines questions the limits of revisionist film history, specifically that of feminist film scholarship, which investigates the eclipsed forms of female labour in the early decades of the cinema. Her criticism is not a straightforward disapproval but rather an invitation to ask more critical questions in order to enrich our understanding of both the past and the present. For example, new discoveries of women's activity in early cinema are never enough and they never speak for themselves. Gaines suggests instead that practicing film historians should also question the ways *they* revisit, represent, and rewrite these re-discovered facts.[29] Quoting Keith Tribe, Gaines suggests that "invoking women's history" is never complete unless women's "actions can teach us something about our actions today."[30]

Gaines's emphasis on how rediscovered facts are represented, written, or narrativized can also be read in connection with cultural analysis, which takes the present as its primary point of departure. From a cultural analysis perspective, film history can investigate how cultural objects related to the cinematic medium—such as films, stories, institutions, and personae—function within their context, and how these objects, as well as the knowledge constructed by the current renewed interest in those objects, function in today's society. From this methodological standpoint, excavating the history of cinema in order to counter and critique canonical historiography operates both retrospectively and prospectively, simultaneously shedding light on the past and the present, as argued by Thomas Elsaesser in his recent book *Film History as Media Archaeology*.[31] The retrospective and prospective

27 Gaines posits the ambiguity of *history/histoire*—"what happened" / "that which is said to have happened." Gaines, "What Happened to the Philosophy of Film History?."

28 Gaines, "What Happened to the Philosophy of Film History?," 71.

29 Gaines, "Film History and the Two Presents of Feminist Film Theory."

30 Gaines, "Film History and the Two Presents of Feminist Film Theory," 116.

31 Elsaesser, *Film History as Media Archaeology*, 17–26.

interplay of film historical research borrows from Benjaminian historical method, which I mentioned earlier. In this vein, my analysis and examination of cinematic pedestrianism aims to illuminate the present via past, and vice versa. Since my study of cinematic pedestrianism is informed by an analysis of the interplay between the urban space and cinema as aesthetic constructions that are laden with politics, the films that I analyse in this book are not frozen in their own contexts, but they speak in many ways to the present.

In this book, my endeavour to revisit the history of cinema from the perspective of the aesthetic interaction between the city and the filmic medium via the figure of the pedestrian is also informed by this methodological framework. Excavating cinematic pedestrianism in film history, enriched by the theory of aesthetics, can enhance our understanding, both retrospectively and prospectively, of the media produced by pedestrian acts that elude, subvert, or counter the dominant politics of urban public space. Thus, one of the aims is to open up perspectives from which to analyse the interrelationship between pedestrian experiences and visual media, while demonstrating how this interrelationship has transformed the filmic medium.

Researching pedestrian acts in the history of cinema constructs an alternative history of visual media from the perspective of corporeal experiences articulated in the film language. The ways in which the cinematic medium has evolved in conversation with alterations in the experience of urban space can shed light on a wider area of diachronical research into the reciprocal relationship between the history of the city and the history of cinema. While there has been plenty of research into the influence of modernity-specific experiences, such as modern forms of transportation (train, automobile, steamship, airplane, etc.), on perception, cognition, and aesthetics, the experience and effects of urban walking are relatively under-examined in media scholarship. In *Film History as Media Archaeology* Elsaesser quotes Erkki Huhtamo and Jussi Parikka's definition of media archaeology and claims that "discontent with 'canonized' narratives of media culture and history"[32] is a driving force to dig deeper into the unspoken stories. My research contributes to exploring such unspoken stories of pedestrian acts that have imbued the cinematic medium by shedding light on the overlooked crucial role walking in the city played in the development of film language.

32 Elsaesser, *Film History as Media Archaeology*, 20.

Cinematic Pedestrianism as Aesthetic Practice

The methodological trajectory described above invites a series of further sub-inquiries: How were everyday pedestrian acts articulated in film in response to the dominant spatial order? Did new pedestrian experiences, which emerged with the changing socioeconomic landscape (for example the influx of women into the workforce), inspire new forms of cinematic articulation?

My investigation of these questions is largely informed by Jacques Rancière's conception of aesthetics. For Rancière, aesthetics refers to the distribution of the sensible (*partage du sensible*), which determines what presents itself to sense experience:[33] The distribution of the sensible simultaneously establishes a common shared value as well as defining what is excluded. This redistribution of parts and places is premised on a distribution of spaces, times, and forms of activity that determines how a community presents itself to participation and the ways in which others take part in that community.[34] Rancière gives as an example Aristotle's definition of the citizen:

> Aristotle states that a citizen is someone who has a part in the act of governing and being governed. However, another form of distribution precedes this act of partaking in the government: the distribution that determines those who have a part in the community of citizens.[35]

This conceptualization can be linked, for example, to the women's suffrage movement, with a different history of struggle in each nation. In many European countries, women did not gain the right to vote until around the First World War. It is possible to recognize the distribution of the sensible here in that women's political voices were excluded, thereby silenced, by a system that determined who had a say or who did not in the community of citizens. In opposition to this, women tried various ways to *speak out* and *make themselves heard,* campaigning for the vote

33 Rancière, *The Politics of Aesthetics*, 13; Rancière, *Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy*, 57–59.

34 My translation of French original: "Un partage du sensible fixe donc en même temps un commun partagé et des parts exclusives. Cette répartition des parts et des places se fonde sur un partage des espaces, des temps et des formes d'activité qui détermine la manière même dont un commun se prête à participation et dont les uns et les autres ont part à ce partage." Rancière, *Le partage du sensible: esthétique et politique*, 12.

35 Rancière, *The Politics of Aesthetics*, 12.

for women on equal terms with men.[36] They took their campaign onto the streets. For example, in Edwardian Britain, they sold *Votes for Women* newspapers, marched, and staged massive demonstrations. When Emily Davison stepped in front of the king's horse during the Epsom Derby race in 1913, her death was inscribed in memory as a strong political statement for the suffrage movement. Davison's action can also be seen as a disruption of the distribution of the sensible, because she walked into a space where it was forbidden to walk. The incident was reported by all Britain's major newspapers, captured by Pathé, and circulated as a newsreel around the world.[37] Recent research has shown that Davison was attempting to attach a purple band, a symbol for the Votes for Women movement, onto the king's horse when she was fatally trampled by the galloping animal.[38] Attaching a visual symbol of well-deserved legal equality onto a royal body (in this case the king's horse), which symbolizes the maintenance of rule and order, would have made a strong statement for the suffrage movement by making visible what the lawmakers were all the while ignoring, or trying to silence.

To borrow Rancière's expression, such a demonstration of right, or manifestation of "what is just," triggers a reconfiguring of the distribution of the sensible.[39] This happens on two levels. Firstly, the subjects that are not supposed to speak out, thereby opening up a new area of possibilities where the established distribution of the sensible (here, the right to vote on equal terms with men) is undermined. Secondly, others who hear the message can identify with those subjects and join the demonstrations, whereby a new community is formed based on a common value. This creates a new political subject different from the one delineated by the dominant power structure.[40] Hence, a re-distribution of the sensible emerges.

The distribution of the sensible also determines, according to Rancière, those who can share in what is common to the community "based on what they do and on the time and space in which this activity is performed."[41] Rancière explains, through an example from Plato, that "artisans cannot be put in charge of the shared or common elements of the community, because they *do not have time* to devote themselves to do anything other than their work." In other words, "they cannot be *somewhere else* because the *work*

36 Purvis, ""DEEDS, NOT WORDS'."
37 Purvis, "Remembering Emily Wilding Davison (1872–1913)."
38 Thorpe, "Truth behind the Death of Suffragette Emily Davison is Finally Revealed."
39 Rancière, *Disagreement*, 55.
40 Rancière, *Disagreement*, 52–59.
41 Rancière, *The Politics of Aesthetics*, 12.

will not wait."[42] This is observed, for instance, in the departmentalization of work in industrial modernity. In a sense, modernity's distribution of the sensible is the specialized division of labour.

The distribution of the sensible, therefore, refers to an implicit law (which could well be law, tradition, or ethics) governing the sensible order. It produces modalities of what is visible and audible as well as what can be said, made, or done. The distribution refers to acts as much as to the spaces and times in which these acts can take place. Accordingly, it operates through both inclusion (a community formed around shared values) and exclusion (values, people, and acts left out of a community). The term 'sensible' here specifically refers to what presents itself to sense experience, at which point the aesthetic dimension of the distribution of the sensible can be understood.

Rancière's conception of aesthetics is not, however, restricted to the discipline of art theory. He also provides a general definition of aesthetics based on its etymological sense: *aisthēton* or meaning, capable of being apprehended by the senses. Operating at an aesthetic level, the distribution of the sensible, then, is "the system of a priori forms determining what presents itself to sense experience."[43] This conception of aesthetics sheds light on the "delimitation of spaces and times, of the visible and the invisible, of speech and noise." This delimitation "determines the place and the stakes of politics as a form of experience." From this perspective, "politics revolves around what is seen and what can be said about it, around who has the ability to see and the talent to speak, around the properties of spaces and possibilities of time."[44] Rancière's theory thus reveals that "there is an aesthetics at the core of politics" that is not synonymous with the aestheticization of politics.

Rancière's conception of aesthetics allows us to approach Certeau's pedestrian acts as aesthetic practices that reveal or disrupt the distribution of the sensible. This is most obvious when, for example, in the mid-nineteenth century, women who idly walked on the streets were looked down upon and pejoratively called "streetwalkers."[45] Similarly, Matthew Beaumont describes how night-walking was a crime in medieval and early modern England.[46] This prohibition later travelled to the United States, where night-walking continued to be outlawed for many years. Although the law addressed both men and women going out after the curfew bell at 8 p.m.,

42 Rancière, *The Politics of Aesthetics*, 12.
43 Rancière, *The Politics of Aesthetics*, 13.
44 Rancière, *The Politics of Aesthetics*, 13.
45 Buck-Morss, "The Flâneur, the Sandwichman and the Whore."
46 Beaumont, *Nightwalking*, 24.

night-walking strongly connoted sex work and was used in this sense in police records. Beaumont also finds evidence that the statute was used to "regulate the lives of the city's working inhabitants, especially its apprentices and labourers."[47] Intended particularly to circumscribe the movement of the unemployed poor, the legislation aimed to protect property (against robbery) while serving to "police itinerants and vagrants of all kinds."[48] Beaumont concludes that, in practice, the curfew that forbade walking outside after 8 p.m. implemented a political economy. That is, it ensured the reproduction of the labour force, protected private property, and controlled the itinerant unemployed poor. The law was not repealed until 1827 in England, although it had already been superseded by another law in the Vagrancy Act of 1824. This pre-emptive law "criminalized people who were itinerant and unemployed as 'suspected persons', on the grounds that they might at some point commit an offence."[49] Beaumont reports that this law was "aggressively revived" under Margaret Thatcher's administration "in order to fully marginalize youths from black and other ethnic minorities." It was eventually repealed in August 1981, "as a result of the race riots that took place in cities across Britain that summer."[50] These examples demonstrate how the act of walking can be delimited by the dominant aesthetic order—the distribution of the sensible—of the city.

Following from this point, Rancière's theory also allows us to approach the city as an aesthetic order and to explore how the sensible is distributed. This opens up several possibilities to enhance the understanding of the city's aesthetic order across different spaces (synchronically) and times (diachronically).[51] Finally, Rancière's conception of aesthetics enables a consideration of filmmaking as an aesthetic practice. It is possible to observe the distribution of the sensible in filmmaking, the final aesthetic film product, and the exhibition *dispositif* (for example, the film theatre). Through these stages, a film may reinforce the distribution of the sensible, or disrupt it, by representing the non-representable. I explain this in detail, for example, in Chapter Three, with reference to Lois Weber's treatment of underpaid female labour with *Shoes*.

47 Beaumont, *Nightwalking*, 25

48 Beaumont, *Nightwalking*, 25.

49 Beaumont, *Nightwalking*, 31.

50 Beaumont, *Nightwalking*, 31.

51 For example, it is possible to approach Gilles Deleuze's "Postscript on the Societies of Control" as one such diachronical study, where the distribution of the sensible changes from the disciplinary societies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, analysed by Michel Foucault, to the societies of control, described by Deleuze.

The Itinerary: A Walk through the Chapters

The following chapters, organized chronologically, trace the interplay between walking and filming. Each chapter focuses on a different aspect of cinematic pedestrianism with the aim of shedding light on recurrent themes, ideas, and tropes in its aesthetics.

Chapter One analyses the philosophical conceptions of movement that informed the scientific studies of human locomotion in nineteenth-century Europe. In an era of widespread interest in anatomy, Eadweard Muybridge and Étienne-Jules Marey stand out with their distinct photographic methods for analysing and depicting somatic movement. Coming from a photography background, Muybridge repeatedly used his 12-camera system to record various types of human locomotion, including walking. His instantaneous photography plates brought together a selection of certain instants, which showed the stages of a continuous stride. However, trained as a physiologist, Marey was more interested to register the *movement in motion*. For him, photography was a promising method to capture the changing rhythms and movements of specific bodies at various settings and rhythms (e.g., running up or walking down slopes). Where photography was not enough, he would experiment with chronophotography and later on cinematography to record the bodily action in its uninterrupted flow. Although Muybridge and Marey were informed about each other's experiments, their conception of movement differed drastically. Marey was driven mostly by a Bergsonian understanding of movement which saw temporality and spatiality as an unmeasurable, unbreakable flux. He aspired to depict ungraspable, unrepresentable ephemerality as the true state and being of movement. The chapter explores the aesthetics of ephemeral and unrepresentable movement in the pre-cinematic images of walking. As such, it provides a historical as well as theoretical insight which would be used to analyse the changing articulations of cinematic pedestrianism in the years to come. The desire to capture on film the individual experience of walking in its fluidity and ephemerality has continued to inform the aesthetic choices made by filmmakers, for example in lengthy travelling shots.

Taking its departure from the conceptual affinity between the ungraspable movement and the fleeting wanderings of the flâneur, Chapter Two investigates flânerie as a filmmaking practice. With an extensive selection of city scenes from around the world, the Lumière catalogue (1895–1905)[52]

52 The full title of the catalogue is *Catalogue general des vue du Cinématographe Auguste et Louis Lumière*. See Bernard Chardère, *Lumières sur Lumière*, 209.

presents matchless material for the study the aesthetic interaction between the city and the cinema at the turn of the century. The inventors of the *cinématographe*, the Lumière brothers first published a list of their films in 1897 with the intention of publicizing and selling them, and this version of their catalogue contained 358 titles.[53] By 1903, it had expanded to include 2113 items.[54] Their company stopped producing films in 1905. The final edition of the catalogue listed 2023 films, including street scenes from a wide array of geographical locations such as Algeria, Tunisia, England, Spain, Australia, and the US.[55] Walking in the city was a common practice among Lumière cameramen, who studied the rhythm and movement of public space before they started filming. The proposition that camera operators' wanderings and observations of city life can be compared to flânerie was first spelled out by film historian Livio Belloi in his 1995 article "Lumière and His View." Drawing on this argument, I investigate Lumière's cinematic aesthetics of pedestrianism and demonstrate how ambulant camera operators analysed the aesthetics of public space and drew inspiration for their cinematic aesthetics.

Women, however, did not enjoy the same freedom as men to lounge, stride, or flâner in the city. In her seminal essay "The Invisible Flâneuse," Janet Wolff claims that flânerie was essentially gendered male at the turn of the twentieth century. As we saw above, Susan Buck-Morss traced how women in nineteenth-century Paris risked being labelled "streetwalkers" or "whores" if they wandered aimlessly into public space. The politics that debased women sexually in public functioned to deny them power over that space. By the turn of the century, however, the ethics that prescribed women's movement, visibility, and behaviour in the public sphere were challenged as women were increasingly integrated into the urban workforce. They not only became more visible in public on their way to and from work, but also became more widely active in leisure activities, which included loitering, aimless wandering, and hanging out, in addition to cinemagoing and shopping.

This sociological phenomenon transformed both public space and the cinematic aesthetics that reflected it. Lois Weber's progressive film *Shoes* (1916) is a powerful examination of underpaid female labour, the bourgeois ethics imposed on lower-class women, and the ways in which their increasing visibility in the public space challenged those ethics. Chapter Three

53 Chardère, *Lumières sur Lumière*, 209.
54 Chardère, *Lumières sur Lumière*, 210.
55 Chardère, *Lumières sur Lumière*, 210.

analyses the pedestrian acts of this film's main protagonist, Eva—a young working-class woman who has to work to support her family. In parallel to Eva's pedestrian acts, I discuss Weber's activist filmmaking as an aesthetic practice that ruptures the distribution of the sensible by questioning middle-class ethics, consumerism, class struggle, and power balances in the family.

In Chapter Four, retaining my interest in the pedestrian acts of the working class in urban public space, I focus on the Soviet avant-garde filmmaker Dziga Vertov's *Man with a Movie Camera* (*Chelovek s kinoapparatom*, 1929). In a similar fashion to Lumière's flânerie, in Vertov's film theory walking primarily has an analytical function to observe everyday life in its uninterrupted flow and to film life as it is. In contrast to Lumière, however, such observations formed the basis for Vertov's revelationist cinema, which aimed to render visible the socio-political truth that underlay everyday life in Soviet cities. I specifically analyse a particular sequence towards the end of the film, in which a camera mounted on a tripod walks into the frame—just like a pedestrian. This fantasy unification of the operator with the camera resolves the duality, which I explain in Chapter Two, between the Taylorist conception of the human body as a machine and its counterpart, the flâneur, as an aimless wanderer. In the specific sequence that I analyse, the unification of man and machine blends the machine-like quality of vision (from the camera) with the anthropomorphic quality of walking (from the operator). It is through such an ambulant attainment of images from everyday life that the true workings of Soviet society at large could be revealed to audiences.

Inspired by Vertov's preoccupation with documenting everyday life and his conception of cinema as an art that *can* transform audiences, early Italian neorealist filmmakers also used walking as a tool to analyse everyday life in a war-stricken society. In Chapter Five, I focus on Italian Neorealism, in which displacement was a strong theme explored through wanderers, immigrants, bohemians, and tramps. Situating neorealism historically and socially, I investigate how the anti-fascist struggle was aesthetically articulated in the walking-shot, which was later transformed into an expression of displacement after 1948. That year was a turning point for the achievements of the resistance after the war. The walking-shot is a crucial aesthetic tool in neorealism, largely informed by Cesare Zavattini's concept of *pedinamento* or 'pedestrian cinema'. It also changes its meaning in the course of socio-political changes in Italy, from the anti-fascist struggle found in the early years of neorealist cinema to the distinctive tool of the later modernist cinema of Rossellini, Antonioni, and Fellini.

Displacement also finds strong political expression around the insurgent social movements in Paris leading to May '68. Focusing on this last historical

moment, I investigate how walking, wandering, marching, or claiming social space changed meanings on the screen in the French New Wave cinema. Agnès Varda's filmography provides a powerful object of analysis due to its diversity of genres, time span, and self-reflexive style, which allows her to comment on both social and cultural changes and filmmaking. Inspired by Patricia Pisters's formulation of Deleuze's aesthetics of cinema[56] and Rosi Braidotti's formulation of nomadology,[57] in Chapter Six I analyse the images of walking in several Agnès Varda's films: *Cléo de 5 à 7* (*Cléo from 5 to 7*, 1962), *Sans toit ni loi* (*Vagabond*, 1985), and *Les plages d'Agnès* (*The Beaches of Agnès*, 2008). The activity of walking (as urban flânerie, circular travelling, or walking backwards) is central to these films and can be seen as a corporeal practice that not only interweaves striated and smooth spaces, to borrow the concepts of Deleuze and Guattari, but also offers a gender-sensitive, political contemplation of the forces of striation and smoothing as well as a re-invention of space. The women in movement in Varda's films embody a transgression of stratified territories, such as the image-oriented society of the spectacle in *Cléo*, myths of adolescence and settled living in *Sans toit ni loi*, or the boundaries of aging in *Les plages d'Agnès*. These women on the move transform not only urban space but also the urban politics of subjectivity.

My hope is that the cinematic pedestrian acts that I analyse in these chapters will trigger an exploration of the reader's own everyday pedestrian acts that can elude, subvert, or contravene the dominant politics of space, and an imagination of the media aesthetics that they might inspire.

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