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The Romantic Walk and Beyond

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Abstract

The article will address the cultural history of walking, and it will critically discuss the creative potentials of walking as it argues that the Romantic walk is not the only feature of this. Here the Situation-

ist concept and method of the *dérive* with its urban settings will supplement the Romantic walk, and various cases of both are included in the article, just as psychogeography, geocriticism and literary samples of these movements illustrate the cognitive synergy they have with walking. Finally, the article will introduce the major scholarly publications about walking.

Keywords Walking, Creativity, Cultural history, Anthropology, Psychogeography

Walking has been addressed from a wide range of theoretical approaches, as the different articles in this issue demonstrate, illustrating the various schools and positions of the subject. The approaches include psychogeography, geocriticism, anthropology, cultural history, literary history, town planning, philosophy, media studies, political action and migration studies. Each of these approaches is interesting and worthwhile in itself, but this article will address walking from the perspective of its creative potentials, where the concept of the *dérive* method is central. The article will also briefly introduce the major scholarly publications about the concept of walking.

The Cultural History of Walking

The turn of the century saw the publication of two magisterial accounts of walking that are now commonly regarded as key works in the genre. Joseph Amato's *On Foot: A History of Walking* (2004) and Rebecca Solnit's *Wanderlust: A History of Walking* (2000) both offer a survey of walking and its place in history. These two cultural histories cover the functions and meanings of walking in society. Both authors place moving around on foot at the bottom of the class system, whereas horseback and carriages were the means of transportation for the upper classes; that is, until the advent of the railroad and the car. Walking, however, was also part of the exercise of power, for example liturgical processions, military parades and the high marching speed of Roman legions. Mass demonstrations and the prohibitive response to them in urban planning helped shape policies. In a chapter on "Women, Sex, and Public Space", Solnit gives an account of the gendered oppression of women with regard to moving around on foot; also the catwalk is a gendered

form of walking. The development of smooth surfaces, such as the pavement for strolling and promenading, had importance for marketing. Great migrations through history and the migrations and refugee crises of our time add geopolitical meaning and aspects of ethnicity, poverty, and persecution to walking. As would later be the case with psychogeography and geocriticism, wandering in nature was regarded as *poiesis* by William Wordsworth, while Charles Dickens regarded night walking in London as a prerequisite for his literary production (Beaumont 2016, 347-400). As an echo of Wordsworth's Romantic notion of the value of walking in nature, today's rambling and wandering are leisurely responses to moving around in cars on highways.

The idea that walking has value, as opposed to being transported on wheels, especially when walking in nature, lies behind the relationship between artistic and literary production and using one's feet. The exhibition *Wanderlust* in Berlin's Nationalgalerie in 2018 illustrated how the attitude to walking was changed during the last part of the eighteenth century with its large amount of paintings of walkers and ramblers. One section of this exhibition had the title "The Narrative of the Artist as a Free Wanderer" (Denk 2018, 49-61). Jean-Jacques Rousseau writes about the personal value of walking in *Les rêveries du promeneur solitaire* (*The Reveries of the Solitary Walker*), an autobiographical text divided into ten walks that he was working on when he died in 1778 (Rainsford 2003, 179-183), and in Émile (1762) he advocates travelling on foot, tying it to freedom and to creating philosophical insight:

> You start at your own time, you stop when you will, you do as much or as little as you choose. You see the country, you turn off to the right or left; you examine anything which interests you, you stop to admire every view… I am independent of horses and postillions; I need not stick to regular routes or good roads; I go anywhere where a man can go; I see all that a man can see; and as I am quite independent of everybody, I enjoy all the freedom man can enjoy. To travel on foot is to travel in the fashion of Thales, Plato, and Pythagoras. I find it hard to understand how a philosopher can bring himself to travel in any other way. (374)

Wanderlust almost exclusively exhibited wanderers in landscapes, whether in the sublime Alps or in more local nature. The sheer volume of this exhibition may stand as a historically determined corrective to the typically urban and metropolitan focus of psychogeography. The Classicist and Romantic wanderers found their creative vein in nature, whereas the Situationists and Modernists found theirs when walking city streets. What they share, however, is the creative impulse of walking.

Geoff 'Nicholson's *The Lost Art of Walking* (2010) is a comprehensive, well-researched, and also anecdotal survey of approaches to walking. Nicholson interviews walking celebrities like Will Self and Iain Sinclair. The book includes critical discussions of the physiological evolution of human walking, literary history, linguistics, psychogeography, town planning, art history, geocriticism, religion, film history, music history, ideological aspects of walking, exploration (including polar and lunar), and finally walking hoaxes. Nicholson turns these theoretical approaches into practice, as he psychogeographically walks Oxford Street in London and Ground Zero in New York, while, in the geocritical manner, connecting associations of places with literary texts, their authors, and the music listened to during the walks. Nicholson embraces the idea of walking as inspiration for writers: "We know that for William Wordsworth walking and writing were pretty much synonymous. And I do believe that there's some fundamental connection between the two" (262).

Beyond the Romantic Walk

In their introduction to *Walking Histories, 1800-1914*, Chad Bryant, Arthur Burns and Paul Readman give a wide-ranging and systematic survey of the literature on walking. They conclude that the "'Romantic Walk' and its variants enjoy a dominant position within the literature on walking as it exists today" (Bryant et al. 2016: 18). They take the notion from Jeffrey Robinson's *The Walk: Notes on a Romantic Image* (1989), and, in their own summary, "the 'Romantic Walk' promised an escape from the modern world, a repose in which lingering in the past replaced daily schedules, simple pleasures replaced mind-numbing routines" (16). In this sense, Rousseau's emphasis on independence, the absence of regularity, and freedom qualifies it as distinctively romantic. Taken together with

his reference to "the country" and the ancient Greek philosophers, the trope, moreover, stands out as a pastoral and elegiac one designed specifically to critique modernity in the form of Rousseau's "postillions", "regular routes", and "good roads". However, Bryant et al. also show how the trope encompasses not only walks set in the country or the wilderness during the Romantic Age. It expands across the nineteenth, twentieth the twenty-first centuries and comes to incorporate walks in urban and suburban areas, too.

Bryant, Burns and Readman find that Solnit's and Amato's accounts ultimately exemplify and sustain the romantic trope, whereas the purpose of their book is to move beyond it by addressing writers and practices that fall outside the 'Romantic Walk.' For instance, they want to look at the trope outside the Anglo-American field traditionally favoured. They also move beyond the tendency of addressing walkers and flâneurs of the *literary* imagination. Instead, they propose to focus on the *real* practices and experiences of historically situated pedestrians (18-20). Moreover, they want to emphasize how accounts of the literature on walking often forget the dependency of the trope of escape and contemplation upon the very economic, technological, and infrastructural revolutions it was offering a reprieve from. The postillions, routes, and roads of modernity, which Rousseau finds insufferably limiting, were central in getting people to where they wanted to walk. Thus, the authors want to show that romantic walking is walking both against and "with the grain of modernity" (22), at the same time escaping from and confirming modernity.

Like *Walking Histories*, the volume co-edited by Timothy Shortell and Evrick, *Walking in the European City: Quotidian Mobility and Urban Ethnography*, tends to focus on walking outside the Anglo-American field and beyond romanticism. Unlike the former, however, it addresses contemporary rather than 19th and 20th century examples of everyday practices of urban walking. For instance, it is concerned with what Kathryn Kramer and John R. Short have identified as the "nomad flâneurs […] treading along global networks from city to city," (2011, np). Moreover, *Walking in the European City* also examines the creative potential of walking. It is regarded as an "invaluable research method," (Shortell and Evrick 2014, 1) for the fields of sociology and ethnography grounded in, among other

things, the Situationists or Walter Benjamin's richly suggestive notion of the *flaneur*, a concept central to Kramer and Short, too.

Benjamin addresses the cultural concept of the flaneur in "Das Paris des Second Empire bei Baudelaire" ["The Paris of the Second Empire in Baudelaire"] (1991/1938). The home of the flaneur, Benjamin writes, is the arcades, and the flaneur feels so much at home in the Parisian streets that to him the facades of the houses are what the four walls of the home are to the citizen. (539). The flaneur possesses the ability of empathy to the extent that he abandons himself in the city crowd and in the metropolitan masses (558).

In one of the many notes on the flaneur in *Das Passagen-Werk* [*The Arcades Project*] (1991/1927-1940), Benjamin characterizes the flaneur as a scientific observer. He is a botanist who goes botanizing on the asphalt (470), and the same line of thought is continued in a brief book review "Die Wiederkehr des Flaneurs" ["The Return of the Flaneur"] (1991/1929), in which Benjamin compares the ability of the flaneur to read the city with the flair of the detective, who can read the clues of a crime scene, and the flaneur has the ability to observe the city scene in its pace, while maintaining his own leisurely nonchalance. In this book review Benjamin goes yet deeper, as the flaneur is the genius loci. The flaneur is both the guardian priest of the atmosphere of a place and part of this atmosphere. (196) There is an intimate connection between the strolling flaneur and the city streets he traverses, as the flaneur is both an observer and a part of what he observes.

Experimental Psychology

Work done in the field of experimental psychology also throws new light on walking, confirming and challenging key assumptions of the Romantic Walk. More particularly, experimental psychology has looked into the link that is often made between walking and creativity. For instance, taking their point of departure in Friedrich Nietzsche's aphorism concerning the origin of really great thought in walking, Marily Oppezzo and Daniel L. Schwartz show through a series of experiments that

> walking increases creative ideation. The effect is not simply due to the increased perceptual stimulation of moving through an environment, but rather it is due to walking.

> Whether one is outdoor or on a treadmill, walking improves the generation of novel yet appropriate ideas, and the effect even extends to when people sit down to do their creative work shortly after. (2014, 1142)

Creativity they understand as "the production of appropriate novelty" (1143). They maintain that "creative ideas are not only relatively novel; they are also appropriate to the context or topic". Their definition, then, is based on a kind of tempered romanticism – novelty *recollected in tranquillity*, if you like. On the one hand, it celebrates originality (akin to the independence and freedom of not having to "stick to" rules and regularity that attracted Rousseau in the quote above). On the other, it praises the necessity of evaluating the suitability of novelty, not unlike Rousseau's modelling his travels on the ancients. Without taking on the question of how to define creativity here, we, nevertheless, want to note how creativity always relies on someone who recognises its novelty as apt and fitting. For instance, pesticides and herbicides were novel ways of controlling agricultural production, but not everyone agreed to their aptness. Oppezzo and Schwartz are concerned with creativity because of its generally recognised "positive benefits." Therefore, they hold, creativity should be increased. They refer to studies demonstrating creativity's stake in "workplace success", "healthy psychological functioning", "the maintenance of loving relationships", and "contributions to society".

While Oppezzo and Schwartz succeeded in experimentally proving the commonplace link between walking and creativity, some of their discoveries are fairly startling. For example, they found that it does not seem to matter significantly whether you walk outside or inside on a treadmill. You're almost equally capable of generating appropriate novelty no matter the context. Certainly, this is surprising in the light of the relatively little attention indoor walking has received. Compared with accounts of walking outdoors, we find precious few representations of people walking inside. Tibor Fischer's *Voyage to the End of the Room* (2003) and its precursor text Xavier De Maistre's *A Journey Around My Room* (1799) come to mind. But they are special cases where the protagonists are confined indoors for various reasons – although the practice of walking indoors is quotidian for at least the able bodied. Although it is a

common form of exercise in some parts of the world, we have fewer accounts still of people walking indoors on treadmills. We can only recall Peter Sellers in *The Pink Panther Strikes Again* (1976) where the accident-prone Inspector inadvertently begins walking on the treadmill in the Fassbenders' gymnasium.

In this way, the work done in experimental psychology is capable of throwing new light on the trope of the romantic walk and the privileging of the outdoors. Moreover, their study suggests that walking is always a highly uniform activity that can be understood in terms of physiology: Oppezzo and Schwartz define walking as a "mild activity", an aerobic form of exercise not unlike running and, therefore, dissimilar to anaerobic sprinting. Interestingly, this definition conflates the many forms of walking that our culture distinguishes between: such as strolling, ambling, sauntering, stalking, promenading, rambling, roaming, marching, drifting, moseying, and dawdling. Why does language and the literature on romantic walking give room for this wide semantic range if walking is really just another aerobic activity?

However, while experimental psychology has successfully linked walking and creativity and demonstrated how the ability to generate novel and appropriate ideas is connected to walking, it completely overlooks the fact that the human talent for creativity is far more recent than our predilection for walking. Evidence suggest that we got into the business of producing appropriate novelty 50,000 years ago - fairly recently in evolutionary terms and several million years after we took to bipedalism in the first place. Also, our flair for new ideas did not pick up significant speed until the Neolithic (and consider just how novel notions such ideas as *democracy*, *football*, and *double glazing* really are). Apparently, we trudged along for eons, literally clueless (Turner 2015).

Anthropology

Tim Ingold's work problematizes the Romantic Walk, too. He demonstrates how walking as a gesture against modernity – sometimes conservative, sometimes radical – depends on a fundamental feature of modernity – the head over heels division of the modern body. In his essay, "Culture on the Ground: The World Perceived Through the Feet", Ingold argues that while it is recognised that people are bipedal and that our capacity "to walk on two feet" (316)

is acknowledged as a key element in human evolution, our feet and our capacity to walk have been misrepresented in evolutionary accounts of what it means to be human. Instead, accounts of the evolution of man's erect posture focus on the significance of the freeing of our hands from the task of locomotion. He mentions how Charles Darwin spoke of "the 'physiological division of labour' by which the feet and hands came to be perfected for different but complementary functions" (317), and Ingold continues:

> Marching head over heels – half in nature, half out – the human biped figures as a constitutionally divided creature. The dividing line, roughly level with the waist, separates the upper and the lower parts of the body. Whereas the feet, impelled by biomechanical necessity, undergird and propel the body *within* the natural world, the hands are free to deliver the intelligent designs or conceptions of the mind upon it: for the former, nature is the medium through which the body moves; to the latter it presents itself as a surface to be transformed (318).

Rousseau, in the example above, is a perfect example of this "constitutionally divided creature". He is walking head over heels through the Swiss countryside. He systematically privileges the sense of sight. He walks to see the country, to admire the views, to see "all that man can see". His feet merely propel him mechanically from one visual experience to another. They are the slaves of an experience economy that puts a premium on vision. They are, consequently, deprived of the sense of touch and sensations involving pain, pressure, warmth, and cold. We find this in Oppezzo and Schwartz's approach, too. They regard walking as interesting only because it is capable of producing relevant ideas. Moreover, this fundamental division of head over heels is also apparent from, for instance, zoomorphisms such as "Shanks's pony" or "Shanks's mare", signifying "one's own legs as a means of conveyance" (*OED*, Shank, *n*, 1.b.) in a manner that effectively dehumanises your feet and legs. Nicholson calls walking "quite literally a brainless activity" (2010, 16) and he relates an experiment in which an Oxford don in the 1920s and 1930s removed parts of the brain from cats, and "found they were still able to walk perfectly well". Moreover, the

division outlined by Ingold is readily apparent from the way language privileges metaphors of manipulation for the act of cognition: you grope, grasp, finger, cast about, pick up, apprehend, catch and hold on to ideas and notions as if with your hands. Few pedestrian metaphors for cognition exist although you can toe the line, walk with someone or something, walk somebody through something, or stand together. But verbs like *saunter*, *ambulate*, *stalk*, *march*, *walk*, *trek*, *tramp*, *trudge*, *stride*, and *stroll*, for instance, do not work as metaphors of cognition. Eventually, if accounts of walking want to move beyond the romantic trope, they have to address the experiences of a creature with two feet who is not constitutionally divided and who puts all sensations on an equal footing.

Psychogeography and Geocriticism

Psychogeography is three things, all united by the activity of walking: an avant-garde artistic movement, literary history and a research method, especially as we shall see, when it is combined with geocriticism. A further demarcation of psychogeography is that walking here means walking in the city or metropolis. This focus on the modernist metropole sets psychogeography and geocriticism apart from the concept of the Romantic walk, but they also share the value of creativity with it.

The avant-garde movement has its roots in the early stages of the Situationist International in Paris in the 1950s. In *Les Lèvres Nues #6* Guy-Ernest Debord described psychogeography as "the study of the precise laws and specific effects of the geographical environment, consciously organized or not, on the emotions and behavior of individuals" (1955). Psychogeography as an artistic movement combined aesthetics and subversive politics. The concept of the *dérive* is central. It denotes the walking technique of the transient passage through ambiences in the city with an awareness of their psychogeographical effects. The *dérive* is without a pre-planned destination, but not without an aim, as it investigates the effects the places have on the mind. Maps could be redrawn or used randomly, as when a map of London was subverted into a guide to the Harz mountainous region in Germany. The ideological aspect of this Situationist use of maps was expressed by Robert MacFarlane: "Mapping has always marched on the vanguard of the imperial project, for to map a country is to know it strategically as well as geograph-

ically, and therefore to gain logistical power over it" (2003, 186). The overall purpose of this brand of psychogeography was to force the public out of the its habitual conception of city locations and of life in the city to open the way for an overthrow of bourgeois, capitalist Western society.

Strolling and walking in the city has long literary roots with psychogeographic predecessors such as Daniel Defoe, William Blake, Thomas de Quincey and Robert Louis Stevenson (Coverley 2010); but schools of modern literature can also be categorized as psychogeographic. The English school has members such as JG Ballard, Iain Sinclair, Peter Ackroyd, and Will Self. The latter's column in *The Independent*, illustrated by Ralph Steadman, combines the relationship between places and his psyche. The column expands the scope of walking into the global, where Self leaves London to walk in New York, Marrakesh, Cleveland, Rio de Janeiro, Chicago, Bangkok, and Istanbul.

"The Sound of the Suburbs" (Self 2007, 152-157), only two brief pages plus Steadman's colourful illustration "Suburbanal" from 2004, is typical of Self's impressionistic literary style: The topographical ambience invariably results in associations, which he notes down. The choice of suburbs, and not the metropolis itself, can be understood as a critical response to the concept of non-places (Augé, 1992/2008), where suburbs were characterized as being without history and intrinsic meaning. Self's project with "The Sound of the Suburbs" is to demonstrate how Brixton and the surrounding suburbs can implant a plethora of personal reminiscences and echoes of cultural history, and also a diagnosis of the present-day social, political and cultural state of affairs. The location of a Footlocker store in Brixton leads to minute observations of places – for instance, of suburban linseed-oiled garage doors – as Self and his children walk along, and to themes of Mormon missionaries, the Nation of Islam, the Arts and Crafts movement, remains of an excavated medieval moated house, the sound of an M25 interchange, Charles Darwin, Harold Pinter, and burgers and kebabs. All the way through this *dérive* walk Self records his mental reactions to the impressions, from "ridiculously happy" to "dreadful again".

As an academic method, psychogeography addresses the effect of places, reactions to places and the awareness of places. In this

context, the early roots of psychogeography in the Situationist International can be used as a theoretical tool. Situationists created situations with the aim of changing perceptions of geographical locations (Coverley 2010, 92-97), and this mechanism of creating topographical and geographical situations can be transferred to constructed literary settings and *mises en scène* in film and media and to the effect these have on audiences. Within museology and curating, the construction and use of space – for example, in installations – add meaning to works of art and exhibited artefacts. These disciplines have had their reflections in the humanities, where they are subsumed under the term "the spatial turn" (Falkheimer & Jansson 2006; Fabian 2010). This "turn" is expanded in the related discipline of geocriticism.

As we have seen, psychogeography unites places and the mental effect that they have on people walking through them. This combination of place and effect is developed further and enhanced in the method of geocriticism, where the perception of places is described as transgressive and liminal in the sense that the real place is merged with conceived space and representational space. Westphal (2007/2011, 6) stresses the fictionality of real places, using Umberto Eco's *Six Walks in the Fictional Woods* as an example (151). Here Eco recounts how he employed the *dérive* walking method in Paris as part of the *poiesis* of *Foucault's Pendulum*, and the merging of this *dérive* with the fictional text is manifest when a number of characters of this novel stroll through the French capital, which then becomes what Westphal calls "referential Paris". Kirk (2013, 142-143) has pointed out that this connection between walking and text production and discourse can also be traced etymologically, as Latin *discurrere*, meaning to run to and fro.

A real place can then be perceived referentially and read intertextually; but this "inter-" can go both ways because a text may influence the perception of a place, places themselves may become texts, and finally "a genuine intertwining of text and place" may occur (152). In this way, the geocritical construction of a place is liminal with shifting demarcations between the conception of the place and factual place. In "The Sound of the Suburbs", Will Self, as the psychogeographer, is subject to this mechanism. He and his children "walk on to Sidcup through cluttered, darkling fields" (154), and when they arrive there, Self cannot see this place in itself, but must

read it intertextually: "Sidcup is one of those outer London suburbs that have achieved the sublime status of place-name-as-insult. Pinter made much of the place in *The Caretaker*, the trampish protagonist of which is forever on his way to Sidcup to 'get me papers'." Self's perception of Sidcup is so influenced by Pinter's representation of the place that he continues this insult when he whispers to his eldest, on their way home: "See that chap over there … we're so far out in the sticks he's unashamedly sporting a mullet!"

Conclusion: The Creative Walk

During this article our argument has been that there is a creative potential in walking, and that this potential is wider than what has been termed the Romantic Walk. It has been central to this argument that the Situationist concept of the *dérive* walk expands the Romantic Walk, as the *dérive* is not exclusive to nature, but includes cities and suburbs, and it is not solely situated historically in premodernist times, but is contemporary. The expansion of this creative potential allows not only artists, but ordinary walkers and ramblers to profit from walking as more than transportation and in more than material ways. To reach this conclusion we have described three key books about walking; and, with a focus on walking and its creative potential, we have examined experimental psychology, anthropology including evolutionary theories, psychogeography and geocriticism. The way walking produces synergy with cognition and with places and their signification has been demonstrated with two samples from Will Self and Umberto Eco, and these two samples are also examples of the way the *dérive* walking method functions.

The cultural history of walking is an inclusive field, and we have sought to describe this scope, necessarily only as a survey. The other articles in this issue of *Academic Quarter* are then more comprehensive illustrations of how central walking is both historically and in present-day life.

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Det spadserende i 2010ernes Berlin-litteratur

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Abstract

Two contemporary German books – Hanns Zischler's *Berlin ist zu groß für Berlin* (2013) and Tanja Dückers' *Mein altes West-Berlin* (2016) – express the criticism that inhabitants of big cities have stopped walking. The main subject in these texts is the walk in Berlin without having a specific purpose. The big city Berlin is considered a space of formation that should be 'read' to disclose history. The article examines if Zischler's and Dückers' walk is merely a part of a nostalgic culture of remembrance or still is a current way to move around in contemporary Berlin physically and intellectually.

Keywords Walking in big cities, Berlin literature in the 21st century, Berlin literature around 1930, Hanns Zischler, Tanja Dückers

I

Det er relevant at skabe et aktuelt indblik i Berlins kulturgeografi, da den tyske hovedstad er genstand for stor bevågenhed i Danmark. I to nyere tyske bøger – Hanns Zischlers *Berlin ist zu groß für Berlin* (2013) og Tanja Dückers' *Mein altes West-Berlin* (2016) – kritiseres, at storbymennesket er holdt op med at gå. Teksternes iscene-

sættelse af det spadserende tager udgangspunkt i at bevæge sig rundt i Berlin uden et mål. Storbyen betragtes som et dannelsesrum, som især skal 'læses' med henblik på at fremdrage det historiske i samtiden.

Den komparative analyse af Dückers og Zischler er ikke tidligere blevet gennemført hverken i den danske eller tyske forskning. Artiklen undersøger, om forfatternes iscenesættelse af det spadserende blot er en del af en nostalgisk erindringskultur eller stadig er en gangbar fysisk og intellektuel vej i samtidens Berlin. Inden det sker, er det hensigtsmæssigt at præcisere tekstgrundlaget om flanøren i Berlin, som Dückers og Zischler forholder sig til.

Den første betydelige flanør i Berlin var forfatteren Julius Rodenberg, hvis *Bilder aus dem Berliner Leben* (1885-1887) forsøger at tegne et helhedsbillede af byen. Allerede hos Rodenberg strejfer flanøren gennem storbyen uden at have et mål. Flanøren befinder sig i permanent bevægelse og anskuer storbyen som et dannelsesrum. Flanøren iagttager storbyen og dens indbyggere. Flanøren er en overgangsfigur mellem forskellige epoker og på sporet af kontinuitet i overgangsfasen mellem præmoderniteten og moderniteten. Samtidens storbyindtryk formår flanøren at relatere til fortiden (Schlosser 2017).

Flanørens rolle ændrer sig i 1920erne. Der er tale om en lønmodtager. Reporteren (fx indbefatter Joseph Roths journalistik talrige kritiske Berlin-reportager), der skal overholde en deadline, afløser flanøren. Franz Hessels *Spazieren in Berlin* (1929) er et sådant eksempel på et bestillingsarbejde. Hessel udgav skønlitterære tekster fra begyndelsen af 1900-tallet, men arbejdede også som forlagsredaktør og oversætter. *Spazieren in Berlin*, der fra en berlinsk distriktsborgmesters side var påtænkt som Berlins første turistguide på skrift, fremstår i dag som en af de mest kohærente tekster i den – sammenlignet med Frankrig – spæde tyske flanørlitteratur. Det bliver flanørens opgave at vise, at samtiden rummer en fortid.

Hessel var en nær ven af kulturkritikeren Walter Benjamin, der roste Hessels bog som et vidnesbyrd om flanørens fortsatte eksistens i 1920erne. Byens opløsningstendenser som følge af en accelererende modernitet tematiseres snarere af Benjamin end af Hessel. Grundlæggende er det kendetegnende for Benjamins position, at "cities fascinated him as a kind of organization that could only be perceived by wandering or by browsing" (Solnit 2002, 197). I nær-

værende artikel vises, at Dückers og Zischler ligeledes benytter sig af det spadserende blik for at kunne afkode storbyens kulturelle identitet. Solnit tydeliggør dog, at flanøren ofte føler sig adskilt fra den storby, der spadseres i. At være flanør i en storby indebærer en konflikt med moderniteten.

Hessel giver en præcis og systematisk karakteristik af Berlin i 1920erne. Han skildrer en by præget af acceleration, forandring, opbrud og rastløshed. Det spadserende muliggør at se byens totalitet, dens samtid og fortid. Hessel skildrer Berlins transformation fra en preussisk residensby til et af modernitetens midtpunkter.

II

Tanja Dückers blev født i Vest-Berlin i 1968. Hun har både markeret sig som forfatter af skønlitteratur og som journalist. *Mein altes West-Berlin* (2016) er et tilbageblik på en central epoke i Berlins historie efter 1945. Principielt er Dückers på udkig efter uforanderlighed i byrummet.

Dückers' tekst har fundet kompositorisk og tematisk inspiration i Benjamins *Berliner Kindheit um neunzehnhundert* (1932/1938), som foreligger på dansk under titlen *Barndom i Berlin omkring år 1900*. Hele hendes forord er en eksplicit hyldest til Benjamin. *Berliner Kindheit um neunzehnhundert* er et tilbageblik på Benjamins barndom i en velstående borgerlig familie i den wilhelminske periode før Første Verdenskrig. Der er ikke tale om en byguide eller om en sammenhængende autobiografi, men om en knivskarp modernitetsanalyse. Benjamins bog består udelukkende af erindringsfragmenter, der netop ikke etablerer en helhed. Dückers' bog rummer også kun korte prosatekster. I flere tilfælde vælger hun kapiteloverskrifter, som stemmer overens med Benjamins kapiteloverskrifter (Schlosser 2018).

Som Benjamin viser Dückers interesse for byens præmodernitet, som hun projicerer over på Vest-Berlin i 1970erne og 1980erne. *Mein altes West-Berlin* lever imidlertid ikke helt op til *Berliner Kindheit um neunzehnhundert* som forbillede. Dückers ser bort fra de foruroligende allegoriske fragmenter, som Benjamins tekst præges af. Præmodernitetens destruktive potentiale i tidslommen Vest-Berlin fremanalyseres ikke af Dückers, hvis bog tegner et idyllisk billede af det tidligere Vest-Berlin. Delbyen Vest-Berlin skildres af Dückers som en mikrokosmos og et habitat, et autentisk sted, hvis indbyg-

gere yndede at trække sig tilbage til private reservater som i de store, meget prisfornuftige tidligere herskabslejligheder i bydele som Wilmersdorf, Charlottenburg og Schöneberg. *Mein altes West-Berlin* indeholder en opprioritering af det autobiografiske. Det idylliske billede af Vest-Berlin virker som en provokation. Hun skitserer en by, hvis grundstemning lå tættere på Anden Verdenskrig end på det 21. århundrede. Hos Dückers bliver den langsomt spadserende flanørs bevægelse symbolet på det tidligere Vest-Berlin.

Dückers' egne barndomserindringer om bilfrie søndage i 1973 er baggrunden for at plædere for det spadserende som foretrukken bevægelses- og iagttagelsesmodus. Barnets undren over, hvor stort et byrum der var til rådighed for den spadserende i 1973, placeres i flanørens tradition: "Man flanierte, promenierte, stolzierte" (Dückers 2016, 74). Ifølge Dückers fik de bilfrie søndage fodgængerne til at reflektere over, i hvor høj grad byen havde tildelt dem en sekundær rolle i forhold til bilerne. Gadernes midte var altid forbeholdt bilerne, fodgængerne var degraderet til randfigurer på fortovet. Kritikken af bilismen formuleres i overensstemmelse med Zischler, men også i forlængelse af Hessel, der blev kriminaliseret for en omkringstrejfende attitude på sine byvandringer. Indledningskapitlet i *Spazieren in Berlin* har titlen "Der Verdächtige". Dückers gør opmærksom på, at fodgængere i 1973 havde mulighed for at spadsere lige dér, hvor de til daglig blev behandlet som kriminelle, nemlig ude på by-motorvejen Avus. De kunne gå "überall dorthin, wo Fußgänger sonst wie Kriminelle behandelt wurden" (Dückers 2016, 74).

Dückers opvoksede i det nordlige Wilmersdorf, tæt på Kurfürstendamm og Fasanenstraße. Denne gade, der i dag præges af Berlins Literaturhaus, mondæne butikker og gallerier, var i 1970erne tiltænkt rollen som tilfartsvej til Vest-Berlins by-motorvej. Tanken var at forbinde Kurfürstendamm med motorvejen. En græsrodsbevægelse i nærområdet Fasanenstraße forhindrede, at projektet blev gennemført. Motorvejsforbindelsen blev senere realiseret i Schlangenbader Straße i den sydligste del af Wilmersdorf.

Dückers skildrer, hvor ofte hun stødte på tomme arealer, når hun som barn gik rundt i storbyen. I nærområdet ved Fasanenplatz fandtes bl.a. en grund, der først blev bebygget i anden halvdel af 1980erne. Dückers fremhæver matriklen som et opholdssted, hvor den spadserende havde mulighed for at holde en gå- og tænkepause

fra storbymenneskets permanente fremadrettede bevægelse. Behovet for at gøre ophold adskiller Dückers fra flanøren.

Fodgængernes "Rückeroberung des Raumes" (Dückers 2016, 74) er forudsætningen for at lære Berlins historie at kende. Som flanøren oplever Dückers storbyen som et dannelsesrum. Hun forestiller sig, at det spadserende frisætter byens kulturelle kontinuitet. Bygningers, gaders og pladsers historicitet kan kun iagttages af den spadserende.

Dannelsesrummet orienterer sig imidlertid udelukkende mod fortiden. Det er det hedengangne Vest-Berlin – der ophørte med at eksistere i november 1989 –, hvis spor Dückers opsøger. Da der ikke forekommer udblik til delbyens historie efter Murens fald i *Mein altes West-Berlin*, er det ikke muligt at klassificere Dückers som en flanør, der fungerer som overgangsfigur mellem epokerne. Flanørens opgave – at vise, at samtiden rummer en fortid – udføres ikke af Dückers, da samtiden anno 2016 er yderst svagt kontureret i *Mein altes West-Berlin*. I hendes tekst bygges der ikke bro mellem Vest-Berlin under Den Kolde Krig og det genforenede Tysklands hovedstad. I kontrast til Hessel bestræber Dückers sig ingenlunde på at tegne et helhedsbillede af byen. Karakteristikken omfatter kun Vest-Berlin før Murens fald. I sin indledning begrunder Dückers dette fokuspunkt med den store interesse for publikationer om Øst-Berlin efter genforeningen, hvorimod Vest-Berlin har ført en litterær skyggetilværelse.

Dückers er fortaler for "zielloses Herumstreunen" (Dückers 2016, 66). Hun befinder sig under indflydelse af Hessel, men stiller sig tvivlende overfor, om 1920ernes Berlin lader sig genoplive i samtiden. Denne tvivl baserer ikke mindst på det helhedsbillede, som Dückers tegner af Vest-Berlin. Det er netop ikke acceleration, forandring, opbrud og rastløshed, men kontemplation og status quo, som er kendetegnende for hendes skildring af delbyen. Benjamins problematisering af 1920ernes Berlin og af byens opløsningstendenser spiller ingen betydelig rolle i hendes tekst. Dückers' svar på Benjamin virker som en usamtidig provokation: 1920erne var ikke den bedste periode i byens historie, en barndom i Vest-Berlin i 1970erne og 1980erne var ikke så ringe endda. At ville sammenligne Berlin i mellemkrigstiden med Vest-Berlin, er urimeligt set med Dückers' øjne.

Dückers' tematiske fravalg af Berlin i 2010erne antyder, at hun netop befinder sig i konflikt med det nuværende byrum. Byens åbenlyse forandring efter 1989 problematiseres ikke udførligt i *Mein altes West-Berlin*. Tekstens vægtning af uforanderlighed i byrummet indbefatter en begrænsning af perspektiveringsmuligheder i forhold til 2010erne.

III

Hanns Zischler (årgang 1947) flyttede til Vest-Berlin i det turbulente år 1968 og har udmærket sig både som internationalt anerkendt (bl.a. i film af Steven Spielberg og Wim Wenders) skuespiller, instruktør, fotograf og essayist. Med bogen *Berlin ist zu groß für Berlin* placerer han sig i den tyske flanørtradition i forlængelse af Hessel (Schlosser 2014). Berlin er ifølge Zischler et provisorium. Byen opstod i 1237, men hvor mange vidnesbyrd findes der egentlig om byens tidlige historie? Ikke mange, siger Zischler. For ham er storbyen et dannelsesrum i transformation. I hans bog dokumenteres omfattende viden inden for talrige felter, fx historie, fotografi, arkitektur og byplanlægning. Zischler kommer med konkrete forslag til og æstetiske visioner om en bedre byplanlægning i Berlin. Han plæderer bl.a. for at etablere en arkitektonisk akse med tre høje fokuspunkter ved at opføre et såkaldt Tatlin-Turm – en 400 meter høj utopi fra 1920 – på det nu nedlagte lufthavnsareal i Tempelhof som sidestykke til Neue Sachlichkeits Funkturm i Charlottenburg og DDR-prestigeprojektet Fernsehturm ved Alexanderplatz i bydelen Mitte.

Zischler dyrker flanørens forestilling om bevægelsen som mål. Han er på jagt efter byens oprindelige betydning ved hjælp af det spadserende. Målet er både at se byen som et konkret historisk rum, mens Zischler spadserer igennem den, og at etablere Berlin som et historisk rum på et intellektuelt plan. Projektet omfatter en aktualisering af byens historie. Zischler optræder bl.a. som fortaler for at omdøbe Olympiastadion til Jesse-Owens-Stadion. Formålet er at flytte erindringen om OL i Berlin i 1936 fra Hitler til den atlet, som trodsede regimet og dets racehad ved at vinde fire guldmedaljer.

Fortiden er ikke ligegyldig. Zischler plæderer for at opnå fortrolighed med byens historiske betydning. Som Hessel finder Zischler fortidens spor i samtiden i 2010erne, som han tillægger væsentligt større betydning, end Dückers gør. I langt højere grad end Dückers

placerer Zischler sig som den klassiske flanør, der fungerer som en overgangsfigur mellem epokerne.

Storbyens gader er i høj grad præget af målrettethed i 2010erne. Zischler skildrer Berlin som en by præget af acceleration, permanent transformation og rastløshed og kritiserer byen som et funktionssted, hvor bilismen er opprioriteret på bekostning af det spadserende. Byens glemte historie reaktiveres ikke af bilismen eller den offentlige transport, men udelukkende gennem det spadserende. Betragtes byen ikke i ro, er det ikke muligt at se dens historiske kontinuitet.

Zischler nævner ikke Hessel i *Berlin ist zu groß für Berlin*, men det er tydeligt, at Hessel fungerer som et forbillede. Zischler deler Dückers' forkærlighed for åndehuller i byen, men fokuserer på pladser og ikke på tomme arealer. At spadsere uden målsætning medfører hos Zischler en interesse for pladser, der fungerer som opholds- og hvilesteder. Her, hvor storbylivet foregår i en anden rytme, finder byen angiveligt sig selv. Zischler indrømmer, at der findes mange grønne områder i Berlin, men byens indbyggere mangler angiveligt bevidsthed om pladsernes kontemplative potentiale. Zischlers forkærlighed for at gøre ophold er ligesom hos Dückers ikke i overensstemmelse med flanørens konstante bevægelse.

Erindringen vækkes og hukommelsen aktiveres gennem det spadserende. Det spadserende er en modpol til byens acceleration. Modernitetens opløsningstendenser afspejles i den tekstform, Zischler har valgt. Teksten præges af montagen og fragmentet. At han ikke ønsker at levere en systematisk karakteristik af Berlin, tydeliggøres gennem bogens form, der fremtræder som en essayistisk collage.

Zischlers koncept med meget individuelle spadsereture hinsides storbyens tempo afspejles også i forholdet mellem tekst og billede. Tekstens subjektivitet underbygges i bogen, der rummer talrige illustrationer og fotografier, som Zischler selv har taget. Tekstens associative form understreges i det æstetisk ambitionerede og optisk anskuelige essay *Berlin ist zu groß für Berlin*. Zischler plæderer for et storbyliv i et langsommere tempo. Zischler vil være i kontakt med accelerationen uden at underkaste sig den. Skønt han befinder sig i konflikt med det transformerede byrum, væbner han sig alligevel imod at fremstå som nostalgiker. Zischler tegner et mere moderne billede af Berlin end Dückers. Præmoderniteten, som pointeres i

Mein altes West-Berlin og *Berliner Kindheit um neunzehnhundert*, har ingen interesse for Zischler.

Zischler er talsmand for en "artistischen Eskapismus" (Zischler 2013, 53), der ikke er et så verdensfjernt intellektuelt projekt, som det kunne lyde til. Zischler viser i praksis, at det spadserende kan være et autarki-rum, der sikrer individets overlevelse, når det går under jorden. I det spadserende kan der ligge en stille, men yderst effektiv protest imod politiske krav. Falskmøntneren Oskar Huth (1918-1991) accepterede ikke en indskrænkelse af bevægelsesfriheden og gik til fods rundt i Berlin i årevis under Anden Verdenskrig for at undgå at blive indkaldt som værnemagtssoldat og for at forsyne forfulgte medborgere med nye id-papirer. Huth blev aldrig indhentet af regimet. Gennem skildringen af en permanent flugt uden fast bopæl, uden et mål og uden brug af offentlig transport ophøjes flanørens vildfarelse til en kunst hos Zischler. Med eksemplet Oskar Huth anskueliggør Zischler for sine læsere, at det er muligt at udleve det subjektive syn på byen, der udfoldes i *Berlin ist zu groß für Berlin*.

IV

Tanja Dückers og Hanns Zischler bestræber sig på at etablere en renæssance for det spadserende. Begge tekster præges af Walter Benjamins bevægelses- og iagttagelsesmodus: Storbyen kan kun afkodes ved at spadsere rundt i den uden et mål. Dückers og Zischler er flanører i den forstand, at de begge bevæger sig rundt i Berlin uden at have et topografisk mål.

Zischler positionerer sig tættere på den klassiske flanør end Dückers. Hos ham ophøjes det spadserende ligefrem til en livskunst. Det sker dels gennem tekstens indhold og form, dels ved hjælp af eksemplet Oskar Huth. At fare vild bliver en æstetisk livsform, der både sikrer fysisk overlevelse og intellektuel uafhængighed.

I *Mein altes West-Berlin* fremstår det urbane dannelsesrum noget mere statisk. Teksten placerer sig i modsætning til *Berlin ist zu groß für Berlin* tættere på 1945 end på det 21. århundrede. *Mein altes West-Berlin* fremstår som en indadvendt tekst, hvis omdrejningspunkt er tilbageblikket på et byrum, der havde nok i sig selv. Berlins forkærlighed for det nye og provisoriske tolker Dückers som et fænomen, der er opstået på grund af mangel på en fortid, der var værd at idealisere. Fortiden var altid noget, som skulle overvindes

hurtigst muligt. Den dynamiske bevægelse væk fra kulturel kontinuitet synes at være grundlæggende for Berlin. Den spadserendes langsomme bevægelse udgør modpolen.

Dückers ønsker ikke at skabe forbindelse til det genforenede Tysklands hovedstad. Hos Dückers bliver den langsomme bevægelse i så høj grad symbolet på det idylliske Vest-Berlin, at hendes modernitetsanalyse svækkes. Mens hun på sine vandringer ikke bygger bro til 2010erne, er det spadserende en garant for at indfange Berlins totalitet i Zischlers tekst. Han ser Berlin som et produktivt provisorium.

Dückers og Zischler adskiller sig begge fra flanøren ved at vise markant interesse for opholdssteder som ubebyggede arealer, pladser og parker, der muliggør en hvilende og kontemplativ perception af Berlin.

Dückers og Zischler er tillige enige om, at erindringen stimuleres ved at spadsere gennem byen. Byen manifesterer sig som et konkret historisk rum, når de to forfattere spadserer gennem Berlin. Dückers bidrager dog blot med en iscenesættelse af det spadserende som en del af en nostalgisk erindringskultur om det tidligere Vest-Berlin. Zischler viser derimod, at det spadserende også er en gangbar vej i samtidens genforenede Berlin. Dette gælder både fysisk og intellektuelt. Den spadserende tilgang skaber nemlig rum for en revitalisering og aktualisering af byens historie.

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Walking in Two Directions at Once
Locomotion Techniques in Virtual Environments

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Abstract

Walking constitutes a fundamental method for traversing virtual environments, i.e. pressing buttons as an abstracted way to move around such as in videogames. With the second advent of virtual reality devices, virtual walking has gained traction and is gradually becoming a more embodied experience. The ability of virtual reality hardware systems to rudimentarily track the human body allows us to explore a virtual space by physically walking through it. *Room-Scaling* creates a direct mapping between our bodily movements in the physical room and our corresponding virtual movements. Another technique called *Redirected Walking* takes virtual walking a step further by disengaging the physical from the virtual space – theoretically – providing the opportunity to virtual walk infinitely in a finite physical space. Based on my research with virtual reality developers, I explore the ideas behind different locomotion styles such as *Teleportation* and *Redirected Walking* and the ways developers use and trick our perception to create believable virtual walking and locomotion methods.

Keywords: Locomotion, Virtual Reality, Merleau-Ponty, Perception, Redirected Walking

In avatar-based applications and video games, users and players manipulate their representation in the three-dimensional virtual environment to walk through digital worlds. Developers of Virtual Reality (VR) software use this "fictional and vicarious embodiment" (Klevjer 2006, 9) as well but the strength of VR hardware and software lies in a direct, immediate or natural embodiment (Klevjer 2006). These two forms of embodiment in virtual environments can be found throughout Game Studies literature (e.g. Calleja 2011, McMahan 2003, Murray 1997, Waggon 2009). Looking at VR applications and the algorithms, ideas, mechanics, and hardware solutions they employ to let users move through virtual environments, transform walking into an increasingly embodied endeavour.

Following this natural embodiment in which "the body is the interface" (Klevjer 2006, 196), I am turning to the phenomenological considerations by French philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty. Adding to my insights from interviews with VR developers during my empirical research, Merleau-Ponty provides helpful ideas and concepts to understand and broaden the ways users perceive and experience walking through virtual environments in VR. With this paper, I aim at providing a different perspective on the implementations and workings of walking techniques in VR in order to open up a discussion about the influence of VR on the user's embodiment, their ways of perceiving, and their experience of walking as a bodily technique (Mauss 1975; Schüttpelz 2010).

Merleau-Ponty (1958, 1964) identifies the body as the point of origin for experiencing the world, which is accomplished through intentional bodily movements. Intentional, because you move in adjustment to the world that you perceive. The bodily movement carries and generates meaning in the world that you perceive. Additionally, to Merleau-Ponty, experience means the perception of the world through the body or, more precisely, the *body schema* through which you *inhabit* space rather than just *being in* it. This is due to the body's intentional and meaningful relation to its surroundings. Transferred to the virtual environments and immediate embodiment of VR, the benefit of Merleau-Ponty's views lie in the possibility to describe and analyse walking and locomotion tech-

niques in particular and VR in general in regard to why users are able to walk around virtual environments without any obvious problems of clashing perceptual inputs. Merleau-Ponty's connection between perception and experience allows for an explanation of how VR can exert (some) control over the paramount reality by utilising perceptual mechanisms and shifting the user's experience to the virtual environment. Perception is more than you experience, as "it is the background from which all acts stand out" (Merleau-Ponty 1958, xi).

To illustrate how VR hardware and software can use the user's perception to override her experience of the paramount reality, I give you a brief example of a demonstration I was given during the 2018 IEEE (Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers) VR conference in Reutlingen, Germany. Eike Langbehn from the Human-Computer Interaction research group at the University of Hamburg walked me through their implementation of a technique called *bending gains*. Wearing a HTC Vive VR-headset, I found myself inside a spaceship. I had to pick up a holographic representation of the Earth that was linked to a physical prop, which I could pick up with my hands. As part of the demonstration I had to carry the hologram to another room on the spaceship. Since my spatial movements were tracked by the headset's tracking system, the steps I took around the conference room got transferred to the virtual environment, which let me walk through an arc-shaped corridor to the other room naturally.

In my experience of this demonstration, I walked quite a bit through the virtual spaceship environment, but as Langbehn (2018) explained to me, this was just due to their bending gain technique. While I was walking along the arc-shaped corridor on the spaceship, adjusting my steps in relation to the walls of the spaceship, the program turned the corridor around me ever so slightly to redirect my walking path. Consequently, I walked on a tighter arc in the conference room than I experienced in the virtual environment, yet I did not perceive that my physical body turned in a different way than I experienced. Overall, I was not aware of this redirection taking place. The implemented technique of bending gains counts towards a more comprehensive technology called *redirected walking* (Razzaque 2005) and allows developers to take advantage of the user's perception in order to overcome the limitations of the physi-

cal world within the virtual environment. The goal of this technology lies the decoupling of the user's path in the physical from her path in the virtual environment to ultimately be able to traverse infinite virtual environments within the finite confines of a living room by letting users walk in two directions at once.

By connecting technological insights with Merleau-Ponty's Phenomenology of perception and experience, this paper explores not only the benefits and shortcomings of this link but a possibility to talk and think about the technological measures used in VR hardware and software and their implications on users (Hansen 2006; Rammert 1993).

Before I dive a little bit deeper into how redirected walking works, I will examine other locomotion techniques more commonly used in VR applications to provide a wider frame of reference. At present redirected walking mostly exists in the academic and research areas of VR development, whereas the other methods, i.e. *room-scale walking* and *teleportation*, are already common in commercially available applications.

Decoupled from the Body: Indirect Locomotion

With the term *indirect locomotion techniques*, I refer to instances in which the movement of the physical body does not correspond to the movement of the virtual body. These ways of moving are mainly known from traversing screen-based virtual environments, like computer or console video games. However, indirect locomotion techniques exist within VR as well. Rather than being in the vein of *prosthetic telepresence* as Rune Klevjer (2012) describes it, in VR, these locomotion techniques are embodied experiences and thus pose different problems to users and developers. As an example of such an indirect locomotion technique, I will turn to teleportation in virtual environments. While the essential concept of teleportation is well known through science-fiction media, none can know what teleportation might feel like. This familiarity with the concept in combination with a lack of experiential knowledge gives developers some freedom in implementing different ways of teleporting in immersive virtual environments. Nevertheless, all of them are indirect locomotion techniques, which means that you do not have to move your body while your avatar teleports. From a user interaction point of view, you simply point the controller to

your desired destination in the virtual environment and then press or let go of a button and you would somehow appear at the selected destination.

As many of the developers I talked to explained, teleportation is not as easily implemented as the sequence of pointing, confirming, teleporting. If done like this, users get disoriented and motion sick, an effect most commonly known from being on a moving ship. In VR, two phenomena are commonly responsible for inducing motion sickness: First, the brain adopting the virtual environment as the primary source of perceptual information with which it correlates other sensory information; and second, the dominance of the visual perceptive system that favours the lack of distance between the eyes and the displays. Thus, the information sent by the inner ear – one contributor to the sense of movement – clashes with the visual stimuli the brain processes during teleportation in virtual environments. Developers figured out that the speed of the teleportation transition is important to avoid motion sickness and disorientation. One quick and easy solution for the transition itself is fading to a black screen and then back to the destination. A more sophisticated approach folds the virtual space between your origin and destination, coalesces them into the same point in space before moving you to your destined location and unfolding the environment behind you. To come up with those workarounds, developers need at least a basic understanding of biophysical processes related to perception which they then adjust and refine in trial-and-error approaches.

Perception and Experience: Merleau-Ponty and VR

I chose to discuss teleportation, although it is a locomotion technique that has nothing to do with the bodily experience of walking, because it makes the step from screen-based virtual environments to immersive virtual worlds with embodied interactions less demanding. With this brief example of how teleportation can work and which problems it poses to developers, I want to establish a connection between the ideas of Merleau-Ponty and VR. He conceives perception as "a whole already pregnant with an irreducible meaning, not sensations with gaps between them" (Merleau-Ponty 1958, 25). Although VR covers only two albeit the most important senses, visual and auditory, it delivers – together with a feeling of

embodiment of the avatar in the virtual environment – a whole sensation rather than singular ones with gaps. David R. Cerbone (2008) calls this prioritisation of the whole over its parts the *integrity of perception*. And even though VR has yet to reach its aim to incorporate every sense as proclaimed early on by Ivan Sutherland (1965), it already conveys an *integrity of perception* that allows you to experience the virtual world you perceive.

Following Merleau-Ponty, I argue that such an experience of the virtual world is achieved through your body schema and its motility. Your bodily movements in the virtual world are as intentional as they are in the physical world, which means that the virtual world must allow for meaningful and intentional movements. While a lot hinges on the design of the virtual worlds, VR systems trace your head and hand movements to provide a spatial awareness and embodiment of your avatar. Although teleportation does not enable users to walk around the virtual environment, it still calls on the body schema to deliver a "finely coordinated ensemble of motions intentionally organized in advance" (Morris 2008, 116). Moving your head around, raising your arm, pointing to a certain place, activating and confirming your teleportation destination, are all intentional movements that only work in conjunction with the experience and perception of the virtual world.

As stated by the developers I talked to, they cannot just implement anything that comes to their minds as it might not feel natural to the user. *Natural* or *coherent* means that the experience of events should not be perceived as unexpected. In teleportation, if you raise your arm to select your destination, your virtual arm should move in the same way with the same speed, otherwise your experience of the virtual world feels off. The naturalness, coherence and predictability of the virtual world elicits *presence* or the subjective feeling of *being there* in users (Slater 2003). The concept of presence links to Merleau-Ponty's view of the body as "the vehicle of being in the world" (Merleau-Ponty 1958, 94). Thus, your experience of the world that you perceive needs to work in unison with your body schema. Therefore, VR developers deploy tricks to achieve this unity, such as fading to black or folding the virtual space, in the example of teleportation.

Walking in Sync: Direct Locomotion

Direct locomotion techniques, unlike indirect techniques, let you and your avatar move in unison. One step in the physical world is one step in the virtual world. Additionally, there is no discrepancy between the perceptual intake of the eyes and the sensory information of the inner ear. Since this direct mapping of physical and virtual worlds does not leave much room for variation, there is basically only one locomotion technique, so-called room-scaling.

Room-scaling is mainly achieved through the hardware set-up of a VR system and its underlying software rather than through additional tricks employed by developers. Utilising optical tracking systems with submillimetre precision, the bodily movements of the user's head and hands are traced and digitised spatially. This allows tracking systems to create an immediate connection between you and your virtual avatar.

Thus, these tracking techniques provide the possibility for meaningful and intentional bodily movement in the virtual world. Being able to move around the virtual world in the same way you move around the physical world heightens your feeling of presence and your being in the world. Room-scale walking is still and even more so than teleportation in line with the *integrity of perception*, since the virtual world is what you perceive and what informs your motility. Developers create these meaningful virtual worlds for you to walk around in and experience, thus shifting your body schema to the virtual world.

Directly Mapping the physical and virtual spaces highlights certain issues for developers. A prevalent issue comes with the varying sizes and shapes of tracked spaces. Since it proves difficult to build scalable virtual worlds that would adjust to different physical spaces, room-scaling demands a specific size and shape of tracked physical space. Academic researchers address these limitations by experimenting with *translational gains*, meaning they elongate or shorten the stride length of your step in the virtual world (Zhang et al. 2018). Basically, one metre in the physical world could be translated to one and a half metres in the virtual world – without you noticing.

What is happening with translational gains can be described as a decoupling of the virtual and physical spaces. Your avatar moves in a different way from your body, yet unnoticeable. Developers are

figuring out thresholds that allow this manipulation to stay unnoticeable from being perceived, mainly by your proprioceptive sense. Providing you with the position your arms and legs are in without any visual cues, proprioception generates a spatial body awareness and hence delivers essential cues for walking. This divide between the avatar's and the body's movements might influence the feeling of presence, embodiment and the integrity of perception, but if the translation gains stay within the unnoticeable thresholds the user is unaware of the differences in movements. Looking at Merleau-Ponty's triarchy of perception, experience and body, the part of perception seems to be split for VR environments. The user still perceives and experiences the virtual world as coherent and with its integrity of perception, but at the same time her body's proprioceptive sense perceives something slightly different. Due to the dominance of the visual perception, the user is not aware of this slight difference in movement between the physical and the virtual world.

Walking in Two Spaces: Redirected Walking

Langbehn and his colleagues (2018) use bending gains to let the user walk a tighter arc on her physical path than the one she experiences. In the same way, translation gains work within a certain threshold. Developers achieve this redirection by ever so slightly and unperceivably turning the virtual environment around the user's avatar while she is in motion. Utilising this rotation constitutes a fundamental method of redirected walking implementations. Redirected walking is a direct locomotion technique like room-scaling. However, it decouples the user's bodily motions in the physical space from her motions in the virtual environment, similarly to teleportation. In the following, I will discuss the workings and effects developers put into redirected walking to deliver a seamless experience.

In his doctoral thesis, Razzaque (2005) lays down the foundation for redirected walking. Fundamentally, it takes advantage of limitations of how users perceive certain sensations to let them walk on a path in the physical world that is different from its virtual counterpart. To take an extreme and unfeasible example: when the user walks to the right in the virtual world, redirected walking would make her turn left in the physical world, without her experiencing any form of dissonance. With Merleau-Ponty's understanding of

perception, changing one or more sensations that the user *perceives* although she does not consciously *experience* them is not in line with the integrity of perception.

To convey a better idea of what the limitations of perception entail, I will briefly explain two methods redirected walking deploys to move beyond limitations of the physical space. Razzaque takes research that deals with self-motion perception as the starting point for redirected walking. Self-motion perception means that you take cues from the eyes, ears, skin, inner ears, and kinaesthetic senses to determine if you are moving or not. Explaining the concepts of *optical flow* as a visual self-motion perception and on the *proprioceptive sense* helps illustrating how redirected walking operates.

To explain optical flow, imagine boarding a train. If you are on a train standing still at the station, you typically see another train at the platform next to yours through the window. Now, the train you are looking at starts moving. It may take you a moment to figure out that, in fact, it is not your train that started moving but the other one. The train's movement created the effect of optical flow on your retina. This means that the brain traces features of the images the eyes capture to determine movement, but in the case of the trains it could not deduce which train started moving. This shows that you cannot rely solely on visual perception to determine self-motion and that you can induce the feeling of self-motion through visual stimuli by creating optical flow as well.

Looking at redirected walking, creating and maintaining optical flow provides the footing for the redirection techniques to work. The brain perceives self-motion through visual cues from the virtual world, which are in line with other cues, because the user is walking. Since the brain is distracted by the optical flow, the user will not register the slight but rapid rotations of the virtual world. Developers use those rotations to adjust the user's trajectory through the physical world without her being able to perceive them consciously.

Another fundamental effect that goes hand in hand with optical flow stems from the podokinetic system which is part of the proprioceptive or kinaesthetic perception system. This system relies on receptors in muscles, joints, and tendons to provide a spatial sense of the body as well as on tactile sensors in your skin. Thus, the po-

dokinetic system knows the orientation and position of the feet and legs and gives you the ability to sense and be in control of walking (Razzaque 2005, 53).

This provokes the following question: How can redirected walking work, if the user is always aware of the position of her feet?

When you are supposed to walk in a straight line without any external point of reference or being blindfolded, you tend to drift to the left or right and – given enough space – would walk in a circle. While VR shows many points of reference, it can use them to redirect the user's path in the physical world by rotating the virtual world around her using optical flow, employing translational and rotational gains, and utilising other perceptual effects and perceptive limitations. Thus, redirected walking provides the possibility to infinitely walk through a virtual world in a finite physical space.

Divided Body and Split Perception

Theoretically one could argue that – to follow Merleau-Ponty's terminology – your perception, experience, and body schema shift to the virtual environment and leave it at that. As I have shown with my examples above, more happens when you are using VR and step into a virtual environment. Unrelated to the locomotion technique, your experience shifts towards your virtual avatar or body schema through which you inhabit the virtual environment. Your intentional bodily movements are then made in adjustment to your virtual surroundings, which you perceive. All of this leaves behind your physical body of which you are increasingly unaware of and opens up the possibility of unintentional bodily movement, such as walking on a tighter arc or a longer distance. In taking advantage of this shift of experience to the virtual environment, developers employ tricks to your perception in order to influence your physical body and induce unintentional bodily movements.

With a body divided between a virtual and the physical world and a perception split between conscious, experiential and unconscious inputs, VR, its developers, and its researchers explore rather novel ways of what can be done with and to our body by the means of our perception and senses. With Merleau-Ponty's body-centric phenomenology, it is possible to better describe what happens to our perception and body when stepping into a virtual environment mediated by VR. Being able to distinguish between what is

perceived and what is experienced helps a lot but ultimately reaches its limitations as to what can be grasped with Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological insights. Rather than ending this paper with critical statements, which might be outside my expertise, I want to pose two lines of inquiry that arose from my theoretical exploration of VR and Merleau-Ponty: With our thresholds for certain perceptual inputs that are used by developers to manifest a split perception and induce unintentional movements, the integrity of perception is not destroyed but, at the same time, does not feel intact either. Since our experience seems to be either in the paramount reality or in the virtual reality, could an exploration of the integrity of experience rather than perception be more fruitful to talk about? Especially, since our experience of any environment links our body schema to our intentional bodily movements and uses parts of our perception as a vehicle to do so.

Another illuminating line of inquiry originates from the idea that developers inscribe ideas (Rammert 1993) and conceptualisation of the human perceptual systems into VR hardware and software. Aside from the important question of how this is primed by a certain cultural background, an illuminating issue poses itself in the influence these assumptions and ideas have on users and developers alike. Does VR have the power to change the ways we see and think about certain topics and ask different questions due to the experience VR facilitates?

In conclusion, my exploration of VR locomotion techniques through the lens of Merleau-Ponty yielded valuable insights into how we can talk about less obvious aspects of VR. Additionally, it showed that VR as a medium and as a technology becomes more and more powerful and allows for different and novel experiences and practices, which need to be explored further and – in terms of walking through virtual environments – might lead to similar spatialising properties and experiences as Michel De Certeau (1984) describes in his 1984 work *The practice of everyday life*.

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From Wander to Wonder

Walking – and "Walking-With" – in Terrence Malick's Contemplative Cinema

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Abstract

This essay considers the prominent role of acts and gestures of walking – a persistent, though critically neglected motif – in Terrence Malick's cinema. In recognition of many intimate connections between walking and contemplation, I argue that Malick's particular staging of walking characters, always in harmony with the camera's own "walks", comprises a key source for the "contemplative" effects that especially philosophical commentators like to attribute to his style. Achieving such effects, however, requires that viewers be sufficiently engaged by the walking presented on-screen. Accordingly, Malick's films do not fixate on single, extended episodes of walking, as one would find in Slow Cinema. They instead strive to enact an experience of walking that induces in viewers a particular sense of "walking-with". In this regard, I examine Malick's continual reliance on two strategies: (*a*) Steadicam following-shots of wandering figures, which involve viewers in their *motion* of walking; and (*b*) a strict avoidance of long takes in favor of cadenced montage, which invites viewers into a reflective *rhythm* of walking.

Keywords: walking, cinema, Terrence Malick, contemplation, film style

Preamble

Since I wish to propose here the significance of walking to the cinema of Terrence Malick, this essay itself demands to be something of an ambulatory excursion. Though some wandering will prove to be inevitable, my reflections here will nevertheless make their way through three clear stations. The first, *film-critical* stopover is to call attention to the pure abundance of walking throughout Malick's films, which – curiously – remains virtually unremarked upon by critics and scholars. The second station is a *film-philosophical* one. It is to point out the intimate connections that generally exist between walking and contemplation, with a view to foreground walking as a key ingredient of the widely acknowledged contemplative appeal of Malick's filmmaking. The third and final station of the essay is perhaps best viewed as *phenomenological*: in order to substantiate the contemplative appeal that I claim walking brings to Malick's cinema, I describe how his films afford viewers a distinct experience of "walking-with". If it is so, as many commentators attest, that Malick makes his viewers "wonder", I propose that he notably achieves this by enabling them to "wander".

Malick's Cinema of Walking

Walking, wandering characters are an enduring, near-incessant feature of Malick's cinema. A feature so utterly evident, in truth, makes me hesitant to present it as a "new finding". Anyone familiar with Malick's films – think of the sauntering characters in the wheat fields of *Days of Heaven* (1978); the roaming figures of Pocahontas and John Smith in *The New World* (2005); or the many pondering strolls that permeate *To the Wonder* (2012) – will immediately recognize both the prominence and persistence of walking in his films.[1] Yet evident as this motif may be (and though the topic of walking has attracted considerable scholarly attention recently[2] – also in film studies[3]), I know of not a single commentary explicitly dedicated to walking in Malick's oeuvre.[4]

Since Malick's return from his so-called "twenty year hiatus" with *The Thin Red Line* (1998), he has been bent on progressively distilling his style to its most rudimentary elements (Kohn 2015).

This progressive push for stylistic abstraction has increasingly accentuated – among other things – his elliptical, impressionistic style of narration, based on discontinuous editing. Owing to his affinity for narrative ellipses, Malick's films typically explore the "in-between" moments, before and after dramatic events occur.[5] And it is in the progressive growth of *these* moments that Malick's cinema has grown into a cinema of walking. For, as a general rule, Malick's in-between moments involve characters taking a walk. They stroll. They wander. They pensively move in circles. More often than not, in fact, Malick's protagonists walk as an extension of finding themselves in some condition of *journey* – whether the journey be that of migrant workers, of colonizers and their colonized, or of an immigrant in love. They usually end up as strangers in unknown settings, in which they must in more than one sense "find their way"

Yet his ceaseless depiction of walking characters make up only one side of Malick's cinema of walking. For depicted acts of walking are nearly always presented within a mobile frame – a visual gesture of the camera taking its own "walks". This is an even more pervasive feature of Malick's style: a typically wandering camera movement that suggests the phantom perspective of an "additional character", drifting through both scenes and sceneries (see Neer 2011). Such flowing cinematography is often tethered to a character, as a "partner in walking" that oscillates between showing us the character's body and showing us what the character sees. When there is more than one character, the mobile frame waves and weaves between people, momentarily latching onto one, only to then leave that person for another. And Malick's moving camera also "drifts off" on its own – sometimes it literally pans or tilts away from characters; or it simply appears as an undefined, unfocalized point of view that floats alone across a character-less setting. The career-long development of Malick's style is very much one in which his images are increasingly prone to wander.

Malick's interest in the "wandering camera", it turns out, is quite a literal one. Nestor Almendros, Malick's cinematographer for *Days of Heaven*, produced the film's pioneering flowing aesthetic by using, for the first time, the so-called "Panaglide", a forerunner to the Steadicam. This elaborate brace attached to Almendros' body enabled him to inscribe his own free movements into the film's sweeping imagery (see Morrison and Schur 2003, 122–23;

Cousins 2011, 351). Since then, Malick has had a growing affinity for gliding Steadicam and handheld camerawork (finding its apotheosis in his collaborations with cinematographer Emmanuel Lubezki). Consequently, Malick's work is more and more infused with perpetual motion – most of which is effected through actual "walks" with the camera.

In terms of a concrete example, consider C Company's inland march towards their Japanese enemy in *The Thin Red Line*. The sequence exemplifies Malick's particular cinema of walking in a number of ways. Most notably, it exudes the fluid shots that characteristically flow forth from his depictions of walking: ever-moving characters are presented with roving cinematography that seems to never come to a halt. This sense is reinforced by a complementary flow in editing, which rhythmically runs through a variety of sights with both striking cutaways and jump-cuts. In the words of the film's cinematographer, John Toll, Malick insisted on the pictures having "the same kind of flow" as "moving down a river" (Toll quoted in Pizzello 1999).

What is least typical of Malick in the C Company sequence, however, is the *kind* of walking that it presents. As Malick's only "war movie", *The Thin Red Line* is the only film in which his characters move in the restricted, regimented manner that we see here. Moreover, this is by far the most apprehensive state in which Malick's walking characters are ever depicted. Malick normally avoids any indications of laboriousness in walking (even the soldiers in *The Thin Red Line* are much rather anxious or overwhelmed than they are tired). Hence, characters – and viewers for that matter – are never subjected to the taxing experiences of walking that we for instance find in so-called Slow Cinema, if we think of Béla Tarr's effortful walks against the wind in *Satan's Tango* (1994) and *The Turin Horse* (2011), or the incessant trudging that Gus van Sant exploits in *Gerry* (2002). A typical stroll in Malick instead exudes a definite tranquility – if not of mind, at least of posture. There is a freedom and spontaneity – perhaps an indecisiveness – to characters' movements. This applies as much to Midwestern suburbs as it does to the wilderness of the New World. When and where characters walk, they do not to head anywhere in particular – they simply walk *around*, as if not knowing for what exactly they are searching for. Sometimes these wanderings spill over into circular move-

ments, running, playing games. Malick's walks extend from a variety of apparent states: pensiveness, playfulness, sometimes wonderment and bliss. However, it is clear what they are not: they are never acts of exertion.

Walking and Contemplation

This profusion of walking in Malick films holds a very specific interest to me as a film philosopher: it points to a potential source of the *contemplative effects* that commentators often attribute to the filmmaker's style. On a previous occasion, I explored in considerable detail the pre-occupation of especially philosophical commentators with what may be called Malick's "contemplative style" (see Rossouw 2017).[6] There, among other things, I noted the range of stylistic techniques to which philosopher-critics attribute Malick's distinctive contemplative (thoughtful, ruminative, meditative) appeal: the techniques most frequently cited as key to Malick's contemplative style are his luminous presentations of nature, his use of voice-over monologues, juxtapositions of image and sound, discontinuous editing, superfluous repetitions, epiphanic music, and episodic, elliptical narratives (ibid., 282–85).

Since on that occasion I restricted myself only to meta-critical commentary, I here would like to add to the above inventory of techniques the crucial role that acts and cinematic gestures of walking play within Malick's contemplative style. Walking itself, of course, enjoys widespread recognition as a potent contemplative activity. Therefore, in cinematic acts and gestures of walking, unlike the rest of Malick's stylistic hallmarks,[7] we have a stylistic motif that coincides with what is actually a commonly practiced contemplative technique. For this reason, I propose, the prominent motif of walking constitutes a distinct source of the contemplative experience and effects that Malick's cinema is said to hold for viewers. Film philosophers like to suggest that Malick's contemplative style positions viewers in a reciprocating mode of contemplation (ibid.). Yet this is never truer than when Malick takes his viewers for a cinematic walk. Through his cinematic renderings of walking – walking characters, in harmony with the "walks" of the camera – Malick establishes for viewers a distinct means to a heightened state of reflection.

This proposal rests on a number of intimate connections that can be drawn between walking and contemplation. Firstly, there is the

commonly held intuition that walking *stimulates* thinking. Most people will acknowledge, based on personal experience, this kinship between walking and mental activity – whether walking serves as a way of getting ideas, gaining perspective, or simply "clearing the mind". Yet what was always an intuition is now beginning to receive some scientific scrutiny and, indeed, validation.[8]

Secondly, there is a long tradition of thinkers, writers, and artists who rely on walking for meeting the reflective demands of their professions. The testimonies of such celebrated figures further entrench the contemplative benefits of walking also as a deep-seated cultural topos. Frédéric Gros' eloquent treatise, *A Philosophy of Walking* (2014a), for example, details this tradition of contemplative walking within philosophy. Gros walks us through a by-now canonical group of "walking philosophers" – including Rousseau, Kant, Nietzsche and Thoreau – all of whom, apart from addressing walking in their philosophies, insisted that taking actual walks were essential to their personal reflective pursuits.

Thirdly, and perhaps most tellingly, it seems that we cannot but experience contemplative activities *in terms of* walking. Here the connection is not just that walking stimulates thinking, but that acts of thinking – how we conceive of and experience them – invariably takes on the image of walking. Whether the contemplative activity in question is meditation, reading, writing, viewing a painting, or making art, it will inevitably lend itself to the experience of "mind-walking", as Tim Ingold (2010) describes it. In terms of writing and reading, for example, Rebecca Solnit (2001, 72) likens writing to path-making, and reading to walking down those paths carved in the terrain of the imagination for the reader. Many centuries before, of course, Medieval European monastics already conceived of meditative reading – much like mediation itself – as a pilgrimage, which proceeds along the carefully crafted trail (or *ductus*) of a text (see Carruthers 1998). In terms of art-making, there is the example of Paul Klee, who famously defined drawing as "taking a line for a walk". And in terms of the experiencing a work of art, one could cite Richard Wolheim (1987, 160–61), who speaks of the "peripatetic spectator" as imaginary walker inside Manet paintings. Similarly, in terms of our immersion in fiction, Wolfgang Iser (1978, 109 ff.) describes a reader's engagement with fiction as assuming the form of a "wandering viewpoint" – an image extended by Umberto Eco

(1994) who sees the reader of fiction as taking walks, and very likely getting lost, in a fictional forest. Even Sergei Eisenstein (1989, 116), to name one last example, described cinematic montage as drawing the immobile spectator along an "imaginary path… across a multiplicity of phenomena, far apart in time and space, gathered in a certain sequence…" As is clear from these examples, I should add, the more fundamental metaphor at work here is the "journey" that invites our acts of "mind-walking". It is ultimately because we inevitably experience our own thinking as occurring along "paths", as going in "directions", and as having "points of departure" and "destinations", that thinking can so easily turn into a "walk".

In view of these various entanglements between walking and contemplation, my proposal is a straightforward one: the same contemplative experience that we accept walking brings to people, Malick brings to the film viewer. If it is indeed so that walking "renders us more receptive to thought" (Gros 2014b), then we have in Malick's visual obsessions with walking a special instance of the contemplative work that his style can do: it mobilizes and gives form to a recognized contemplative practice. And, on the basis of both personal experience and cultural association, viewers become more receptive to the contemplative experience that we expect from the actual practice of walking.

"Walking-With"

To say that the walking enacted by Malick's cinema prompts contemplation, however, requires that his viewers be sufficiently "taken for a walk". The question that my argument above thus leaves is: does the walking on-screen give viewers enough of an actual walking experience to harness walking's associated contemplative effects? It is my contention that Malick indeed affords viewers a distinct experience of "walking-with". Especially in his more recent, matured style, he ensures this experience of "walking-with" by means of two persistent filmmaking strategies. On the one hand, Malick nearly never films walking characters in a static shot, while, on the other hand, he persistently avoids presenting his walking characters in long takes.

Firstly, with his strategy of presenting walking characters only within a mobile frame, Malick allows viewers to be involved in his characters' *motion* of walking. Here the viewer's experience of

"walking-with" coincides with the camera anchored to, and literally walking with, a character. It is of course so that the mobile frame alone already affords viewers a definite sense of walking. Gallese and Guerra (2014, 106–8) note a general consensus among film theorists that Steadicam mobility establishes for viewers a sense of independent movement inside a film world. And, indeed, their neuroscientific study confirms that, of all kinds of cinematic movement, Steadicam movement registers the strongest motor cortex activation in viewers. Moreover, to attach the mobile frame to actual walking figures, as Malick continually does, surely enhances this natural sense of walking evoked by the Steadicam as instances of "walking-with".

Malick's camera walks with characters in accordance with definite rules. As recounted by Jörg Widmer, a Steadicam operator for *The New World*, camera movement is from behind or in front of a character – but rarely from the side. Moreover, in the following shots of Malick's ever moving actors, operators seek to maintain the same distance from a walking character (Benjamin B 2006, 54). Reportedly – and quite evidently – Malick's actors are also instructed to never present themselves in a way that squares up with the camera, in order to make it as difficult as possible for camera operators to film them (Guerrasio 2016). A character engaged in such a winding, evasive stroll consequently acts as something of a moving *Rückenfigur*. By walking in subtle twists and turns, characters draw the camera in, and so intensify the sense of following them and moving in close but dynamic harmony with them.

Throughout all of this, however, Malick and his cinematographers eschew the currently prevalent "shaky", "Unsteadicam" aesthetic – synonymous with documentary-style filmmaking, or more recently director Paul Greengrass' installments of the *Bourne* film series (2004–2016) – which would immediately draw attention to the uneven movements of the of the filming subject (see Bordwell 2007). By instead opting for smooth, unobtrusive Steadicam work, Malick's moving camera puts the emphasis on the walking characters with whom it moves. This unobtrusiveness ultimately allows viewers a more direct engagement with events presented on-screen (see Coplan 2008, 78–79) – in this case, the effortless, flowing motion of the Malickian pensive stroll.

It is of course so that flowing Steadicam following-shots have become a staple of even contemporary Hollywood filmmaking. This makes Malick's second strategy decisive to truly differentiate his cinema of walking from the mainstream. This strategy involves a strict avoidance of long takes in favor of cadenced montage, which – crucial to the experience of walking that Malick stages – draws viewers into a particular *rhythm* of walking. Walking, naturally, is an intrinsically rhythmic act. And, like repetitive actions are essential to many contemplative techniques, there is a recurrence (of steps and bodily pulses) to the act of walking whereby it generates "a kind of rhythm of thinking" (Solnit 2001, 6). Walking rhythms obviously vary in kind. A long take that simply lingers on a walking character establishes its sense of rhythm by foregrounding the repetitiveness of actual *steps* – the plain succession of strides gradually grows into an aural and visual beat. Malick however elicits rhythm on a different formal level. Malick never fixates on single, extended episodes of walking, as one would typically find in contemporary Slow Cinema (see Flanagan 2012). His walking sequences offer only *glimpses* of characters taking a walk, never longer than a few seconds, and always presented within a divergent spectrum of images and impressions of the character's surroundings. In such manner, viewers are instead inducted into a rhythm based on montage. The "steps", the sense of repetition, spring from a steady flow of cuts, jump-cuts, cutaways. Whatever the sights that viewers catch of characters and the camera taking a walk, they are always rhythmically punctuated by a range of other sights for them to also take in.

In this second strategy, then, we again see how Malick's depictions of walking function in close harmony with his penchant for impressionistic, disjunctive editing. In noting Malick's dislike of intercutting between two shots, cinematographer Emmanuel Lubezki says that, "[i]n general, he tries to go A-B-C, not A-B-A" (Lubezki quoted in Benjamin B 2006, 54). This A-B-C principle of montage and scene construction serves to reinforce an experience of forward movement – as, for instance, in the C Company sequence cited earlier, when viewers are drawn along the unfolding path of the soldiers' march; starting in a field; moving through a marshland; then through a bamboo thicket; and finally ascending a plateau. Apart from granting viewers a sense of the rhythm of walking, the im-

pressionistic flow of shots in A-B-C form evokes the "visual activity" that walking invariably becomes (Solnit 2001, 6). That is to say, the successional flow of divergent images invites imaginative participation in the experience of "looking around" as an inextricable part of the experience of walking (see Benton 2017, 34–37).

Our "walking-with" Malick thus becomes a cadenced interaction with the places and sights that Malick sets before us – which itself is integral to how any act of walking fosters contemplation. For when we walk it is both "the *movement* as well as the *sights going by* that seems to make things happen in the mind" (Solnit 2001, 6 [my italics]). And, in fact, those concomitant things happening in the mind are evoked just as much – if not more – by Malick's rhythmic, impressionistic montages. Many of his A-B-C sequences make viewers briskly traverse a succession of sites and sights so divergent that they can never be experienced by taking an ordinary physical walk. Yet by unfolding such physically "unwalkable" paths by means of montage, Malick does achieve a sense of *the experience of contemplation* – mind-walking, from one imaginary site to the next – that will inevitably accompany any ordinary walk.

My brief account of how Malick establishes a contemplative experience of "walking-with" has of course given prominence to the techniques of Steadicam following-shots and rhythmic, impressionistic editing. Yet it is worth emphasizing, in conclusion, that walking sequences in Malick's cinema tend to mobilize, in unison, *all* of the hallmarks commonly attributed to his contemplative style. This is again well demonstrated by *The Thin Red Line*'s C Company sequence. Here the commencement of a walk – i.e. the depiction of walking characters reciprocated by the camera's own walking gestures – convenes simultaneously the contemplative motifs of reflective voice-overs, cutaway shots that concentrate on natural surroundings, free floating point-of-view shots, subtle musical repetition, and rhythmic editing – much as one will find in any other walking sequence in Malick's cinema. This suggests to me that acts and gestures of walking hold an anchoring, integrative function with respect to various more recognized contemplative techniques of Malick's style. At the risk of sounding cute, one might say that the image of walking "gives legs" to Malick's contemplative style. Walking allows a diversity of conspicuous techniques to assemble around a central and concretely familiar activity, perhaps

the most habituated of all physical human activities. In such manner, walking constitutes for viewers an imaginary space that correlates voice-over reflections with camera movements with music, in order for these and many other techniques to coalesce into an integral contemplative experience. Especially philosophical commentators would therefore do well to heed the extent to which complex Malickian evocations of "wonder" are orchestrated around a simple "wander".[9]

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Notes

1 For a sample of the prominence of walking in Malick's cinema, see Thomas Flight's video essay, "Malick's Obsessions", available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5f6rpDlfX5A&vl=en. Note that Flight's essay does not deal with walking as such. It simply presents general visual motifs of Malick – which of course makes it all the more revealing of the profusion of acts and cinematographic gestures of walking in Malick's cinema.

2 Walking has as of late been drawing a steady incline of interest across the Humanities – whether from the perspective of anthropology (Ingold and Vergunst 2008; Ingold 2010), history (Solnit 2001; Amato 2004), art (O'Rourke 2013) or, as is mostly the case, some interdisciplinary mixture in-between (e.g. Nicholson 2008; Coverley 2012).

3 Recent publications on walking in the context of film studies include Antunes (2012), Finnane (2016), Walon (2016), Schonig (2018), and Özgen-Tuncer (2018).

4 In this regard, I eagerly await Thomas Deane Tucker's forthcoming *The Peripatetic Frame: Images of Walking in Cinema* (2019). Seeing that he has previously published on Malick in the context of film-philosophy (see Tucker and Kendall 2011), I anticipate that he might have views similar to my own on the contemplative (or, perhaps even, philosophical) role of walking in Malick's films.

5 "It is hard to find the decisive, dramatic moment when things happen in Malick's films" (Martin 2006).

6 In a recent review essay that deals with the field of film-philosophy's attraction to Malick, I offer a comprehensive account of the ways in which film philosophers approach the contemplative nature of the film-maker's style (Rossouw 2017). Though it is impossible to recount all those cases on this occasion, it is worth singling out perhaps the earliest and certainly one of the most influential examples in this regard: Stanley Cavell, who in the Enlarged Edition of his *The World Viewed* describes Malick's *Days of Heaven* as transposing "thoughts for our meditation" (1979, xv).

7 The only other stylistic hallmark of which a similar argument could in fact be made is Malick's voice-over monologues. Considering the searching, reflective nature of these monologues, they can be said to express contemplative techniques such as self-dialogue or self-examination.

8 An experimental psychological study focused on creativity has for example recently attracted some attention: it found that walking enhances creative ideation (a free flow of ideas), both during the act and shortly

thereafter (Oppezzo and Schwartz 2014). Also see Ferris Jabr (2014), whose *New Yorker* piece covers further, similarly positive, findings.

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The Poiesis of Charles Dickens's Night Walks

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Abstract

The case of the article is six of Charles Dickens' articles based on his walks in London. The theoretical approach of the article is Heidegger's conception of poiesis, in particular his central concept *Geschehnis der Wahrheit* (unconcealment of truth), which is regarded as a notable element of Dickens' wish for social reform and his societal critique. This has the context of Dickens' work as a reporter and editor of his periodicals *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*. The article demonstrates how the walks as poiesis gave rise to what it calls a topographical narrative structure. In the article it is argued that poiesis in the form of walking was central to Dickens' social critique as it was manifest in his journalism.

Keywords: Poiesis, Dickens, Heidegger, London, Walking

As a reporter, Charles Dickens used the long nocturnal walks he took in London as the source of articles published in his journals *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*. It is the concept of poiesis which will be employed in the article to explain how Dickens' walks were more than inspirational, and how they were part of

shaping his ideological world view. It is asked in the article how walking can have a function not only in the creation of literature, here specifically Dickens' journalism, but also of a world view, here specifically Dickens' societal critique. For this purpose, with an eye to the tie between urban, nocturnal walking and the shaping of Dickens' societal critique, the form of poiesis tested in the article will be based on Martin Heidegger's understanding of the concept, which is poiesis as an interpretation of "Being" and an ontological mode of disclosure (*Entbergen*), and poetical production is an occurrence of "unconcealment of truth" (*Geschehnis der Wahrheit*). The article will analyse a selection of Dickens' articles to address this "unconcealment of truth", and how walking was an essential part of his process.

John Hollingshead, Dickens' apprentice in the editorial office of *Household Words*, connects Dickens' night walks with his writing: "When he was restless, his brain excited with struggling with incidents or characters in the novel he was writing, he would frequently get up and walk through the night over Waterloo Bridge, along the London, New Kent and Old Kent Roads, past all the towns on the Dover High Road, until he came to his roadside dwelling." (Hollingshead in Beaumont 2016, 351) When writing about the flaneur in his *Arcades Project*, Benjamin (1999, 426) quotes one of Dickens' letters to Forster, in which Dickens complains that he cannot write without the street noise of London, and in another letter to Forster (8 October 1844), Dickens connects his process of poiesis to walking the streets: "Put me down on Waterloo-bridge at eight o'clock in the evening with leave to roam about as long as I like, and I would come home, as you know, panting to go on." (Dickens 2012, 145)

Heidegger's Approach to Poiesis

The notion of poiesis understood as a general creation process, also as the aesthetic production of poetry, has taken on many meanings since Antiquity (Barck 201, 40-86). For the purpose of addressing the creation process of Dickens' night walk articles, we employ both Plato's treatment of poiesis and Martin Heidegger's understanding of poiesis. These two will be considered in the same light, as Plato asserted that all poiesis is striving for the eternal and bringing forth ideal, essential forms, and Heidegger's conception of poiesis has

the central assertion that poiesis uncovers truth. These two are combined in this article to understand specifically Dickens' night walk articles. Dickens walking in the nights of London is conceived as the poiesis of a range of articles and of a subsequent ideological outlook on various conditions of Victorian society.

We now focus on the function of the Platonic form of poiesis, which is related to insight and recognition in art and poetry and the search for eternal and perfect forms. We investigate how Charles Dickens' night walk articles had more than a mimetical function of depicting London and its people by night. How Dickens was not merely a reporter but also a reformer, who sought for improvements and for a perfect world. This utopian conception was far removed from the realities of the East End of London he walked through. It will be necessary to briefly introduce Plato's distinction between the poetical mimetical representation of human reality and the representation of utopian, divine and essential forms. This Platonic distinction is useful when addressing Heidegger's approach to poiesis, and it can describe how the mimetical, realistic description of Dickens' night walk articles gave birth to his societal, teleological critique both in these articles and in his other works.

In the *Symposium* (360 B.C.), Plato defines three general categories of poiesis (Plato, 42-43). The first is creation or to bring from not-being into being, as in the creation of the world and ideas by the gods as a reflection of themselves, and the second is how this is mirrored in human manufacture, where artisans turn ideas into practical products. In this category Plato includes artists and dramatists who work mimetically, and who create reflections of the world and of the divine ideas. However, Plato enlarges this perception of artists and dramatists into a third more general and wider category of poiesis as the production of poetry, and he asserts that all three kinds of poiesis strive after eternal and essential forms. In this way, poiesis is a combination of material production with insight and recognition. In the *Symposium* Plato then elevates poetry to the original divine transformation from non-being into being: "There is poetry, which, as you know, is complex; and manifold. All creation or passage of non-being into being is poetry or making, and the processes of all art are creative; and the masters of arts are all poets or makers." (Plato 360 B.C.)

We will now combine Martin Heidegger's understanding of poiesis with Dickens' combination of being a reporter and a reformer. Heidegger saw poiesis as an interpretation of Being and an ontological mode of disclosure (*Entbergen*), and he discussed how an ontological understanding of production (*Da-Sein*) can move to poiesis as a narrower understanding of it as production of poetry, where poetry becomes the essence of truth. The specific production of poetry is part of the pre-Socratic concept of *physis*, which is more than an understanding of the natural world. It is "the event of un-concealment of beings out of concealment" (Di Pippo 2000, 28.) Heidegger's concept of "Her-vor-bringen", which can be translated as not only "produce", but also "to bring into the light", is closely connected to the Platonic understanding of poiesis (Plato 360 B.C.). Heidegger writes:

> Alles liegt daran, daß wir das Her-vor-bringen in seiner ganzen Weite und zugleich im Sinne der Griechen denken. Ein Her-vor-bringen, ποιησις, ist nicht nur das handwerkliche Verfertigen, nicht nur das künstlerisch-dichtende zum-Scheinen- und ins-Bild-Bringen. Auch die φύσις, das von-sich-her Aufgehen, ist ein Her-vor-bringen, ist ποίησις. Die φύσις ist sogar ποίησις im höchsten Sinne. (1954/2000, 12)

In the chapter "Das Werk und die Wahrheit" in *Der Ursprung des Kunstwerkes*, Heidegger asks the question about what artistic value is, and his answer is that it consists of the unconcealment or disclosure of truth (1935/1937/1986, 27), so that the value of a work of art is based on its process of poiesis that has uncovered truth.

With Martin Heidegger's understanding of poiesis as an interpretation of Being and an ontological mode of disclosure (*Entbergen*), where poetical production is an occurrence of or unconcealment of truth (*Geschehnis der Wahrheit*), the article will analyse a selection of Dickens' articles to address any "unconcealment of truth" in them, and how their different narrative mechanisms and their mode of creation based on walking may have combined journalistic reporting with an ontological production of truth.

Dickens's Journalism, Fiction and the Night Walk Articles

Charles Dickens' career as a reporter spanned most of his career, also alongside his achievement as a writer of novels. In addition to the 15 novels, plays, travelogues, novellas and short stories, he published more than 350 journalistic articles (Drew 2003). Both his fictional works and his journalism contain social critique; the latter based on journalistic observation, the effect of which also found its way into fictional form in the novels (Ackroyd 1996, 630). The night walk articles take a special place in his journalistic production as these articles demonstrate a causal and direct relationship between observation of social life and a resulting social critique.

As a young man, Dickens worked for *The Morning Chronicle* as a political reporter, and the largely non-fictional descriptions of situations and people, subsequently collected in book form in *Sketches by Boz* in 1839, were originally published in various periodicals and newspapers. He advanced from being a reporter to an editor; first of *Bentley's Miscellany* in 1837, and then he founded *Master Humphrey's Clock* with fictional content only, then *The Daily News* in 1846 until he gave over the editorship to John Forster after 17 issues, and in 1850, *Household Words* with the imprimatur "A Weekly Journal Conducted by Charles Dickens". It contained serialized works by Dickens and by other authors, e.g. Elizabeth Gaskell and Wilkie Collins.

Apart from fiction, this journal published non-fictional reports, news and diverse educational articles, e.g. about India rubber or self-acting railway signals. After a conflict with the publishers, Bradbury and Evans, Dickens closed the journal in 1859 and started *All the Year Round*, which was entirely his own. It had the same mixture of fiction and non-fiction, e.g. *Great Expectations* and "Night Walks".

Both *Household Words* and *All the Year Round* contained articles that attacked institutions and practices, attacks which were also present in Dickens' fiction. Ackroyd praises what he calls Dickens' "most effective writing… in his account of 'the doomed childhood that encircles you out of doors, from the rising up of the sun unto the going down of the stars' or in his description of an emaciated weaver of Spitalfields", and Ackroyd concludes with an observation of "how the sparks of that genius fly off him in the course of his ordinary journalistic observation." (1996, 630) In his account of

the contents of *Household Words*, Mankowitz includes "treatment of paupers, factory conditions, prisons, sanitation, jerry-building, agricultural wages, education, divorce, trade unionism, prejudices and abuses of all sorts" (1976, 266), and Chesterton writes that "Dickens did help to pull down the debtors' prisons", and he "did leave his mark on parochialism, on nursing, on funerals, on public executions, on the Court of Chancery." (2001, 117). Dickens method was that "he destroyed those institutions simply by describing them" and "the chief glory of Dickens is that he made those places interesting" (121). In this connection, Chesterton calls Dickens "a very practical sentimentalist" (1858, 118). One of his rhetorical methods to advocate reform was pathos. Bagehot calls Dickens' wish to reform, "sentimental radicalism", and he compares it favourably with political and social methods: "How much of real suffering is there that statistics can never tell. How much of obvious good is there that no memorandum to a minister will ever mention!".

The Critical Context of the Night Walk Articles

Schlör's treatment of changes in the perception of nights in European metropoles with their "night life" sets up nocturnal contrasts, which are also encompassed in the night walk articles: criminality vs. security, sexuality vs. constraint. These excursions into the city night had the ambivalent appeal of uncontrollable aspects such as "disorder, vice, indecency, unfathomability" (1998, 25). In his walks, Dickens experienced these in his perception of London at night, and through a form of poiesis that included processes delineated by Chesterton, Freud and Simmel, and more recently by Ackroyd (1990), Sanders (2010) and Beaumont (2016). These experiences of an unfathomable nature could be the source of the night walk articles. These processes of poiesis in the night walk articles have the outcome of societal critique. Their unconcealment of truth of the conditions in London, it is argued in this article, must be subsumed under Heidegger's approach to poiesis.

In his biography of Dickens, Chesterton stresses the symbiosis between the streets of London and Dickens: "The street at night is a great house locked up. But Dickens had, if ever man had, the key of the street." (2001, 20) Chesterton's explanation of this symbiosis goes further than a mere direct mimetical relation, in which Dickens depicts the streets and its inhabitants in his fiction. Chesterton

explains that "He did not go in for observation… a priggish habit; he did not look at Charing Cross to improve his mind or count the lamp-posts in Holborn to practise his arithmetic. But unconsciously he made all these places the scenes of the monstrous drama in his miserable little soul". Chesterton regards Dickens' night walking the streets of London as a paradoxical foundation of the realism in Dickens' descriptions: "Indeed, that degree of realism does not exist in reality; it is the unbearable realism of a dream. And this kind of realism can only be gained by walking dreamily in a place; it cannot be gained by walking observantly." (21)

Chesterton echoes Sigmund Freud's theory of the creation of art with its source in dreams and daydreams (Freud 1908/1985). Freud compares the artistic process with the narrative character of dreams, which is based on personal repressions, and Freud sees a close relationship between night-time dreams and daydreams. Both share their roots in private phantasies, but Freud also points out that artistic production or poiesis manages to elevate these phantasies into a socially acceptable aesthetic form so that the reception of art can cause "the release of still greater pleasure arising from deeper psychical sources" (141). In contrast to the neurotic personality, the artist has such a strong sense of reality that his phantasies do not take on a pathological character. Something repressed, hidden and tabooed is (re)produced aesthetically so that it becomes enjoyable and acceptable. This form of poiesis with the disclosure of something hidden is, as we shall see below, not unlike Heidegger's concept of poiesis with its unconcealment of truth. With particular reference to "Night Walks" (Dickens 1860) Tambling connects dreams, walking and poiesis:

> Three things come together in 'Night Walks': London as a dream-place with no resting-place for the walker in it; the city as a space which awakens the idea of "houselessness"; the novelist/essayist as the person who realises that his subject is being houseless, exposed to random dreams and random encounters which expose his madness, and who must write in relation to that. (2013, 235)

It is notable that the night in the night walk articles is not disenchanted as in the title of Schivelbusch's *Disenchanted Night. The In-*

dustrialization of Light in the Nineteenth Century (1988). The public street lighting of gas lamps offered the possibility of night life, and while Dickens shared the fascination with night life described by Schivelbusch, there is hardly any illumination in the scenes of London in the night walk articles, though London was one of the first big cities to be lit by gas (Schivelbusch 1988, 31). "A Nightly Scene in London" is indeed nightly: "It was a miserable evening; very dark, very muddy, and raining hard." (25), and its central action takes place in a street that is specified as dark. There is the same absence of light in "A Small Star in the East" where a location is without light: "It was a dark street with a dead wall on one side" (61). Similarly, the streets in "Night Walks" are not lit, and "the houseless eye looked out for lights in windows" (348). It is not until the last lines that gaslight is mentioned, as when Dickens is nearing his home "the conscious gas began to grow pale with the knowledge that daylight was coming", and the disenchantment of the night is disappearing. Walking in the dark, dreams, enchantment are all components of the poiesis of the night walk articles.

Just as Chesterton's assessment of Dickens' narratological relationship with the streets of London at night can be referred to Sigmund Freud's psychological account of poiesis, they both can be contextualised by Georg Simmel's psycho-sociological description of urban or metropolitan perception in "The Metropolis and Mental Life":

> The psychological basis of the metropolitan type of individuality consists of the intensification of nervous stimulation which results from the swift and uninterrupted change of outer and inner stimuli… With each crossing of the street, with the tempo and multiplicity of economic, occupational and social life, the city sets up a deep contrast with small town and rural life with reference to the sensory foundations of psychic life. (1903/2000, 175)

As it is described by Simmel, this diversified and interrupted mode of perception in Dickens' poiesis will be employed in the analysis of the night walk articles below.

The Conditions of the Selection of the Texts

For an article to be included in the sample for analysis certain criteria must be met. It must have a first-person narrator, and the author-persona can be identified as Charles Dickens himself. An example of this process of identification can be seen in "Night Walks" (Dickens, 1860) where the author-persona is designated with a "pluralising identity" (Tambling (2013, 232), namely "I", "we", and metaphorically "Houselessness". Schön points out that this idea of houselessness is not only metaphorical, but concrete, and it is present in Dickens' journalism and in *Bleak House* as well: "Dickens was coming to believe that the housing issue was crucial, for above all it was poor housing – physical and mental – that crippled the poor." (1998, 220) Houselessness is a metaphorical narrative device, but it is also a social problem that Dickens portrays with this narratological device.

Other conditions are that the location of the article must be London, and the narrator must travel around on foot. However, the time of the articles is not limited to night, as significant narrative and thematic differences have been found between night-time and day-time articles. In chronological order, the sample then consists of:

- "Lying Awake", 1852, 30 October, *Household Words*
- "Gone Astray", 1853, 13 August, *Household Words*
- "A Nightly Scene in London", 1856, 26 January, *Household Words*
- "Wapping Workhouse", 1860, 18 February, *All the Year Round*
- "Night Walks", 1860, 21 July, *All the Year Round*
- "A Small Star in the East", 1868, 19 December, *All the Year Round*
- "On an Amateur Beat", 1869, 27 February, *All the Year Round*

The Night Walks Articles and their Heideggerian Poiesis

It is the narrative method and structure of "Lying Awake" that sets it apart from the other night walk articles. There is no social critique or unconcealment of truth, but only an introduction to the series of articles that have their immediate raison d'être in Dickens himself, who as a first-person narrator, is suffering from insomnia. Consequently, the location is his bed, and it is not until the last lines that he leaves it "to get up and go out for a night walk - which resolution was an acceptable relief to me, as I dare say it may prove now to be a great many more." (148) Dickens here states his programme of the

night walks and promises his readers more to come. He is not to-tally stationary in "Lying Awake". His mind wanders, and his nar-ration is comparable to the literary technique of stream of con-sciousness (Booth 1961/1983, 163-165). The dream-like associations determine the structure of this narrative as in Freudian dreamwork. It is not as we shall see in other later articles, topography or their argument that provides a narrative structure. The associations are thematically connected though, to the subject of sleep and insom-nia, and they range from literary allusions to Irving's Rip van Win-kle and "Benjamin Franklin's paper on the art of procuring pleasant dreams" (145) to George III, jails and murders, a scary figure in a churchyard seen when a child, Saint Bernard, Niagara Falls, execu-tions and whippings, a balloon ascent, and the Paris Morgue. Dick-ens questions whether the procession of these nightmarish scenes is based on reality or created or re-created by his imagination before he gets up and starts his night walk and his series of articles based on this walking method of creating articles.

"Night Walks" was published eight years later than "Lying Awake", in which Dickens had decided "to get up and go out for a night walk". He now begins where he left off, and refers to the ini-tial article, "Some years ago, a temporary inability to sleep, refera-ble to a distressing impression, caused me to walk about the streets all night, for a series of several nights" (348), and the method he used to combat insomnia was to get up immediately after lying down and walk briskly until he came home after sunrise. He expe-rienced the comparable "restlessness of a great city" and he was brought into "sympathetic relations with people", who also had the object of getting through the night. Where dream-like associations fed the narrative of the former article, it is topography that struc-tures this one, though Dickens draws a parallel between the inspi-rations and poiesis of the two in passing the mental asylum, Bethle-hem Hospital. The sane observations of each day are changed by the dreamwork into unreasonable or imaginative narratives, and he writes "Dreams the insanity of each day's sanity" (350).

The route is mapped out in the article. Dickens walks from Hay-market, along Old Kent Road to Waterloo Bridge, past theatres on the south side of the Thames, past Newgate, the church Saint Sep-ulchre, the Bank, Billingsgate, King's Bench Prison and Bethlehem Hospital, Westminster Bridge, Houses of Parliament, Westminster

Abbey, the Courts of Law, St Martin's Church, Covent Garden for a cup of coffee and home again.

This route and its stations are the narrative structure of the article, which may be termed topographical narration. Each place inspires Dickens to consider appropriate themes connected to it. Though, or perhaps because, it is night-time one central theme and its landmarks are connected to societal discipline. The two prisons and the mental asylum are supplemented by figures of authority and discipline met with along the route. There are policemen, a toll keeper, a watchman, turnkeys, constables, and watchmen in cemeteries. Dickens's personal insomnia has now been transformed into a description of society full of disciplinary measures, which he unconceals or brings into light to use Heideggerian terms. This disciplinary approach is repeated by Dickens in "Wapping Workhouse" with its departments for the insane and for "the Refractories" (see below). In Covent Garden, Dickens notices the miserable children "who prowl about this place; who sleep in the baskets, fight for the offal, dart at any object they think they can lay their thieving hands on, dive under the carts and barrows, dodge the constables, and are perpetually making a blunt pattering on the pavement of the Piazza with the rain of their naked feet." (351) This observation gives rise to a brief admonition that these children are uncared for, and it is one of the worst sights Dickens knows in London, he writes. Dickens has brought the plight of these children out of darkness to be seen by his reading public.

The poiesis of "Gone Astray" combines traumatic childhood memories with a topographic narrative structure. The childhood memories are tempered with social satire, when the 40-year-old Charles Dickens recollects how he as an eight-nine-year-old boy, like Florence Dombey, was lost in the City. The topographical structure is a route from St Giles' Church, the Strand, Guildhall, the Temple Bar, Saint Paul's, the South Sea House, a theatre and finally a police station, from where he was fetched home by his father. The chronological structure is a whole day, and the final part of the narrative is during the night. The little boy sleeps twice during his trip, and he wanders about the City "like a child in a dream" (556). The social satire added to the narrative by the grown-up Dickens reminiscencing is directed against the financial system of the City: "jobbery, rigging the market, cooking accounts,

getting up a dividend" (556). The poiesis of the brief article are typical of Dickens' night walk-articles: Topography, detailed observations of street life and characters, the night and sleep or his personal sleeplessness, and then Heideggerian *Geschehnis der Wahrheit*, here with a critique of the City.

"A Nightly Scene in London" from 1856 has a slightly simpler narrative pattern with its direct relation between Dickens' night walk with a friend and its result in a stark exposition or disclosure (*Entbergen*) of the miserable condition of houseless and starving people lying outside a workhouse in Whitechapel where the Ward is full. There is only this location in the article, and the article is short. Dickens, who expects the warden to recognize him as a public figure, enters into dialogue with five women "in the dark street, on the muddy pavement stones, with the rain raining upon them" (25). They are trying to sleep in the street, and after he has given them money for lodgings and food, he points out that this kind of charity is not sufficient, and with fervour he attacks the inhumane system of this kind of political economy (27).

The narrative structure of "Wapping Workhouse" is established topographically with the workhouse as the destination. When Dickens reaches it, he remarks to the readers that he is not recognized there. Dickens interviews the inmates of the workhouse, so that a large part of the narrative consists of dialogue. The inmates range from "the idiotic and imbecile", and with babies, women suffering from epilepsy and hysteria to aged and clear-headed ladies, also a woman he compares with Mrs Gamp. This is one of the many literary allusions to his own and others' works in the night walk articles. Personal impressions of Dickens with the personal pronoun "I" finally opens for observations and passages in which Dickens, the reformer, takes over from Dickens, the reporter, where he attacks Westminster's policies and the poor rates. As he makes his way home, he reasons "concerning those Foul wards. They ought not to exist: no person of common decency and humanity can see them and doubt it." (395)

It is only the star in the title of "A Small Star in the East" that refers to the night as this excursion takes place during "a drizzling November day." A direct statement by Dickens in this article connects his wish for reform both with Bagehot's "sentimental radicalism" and with the narrative form of the night walk articles. The first

half of the article describes the misery and abject poverty of the people living in the borders of Ratcliff and Stepney, and the second half is a response to this, as Dickens visits an efficient and caring children's hospital, run by volunteers, and almost a mirage of a future welfare state. When Dickens writes, "I felt as though the child implored me to tell the story of the little hospital in which it was sheltered to any gentle heart I could address. Laying my world-worn hand upon the little unmarked clasped hand at the chin, I gave it a silent promise that I would do so" (65). He concludes that "Insufficient food and unwholesome living are the main causes of disease among these small patients. So nourishment, cleanliness, and ventilation are the main remedies" (66). This article with its observations, which are rendered to the reader with visual and olfactory details, and with interviews of the people Dickens met on his walk, has a clear structure that is not only determined by the topographical route but just as much by its argumentative pattern, and Dickens' closing argument is an appeal to the reader to go see for himself. "A Small Star in the East" documents the ambition which Dickens announced for the publication of *All the Year Round*: "that fusion of the graces of the imagination with the realities of life, which is vital to the welfare of any community". (Dickens 1859)

Dickens revisits the children's hospital in another daytime article, "On an Amateur Beat" published a few months later. Dickens adds pathos to his description of the children at the hospital, when he follows the dog Poodles on its rounds to the patients. Again, this article has the topographical precision both with regard to the walking route, and also metafictionally explicit in the first line of the article, "It is one of my fancies, that even my idlest walk must always have its appointed destination." (300)

The article contains and develops the themes and narrative mechanisms in the earlier articles. As the title indicates, Dickens now identifies with the character of a police constable, and in the way he does this, he ironically criticises this societal function when he compares himself and his observations on his beat with a real constable, who chases and frightens a group of begging and starving children "with the air of a man who had discharged a great moral duty – as indeed he had , in doing what was set down for him." (301) Dickens continues the article with a general attack on society with the neglect of poor children in the streets of its capital

city. Schlör considers this kind of reporting a journalistic subgenre, calls it "Spies and Policemen" when reporters go into the centre of the criminal world (1998, 124), and a trope of this subgenre is "the path from the bright streets into the dark corners" (125). Only rarely did the reporter dare enter this underworld alone, as a rule the reporter accompanied a detective or policeman, and as the first of these, and as the prototype Schön sees Dickens' "On Duty with Inspector Field" from 1851, in which Dickens drives around London with the inspector.

In these night walk articles Dickens has employed his nightly walking observations, shaped them into narrative patterns, primarily topographical narration, and he has added his own persona. The result has been rhetorical with a disclosure or unconcealment of dire social conditions. The very process of production of these articles, or their poiesis, has been an intricate combination of mimetical nightly observations with a consequent unconcealment of truth (*Geschehnis der Wahrheit*) of Victorian society.

Conclusion: The Advantages of a Heideggerian Approach

The article has demonstrated how walking was indispensable for the poiesis of Charles Dickens's night walk articles and for his work as a campaigner and social reformer. This was in the context of his work as a journalist and as an editor of periodicals, which have been delineated in the article. Dickens's kind of poiesis was identified with Heidegger's conception of poiesis with its unconcealment of truth in its depiction of Victorian social conditions, and with Plato's ideal (Plato 360 B.C.) of a divine and essential world in artistic production with glimpses of a better world for the houseless paupers of London. The article has included contemporary descriptions of Dickens' creative method of walking, and how a more general Freudian description of poiesis, tied to the night and dreams, could be applied to Dickens' creative method. In its analysis of the sample of articles, it can be concluded that there is a development from Freudian personal dream-associations in "Lying Awake", towards Heideggerian societal "unconcealment of truth" in the later articles, that moved from night to the light of day in its critique of contemporary society.

In the article, different approaches to poiesis have been applied to the concrete production of Dickens' night walk articles. It has

been argued that it is Heidegger's concept of "Her-vor-bringen" with its double meaning of producing and bringing into light that can specifically embrace both the role of Dickens walking at night in London and his resulting general ideological societal critique with its Heideggerian un-concealment of Victorian social conditions and sufferings. It is this combination that merits the inclusion of Heidegger in Dickens' scholarship. Finally, it may be noted that from a narratological point of view another conclusion is that Dickens employed what can be called a topographical narrative structure directly based on his walks in London.

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Parodies of Christian Wandering in Luis Buñuel's Films

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Abstract

This essay investigates parodic profanations of Christian peregrination in three films by Luis Buñuel: *Nazarín* (1959), *Simón del desierto* (1965), and *La Voie lactée* (1969). Proceeding from Jesus Christ, Simeon the stylite, and Santiago de Compostela, these movies focus on two central figures of religious wandering, the itinerant preacher and the pilgrim, whose devout essence is subverted in manifold ways ranging from heresy and eroticism to social failure and homelessness. In this connection, walking is distinguished from artificial and supernatural forms of locomotion, but at the same time connected to surrealist time travels and narrative digressions. The article traces how the motif of walking is related to the movies' formal features and carefully examines the intertextual relations that tie the films not only to each other, but also to the picaresque novel as an important model of profanation.

Keywords: Christianity, itinerant preacher, pilgrimage, profanation, parody

Introduction

Since film is a medium of moving images, not only driving but also walking fulfills important aesthetic functions within it, ranging from the exploration of the spaces crossed to the social and emotional characterization of the walking characters to the evocation of specific feelings on the part of the audience. Yet, while motorized locomotion has developed its own genre, the road movie, and, therefore, been the subject of extensive academic research, the same does not apply to walking, which could only sporadically attract the film scholars' attention (e.g. Pang 2006; Antunes 2012; Banita/ Ellenbürger/Glasenapp 2017).

To choose an appropriate metaphor, this essay strives to take a further step in this direction by examining the role of Christian walking in Luis Buñuel's films, which are ideally suited for such an analysis. Although, with *Subida al cielo* (1951) and *La ilusión viaja en tranvía* (1953), this director created two films that refer to motorized translocation (Acevedo-Muñoz 2003, 111–123), the fetishization of, especially female, legs, feet and shoes is also one of his typical themes, as is proven, for instance, by *L'Âge d'Or* (1930), *Ensayo de un crimen* (1955) and *Tristana* (1970) (Fragola 1994). This fetishization, which is often accompanied by a partialization of the body through close-ups or certain means of the mise-en-scène, often presupposes an immobilization, but can also, as in *Le Journal d'une femme de chambre* (1963), refer to the female gait (Buñuel 1994, 241).

Now, in many of Buñuel's films, walking is not merely erotically charged, but is also closely related to one of their other central subjects, the Christian faith. Buñuel had a divided relationship to Christianity, which is equally evident from various biographical anecdotes, numerous verbal statements and his cinematic work. Due to his origin and education, Buñuel had excellent knowledge of Catholic theology, the indoctrination of which had shaped him to such a high degree that in his movies he returned to it again and again – causing it, from the perspective of a progressing social secularization, to increasingly take on an obsessive character. Thus, his films are based on a deeply religious feeling, an affirmation of the mysterious, enigmatic and inexplicable (Ayfre 1962–63, 47; Riera 1978, 219; Midding 2008, 31–32). Despite his understanding for individual faith, though, Buñuel rejected the institutionalized church because of its rationalization of the irrational through a dogmatic

belief system and its support of the existing social order's injustices, being itself one of its parasitic beneficiaries (Schwarze 1981, 76–85; Midding 2008, 33). This is why in his films Christianity is persistently deprived of its alienation from material reality and reconnected to the human body and its grotesque aspects (Capriles 1978, 308). In this context, the Christian condemnation of sexuality as sin is undermined by using this notion for a perverse intensification of bodily pleasure (Stam 1989, 105–106, 177; Irwin 1995, 40). While from the perspective of Christianity itself, these strategies must appear as blasphemous degradations of the sacred, they also lead to its fundamental humanization.

Although Buñuel's stance towards Christianity has received comprehensive attention in film studies, the related role of walking, however important for this religion, has been touched upon only marginally at best. Hence, I will examine this connection systematically by focusing on three essential movies, *Nazarín* (1959), *Simón del desierto* (1965) and *La Voie lactée* (1969), all of which won awards at major international film festivals during their years of release.[1] While at that time *Simón del desierto* was unanimously classified by anglophone critics as a "study of pathological obsession" (Christie 2004, 129), whose distanced, documentary-like style was particularly emphasized by Pauline Kael (Ros 2004, 77), the original reception of the other two films reflects Buñuel's ambivalence towards Christianity. On the one hand, *Nazarín* was not only enthusiastically received in atheistic circles, but was, in fact, also considered by the Catholic film office for an award (Buache 1973, 97–98). On the other hand, *La Voie lactée* was classified as pro-Christian by some and anti-Christian by others (Christie 2004, 128–129). Although the Interfilm Award, which went to Buñuel's film, had been sponsored by the German Protestant Church, the work was accused of resentful one-sidedness in the *Evangelischer Filmbeobachter.* In addition, British and American critics rejected this movie as an idiosyncratic and obsolete repetition of familiar themes, while it was celebrated in the French press. In the *Cahiers du cinéma*, for example, *La Voie lactée* was praised for its formally innovative construction of irreconcilable contradictions. (Christie 2004, 129–131)

Today, the three movies belong to Buñuel's lesser-known works, but enjoy a canonical status as they are among those of his films that make use of surrealist themes and techniques. In addition to logical

absurdities, temporal and spatial discontinuities and interminglings of the real and the imaginary, this also includes their specific treatment of religion. In particular, they subject two classical figures representing the walking Christian – the self-chastening pilgrim and the travelling preacher – to a parodic reinvention, which places them in the surrealistic field of tension between erotic sensuality and esoteric extrasensoriness.

In the following, I will conduct a textual and intertextual analysis of *Nazarín*, *Simón del desierto* and *La Voie lactée* that is based on the metalinguistic concept of dialogism (Bakhtin 1984, 5–46, 181–269), which, thanks to Julia Kristeva's mediation, made Mikhail Bakhtin one of the founders of the theory of intertextuality (e.g. Kristeva 1980, 64–91). According to Bakhtin, dialogism is the convergent or divergent encounter of two different voices within one verbal or non-verbal utterance. A special role in this connection is played by carnivalism, which Bakhtin understands as a dialogical counter-discourse to the monological discourse of official Christian culture (Bakhtin 1984, 122–132). A crucial element of this counter-discourse is profanation, which only negates the sacred in order to renew it (Bakhtin 1968, 16–17, 40–41, 83, 266–267, 418–419; Bakhtin 1984, 123, 139), often makes use of parody (Bakhtin 1968, 7, 13–15, 83–88, 379, 413–420; Bakhtin 1984, 123, 127–128, 136) and sometimes, as in the case of the *Coena Cypriani*, refers to the body's metabolism (Bakhtin 1968, 13, 20, 84, 286–289). As we will see in detail, these issues are taken up by the three films in question, which parody Christian pilgrims and itinerant preachers in ways that at the same time draw inspirations from the picaresque novel. However, instead of metabolism, the bodily function of locomotion is now paramount.

Vertical and horizontal movements of an ancient stylite

In *Nazarín* and *Simón del desierto*, walking and Christianity seem to exclude each other at first glance, because many commentaries on these two films have emphasized their vertical movements, not the horizontal ones that are predetermined for walking: It is often said that Nazarín first tries to rise above his fellow human beings through his imitation of Jesus, but is then brought back to their level (e.g. Bastaire 1963, 218; Midding 2008, 33–34). This sequence of ascent and descent becomes even clearer in the movie *Simón del desierto*, which deals with the late ancient Syrian hermit Simeon

Stylites the Elder and conventionally divides the physical space in three parts: While Satan, through his coffin, is assigned to hell below and ordinary people to the earth, Simón strives for heaven (Goimard 1969, 9–10). Similar to other stylites, the historical Simeon spent most of his life standing on increasingly higher columns and, after having succumbed to an erotic temptation, even continued this practice on one leg for self-punishment (Ros 2004, 74). Accordingly, Buñuel's Simón changes from a lower to a higher pillar right at the beginning of the film and, while predominantly standing on it, permanently lifts one leg after its first half as punishment for a successful deception by the devil. The vertical dimension is emphasized not only by pre-filmic up and down movements along the two pillars, but also by the camera, which pans along the columns and Simón's legs and takes up lower and upper views. In the end, the ascetic is brought down from the column by his diabolical adversary, who carries him off to New York in an airplane and places him in an apparently underground nightclub that is also associated with hell. Since the wide spatial leap across the Atlantic is combined with a similarly large leap in time from late antiquity to the present, the plane also functions as a time machine (Christie 2004, 137). Just as in this case, the devil is above the laws of nature in his other movements as well and, in extreme cases, can even suddenly appear out of nowhere and disappear again.

Nevertheless, although these supernatural movements are even further removed from walking than the vertical movements, the erect posture Simón adopts on his column is a prerequisite for the upright human gait. And by raising one leg, the hermit even seems to be taking a first step – particularly as in later times, wandering Syrian ascetics actually appeared as well, which, in the late Middle Ages, were combined with their sedentary Egyptian counterparts under the term 'peregrinus,' because in both cases home was left due to a longing for the afterlife (Krüger et al. 2003, 424). Furthermore, *Simón del desierto* begins with a church procession to Simón's column and later repeatedly uses the sound of the Good Friday drums from Buñuel's eastern Spanish hometown Calanda, which also accompanied a procession (Buñuel 1994, 19–21).

Buñuel's film, however, only apparently characterizes walking as a pious activity, opposing the extrasensory movements of Satan. In fact, during his first two appearances, the devil visits Simón on foot.

Attempting to seduce him by taking the shape of a young girl, he not only presents his tongue and breasts, but also his beautiful legs, which bear a striking contrast with the maltreated ones of the ascetic himself. While in this case unmoved legs are erotically charged, this is subsequently transferred to the moving legs of the frenetic dancers in the New York nightclub. Simón, on his part, is by no means unaffected by this fetishization of legs, but succumbs to a daydream that adds an Oedipal meaning and combines dancing with running: He longs to run across "Madre Tierra"² with his actual mother, playfully catching up and dancing in circles with her.

Profanations of pilgrimage by two meandering vagabonds

Buñuel had originally planned further scenes for *Simón del desierto*, which also included pilgrimages (Buñuel 1994, 240; Oms 1985, 147) – for Simeon's column represented the most important Christian site for pilgrimage in late antiquity and was, therefore, vaulted after his death with a monumental church (Goimard 1969, 8; Krüger et al. 2003, 425). Pilgrimage is typically also made on foot or at least involves a walk around the shrine at the pilgrim's destination (Krüger et al. 2003, 409, 412; Nicholson 2008, 190–191). Although it can be found in many religions, it has a special meaning in Christianity, because its practitioners in former times generally regarded themselves as "'pilgrims,' that is, strangers on the earth", whose true "homeland was in heaven" (Agamben 2007, 84), such that pilgrimage became a symbol of life's journey (Krüger et al. 2003, 408, 431). Just as Simeon chastised himself by standing on one leg, in the Christian Middle Ages, penitential, expiatory and punitive pilgrimages also served as self-punishment for sins committed, in order to enable a re-admission into the church or the secular community. This was based not only on the idea that walking was sometimes a punishment imposed by God, who, for example, had condemned Cain to an existence as a vagabond after the murder of his brother, Abel, but also on the fact that travelling – especially travelling on foot – was at that time arduous and dangerous, which could be made even worse by taking certain measures, such as walking barefoot. Only later was this aspect sidelined in favor of the ritual activities at the pilgrim's destination with the development and use of modern means of transport. (Krüger et al. 2003, 409, 427; Amato 2004, 51, 53–55; Nicholson 2008, 186)

Now, Christian pilgrimage was not only intended to be a theme in *Simón del desierto*, but actually found its way into other films by Buñuel: *Nazarín* makes an allusion to it when, upon the arrival of its eponymous antihero at the sickbed of Beatriz's niece, the gathered women thank the Virgin of Guadalupe, whose site of appearance is today one of the most frequented destinations of pilgrimage in the entire world (Krüger et al. 2003, 409, 429). Likewise, the evening party mysteriously locked inside a parlor in *El ángel exterminador* (1962) and thus deprived of its freedom of movement swears an oath, in the event of its liberation, to go on pilgrimages, the typical motifs of which indeed include gratitude for blessings received (Krüger et al. 2003, 409).

The motif of pilgrimage reaches its climax in the film *La Voie lactée*, which sends its two male protagonists from Paris to Santiago de Compostela on the Way of St. James. Because in the 11th century, the pilgrimage movement to Santiago de Compostela seized the entire Latin West, this northern Spanish town was the most important pilgrimage destination in the Middle Ages, aside from Rome and Jerusalem. And since Santiago de Compostela, in contrast to Jerusalem, was visited not only by the upper but also by the lower classes, which always travelled on foot, the Santiago pilgrim was soon equated with the *peregrinus* par excellence. After a temporary loss of importance, Santiago de Compostela was rediscovered as a place of pilgrimage in the 20th century. (Capriles 1978, 309; Krüger et al. 2003, 424, 426–427, 429, 433; Amato 2004, 51, 53; Leisch-Kiesl/Sauer 2005, 255)

La Voie lactée begins with a dogmatic explanation of the Way of St. James, according to which the bones of St. James, a disciple of Jesus, are kept in the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, and underscores this position through the imitation of a conventional documentary film using two authoritarian devices: a voice-over commentary and a map view. Additionally, the two main characters largely walk to the Spanish pilgrimage site; and this is laborious in their case, too, as can be seen from their relief when they reach their destination and from the earlier lamentation of the older of the two men about his aching feet. Finally, the travellers' names, "Pierre" and "Jean," equate them with two further apostles, Peter and John, a brother of James (Durgnat 1977, 147; Capriles 1978, 310), who actually accompanied Jesus on his ramblings to spread his doctrine.

However, just as in *El ángel exterminador*, the promised pilgrimages ultimately become superfluous, as this movie ends with a new confinement, *La voie lactée* subjects the pilgrimage on the Way of St. James to a multiple parody, for which a model can be found in François Rabelais's carnivalesque cycle of novels *Gargantua et Pantagruel* (1532–64) (Bakhtin 1968, 311–312). To begin with, the two travellers are not exactly "en pèlerinage," as they themselves explain to a prostitute at their destination. Rather, we are dealing with two vagrants who lead a fundamentally nomadic life. At first glance, this may seem to correspond to the above-mentioned self-conception of Christians as earthly pilgrims. Yet, although medieval pilgrims sometimes turned into vagabonds on their way, there was a distinct difference between these two groups: While the former enjoyed the protection of the authorities, the latter were fought by them. The authorities also took action against attempts to misuse pilgrimages for criminal purposes. (Amato 2004, 53, 55) For example, high penalties and documents of authenticity were intended to prevent thieves, robbers and spies from posing as pilgrims, and pilgrim stamps to protect against the sending of deputies on pilgrimages for payment.

In addition, Jean and Pierre are largely walking in the film, which is set in the present day, merely because they have had little success in their attempts to hitchhike. The contrast between slow walking and fast driving is already emphasized in the movie's exposition, in which the historical explanations are followed by shots of today's highways. Later, this opposition is continued by two different subjectivations of the camera, which here moves horizontally rather than vertically: After passing the two beggars in a car that crashed shortly afterwards, the camera is hand-held and carried on foot to show Santiago de Compostela emerging behind the trees from the vagabonds' point of view. Thus, just as walking is opposed to flying in *Simón del desierto*, it is contrasted with driving in *La Voie lactée*.

On their way to Santiago de Compostela, Jean and Pierre encounter the six great mysteries of Catholicism, ranging from the nature of the divine Trinity to the question of the origin of evil. In addition to the relevant dogmatic positions, however, the heretical viewpoints are also represented, while the two beggars remain unimpressed by either, clinging to their down-to-earth realism or, in Jean's case, even tending towards an anticlerical and atheistic

attitude. (Durgnat 1977, 147; Capriles 1978, 309–310; Oms 1985, 151; Christie 2004, 133–134; Leisch-Kiesl/Sauer 2005, 255, 257)

Here, the model of pilgrimage is superimposed by a second, profane one, that of the picaresque novel, which was created by Spanish writers during the 16th century and greatly appreciated by Buñuel (Christie 2004, 133, 137; Buñuel 1994, 220). This intertextual reference, mediated by Wojciech Has's picaresque film *Rekopis znaleziony w Saragossie* (1965) (Christie 2004, 138–139), was even explicitly referenced in the prologue originally planned for *La Voie lactée,* but then rejected (Capriles 1978, 309; Durgnat 1977, 147; Midding 2008, 34). It concerns two levels: On the one hand, many picaresque novels also tell of the journeys of socially marginalized characters divided into individual episodes. Similarly, the mysteries depicted in Buñuel's film, as a rule, grow into extended and independent metadiegeses (Irwin 1995, 43), which sometimes even lose sight of Jean and Pierre. Just as, according to Michel de Certeau, urban passers-by can undercut the specifications of urban planners (Certeau 1988, 95–102), Buñuel's film in this way repeatedly diverges from the main route to Santiago de Compostela and embarks on narrative detours that constitute a formal counterpart to the heresies represented (Irwin 1995, 43–44). On the other hand, Jean and Pierre, through their lack of understanding towards the theological disputes, share with the picaresque novels' antiheroes the position of an outside and naive spectator, as exemplified by the title character of Hans Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen's *Der abenteuerliche Simplicissimus* (1668), who also travels around and, incidentally, reaches the Einsiedeln monastery, which was not only a pilgrimage site itself, but also a station on the Way of St. James.

Even more problematic is the fact that one of the episodes features the Marquis de Sade, a militant atheist, while at the car wreck, Jean and Pierre meet a mysterious young man who is obviously Satan himself: For one thing, the youth reveals himself to be the leader of the evil spirits and damned souls by the reproduction of the heretical *apokatástasis* doctrine. In addition, the surprising fulfillment of Jean's wish that the driver, who refused them a ride, might have an accident, can be attributed to the stranger. This is suggested not least by the fact that he removes the plaque of St. Christopher, the patron saint of travellers, who has failed here, from the dashboard of the crashed car and sinks it into the mud (Leisch-

Kiesl/Sauer 2005, 263). Although the man has bare feet, like the title character of *Simón del desierto*, he treads with them on the same spot, similar to the young dancers in this movie's underworld. Finally, the act of handing over the dead driver's shoes to Pierre can be seen as doubly diabolical, for although the vagrant is pleased about the expected alleviation of the pain in his feet, this runs counter to the self-punishment function of pilgrimage. At the same time, the driver's elegant shoes will certainly prove to be as uncomfortable as Pierre's old ones.

In the same scene, the devil himself is no less independent of physical motion than in *Simón del desierto*, as he suddenly sits inside the crashed car and then just as suddenly leans against its mudguard. But just as walking, in the former film, eluded an unambiguous attribution to God or Satan, the supernatural translocations now prove to be ambivalent: Although the two vagabonds at the beginning of *La Voie lactée* encounter God the Father in the shape of a walking man who lets the Holy Spirit ascend into heaven as a dove, the Son of God and also later the Virgin Mary suddenly emerge from nowhere, while a priest inexplicably enters the interior of two locked rooms in a guest house.

Similar to *Simón del desierto*, *La Voie lactée* not only defies the laws of space, but also those of time. Like the flight to New York, the walk to Santiago de Compostela is also a journey through time, because the embedded narratives return from the present in the story's framework to the early modern period, the Middle Ages and antiquity (Colina/Turrent 1992, 183; Oms 1985, 150; Carreras-Kuntz 2004, 68; Christie 2004, 137; Leisch-Kiesl/Sauer 2005, 255). This permeability of temporal levels becomes particularly clear in a later passage of the film which introduces two other men besides the two beggars, who alter their identities by appearing as smugglers and hunters in the present, but as Protestant students in the past (Leisch-Kiesl/Sauer 2005, 265).

At the end of the film, even the initial explanation of the pilgrimage destination is replaced by a different one. At their arrival in Santiago de Compostela, Jean and Pierre learn from the street-walker that it is not James, but rather, Priscillian, who is buried in the cathedral – a hypothesis that is actually discussed by historians (Leisch-Kiesl/Sauer 2005, 255, 268). Once again, a further sexual degradation of Christian walking is achieved, because Buñuel's

film had previously made clear that this theologian of the 4th century was the first heretic in history. Priscillian taught that one must free the good soul from the evil body by humiliating the latter through sensual pleasures (Capriles 1978, 311; Leisch-Kiesl/Sauer 2005, 260–261). Now, Jean and Pierre, whose journey to the Spanish city had already been motivated solely by the hope of meeting as many pilgrims as possible there who would make begging particularly profitable, are going to have sexual intercourse with the prostitute, which not only fulfils the mysterious divine mandate given to them at the beginning of the film, but also corresponds to Priscillian's heretical teachings.

A stumbling itinerant preacher in the footsteps of Jesus

Similar to *La Voie lactée*, *Nazarín* also refers to Jesus, who now no longer appears in the flesh, but rather serves the title character, a priest, as a model for literal imitation (Mertens 1999, 206, 210–211). This analogy, which is already alluded to by the phonetic similarity between 'Nazarín' and 'Nazareth' (Leisch-Kiesl/Sauer 2005, 231), also includes other characters, since Nazarín's companions, Beatriz and Andara, can be compared with the Mother Mary and Mary Magdalene or with the latter and Peter, while the other clerics correspond to the Pharisees (Colina/Turrent 1992, 132; Mertens 1999, 206). It likewise concerns Nazarín's various experiences: Just as the priest is regarded as a miracle healer and saint following the recovery of Beatriz's niece, Jesus also accomplished miracle healings (Durgnat 1977, 109). Nazarín's later arrest in a garden reminds us of the biblical Mount of Olives scene (Leisch-Kiesl/Sauer 2005, 229). And in prison, Nazarín is situated between an evil and a 'good' criminal just as Jesus was at his crucifixion (Durgnat 1977, 109; Edwards 1982, 131).

Most importantly, after the first third of the film, which takes place in the socially restless Mexico of the late 19th century, Nazarín sets off on a walk across the country as a dedication to God (Kotulla 1968, 414). In so doing, he becomes one of those begging itinerant preachers who appeared again and again – especially in social crisis situations – up to the 19th century. In fact, Jesus, too, in addition to reputedly walking over water and carrying the cross on foot, belonged to those numerous Jewish travelling preachers who, during his time, toured Palestine without possessions. And even though he

seems to have avoided Roman and Hellenized cities in favor of the free country, he nevertheless travelled in an area that spanned 120 miles in a north-south direction and reached as far as Jerusalem. On his journeys, he additionally called on twelve disciples to wander throughout the land and preach about the kingdom of God.[3] (Amato 2004, 45)

Like Simón, Nazarín is at first barefoot on the way, having given his shoes to a poor man right at the beginning, but later, much like Pierre in *La Voie lactée*, receives a pair from Beatriz. This makes an implicit reference to one of Jesus's parables about journeying, namely, that of the prodigal son (Luke 5, 22). However, one of the women who believe he has supernatural powers explicitly compares Nazarín again with Jesus due to his barefoot state (Leisch-Kiesl/Sauer 2005, 228).

Nevertheless, Buñuel's priest remains separated from the Son of God by such weighty differences that, in the end, his imitation of Jesus also amounts to nothing more than a parody. As Jesus voluntarily set out on his journeys and gathered disciples around him, other travelling preachers were not always dismissed as lunatics but, due to their rhetorical charisma, sometimes well received by simple people. By comparison, Nazarín's actions are determined by outside forces and lacking success: Just as in *La Voie lactée*, external circumstances compel Jean and Pierre to advance on foot, Nazarín initially flees from an impending suspension and is eventually led away by the police (Leisch-Kiesl/Sauer 2005, 225, 227–228). Moreover, he is accompanied against his will by two women who follow him presumably because of his Christianity, but actually out of a quite sensual affection, and whom he eventually loses again. The loss of Beatriz to Pinto is emphasized by a formal parallel, since she first lays her head on Nazarín's shoulder, but then on Pinto's. At the same time, the act of walking is again contrasted with that of being transported, as the girl was once on foot with the priest and is now sitting on a horse-drawn carriage with her brutal lover. Finally, as Amedée Ayfre once remarked with a view to Buñuel's film, Christ suffered the death on the cross, but subsequently experienced his resurrection (Ayfre 1962–63, 54). This grace is denied to the priest, which is underscored by the reference to another form of Christian walking, for *Nazarín* also ends with the drumming of Calanda's Good Friday procession and, thus, without resurrection (Carreras-

Kuntz 2004, 67–68). If we add that Nazarín is described by another priest along the way as a "hereje," it becomes clear that his wandering ultimately expresses his social homelessness (Colina / Turrent 1992, 178; Leisch-Kiesl / Sauer 2005, 233).

This homelessness is also emphasized by a double reference to the picaresque novel. First, the movie *Nazarín* is likewise structured episodically, and its progatonist, like the picaresque novel's anti-hero, is surrounded by socially marginalized characters, but at the same time comes into contact with different social strata (Edwards 1982, 117, 135). Second, Nazarín is also a fool as his failure – and this is particularly evident from the episode at the construction site – is caused by his orientation towards an abstract morality that is completely inappropriate within the social reality (Mertens 1999, 214–215; Leisch-Kiesl / Sauer 2005, 232). In this context, Buñuel himself and many commentators following him have compared Nazarín with the title character of Miguel de Cervantes's partially picaresque novel *Don Quichote* (1605–15) (Colina / Turrent 1992, 132; Kotulla 1968, 410; Edwards 1982, 117–118; Oms 1985, 143–144; Carreras-Kuntz 2004, 67; Christie 2004, 133, 137; Leisch-Kiesl / Sauer 2005, 231). However, what has not been discussed so far is not only that this reference to a worldly model profanes the original spiritual one, Jesus, but additionally, the knight himself is degraded by the walking priest, who symbolically pulls him down from his horse.

A worn-out Jesus and two hesitant blind men

While the profanation of Jesus's journeys is conveyed by the title character in *Nazarín*, this detour is dispensed with in the film *La Voie lactée*. For although the latter's narrative framework has Jesus appearing supernaturally out of nowhere, one of the embedded narratives presents him moving around in a natural way. *La Voie lactée* certainly reproduces some clichés of the traditional Jesus iconography (Leisch-Kiesl / Sauer 2005, 270). According to Buñuel, however, the main focus for him was to depict this figure as an ordinary person, contrary to his usual mystification, by, among other things, showing him "running" and "mistaking his way" (Buñuel 1994, 245). Thus, in the finished film, a waiter in a fine restaurant questions the typical representation of Christ as always pacing in a solemn, dignified way, whereupon in a further metadiegesis it can be seen how Jesus arrives late, and therefore in a hurried running

pace, on the way to the wedding of Cana at the meeting point with his disciples.

In contrast, the end of *La Voie lactée* does not demystify the Son of God by means of acceleration, but through the arrest of a walking movement; and this refers back to Simón's fixation on his column, with which this article began. Shortly after having linked walking to seeing by identifying the camera with the vagrants, *La Voie lactée* allows two blind people to appear on the scene, walking with canes. Just as Jesus made the blind see and the lame walk in his biblical miraculous healings, he apparently also heals the two men from their blindness in Buñuel's film. The men are initially delighted about this, but, when trying to follow Jesus and the apostles just a moment later, are held back by a narrow trench, which they insecurely tap with their still-needed canes. And while one finally crosses the chasm, the other is afraid to proceed. This scene is of an enigmatic surrealist quality, which is why it has provoked many different interpretations. Most convincing of these, however, is the thesis put forward by Oswaldo Capriles that the miracle cure did not really come about, but was merely imagined on the basis of a "dogma as opposed to reality" (Capriles 1978, 312–313). In any case, the two men are separated by the fissure of the earth – confirming Jesus's previous explanation that he did not want to bring peace to mankind, but rather, to divide it.

Conclusion

This essay has demonstrated that Buñuel's films deal with several forms of Christian peregrination. The most important among them are pilgrimage and the itinerant preacher, both of which are represented by exceptionally prominent examples, namely, Simeon the stylite and Santiago de Compostela in the one case and Jesus Christ in the other. In both contexts, walking as man's natural form of horizontal translocation is related to vertical, artificial, and supernatural modes of locomotion. Although moving on foot is characterized, in typical Christian fashion, as an arduous, humble, ascetic or even self-punishing activity, it gives rise to some of the most impressive images in Buñuel's body of work and is exploited for specific surrealist ends: It is eroticized, associated with supernaturally overcoming the restrictions of space and time, and subjected to carnivalesque, ambivalent profanations:

On the one hand, religious walking does not only degrade chivalric riding, but is itself subverted by way of heresies, anticlericalism, demystification, secularization, and atheism. Particularly in the case of pilgrimage, this subversion is already interesting in itself. With the advent of inner piousness, pilgrimage was criticized for tying God, an immaterial and ubiquitous being, to individual geographical places, which were thus sanctified but also inversely profaned God (Hassauer 2000, 637–638), whereas today, the popularity of certain places of pilgrimage, such as Lourdes, is used to ward off the general secularization that has seized Western societies (Coleman 2015, 58). In addition, Buñuel manages to profane sacred walking in contradictory ways, namely, by presenting it as being either involuntary or joyful and either accelerated or stopped. These profanations are insistently reinforced by establishing intertextual relations to the picaresque novel with its digressive narratives regarding naive antiheroes during their mundane travels. On the other hand, the fact that Buñuel devoted entire films to the subject of Christian wandering points to his sustained fascination with this phenomenon, which for him was ambiguous insofar as *all* kinds of spatial and temporal movement were accessible to both God and Satan.

Now, the connection Buñuel made between human walking and the movements of these supernatural beings even allows us to surpass the current state of pilgrimage research in religious studies. For while it is pointed out here that pilgrimage, when practiced on foot, nowadays also serves to counteract society's general acceleration (Coleman 2015, 58), it has been overlooked so far that Marian and other supernatural apparitions, whose sites often become pilgrim destinations (Sigal 2005, 7148; Turner 2005, 7146), themselves represent instantaneous and thus hyper-fast motions. A further engagement with Buñuel's cinematic work would offer the chance to explore this surprising parallel between traditional religious beliefs and current social developments.

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Notes

1 *Nazarín* received the International Prize at the Cannes festival, *Simón del desierto* the Special Jury Prize at the Venice festival and *La Voie lactée* the Interfilm Award at the Berlin festival.

2 All quotes without indication of source like this one are taken from the respective movie under discussion.

3 When Nazarín imitates Jesus as a wandering preacher, spatial locomotion is, in a certain way, again combined with a journey back in time to antiquity.

When loud Weather buffeted Naoshima
A Sensory Walk

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Abstract

Walking isn't just walking. A walk, especially if you don't concentrate on seeing, stimulates the senses. When musician David Sylvian visited the Japanese island of Naoshima in winter 2006 to record sounds for his ambient track "When loud Weather buffeted Naoshima", he had in mind that the listener should hear the song with an MP3 player during a slow walk around the island. The recorded sounds should mix with the sounds that are created while walking: noise from cars and other pedestrians, wind, birds and the sound of the sea.

The aim of the article is to reflect on the sensory walking experience that accompanies Sylvian's work. Other sensory sensations, such as the smells of the island and the tactility of the subsoil there, which I collected during a visit in March 2018, should also be taken into account.

Keywords: sound, soundscape, sound-walking, sensescape, David Sylvian, Naoshima

"What was the first sound heard? It was the caress of the waters. Proust called the sea 'the plaintive ancestress of the earth pursuing, as in the days when no living creature existed, its lunatic immemorial agitation.' The Greek myths tell how man arose from the sea: 'Some say that all gods and all living creatures originated in the stream of Oceanus which girdles the world, and that Tethys was the mother of all his children.' The ocean of our ancestors is reproduced in the watery womb of our mother and is chemically related to it. Ocean and Mother. In the dark liquid of ocean the relentless masses of water pushed past the first sonar ear. As the ear of the fetus turns in its amniotic fluid, it too is turned to the lap and gurgle of water. At first it is the submarine resonance of the sea, not yet the splash of wave. But then...

... the waters little by little began to move […]

Waves whipped into surf, pelting the first rocks as the amphibian ascends from the sea. And although he may occasionally turn his back on the waves, he will never escape their atavistic charm. 'The wise man delights in water,' says Lao-tzu. The roads of man all lead to water. It is the fundamental of the original soundscape and the sound which above all others gives us the most delight in its myriad transformations." (Schafer 1994, 15-16, pos. 308-321)

And indeed, the first sound you hear is the roar of the sea, whose waves are endlessly washed to the rugged coast of Naoshima. It is no coincidence that David Sylvian chose this sound for the beginning of his 70-minute work "When loud Weather buffeted Naoshima", because you have to travel over the sea to get there. The Japanese island of Naoshima, which lies in Seto Inland Sea and belongs to Kagawa Prefecture, can only be reached by ferry. The smell of diesel and salt water, the sound of the sea and the blow of the wind accompany the crossing. In March 2018 I set foot on the island for the first time. The sea seems to be everywhere. It's so loud at night, that it kept me from sleeping. The wind is pushing it constantly. At that moment I immediately understood why Sylvian chose this title for his piece.

As it is said on the homepage of David Sylvian "'When loud weather buffeted Naoshima' was commissioned by the Naoshima Fukutake Art Museum Foundation on the island of Naoshima, Japan as part of the NAOSHIMA STANDARD 2 exhibition which ran from Oct 2006 to April 2007. The composition is site specific" (David Sylvian 2009). In a BBC Review Chris Jones wrote in 2007: "Conceived as a work in progress to be completed by the external sounds of the actual Chichu Art Gallery, When Loud Weather…is a collage of found sound, drones and contributions from a ensemble of big-hitters in the European avant fraternity including shakuhachi maestro, Clive Bell, guitarist Christian Fennesz and Norwegian trumpet/electronics genius, Arve Henriksen" (BBC-Music 2007). The composition consists of sounds recorded as field recordings on the island, drones (continuous or repetitive sounds) and sounds recorded in the studio by well-known musicians. The idea was to combine the recorded sounds with the sounds in situ. The listener should listen to the work via MP3 player while taking a walk through the Museum and across the island. As you can read on the homepage, "Sylvian has said that the work isn't really complete until the sounds of the town Honmura are incorporated into the listening experience. For the samadhisound release of 'when loud weather…' Sylvian has, as already said, incorporated some of the sounds of the island into the final mix. Whilst this obviously doesn't compare to the experience of listening to the work in situ it goes someway towards creating an echo of it." (David Sylvian 2009) And further from the BBC review: "Moving between snatched conversation, tape hiss, meteorological ambience and the contributions of the above players, Sylvian hoped to create a 'multiple exposure' of the spiritual and emotional life of this ancient island where old and new exist cheek-by-jowl." (BBC-Music 2007)

For the consideration of the piece it was important to me to familiarize myself with the atmosphere of the island – above all of course with the sound. With his work, Sylvian creates a piece of this atmosphere and uses formal strategies from musique concrète or even more from ambient music. "Ambient is a variant of electronic music in which spherical, soft, long and warm sounds dominate. Rhythm and percussion are in the background or are not present at all in ambient music, they appear as subtle percussion textures, as arpeggios or in rhythmically introduced melody and bass progressions.

Spatial effects, soundscapes and field recordings are often experimented with, and electronic organs (keyboards) and wind instruments are often used. Also natural soundscapes [...] have their place. The pieces of music are usually very slow and long, often build up slowly and merge into one another, rarely following a classical song structure". (Quoted/translated from Schwering 2018, 4) As described in this quotation, ambient music works with field recordings and the soundscapes found on location. Before I look in detail at Sylvian's piece, I would first like to define some important terms and describe some assumptions. Therefore, the terms soundscape, soundwalk, and location will be discussed in the following. I would like to use these terms to describe the sound and sensory world of the island of Naoshima, to explore how Sylvian's work reflects and meditates on it and to what extent the act of walking while listening enriches the exploration of the piece of music and the place.

Soundscape

In the glossary to Schafer's Book *The Soundscape. Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World* (1994) soundscape is described as "[t]he sonic environment. Technically, any portion of the sonic environment regarded as a field for study. The term may refer to actual environment, or to abstract constructions such as musical [c]omposition and tape montages, particularly when considered as an environment." (Schafer 1994, pos. 5067) In their essay "Soundscape Ecology: The Science of Sound in the Landscape" Bryan Pijanowsky et al define the term as "the relationship between a landscape and the composition of it's sound." (Pijanowski et al. 2011, 203) And further:

> "[T]he first mention of soundscapes appears in urban planning literature. Nearly a decade later, Schafer (1977) recognized that sounds are ecological properties of landscapes, referring to soundscapes as 'the acoustical characteristics of an area that reflect natural processes.' His primary interest was in characterizing natural sounds that could be used to compose music. Krause (1987) later attempted to describe the complex arrangement of biological sounds and other ambient sounds occurring at a site,

and introduced the terms 'biophony' to describe the composition of sounds created by organisms and 'geophony' to describe nonbiological ambient sounds of wind, rain, thunder, and so on. We extend this taxonomy of sounds to include 'anthrophony' – those caused by humans. Soundscape ecology thus can be described by our working definition as all sounds, those of biophony, geophony, and anthrophony, emanating from a given landscape to create unique acoustical patterns across a variety of spatial and temporal scales." (Pijanowski et al. 2011, 204)

Soundscape should be understood as the sound of a landscape, in which the sounds are produced from different sources – climate, living beings, humans. Schafer points out that landscape and soundscape are by no means equally describable because a "soundscape consist of events *heard* not objects *seen*". (Schafer 1994, pos. 205) In contrast to landscapes that are visually perceived and from which one can take a photograph, soundscapes have to be heard. Hearing, however, is more difficult to limit and outline. The information it gives about space, though, is less clear than when seeing. (cf. Diaconu 2013, 70) In order to describe a soundscape, it is difficult to resort to the same terms as in the description of a visual impression. Schafer therefore suggests – in addition to the above-mentioned distinctions between the various sources of sounds – to describe soundscapes with the terms keynote sounds, signals and soundmarks.

Keynote sounds refer to the tonality, the anchor tone or the fundamental tone of the environment. "The keynote sounds of a given place are important because they help to outline the character of men living around them. The keynote sounds of a landscape are those created by its geography and climate: water, wind, forests, plains, insects, animals." (Schafer 1994, pos. 240)

Signals are sounds and noises that can contain acoustic warnings, such as bells, whistles, horns or sirens. And a soundmark is similar to a landmark, that consists of "community sound which is unique or possesses qualities which make it specially regarded or noticed by people in this community." (Schafer 1994, pos. 255) Together, these different sounds form the certain soundscape of a certain environment that makes it definable and describable. "Acoustic cues

and signals are aural reminders and temporal nods to the rhythms of daily life; they help define an area spatially, temporally, socially and culturally." (Schine no year specified, 1)

Soundwalk

Sound becomes an event in the case of a soundwalk. The location where it occurs is essential, because events are linked to a specific location. They "necessarily take place at one location or are bound to one location by persons. Thus time without space and space without time is inconceivable. Time inscribes itself into space in the form of traces and space exists only through time, since time is characterized by dimensions that can only be experienced through movement." (quoted / translated from Drohsel 2016, 131). So it is evident to move through space if you want to experience the soundscape of a place.

The science of walking deals with how a walker perceives a place by walking and thereby acquires knowledge about it. "Through the presence in a room and the physical movement in it, the senses are located in it and open up to perceptions that leave impressions. Memory is activated and complemented by a spiritual movement and personal experience" (quoted / translated from Drohsel 2016, 164).

In his book *Das Erbe das Flanierens. Der Souveneur – Ein handlungsbezogenes Konzept für urbane Erinnerungsdiskurse* (The Souveneur – A Concept for Action-Related Urban Discourses of Remembrance, 2016) Karsten Michael Drohsel asks, what exactly happens during action, when the action is walking. What does the walking mind perceive and what role does the body play in this? Therefore he refers to Baudelaire and Walter Benjamin. Above all Benjamin, according to Drohsel, had recognized the great potential of the Flanerie as a way of thinking. On his walks, he tried to save as much historical material about the city as possible, through the memory he encountered meanwhile. Strollers such as Benjamin and Baudelaire "were constantly on the lookout for traces and clues and followed them in order to discover their origin and meaning, to make the urban situations, spheres and spaces and thus the zeitgeist and the course of the world comprehensible to themselves." (quoted / translated from Drohsel 2016, 188)

Following Drohsel, it can be stated that walking in space enables the walker or stroller to communicate with the places visited and their objects and inhabitants and to uncover locally relevant discourses about them (see Drohsel 2016, 222).

You can do something very similar if you add hearing to attentive walking. According to Jennifer Schine, this walking and simultaneous listening, or soundwalking, is "an exploration of sound with the intent of active listening – hearing all environmental sounds while moving in and throughout the environment. It is a practice to re-remember sounds and re-learn how to hear. According to composer and sound ecologist, Hildegard Westerkamp, 'it is exposing our ears to every sound around us no matter where we are. Wherever we go, we give our ears priority...we need to stay in touch with our surroundings, as every sound carries very specific meanings no matter where we live' (Westerkamp 1974). Soundwalks are also forms of autobiographical practice, revealing knowledge about both the self and the social consciousness and collective memory of place."[1] (Schine no year specified, 4)

Soundwalking offers the possibility to understand the world through the ear. Thus, recording the sounds of the natural environment (ecoacoustics) offers an additional perspective that can provide new insights in addition to walking and hearing (cf. Barclay/Gifford 2018, 184). Hans U. Werner, for example, reports on his own experiences with soundwalking in Montevideo, in which he emphasizes the exploration of the inner rhythm of the city. (cf. Werner 2004, 84) All scientific and literary reports on Soundscape projects and soundwalking in Montevideo, Vancouver, Lisbon or Paris (among others) have in common that they deal with the specificity of the place or want to get to the bottom of this specificity via soundwalking. The nice thing about the example of Naoshima is that the place is very clearly marked out. It is a relatively small island that can be explored on foot in one to two days. Parts of the island can only be reached on foot or by bicycle, for example on weekends. If you limit yourself to the Benesse Art Site, a coastal route where most museums and exhibitions are located, and the city of Honmura in the east of the island, a 70-minute walk (as we remember, this is how long Sylvian's piece is) is very well timed to get a comprehensive impression of the islands in situ sounds.

Location

Since Sylvian's piece is not only a recording of a soundscape, but also a sound art, the following section will shed light on the concept of a place in relation to sound art, since aspects of this can be defined by the intensity of its connection to a room or place. (cf. Kiefer 2010, 35) Peter Kiefer differentiates the local reference in sound art depending on how close or far art is to the location and to what extent it interacts with the location. Two categories are interesting for "When loud Weather buffeted Naoshima":

1   Sound art as interaction with and in the room. Here the moving body of a visitor interacts with the sounds or sound movements of the installation (cf. Kiefer 2010, 37).
2   Sound art installation 'genius loci', 'in situ'. Kiefer describes this as sound art, which explores the conditions found in a unique place and thus only makes sense in this place. This is the case, for example, when art refers to specific acoustic conditions of the place or incorporates them (cf. Kiefer 2010, 37).

On the one hand, because the listener hears the piece through headphones and can move freely through the room, the first category is relevant insofar as the listener can interact with the sounds. On the other hand, the specific location is decisive when it comes to the full sound experience, so that the second category fits even more. Maybe it is a mixture of both that we have to deal with, in this case. As Sylvian himself said is, that the piece is only complete when it combines with the in situ sounds of the island. In an essay dealing with the place, situation and event of sound art, it is aptly noted that the listener is confronted with the place, has to deal with it and his own perception (cf. Barthelmes 2010, 161-162). In addition, it is pointed out that during the interaction and reflection of the spatial situation, the listener must also deal with unforeseeable criteria such as weather, climate, traffic and the general variability and transience of the place (cf. Barthelmes 2010, 163). Further to the sound elements recorded in the studio by musicians, Sylvian's work already deals with the sounds that nature (and culture) produces. A confrontation with less to hardly calculable noises is therefore part of the play.

The Soundscape of Naoshima

The leading in situ sounds heard in 'When loud Weather...' are the noise of wind and water and the jingle of a wind chime. The sound of waves that are washed on the beach is soft at first, but then it becomes louder, mixed with the whistling of the wind. A strong wind. Rattle. Then the wind chime. Or is it not a wind chime? Is this a studio sound? I can't say for sure, but I saw such wind chimes of shells, sticks and small bells on Naoshima in woodlands and at temples on clearings high above the asphalted roads. At the same time there are sounds from flutes and wire brushes. Also high notes and singing. The flute you hear is very probably a shakuhachi, a Japanese wooden long flute. One of the musicians involved, Clive Bell, is known for his Shakuhachi playing.

You can hear the chirping of birds alongside electronic sounds. Dull piercing tones, indescribable tones… The reverb of the sounding body of an acoustic guitar. Low notes of a trumpet or horns. Quiet clattering of engines. Scratching on an underground. Sound fragments. And again and again the wind and the wind chime.

As I write this text, I remember the sounds of Naoshima. My own recordings consist mainly of wind and water. Plus the crunching of the sand or the sound my shoes make on the asphalt. And also the sound of passing cars. At least in the places where they are permitted.

Naoshima is an interesting place, which on the one hand seems natural and pristine. Almost rough, due to the very loud weather and the rocky coast. On the other hand, there is so much art on the island, which in its manner or the way it is exhibited, seems to stand in sharp contrast to the naturalness of the place.

If you're not on Naoshima, what you hear when you listen to 'When loud Weather…' is actually a kind of echo, as Chris Jones calls it. The piece works perfectly as an ambient track on its own, because it produces something like the spirit of the soundscape by embedding the in situ sounds – an echo – the reverberation of the actual sound, only a little less in its strength.

But when you hear the song on the island, the sounds of the soundscape add up. They may even multiply. The world of sound, which the piece develops, is penetrated by its own source. The field recordings contained in the piece and the in situ sounds, which the listener perceives while walking, connect; refer to each other and to

the soundscape of the island. It is both a concept and a necessity to move around the island as an active listener in order to trace the sounds. The piece is intended to entice the listener to track down the exact source of individual sounds, to move in Sylvian's footsteps and to explore the signals and soundmarks by walking and thus to be able to experience the island more deeply. The recording takes up the already visible contrasts of the island. The field of tension between modernity and tradition is reflected in the selection of musical instruments by combining the sounds of traditional Japanese instruments, such as the shakuhachi, with electronic sounds.

The flaneur not only wanders through Sylvian's work, but also reveals a central aspect of the island, whose concept is to contrast the tension between nature and art and architecture without one surpassing the other. Because many works can be entered and thus can be perceived sensually, the contrast between nature and art is eliminated and therefore becomes a space of experience/sensescape of its own. Sylvian must have recognized this concept, because his work is directly connected to it, taking up the ideas of the Benesse Art Site, creating a piece that was made for this place, that interacts with it and also functions detached from it. A work that drives the ear to discover the soundscape and its associated memories and that makes the walker not only feel the island more clearly on his walk, but also exposes him to a cut through time when he listens to sounds from 2006 and possibly 2018 at the same time.

As these considerations should make clear, "When loud Weather..." – by linking the areas of walking, listening and sound recording with regard to the specific location – not only represents an atmospheric artistic interaction with Naoshima, but also offers the possibility of an aesthetic-theoretical examination of the ecological and cultural environment of the island and the situatedness of the walking person in it. Walking is after all not only walking, but always a positioning at a certain place at a certain time and thus a certain sensescape.

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Notes

1   Schine quotes: Westerkamp, Hildegart. 1974. Soundwalking. *Sound Heritage,* III/4, 18-27

Chasing writers' ghosts through a modern city
Augmenting urban space with literary connections during the Tove Jansson walk in Helsinki

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Abstract
The article employs the theme of a literary walk (Watson 2009), a practice of encountering places with literary associations on foot. Urban areas present especially suitable settings for such themed walks, as cities can have multiple literary connections, and literary places are located within a short distance from one another. In this paper, I focus on the sites associated with Tove Jansson (1914–2001), a Finnish-Swedish artist and writer, internationally known for her books about the Moomins. The study utilises an autoethnographic approach and draws on observations at the sites with connections to Jansson in Helsinki, organised spatially into a walk around the city. I analyse how urban space can be augmented (Sandvik and Waade 2008) by literary associations through narrativization of the author's biography and a visitor's own knowledge and imagination.

Keywords literary walk, literary place, literary travel, augmented space, Tove Jansson

Introduction

Exploring urban space on foot through a themed walk is a common contemporary practice (Plate 2006; Solnit 2014). In many European cities, historic city centres feature multiple heritage landmarks, which act as popular attractions and are within a walking distance from one another (Plate 2006). A city walk is spatially organised and follows a path connecting the chosen landmarks on the basis of an underlying theme. A brief online search provides plenty of options targeted at audiences with specific interests – be it antique books, local food, or a specific architectural style. Organised walking tours or downloadable maps for independent navigation offer to guide visitors through a city, taking them to places which match their interests.

Literature, as part of cultural heritage, often plays a key role in attracting visitors to the cities, and a literary walk is a common leisure activity for urban vacationers (Plate 2006). Such walks can centre on authors' personae and include sites with biographical ties, such as homes and graves; alternatively, story-centred walks emphasize connections to fiction and often incorporate places which are important to the narratives, such as locations that act as settings for fictional events (Herbert 2001; Robinson and Andersen 2002; Watson 2006).

Recognising well-known writers as part of cultural heritage is strongly linked to the politics of national and cultural identity and belonging (Plate 2006). Acts of commemoration, such as unveiling plaques and monuments, renaming streets and buildings, and introducing themed itineraries – usually tied in with significant dates, such as birth or death anniversaries – establish tangible ties between literary figures and urban space (Robinson and Andersen 2002; Watson 2006; Bom 2015a).

In this paper I focus on one example of commemorative practice dedicated to a nationally celebrated author by analysing the so-called Tove Jansson walk in Helsinki, Finland, from an autoethnographic perspective. Tove Jansson (1914–2001), a Finnish-Swedish artist and writer who achieved international popularity as the creator of the Moomins, was born in Helsinki and lived and worked there for most of her life. Following the centenary of her birth, several private and public organisations published information on their

web pages about places with biographical connections to her and to her famous characters.

This study draws on observations at the sites with biographical ties to Tove Jansson in Helsinki, organised geographically into a walk, using itineraries published on the web pages of the Helsinki Art Museum and Moomin Characters Ltd. for reference. In recent years, the growing use of personal mobile devices and the availability of an Internet connection have made it easier for independent visitors to arrange self-guided tours in the cities, to find locations (e.g. by using mobile applications such as interactive web maps), and to consult websites for information. Using an autoethnographic approach, I analyse how urban space can be augmented (Sandvik and Waade 2008) by literary associations through adding a biographical layer to the places encountered during the walk, enabling visitors to "dive" into the author's time.

Literary walk, urban space and literary icon-cities

The practice of the urban "literary ramble" (Watson 2009) was established in Britain by the mid-nineteenth century. Westover (2012) traces one of the earliest written descriptions of the phenomenon back to the Romantic era and the writings of Leigh Hunt, one of the first to present his readers with the literary attractions of London arranged into themed "walks". Hunt's essays enlivened the city with literary associations, recreating it as a walkable space for literary enthusiasts and providing a "memorial and affective map" (Westover 2012, 9) of London.

In the late twentieth century, in light of the emerging public initiatives to preserve and commemorate local cultural heritage, the tradition of the literary walk enjoyed a revival, manifesting in the trend of "chasing" after authors' ghosts in metropolises (Plate 2006). Nowadays, in many promoted walking tours and itineraries, visitors and residents alike are invited to "walk in the footsteps" of writers or follow the routes of their fictional characters (Plate 2006; van Es and Reijnders 2018). The supply of author-centred tours caters to people's desire to experience the imagined past through biographical connection to a known literary figure. Places typically included in the itineraries based on factual ties with authors are birthplaces, homes, and burial sites. In comparison to a bus tour, the physical activity and the slower pace of a walking tour allows visi-

tors not only to observe the surroundings but to achieve an embodied experience of the places in a presumably similar manner to that of the famous writers themselves (Plate 2006).

The tradition of a literary walk has been predominantly associated with *literary cities* like London and Paris. While such cities pride themselves on having multiple famous literary connections, *literary icon-cities* (Bom 2015a, 2015b) are known for being predominantly associated with one iconic literary figure. In the Nordic context, for instance, the cities of Odense (Bom 2015a) in Denmark and Vimmerby (Bom 2015b) in Sweden have been represented primarily through their connections to literary icons, the former being the birth place of H. C. Andersen and the latter – of Astrid Lindgren. Interestingly, the capitals of Denmark, Sweden, and Finland are each associated with a famous children's writer: Copenhagen is known for its connection with Andersen (Steiner 2016), Stockholm with Lindgren, and Helsinki with Tove Jansson.

Diving into Tove Jansson's Helsinki

Tove Jansson (1914–2001) was born in Helsinki and lived in the city for most of her life, although she travelled extensively, resided in other countries for periods of time and, later in life, divided her time between the city and an island home which she shared with her partner (Westin 2014). Having been born into an artistic family and having received visual arts education, Jansson worked throughout her life as a painter, an illustrator, and a cartoonist. In addition, she authored novels and short stories, and wrote and illustrated the Moomin books and comic strips. She considered herself first and foremost an artist and only then a writer (Westin 2014), though ironically today she is predominantly known as the author of the Moomin stories. In Finland she is regarded as a national literary and artistic icon, although her fictional creations – the Moomins – tend to overshadow Jansson's persona as well as her other artistic work (Westin 2014).

A number of commemorative events were held in Finland after Jansson's death in 2001. During 2014, which marked the centenary of her birth, and in subsequent years, more events followed: a park in Helsinki was renamed in her honour; itineraries were published to guide interested visitors to places which Jansson frequented during her life; exhibitions of her works were held in Finland and

abroad; a new Moomin Museum opened in the city of Tampere in 2017. While Helsinki had been home to many known artists and writers, the international popularity of Jansson's Moomin characters makes her one of the most recognised figures, thus designating Helsinki as an icon-city.

In order to see how the city of Helsinki is experienced through its connection to Jansson and to find out the ways in which urban space can be augmented during a literary walk, it was necessary for me to take on the role of a visitor (van Es and Reijnders 2018) and to participate in a self-guided walking tour myself. For this study, I have adopted an autoethnographic approach, which draws on the researcher's own lived experience and reflections in order to provide insights into the phenomenon under investigation (Bolen 2017). While ethnography is often employed when studying visitors'/tourists' experiences (e.g. Bom 2015a; van Es and Reijnders 2018) and autoethnography has previously been used to study urban walking experiences (Stead 2009), in the current study I wanted to find out whether an autoethnographic approach would prove useful in studying the perceived spatial augmentation.

The research material is comprised of my field notes, written as narrative accounts of the walks and documenting observations

Figure 1. The walking routes in Helsinki © Kaupunkimittauspalvelut, Helsinki 2019.
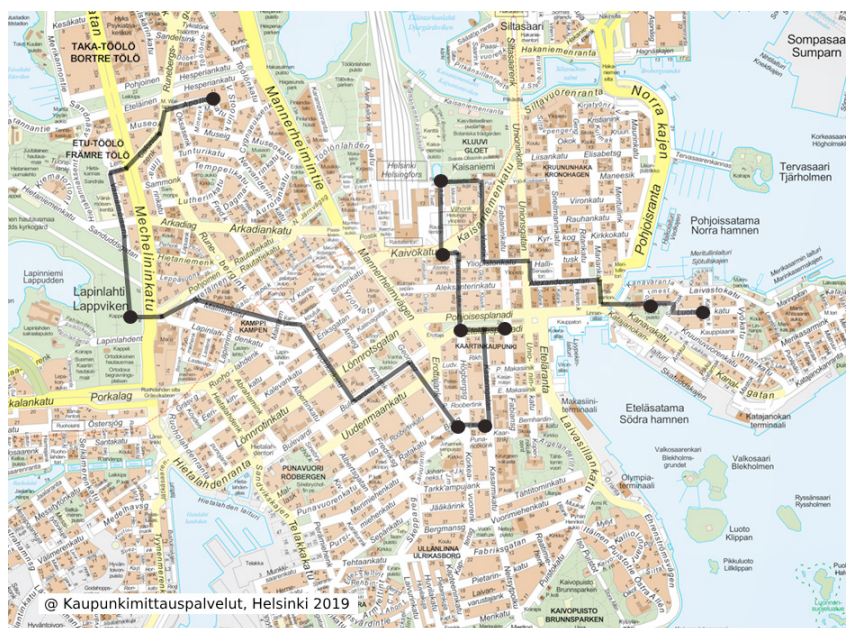
made at the sites with connections to Tove Jansson in the historical centre of Helsinki. The field notes are supplemented by visual data in the form of photographs taken at the sites. Fieldwork was carried out over the course of two days – in June and December 2017 – together with a fellow researcher, Elina Huttunen, who, similarly, has a professional and personal interest in Tove Jansson. In June, the two of us embarked on a walk through the western, central and southern parts of the inner Helsinki area. The walk was recommenced in December of the same year, covering the central, and eastern parts of the city centre. The choice of the sites and their spatial organisation into a walk was prompted by itineraries provided on the web pages of the Helsinki Art Museum[1] and Moomin Characters Ltd[2].

The itineraries feature mapped and numbered sites which include Jansson's former homes, educational institutions, and places she frequented during her life. Featured in both itineraries, as well as on another page on the Moomin Characters Ltd. website[3], are also public sculptures by Tove Jansson's father – Viktor Jansson – which are known to have been modelled after her. The sites form a walkable trail starting from the eastern part of the city centre, winding through the innermost city and leading west, to Tove Jansson's final resting place in the Hietaniemi cemetery.

In connection to the research question, thematic analysis of field notes centred on the aspects of the walk which potentially enable visitors to figuratively "dive" into the writer's time. "Time travel", enabled through mapped connections between the author and the city, and narrativization of Jansson's life based on the visitor's own knowledge and imagination manifested as factors contributing to the spatial augmentation.

Constructing the narrative of Tove Jansson's life during the walk

> On a surprisingly sunny day, we finally went on a Tove-adventure. Before that, I'd spent days browsing through maps (old and new) of Helsinki, reading biographical material, translated letters, and excerpts from *Sculptor's Daughter* [Jansson's childhood memoir, 1968/2013]. So I was all prepared. (Field notes, June 2017)

Our self-guided walking tour was driven by a biographical interest in Jansson, rather than her fictional creations. I had already been familiar with Jansson's literary and artistic works prior to conducting fieldwork and had done my "homework" by getting acquainted with biographical sources and itineraries in advance.

In themed urban walks, sites are often arranged for convenience rather than in order corresponding chronologically to the author's life (Plate 2006). If one were to follow the numbering order of both itineraries, the trail would start from Jansson's first family home in the eastern part of the city, followed by several sites in the centre in random chronological order, with Jansson's grave to be encountered close to the end of the walk. The walks taken in the course of the fieldwork were similarly arranged for convenience. However, the trails which we followed in the course of the two days formed a winding path going in the direction opposite to the one proposed in the itineraries – from west to east, beginning from one of the family homes and the grave. The visit to the cemetery, which is generally taken to indicate finality, nevertheless did not give the tour a pessimistic hue, serving only as a "…reminder that she is dead – plaque on the building, her grave; and then in my mind she's alive again. The walk started with a visit to a cemetery, but I managed to forget it as we walked to the next site" (June 2017). The connection between Jansson and the city, mapped in the itineraries gets confirmed by what I see – commemorative plaques; the gravestone; her teenage self, embodied in public space through her father's sculptures. The actual physical objects indicate that she indeed had been present there, or at the least – that she indeed existed.

In their analysis of crime scenes as mediatised spaces, Sandvik and Waade (2008) observe that spatial augmentation – the enhancement of space through senses and emotions on the basis of media connections and through the use of media – can occur, among other means, by narrativization and fictionalisation. During our walk, it is the narrative

Figure 2. Convolvulus by Viktor Jansson (modelled after teenage Tove Jansson). Photo by author, 2017.

Figure 3. Tove Jansson's grave, Hietaniemi cemetery.
Photo by author, 2017.

of Jansson's life that gets told and laid out across the city, as is reflected in the title of the Helsinki Art Museum's itinerary, "The life path of Tove".

While no augmented reality software was used during the walk to enhance the urban space (Sandvik and Waade 2008), personal mobile devices were used for consulting the itineraries, navigating, and fact-checking. Because it is not a guided tour, visitors (like my colleague and myself) act as their own guides, so much depends on one's ability to find the required information and to utilise it during the tour. Instant access to biographical information via mobile devices enabled our independent navigation through the city and allowed us to correlate the places visited with specific events in Jansson's life.

Plate (2006) points out how literary walks, by leading visitors from one place associated with an author to another, create narratives of the author's life, embedded in urban space. I cannot follow every month and year of Tove Jansson's life precisely, but only "see her in […] pockets of time", when occupying the same space as she once did (Watson 2013) and recreating her spatial movements (Plate 2006). While physical movement through urban space turns this narration into an embodied experience, the city where we walk at the same time disrupts it – we have to pause for traffic, occasionally get distracted, or have a sudden need to "stop by a tea shop" or "have a coffee break at a café we've deemed worthy" (June 2017).

In the course of this non-chronological walk, places encountered are connected to "different stages of Jansson's life: here she's a teenager, posing for her father's statue; here she goes to art school that she disliked; here is her as an adult walking through the city" (December 2017). Because not even twenty years have passed since her death, many places likely stayed the same as they were in her later years. However, many sites included in the walk are connected to an earlier time in her life – first as a child, then as a student and young adult, and later as a known artist and writer.

Figure 4. Tove Jansson's memorial plaque (by Viktor Jansson). Photo by author, 2017.

The reconstructed biographical narrative is by no means linear; it jumps back and forth in time. It consists of flashbacks – not Jansson's own, but mine, when I consult the sources and discover a new piece of information or remember a random detail from her autobiography:

Suddenly there's just us – here and now – walking through the Christmas market in 2017, sipping coffee in a café next to Senate square, and then we dive back again into Jansson's Helsinki; here's her childhood home, a block of flats for artists. Resurfacing again into the present to buy Moomin souvenirs. Then again diving into the past, following Jansson's timeline. (December 2017)

Similar to how a "crime tourist" (Sandvik and Waade 2008) might reconstruct historical and fictional crime scenes based on provided cues, placing pieces of an author's biographical narrative together might require some "detective work":

My edition [of *Sculptor's Daughter*] featured photographs and drawings from family archives, so before we resumed the walk [in December], I checked Google Maps satellite view [of the street where she lived] to see whether her drawing of a view from the window can somehow be traced – and it was there, that building, the gate (perhaps, looking different now). The angle from which she drew the street indicated where the windows were, and approximately the floor on which they lived. This little investigation of mine afforded some satisfaction, so when we actually went there, I was able to check it out "in reality", standing on the same street, somewhat 90 years later. (December 2017)

As follows from this excerpt, I compared archive pictures to web maps and to the "reality" to deduce which apartment the Janssons

Figure 5. Apartment block where Jansson lived in her tower studio. Photo by author, 2017.

used to occupy. While the cityscape had undergone rapid changes since her childhood, I assume that I am able to "see through", or "see past", the city as it is in 2017 and into the city that *was* – and how her life was connected to it: "The city I see is the city of today, so I project her onto the city as it is now, trying to bring out the city as it was then. Is it my attempt to make the urban space meaningful, to envision it through her life?" (December 2017).

Based on the field notes, it is not only factual knowledge – long-held or recently obtained – of the author's biography which allows me to "activate" (Westover 2012, 7) the surroundings. The often-mentioned act of "seeing" is recurrently paired with "in my mind": my own imagination plays a key role in creating glimpses of Jansson's life at associated places and piecing the biographical narrative together. Plate (2006) and Bom (2015a) observe that historical facts can become less important for literary visitors, as perceived experience – for example, of going back into the past – relies more on emotions and feelings of visitors, rather than hard facts. Sandvik and Waade (2008) similarly note that spaces can be enhanced through visitors' emotions. The narrative of Jansson's life and the past I am immersed in at the literary sites are essentially imagined.

The deceased author becomes fictionalised, as her life story is narrativized and embedded into the urban space (Bom 2015a). Just as with elusive fictional characters (McLaughlin 2016), literary walks, centred on following in the footsteps of someone who is no longer living, make visitors pursue authors' ghosts across the city, driven by visitors' imaginations and an author's perceived temporary proximity (Steiner 2016).

Conclusion

In this article, I examined how urban space can be experienced through biographical connection to writers during thematic walks. With the help of the autoethnographic approach, drawing on observations made during a self-guided walk centred on Tove Jansson in

Helsinki, I looked at how biographical narratives of known authors can add new dimensions to the urban space. With regard to methodology, I found that utilising the autoethnographic approach in the study proved useful by allowing me to focus on my personal embodied experience of the walk and to reflect on the thoughts and emotional responses resulting from it.

Drawing on the idea of spatial augmentation by fiction proposed by Sandvik and Waade (2008), this study has shown that urban space can be augmented by narrativization of the author's life during a literary walk. Though nonlinear and easily interruptible by the city itself, the biographical narrative is constructed spatially as visitors move from one site to the other through urban space, enabling them to "dive" into the writer's time when encountering associated sites.

The results indicate that visitors are able to piece the narrative of the author's life together, placing the author into the surrounding urban space through their own factual knowledge and imagination, thus envisioning the author's personal narrative tied to the geography and history of the growing city.

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Notes

1   Helsinki Art Museum: The life path of Tove. https://www.hamhelsinki.fi/en/exhibition/tove-jansson/
2   Moomin Characters Ltd.: Discover Tove Jansson's life and art through this map of Helsinki. 4 April 2014. https://www.moomin.com/en/blog/discover-tove-janssons-life-and-art-through-this/
3 Moomin Characters Ltd.: Discover Helsinki – see the beautiful sculptures of Tove Jansson. 28 July 2015. https://www.moomin.com/en/blog/discover-helsinki-see-the-beautiful-sculptures-of-tove-jansson/

Urban Walking – a Subversive Staged Experience?

The Post-heroic Flâneur under Observation

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Abstract

On the one hand, for decades there has been a growing interest in urban walking as an authentic physical, creative or subversive spatial experience. On the other hand, cities as well as different walking practices are more and more staged, are part of mediatized, as well as market-oriented city scenarios or artistic image productions. Thus urban strolling appears increasingly to be a theatre- or film-like experience. The text discusses the ambivalence and complexity of today's walking practices and re-evaluates their meaning ranging from resistance to consumerism, referring to the historical concept of the *flâneur* as well as to the current phenomenon of a post-heroic urban stroller. Examples from film, fine arts and literature from recent decades, illustrating paradoxical walking concepts, are used for analysis; a special focus is placed on Bertrand Bonello's film *Nocturama*, Albrecht Selge's novel *Wach* and Valérie Jouve's photo series *Les Passants* and *Les Personnages*.

Keywords *flâneur*, resistance, consumerism, stage-like, post-heroic

Focusing on Las Vegas in her last chapter of *Wanderlust* (2001) – at first sight a pedestrian-unfriendly city of entertainment that nevertheless became a place to walk – Rebecca Solnit outlines a vision where the subversive act of walking will survive "outside the mainstream [culture] and sometimes reenter it" (Solnit 2001, 288). Its future depends, as the last sentence of her book states, on whether the connecting paths of this human culture and history are still traveled (cf. Solnit 2001, 291). In retrospect her hope seems to be justified when we look at the notable increasing interest in walking since her 2001 publication, ranging from physical-sporting activities through socio-political expressions to creative spatial and aesthetic experiences, especially in the arts context. Already in 1999 Thorsten Sadowsky spoke of an "inflationary *flânerie*" (Sadowsky 1999, 62). On the other hand – intertwined with the society of spectacle – different walking practices are more and more staged or curated: They are part of mediatized, also market-oriented city scenarios and everyday experiences as well as of artistic productions, from games such as Pokémon GO to audio-video-walking-guides. Thus urban walking has increasingly become a theatre- or film-like experience (cf. Nigg 2017, 277). That is why I would refine Solnit's conclusion, but also Michel de Certeau's prior insistence on the fundamental resistant and poetic quality of walking, including the re-evaluation of the consumer as producer in his *L'invention du quotidien I. Arts de faire* (1990/1980): The paths are not only to be traveled; to maintain the utopian, subversive power of urban walking we should focus also on *how* the paths or urban scenarios are produced and reflected as a conscious interference or intervention in the movement itself (cf. Nigg 2018). Walking should be considered as a fundamentally ambivalent, paradoxical practice that includes the possibility of re-narrating or re-spelling the city space as resistant *over*writing and thus creating new constellations (Certeau identifies walking and narrating equally as *arts de faire*), as well as consumerist *re*writing and entertainment. Here a parallel can be drawn with the new narrative and interactive theatre concepts or formats including walks among other things, especially with the experimental performance practices of the noughties beyond drama and post drama (cf. Tecklenburg 2014, 21). Today the notion of theatre encompasses a broad spectrum of practices, from classical stage-play to interactive performance, that also interfere with each other. The theatre scientist,

director and performer Tina Tecklenburg maintains in *Performing Stories. Erzählen in Theater und Performance* (2014) that narration can no longer be understood as a counter-concept to theatre or (art) performance, nor is theatre necessarily to be interpreted as a counter-concept of performance.

Hereafter I will discuss the paradoxical coincidence between a supposedly free, critical, even subversive strolling and a consumerist walking practice in the city. It is my thesis that in our increasingly mediatized, economized, even post-heroic times both practices, that is playful consumerism and resistant appropriation, coincide more forcefully. This also challenges both theoretical and practical concepts of walking, so at the end I will have to re-evaluate them. To travel this path I look back to the theory of the classical city dweller, the *flâneur* between an aimless stroller and an unseen commodity, but I also look ahead to some recent examples from film, literature and fine arts predominantly after 2001, where the protagonists move at the interface between resistant and consumerist walking practices.

Mediatized City Walkers

On the one hand, the increasing interference of consumerist and subversive strolling can be traced back to the stronger influence of more and more portable mass media in our everyday life where experience and knowledge (production), Michel de Certeau's walking and seeing practices are increasingly intertwined. On the other hand, the concept of the *flâneur* must already be regarded as ambivalent. In this text I will not elaborate on the influence of different forms of media or of transdisciplinary performative concepts, but I would like to discuss some examples with reference to the city pedestrian. New media and technologies not only support the scientific study of body movements, but since the 19th century also their 'improvement' – whether for military, sportive or aesthetic purposes (cf. Mayer 2013). The French sociologist Marcel Mauss observed as far back as the nineteen-thirties that the gait of the nurses in a New York hospital – and back in France also that of Parisian women – reminded him of movie actresses, as he states in *Les techniques du corps* (Mauss 1936/1934). They represent in this example a fashionable walking role model for the everyday North American and French woman, a sign of globalization and media influence; walk-

ing is thus cultural mimicry. Today the models come from television shows or YouTube tutorials. Conversely, the everyday walkers and their permanent self-recordings or external tracings equally become a stage-like model for advertisements and visual arts. An interesting example is the vast I-phone billboard, shot some years ago in a public space in Zurich (see fig.), that is also a mimicry of Caspar David Friedrich's *Der Wanderer über dem Nebelmeer* (1818) who is nowadays never alone or unseen. But artists also bring the anonymous everyday passer-by as a typological model back to the public screen. The Swiss photographer Beat Streuli shows his pictures of pedestrians from globalized cities all over the world not only in exhibition contexts, he also mounts them on glass fronts of buildings or on billboards: Larger-than-life they confront the actual city walkers with their personalized big brothers and sisters (see https://www.beatstreuli.com/installation/). The British artist Julian Opie definitely crosses the borders between everyday life, visual art and advertising: He reduces walking figures, one of his main motifs, from the real world to matchstick figures. By drawing, taking photographs and using digital technology he transforms his observations of street passers-by to easy recognizable symbols and applies them as single or group figures on different media from painting through sculpture to LED-panels, also giving them life in computer films. Opie's goal is to mesh real-life models with a universal sign (cf. Kliege 2004, 149). That his walking figures have no feet and an abstract head without eyes is an interesting detail: The anonymous strangers do not interact with the viewer or the other walkers; these animated *flâneurs* can 'in reality' not even look or take a step. Is this a subtle reference to the imaginary, (im)material movement of the world of media and commerce? This interpretation seems obvious when we look at his recent larger-than-life walking figures exhibited in public spaces, especially on department store buildings in Manchester or Zurich, for example (Opie 2003 and 2014). These matchstick figures redouble the street motion. Exposed in a shop window, with their huge sizes and reduced, anonymous outlines, they reflect the endless stream of products and walker-shoppers without personality or a moment's rest. Or are they strolling post-shoppers? In their repetitive choreography the figures mimic a catwalk parade or suggest the street-life as a stage for a fashion show. The 'advertisement' is no

longer an interruption in the flux of the consumer-walkers, but accompanies them, even distracting them from looking into the shop-window. Passing close by Opie's work pedestrians will probably not even notice their shadow. Only from a certain distance they will be able to enjoy the art spectacle – a strange inversion of window-shopping.

Flâneur-Consumer-Conspirator

The possibilities of permanent (self-) monitoring and (self-) staging of daily movement through new technologies, especially at the interface of commerce and art, also lead back to the discussion of the traditional concept of the *flâneur*. In an extension of Walter Benjamin's strolling as a medium of observation of the commodity world we could conclude that walking tends nowadays in times of "inflationary *flânerie*" to be itself economized. Not only were department stores for the woman of the nineteenth century *the* spaces for 'free' strolling, they also constructed the female shopper in a way (cf. Lindemann 2015, 101ff., 139ff.). Since then the economic optimization of shopping mall walkways, with the aim that clients should not have to make decisions about where to go, is a constant management obligation (see Farocki 2001). But we can already find clues to the ostensible inconsistency of an observant stroll and a consumption-driven walk in Benjamin's notion of the *flâneur*, walking through the arcades as precursors of the shopping malls and department stores. Benjamin called the last ones in reference to E. A. Poe's *The Man of the Crowd* the "decay form" of the arcades, which is nowadays itself in decay:

> "Wenn die Passage die klassische Form des Interieurs ist, als das die Strasse sich dem Flaneur darstellt, so ist dessen Verfallsform das Warenhaus. Das Warenhaus ist der letzte Strich des Flaneurs." (Benjamin 1991 / 1939, 557)

According to Benjamin, the ambiguity of the arcades – ranging from invented industrial luxury to the underworld to Nirvana (cf. Benjamin 1991 / 1982, 1050) – serves as a compensation for the tracelessness of the bourgeois' private life in the big city, whereas the use of consumer articles leaves traces and objects 'store' every touch. Walking is also a remedy for boredom as a consequence of the satu-

rated reaction of the Basilisk glimpse (cf. Benjamin 1991 / 1939, 539ff.). Benjamin's *flâneur* is in fact not a buyer, but is himself an anonymous, unseen commodity surrounded and yet abandoned by the crowd: The moment of abandonment is part of the *flâneur*'s intoxication; the moment of consciousness or (self-) reflection on the situation would tear the veil, represented by the crowd, from the city image and open an unobstructed view on the urban reality (cf. Benjamin 1991 / 1939, 557–562). Here lies in my opinion also **–** apart from the aimlessness of strolling **–** an important clue for a resistant walking perspective: It includes stumbling over one's own movement, a moment of shock or of lifting one's eyes (cf. Benjamin 1991 / 1939, 647) that gives time and space for reflection and making a choice. This cannot happen for example to Opie's looped walkers without feet; also the passageways of arcades and shopping malls try to prevent stumbling moments through their architecture.

Post-heroic *Flâneur*

But the *flâneur* does not only cross shopping passageways. His glance is also an observant look, a looking for, especially in an uneasy metropolitan atmosphere or in times of terror; therefore *flânerie* shares traits with those of the detective or even the conspirator (cf. Benjamin 1991 / 1939, 543). This paradoxical conflation or strange proximity of free resistant or subversive and consumerist walking, of conspiracy and *flânerie* is exemplified in a critical postmodern way in Bertrand *Bonello's film Nocturama (2016)*. At this point I will not discuss its qualities or the political impact of this film, which flopped when it was first released because of the coincidence with the terror attacks in Paris and Nice 2015, but I focus on the *flâneur*-consumer-conspirator**.** At the beginning of the film we follow seven young adults of different social and cultural backgrounds, walking through Parisian streets and the tunnels of underground stations. What at first sight appear to be accidental crossings and different changing clusters of passers-by is gradually shown to be a precise choreography of planned bombings of different monuments in the city (Statue of Jeanne d'Arc at the *Place des Pyramides*, the Ministry of the Interior, the *Total Tower* office blocks in la Défense and the square of the stock exchange). The concrete purpose of their action or revolt remains vague: The protagonists' short, almost superficial and arbitrary conversations mention current social problems such

as unemployment and globalization, historical events such as the French revolution, the Iraq-Iran-war, a false memory or monument culture, but also intellectual annoyance. After the attacks, their movements finally all come together in a department store in the historic building of *La Samaritaine* that was staged for the film while it was vacant – in its "state of decay" so to speak, before the current renovation into a spatially more open design. The protagonists want to spend the night there waiting for the situation in the city to calm down. But the police figure out where they are, storm the department store and shoot all the protagonists. Bonello contrasts the long passages through the real city – reminiscent of the long walkways and steady cam shots by film-makers such as Alan Clarke or Gus van Sant – with the artificial, closed world of the department store, which is also reflected in two different cinematic languages: A factual, documentary-like one, on the one hand and an almost dream- or stage-like one on the other (cf. Bonello 2017). The young adults become more and more nervous and start to wander through the staged temple of luxury and consume in an excessive way, so that their revolt seems to have little to do with a substantial critique of capitalism or consumerism. They even appear as doubles of shop mannequins or song interpreters of Shirley Bassey's *My way*. Alternating with listening to pop music in the electronics department, they also 'consume' the results of their bombings on television, commenting the pictures with "what a thing to see that in real life" (Nocturama 1:06:46). The only 'free' strolling passages in the film are executed by David when he leaves the department store to smoke, roaming around the quarter confronted by the real images of the attacked city. He is also the only figure who from time to time shows slight doubt about the acts committed.

The title *Nocturama* means a special animal enclosure that filters the natural daylight and creates an artificial night mood inside for observing nocturnal creatures during the day. Does the title refer only to the second part of the film in the department store? Or can the *nocturama* be interpreted as a situation of social enclosure, as a metaphor for the position of the viewer and the director, reflected in the steady cam perspective as well as in the surveillance cameras inside the store that accompany every step of the protagonists? It is an effect that is also suggested by suddenly changing angles of vision on the same situation and split screen scenes of parallel events.

In a way, the film could be interpreted as a post-Benjaminian, also post-Certeauian concept of a simultaneous *flâneur*-consumer-conspirator. It shows a diffuse escapism, an ambivalent walking practice between remote controlled and out-of-control – for the sake of doing something, ending up in consumerism. "It was bound to happen, right?" says a young woman with her bicycle that David meets during his night stroll, putting the whole situation in a nutshell (*Nocturama*, 1:22:58–1:23:06).

The literary scholar Jan Söffner discusses in a recently published article the crisis of realism in a post-factual and post-heroic era that can be helpful for contextualizing this ambivalent status of walking. Söffner's thesis is that the crisis of realism has to do with a confusing relationship between *res* and *pragmata*, between consumerism and the criticism of capitalism, between the things someone does and the things that someone refers to, so that the 'pure' action or act are left over:

> "Verbirgt sich hinter der gegenwärtigen 'Krise' des Realismus vielleicht eine besonders unerträglich gewordene Unberechenbarkeit zwischen *res* und *pragmata*, zwischen den Dingen, die man tut, und den Dingen, auf die man sich bezieht? Wird das Verhältnis zwischen den beiden gerade neu ausgelotet? Vielleicht ist dieser Gedanke es wert, diskutiert zu werden. Er besagt, dass die gegenwärtige Krise nur vordergründig eine Krise der Fakten ist. Vielmehr ist das Verhältnis zwischen den Dingen, die man tut, und den Dingen, auf die man sich bezieht, unklar und verwirrend geworden. […] Dies ist natürlich eine gewagte These. Aber was besagt eigentlich der Begriff einer 'postfaktischen' Politik? Doch wohl vor allem, dass politisches Handeln sich von den Dingen emanzipiert, auf die es sich bezieht." (Söffner 2018)

Whether or not this thesis will be confirmed is part of the current discussion. In any case, it makes us think critically about the complexity and possible consequences of the concept of free city walking and aimless strolling in the current socio-political context and the growing acceptance of simulated real places, as Solnit puts it.

Also in the novel *Wach* (English: Awake) (2011) the German author Albrecht Selge, who previously worked as a developer of acoustic travel guides for Berlin and other European cities, contrasts urban strolls with the space of a shopping mall. But whereas the walkers in *Nocturama* end up in a department store, the protagonist August leaves his home and his managerial job in a Las Vegas-like shopping center in the Mediterranean style called *castle* or *pleasure palace* for longer and longer walking tours in Berlin. He suffers from insomnia and compulsive walking, especially at night. He likes to roam around and get lost looking for traces of history, for unknown, transient or left over places, looking for experiences in the (supposed) real world beyond the convenience of the artificial and staged shopping paradise (cf. Selge 2011, 81ff.). That the female figures in the novel, especially the ex-girlfriend, have a problem with August's unsystematic walks (cf. Selge 2011, 92ff., 102), highlights indeed the classical understanding, even the old-fashioned cliché of the male *flâneur*. But at the same time August's walking experience contradicts the traditional concept: Paradoxically he himself can no longer imagine this historic figure in the contemporary commercial streets of the city (cf. Selge 2011, 89). Crossing totally different districts from residential and governmental quarters to multicultural, humble or peripheral areas beyond the usual tourist paths, it turns out they all have a certain uniformity, artificiality, also pseudo vitality and triviality in common. In fact, not only do August's stories appear as if they were only theories; even his observations and experiences do not lead to deeper insights. Strolling seems to work as occupational therapy, 'superficially' like the uniformity or facades of the city. Does the *post-flâneur* here finally reach an ideal state of free walking or is his "entertainment in which nothing is spent or consumed" (Solnit 2001, 285) almost too empty? When at the end of the novel August loses his shoes, walks home barefoot and is finally hit by a car, he only interrupts his passage for a short time; back in life everything seems to proceed as if nothing has happened.

Staged Resistance

The French photographer and anthropologist Valérie Jouve shows with her urban photographic and cinematic interventions, how the permanent feeling of physical discomfort in an urban environment or non-site can be made more productive – here also interpreted as

a possible visualization of Söffner's thesis of the unpredictable relationship between *res* and *pragmata.* Jouve has used mediality and explicit staging for a critical and utopian appropriation of the built environment since the nineteen nineties. In her work she uses, as one of her main subjects, the figure of the passer-by. In contrast to *Nocturama* or parts of *Wach* she situates her pictures deliberately in mostly anonymous city contexts or peripheral non-sites, explicitly distant from consumer places. She would rather question the relation between meaning and the experience of space through the self-staged body of her protagonists beyond visual documentation or presentations of reality (cf. Inkster 2002, 105ff.). Jouve calls this approach in one of her exhibition titles *Corps en résistance*, Michel Poivert "*théâtre politique*" (Poivert 1998, 6) – a term that combines to a certain extent urban stage-play and public intervention or interaction. In the photographs *Les Personnages*, which are mostly shown from the front, the generic title is complemented with the name (abbreviation) of the protagonist Jouve worked with. *Sans titre (Les Personnages avec E. K.)* (1997–1998) for example causes a strange friction between the protagonist and her environment: a young woman with strongly dyed white hair and a frilly, gaudy pink dress is shown against the background of a fenced industrial *terrain vague*. She has a powerful actress-like expression oscillating between anger, fear and confusion. Is it caused by the exterior wasteland or her internal state? The passers-by in the series *Les Passants* are, in contrast to *Les Personnages*, less personalized as the title indicates. The figures without names are shown merely in motion and from the side view or the back, so that their expression is not really discernible. Thus the viewer focuses more on the way the passers-by are walking and how they are dressed, but also how they inscribe their bodies in the architectural environment, for example in front of graffiti painted walls or office facades. During the posing for the photographs the active consciousness-raising of the collective body, threatened by its disappearance, is important to Jouve. But the viewer's physical motion and experience of alterity is also crucial for her installations in exhibition or public spaces (cf. Jouve 2011, 3). In spite of the staged physical appropriation of the (non-) sites by the protagonists, the interpretation of their poses in the photographs remains open. The viewers cannot figure out what the concrete cause for the protagonists' performance is so as to understand

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Fig. I-Phone-advertisement in Zurich, 2016.
(photo: M. Nigg)

their personal relationship to the built or socio-political environment. The figures and their surroundings appear to be disconnected, also because the middle ground is metaphorically missing.

This seems to be a common feature of the protagonists in Bonello's *Nocturama*, Selge's *Wach* and Jouve's photographs. In order to overcome the discomfort of disconnection – and with a sidelong glance at a possible reconnection between what people do and what they refer to – walking, especially as a practice of referencing and constellation remains indeed a valuable, necessary and utopian activity. But if resistant and consumer-oriented walking tend to coincide and the subversive power of walking is to be maintained, it is not enough, in my opinion, only to play with the urban making-of or, as Andrew F. White states for the post-tourist in Las Vegas, to perform the ambivalence or knowingness (cf. White 322, 324). My conclusion is that the resistant potential of walking, though itself mediatized and economized, can only be further productive and

powerful when the movement is not reduced to its pure act, but staged as a consciousness-raising subversive *inter*vention, where the concepts of consumerism and resistance are to be brought explicitly into friction. A such augmented walking experience could be described as a paradoxical reversal of Benjamin's aimless flâneur and Certeau's tactical consumer-walker into a purposeful or strategic drifter, so as to trace new paths and to detect what the mediatized and economized walking practices do in fact refer to.

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Vandringer i mørket
Hvad man ser når solen ikke forstyrrer

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Abstract

This article explores the visual experience of walking in darkness. Based primarily on phenomenological theories and analyses of walking and/or darkness, the topic is analyzed in relation to a guided night tour in a dark resort in Denmark. The tour is described as an experiential oscillation between moments of 'antagonistic darkness', blocking the human vision, and 'symbiotic darkness', opening up alternative visual perceptions of the world. These ways of looking are labeled as, respectively, distorted, transformative and sublime. The experiental fluctuation of the tour is ascribed to the contextual and temporal aspects of walking and standing as well as the specific staging of the walking tour as event.

Keywords vandring, mørke, oplevelser, naturæstetik, turisme

Indledning

Nattemørket har altid haft en central plads i menneskets bevidsthed som rum for særlige aktiviteter, genstand for frygt- og lystfyldte fantasier og baggrund for æstetisk og metafysik inspiration. Men i dag fremhæves nattemørket tillige som en ressource af stor

betydning for menneskets erfaring og trivsel. De kommer blandt andet til udtryk i mørkefredning af landområder (Mizon 2012; Chepenik 2009), satsninger på mere 'mørkevenligt' lysdesign (Ebbensgaard 2015; Bille & Sørensen 2007) og en interesse for mørkets erfaringsmæssige potentiale (Edensor 2013a; Edensor 2013b; Morris 2011).

På denne baggrund vil herværende artikel undersøge hvordan en mørkeerfaring udfolder sig og iscenesættes i en specifik dansk kontekst, nemlig på Oplevelsescentret Brorfelde Observatorium, hvor forfatteren deltog i arrangementet 'Mørkets aften' d. 25. marts 2017. Et af arrangementets hovedpunkter var en vandring i nattemørket omkring observatoriet, og analysen vil netop fokusere på forholdet mellem mørke og bevægelse: Hvad betyder det, at man *går* og ikke står i mørket? Analysen vil for det andet fokusere på den *visuelle* dimension af mørkeerfaringen. Mørkets delvise suspendering af lyset åbner samtidig for andre visuelle erfaringer - men hvad og hvordan ser vi i mørket? Og hvordan påvirkes disse erfaringer af *karakteren* og *iscenesættelsen* af det mørke, man vandrer igennem?

Efter en introduktion til casen vil artiklen kort behandle mørkets historik og karakter og introducere til (især) antropologen Tim Ingolds studier af vandring som erfaringsmodus (Ingold 2010; Wunderlich 2008; Ingold 2004) før vi i artiklens sidste del vender os mod analysen af mørkevandringen. Her vil egne indtryk og dokumentation blive sammenholdt med fænomenologiske analyser af andre iscenesatte mørkevandringer (Edensor 2013b; Morris 2011) for at identificere såvel generelle som kontekstspecifikke træk ved erfaringen.

Brorfelde Observatorium

Fra 1953 til 1956 fungerede Brorfelde Observatorium med sine observationskupler, værksteder og boliger som astronomisk forskerby med over 30 ansatte. Området omkring Brorfelde var blevet valgt af Københavns Universitet, da det er et af de højest beliggende og mørkeste steder på Sjælland, og derfor var idealt til astronomiske observationer. I 2013 blev stedet overtaget af Holbæk Kommune, og er i dag omdannet til et naturvidenskabeligt oplevelses- og videnscenter - og et af Danmarks få mørkefredede områder (http://brorfelde.dk/om-os/om-observatoriet/). Mørket udgør en vigtig komponent i mange af de events, som afholdes på observatoriet,

hvilket - naturligt nok - også gjaldt for eventen 'Mørkets Aften'. Arrangementet blev indledt med en populærvidenskabelig introduktion til mørke og lys som natur- og perceptionsfænomener samt en historisk indføring i lysforureningens problematik (se nedenfor), hvorefter vi (deltagerne) blev taget med på en guidet vandretur i det mørklagte naturområde. Brorfelde arbejder som sagt med naturvidenskabelig formidling, og i det indledende oplæg blev mørket primært italesat som et privilegeret sted for - især visuelle - erkendelser og indsigter. Det blev understreget ved starten af vandreturen, hvor vi alle blev udstyret med en infrarød lommelygte (herom senere) og sendt afsted med et løfte om at opleve 'alt det vi kan se, når solens lys ikke forstyrrer os'. Vandreturen handlede også om at stimulere til hvad Tim Edensor kalder 'cultures of looking (Edensor 2013b, s. 453) - nye måder at (an)skue mørket som visuelt medie. Men før vi begiver os ud på mørkevandringen er der behov for nogle bemærkninger om - netop - mørke og vandring som fænomener.

Mørket før og nu

Siden udbredelsen af den elektriske belysning i 1800-tallet har de moderne samfund undergået en lysrevolution, som har udvidet menneskets tidslige råderum radikalt og ændret selve livets rytme. (Shaw 2014; Dunnett). Men denne lysrevolution - understøttet af en stigende urbanisering - har også medført en omfattende 'lysforurening', hvor menneskeskabt lys har spredt sig til næsten alle afkroge og derved har invaderet og marginaliseret nattemørket. Det har ikke kun vanskeliggjort astronomiske observationer, men har også påviseligt en række negative konsekvenser for mange dyrearters - inklusive menneskets - trivsel (Mizon 2012; Chepesuik 2009; Meier et al. 2015). Det har ført til en række initiativer til beskyttelse af mørket, heriblandt certificering af offentlige områder med særligt klare nattehimler som Dark Sky Parks (IDSA).

I århundreder har mørket været set som det uransagelige hjemsted for horder af ugudelige kræfter, udtrykt i den metafysiske dualisme mellem mørke og (guddommeligt) lys. Denne dualisme videreføres i Oplysningstiden, hvor marginaliseringen af det åndelige mørke og udbredelsen af den sekulære videns lys bliver omdrejningspunktet for det moderne samfundsprojekt (Bille & Sørensen 2007; Williams 2008). Men mørket er samtidig en stærkt ambivalent

topos (Morris 2011), og for den romantiske bevægelse blev mørket knyttet til genopdagelsen af det naturlige, autentiske og spirituelle hinsides det 'oplyste' samfunds konformitetstvang (Dunnett 2014). Dette romantiske tankespor kan genfindes i den aktuelle debat om lysforurening som en dyrkelse af det *astronomisk sublime,* en særlig, udefinerlig erfaring, der opstår i mødet med det enorme, overjordiske himmelrum (Dunnett 2014, s. 624-25).

At sikre adgang til en klar nattehimmel, handler det langt fra kun om at tilgodese astronomiske miljøer; nattehimlen er en universel kulturarv og grundlaget for epifaniske erkendelser, der har lagt grunden for kunstnerisk og intellektuel udvikling gennem den menneskelige civilisation:

> The fact that Homo sapiens is equipped with the musculature to look upwards while maintaining balance for sustained periods may have been the key to the door leading to our faculty of wonder, and to our contemplation of a 'scheme of things' greater than our immediate surroundings. (http://www.darksky.org/light-pollution/nightsky-heritage/)

Denne meget summariske gennemgang af mørkets idéhistorie rejser to spørgsmål, som vil blive taget op i det følgende afsnit. For det første om *mørkets karakter* da der peges på to forståelser af mørke som noget, der henholdsvis udelukker lyset og åbner for lyset, og dermed den visuelle perception. For det andet om menneskets *erfaringsposition i forhold til mørket* da ovenstående citat fremstiller det astronomisk sublime som betinget af menneskets anatomiske evne til at stå oprejst og kigge opad mod lyset. Men hvad sker der, når vi bevæger os *horisontalt* gennem verden, til fods i og omsluttet af mørket?

Synergetisk og antagonistisk mørke

Det astronomisk sublime repræsenterer ikke blot en omvending, men også en undergravning af dualismen mellem lys og mørke til fordel for et gensidigt betingende forhold. Men er det overhovedet meningsfuldt at tale om en erfaring af absolut mørke? Selv om mørke kan påvises at have en positiv eksistens, som noget, vi faktisk kan *se* som en art grænseløs skygge (Sørensen 2004), så oplevelsen

af totalt mørke altovervejende begrænset til designede kontekster som mørkekammeret i Miroslav Balkas kunstværk 'How it is' (Tate Modern 2009). Erfaringen af absolut mørke i naturlige omgivelser er en mulig, men flygtig tilstand, som gradvist suspenderes med aktiveringen af menneskets nattesyn, som netop aktiveres, fordi et, om end nok så begrænset, lys reflekteres i omverdenens objekter (Morris 2011).

Mørke og lys er således komplementære fænomener, som er indfoldet i og betinger hinandens fremtræden i forskellige graduerede former. Med dette forhold in mente kan man inden for gradueringen sondre mellem to centrale erfaringer af mørket i relation til lys. For det første et *antagonistisk forhold*, hvor mørket som altomfattende reduktion af lys udfordrer den sanselige beherskelse af omverdenen, og derved ændrer den kropslige, affektive og kognitive erfaring af denne omverden. For det andet et *synergetisk forhold,* hvor mørket i samspil med lyskilder bliver et medie særlige visuelle indsigter ved at lade noget træde klart frem, noget andet fremstå i dunkelhed og noget tredje forsvinde i skyggerne (Ebbensgaard 2015; Bille & Sørensen 2007). Mørket er, med Nina Morris' ord, "situated, partial and relational" (Morris 2011, p. 316). Et forhold, som bliver accentueret, når man bevæger sig til fods gennem mørket.

Vandring som erfaringsmodus

Mørkeerfaringen afhænger ikke blot af, *at* man går, men også *hvordan* man går. Ordet 'vandring' er her valgt, da det mest præcist betegner den fysiske aktivitet, og den mentale tilgang til denne aktivitet, der udspillede sig i Brorfelde. At vandreren bevæger sig i et relativt langsomt tempo i et relativt vidstrakt område, i modsætning til fx at småløbe efter turen, trippe over fodgængerovergangen eller tage en sviptur til kiosken. Desuden er der under vandringen opmærksomhed på selve bevægelsen og de erfaringer, den bibringer. Det er ikke en målrettet bevægelse med fokus fastlåst på den givne destination, men en mere serendipitiv aktivitet, hvor den vandrende er åben over for indtryk og opdagelser. Samtidig var der dog ikke tale om en formålsløs 'slentren' eller 'driven omkring', da aktiviteten også havde en fokuseret karakter. For det første fordi selve den serendipitive udforskning af natten udgjorde et mål i sig selv; for det andet fordi denne mobile erfaring var delvist styret af guidens oplæg før turen og 'vej-ledning' under turen.

Det at gå - i alle sine former - er en præfleksiv praksis, som vi udfører automatisk uden at tænke over den. Men det er samtidig en multisensorisk aktivitet, hvor vi i vandringens flow konstant registrerer omverdenen - og ikke mindst forandringerne i omverdenen - med alle sanser: …*walking involves a form of 'purposive sensibility', an intentional bodily force which manifests itself automatically and yet also sensitively.* (Wunderlich 2008, p. 127) Det gælder især *synssansen*, hvormed fodgængeren 'scanner' (Goffman 2010) det omgivende rums udstrækning, organisering og objekter for at kunne foregribe og justere sin rute i rummet.

Tim Ingold beskriver det at gå i 'the open' (landskabet) som en særegen erfaringsmodus; en 'circumambulatory knowing' (Ingold 2004, p. 331), hvor vi ikke lærer om tingene ved at stå og kigge på dem, men ved at bevæge os rundt om dem og blandt dem. Vi erfarer ikke verden som en distanceret visuel helhed, men gennem en processuel, partiel aflæsning, som er uadskillelig fra bevægelsen gennem denne verden (Ingold 2010).

Denne naturerfaring adskiller sig markant fra den kontemplative beskuelse af det astronomisk sublime. Sidstnævnte kan ses som eksempel på hvad Glen Parsons kalder den formalistiske tilgang til det naturskønne, som er karakteriseret ved en værdsættelse af naturen (typisk fra et stabilt udsigtspunkt) som harmonisk, stimulerende tableau. (Parsons 2008, p. 39). Denne æstetik finder sin turismeversion i 'the postcardeque' (ibid.), hvor postkortet bliver både dokumentation og æstetisk ideal for naturoplevelsen. Forskellen mellem den 'postcardesque' naturerfaring og Ingolds positioner handler for det første om forholdet mellem stilstand og bevægelse. Står man stille i landskabet - også det mørke - bliver det gradvist genstand for en mere sammenhængende sanselig tilegnelse. Vandrer man derimod gennem landskabet fragmenteres denne tilegnelse i partielle perceptioner.

For Ingold vil den formalistiske tilgang - ligesom det astronomisk sublime - afspejle det 'himmelvendte' kropslige hierarki (Ingold 2004), som traditionelt har præget det vestlige syn på mennesket. Her anskues menneskets evne til at stå oprejst som en evolutionær transcendens af dets naturtilstand, da det menneskeligt særegne og værdifulde skal findes øverst på kroppen, i hovedet og dets 'faculty of wonder', mens fødderne nedvurderes som 'primitive' og åndsløse motoriske redskaber.

Heroverfor er vandringen ikke kendetegnet ved distanceret beskuelse af landskabet, men erfaringer *i* landskabet. Det knytter sig til den vandrendes intense brug af *følesansen*, som her skal forstås i bred forstand: når vi bevæger os til fods sættes vores krop samtidig i konstant taktil kontakt og udveksling med den materielle omverden:

> While moving through space one unavoidably touches and feels the environment with the entire body. Touch is not simply a 'pressure on the skin' but more generally the "contact between the body and its environment"[…] Touch involves the whole body reaching out to the things constituting the environment and those things coming into contact with the body. (Wunderlich 2008, p. 129; se også Ingold 2007)

Ingold er her inspireret af James Gibsons opdeling af individers omverden i substans, overflader og medier. Men hvor det for Gibson er på overfladerne at 'most of the action is' (Gibson 1979, p. 23), da det er deres refleksion, som betinger vores perception, fremhæver Ingold især mediets ontologiske betydning. Mediet er ikke et tomrum mellem overfladerne, *hvorigennem* vi erfarer, men en omverden, *hvori* vi erfarer. Mediet er dér, hvor verden kommer til syne for os, og samtidig også dér, vi forbindes med omverden. Det primære medie for menneskelige individer er luften, som grundet sin begrænsede modstand og transparens tillader ('afforder') bevægelse, respiration og perception (Gibson 1979). Men luften er for mennesket samtidig den mellemzone, uden hvilken interaktion mellem subjekt og omverden ville være umulig.

For Ingold er det at gå således en særlig, eksplorativ måde at erfare verden - og sig selv som forankret i verden. Når vi går, bevæger vi os ikke på overfladen af verden, men i en mellem- og udvekslingszone mellem substans og medie, hvor vi er i uophørlig taktil kontakt med verden, som når vi mærker jordens skiftende tekstur under fødderne eller mærker mediets uhåndgribelige materialitet, når vinden berører huden:

> Yet as we walk, we do not so much traverse the exterior surface of the world as negotiate a way through a zone of admixture and interchange between the more or less sol-

id substances of the earth and the volatile medium of air.
It is in this zone that all terrestrial life is lived. (Ingold
2010, p. 122)

Men hvordan påvirkes denne erfaring når vi vandrer i mørket og synssansen reduceres? Hvad betyder det for vores mediebundne oplevelse af omverdenen og os selv, når den mest centrale del af mediets perceptuelle affordance svækkes? Hvilke konsekvenser har det for vandringen som 'circumambulatory knowing', at det perceptuelle grundlag forandres fundamentalt?

I det følgende vil jeg adressere disse spørgsmål gennem en analyse af mørkevandringen på Brorfelde Observatorium. Ud over at tage udgangspunkt i mine fænomenologiske feltnoter fra oplevelse (van Manen 2003), vil analysen også være i dialog med Tim Edensor (2013b) og Nina Morris' (2011) fænomenologiske analyser af mørkevandringer. Analysen vil være inddelt efter de 4 visuelle mørkeerfaringer, som blev aktiveret under vandringen.

Mørkevandringens fænomenologi
- en vandring i de sjællandske alper
1 Ind-i-kroppen: det tabte syn

Det første indtryk på vandreturen var erfaringen af antagonistisk mørke. Fraværet af lys umuliggjorde den normale 'scanning' af omverden ud fra en differentiering mellem for- og baggrund, nærhed og distance. Man kunne se græsset lige under fødderne, men derudover var verden berøvet sine farver, dybde og stabile konturer.

Efter lidt tid begyndte hidtil uhørte lyde at trænge sig på: en bil i det fjerne, en puslen i buskadset, den svage lyd af de andre deltageres fodtrin m.m.. Svækkelsen af synet udløser en kompenserende sanselig rekalibrering, hvor især høresansen skærpes og der opstår en større lydhørhed over auditive impulser fra omgivelserne (se fx Morris 2011). Det gav en vis fornemmelse af omverdenen, men langt fra en genvindelse af den perceptuelle orienteringsevne. I mørket kan man ikke forbinde de auditive impulser med deres kilder, og styrkelsen af høresansen modsvares derfor af en manglende evne til at omsætte ikke-genkendelige sanselige registreringer i en egentlig auditiv aflæsning af omgivelserne.

I stedet befandt man sig i en tilstand af intens sanselig opmærksomhed og agtpågivenhed, hvor m*ørkevandring*en blev oplevet som

en distinkt 'way of knowing' (jf. Ingold), der åbnede for en ny op-
mærksomhed på vores kropslige forhold til omverden. En erfaring,
som netop intensiveredes af vandringens bevægelse mellem skif-
tende (og knap erkendelige) omgivelser, hvilket ..'*demolishes any
sense of a distanced, romantic conception of landscape, of any visual impe-
rialism. The lively moving body beholds not some passive inert scene but a
pulsing space*' (Wylie in Morris 2011, p. 318).

Faste former og faste grænser mellem krop og omverden opløses
delvist til fordel for et flydende samspil mellem krop, landskab og
bevidsthed. Man kan tale om en 'ind-i-kroppen' - oplevelse, hvor
individet kastes på sin egen krop som forankret i og absorberet i
natlandskabets materialitet:

> ..where gloom thickens, the boundaries of the body be-
> come indistinct, merging with the surroundings and pro-
> viding an expansive sense of the space beyond us as we
> become one with the darkness. (Edensor 2013b, p. 456)

Denne ind-i-koppen oplevelse, affødt af det antagonistiske mørke,
var turens første visuelle mørkeerfaring. En erfaring, som ud-
fordrede gængse forforståelser af forholdet mellem subjekt og om-
verden ved netop at udviske såvel fysiske som intersubjektive
grænser: *Darkness also forces one to question how one's body is in rela-
tion to that which surrounds, challenging one's human sense of bodily
presence and boundary.* (Morris 2011, p. 315)

Undervejs på vandreturen blev denne erfaring dog suppleret af
erfaringer baseret på et synergetisk forhold mellem lys og mørke og
affødt af henholdsvis biologiske, teknologiske og kulturelt-videns-
mæssige faktorer.

2 Det abrupte syn (biologi)

Som før nævnt er menneskets forhold til mørket temporalt dyna-
misk, da omverdenen begynder at træde frem af mørket efterhån-
den som menneskets nattesyn aktiveres. Det skete selvfølgelig også
i Brorfelde, hvor mørkeoplevelsen gradvist blev modificeret fra et
spørgsmål *om* man overhovedet ser, til *hvad* man ser, og *hvordan*
man ser det. Nattesynet er mest aktivt i den perifere del af øjet,
hvorfor vi i mørket ser ting klarest fra en skæv vinkel. Nattesynet
genopretter derfor ikke evnen til visuel scanning, men skaber en

mere abrupt visuel interaktion med omverdenen (Borgia 2006). En interaktion, hvor begrænsningen af visuelle stimuli og nattesynets større sensitivitet over for former og bevægelse samtidig styrker blikket for specifikke, løsrevne fænomener, som typisk ikke bemærkes i dagssynets mere generelle scanning af omgivelserne (Edensor 2013b, p. 452). *Således trådte elementer af omverdenen - et træ, en sten, en bygning - pludselig klart frem i synsfeltet i kontrast til det omgivende mørke. Der var på vandreturen tale en glidende overgang fra og oscilleren med det antagonistiske mørke, betinget af 'øjets lys', dets stigende evne til at indoptage det sparsomme lys fra omgivelser*ne, men også vandringens bevægelse gennem stadigt skiftende omgivelser med stærkt varierende evne til at indoptage dette sparsomme lys.

Det bør huskes, at der med casen er tale om en 'mørkeevent', hvor mørkeerfaringen til en vis grad var styret eller 'designet'. Og hvor der med de to første erfaringer var tale om en indirekte styring, begrænset til at deltagerne 'slippes løs' i et mørkelagt område, er de to sidste erfaringer affødt af en mere distinkt, direkte iscenesættelse.

3 Det transformative syn (teknologi)

Under det introducerende foredrag før og guidningen under turen var det markant, at mørket blev adresseret som både antagonistisk og symbiotisk. Mørkevandringen handlede således både om mødet med det (så vidt muligt) totale mørke som en erfaringsdimension, der er gået tabt for det moderne menneske. På den anden side blev mørket også udlagt som et medie for ny indsigt og læring. Ud over en generel opfordring til at 'skærpe sanserne', blev denne indsigt stimuleret ved udlevering af infrarøde lommelygter, som vi undervejs blev opfordret til at bruge. Her blev nattesynet suppleret af et teknologisk hjælpemiddel, som brød mørket og åbnede mediet for den visuelle perception, hvilket fik hidtil usynlige fænomener til at træde frem i synsfeltet. Pludselig kunne vi tydeligt se de træer og planter vi gik iblandt, ligesom nattedyr som mus og rådyr viste sig i glimt. Det infrarøde lys skaber imidlertid en farvemæssigt forvrænget aflæsning af objekterne, hvilket gjorde erfaringen til både en epifanisk opdagelse af en ellers skjult verden og en distancerende og nøgtern oplevelse, da det kunstige blik (som dog har anatomiske paralleller hos visse dyrearter) fik omgivelserne til et fremstå i et klart, men også forvandlet lys.

4 Det sublime (kultur/viden)

Undervejs på turen blev vandringen afbrudt af to pauser på udvalgte steder, som var oplyst af stjernehimlen. Her kunne man beundre den overvældende stjernevrimmel og gennem korte foredrag og spørgerunder tilegne sig astronomisk viden. Mørkets rolle blev her rent symbiotisk, som det medie, som netop tillader det ´himmelske lys' at åbenbare sig for os. Mørkeerfaringen fik her stærke affiniteter til det astronomisk sublime. Man bevægede sig så at sige fra kroppen op i hovedet, idet man glemte alt om det omgivende, desorienterende mørke og fortabte sig i nydelsesfuld kontemplation, mens man sugede viden om fjerne galakser og døende stjerner til sig om lod sig overvælde af det setes astronomiske dimensioner.

For at opsummere, så udløste nattevandringen ved Brorfelde ikke én mørkeerfaring, men en fluktuation af forskellige erfaringer, som udfoldede spændet mellem det antagonistiske til det symbiotiske mørke: fra den påtrængende kropslige erfaring affødt af synssansen suspendering i det antagonistiske mørke til den kontemplative nydelse af den visuelt 'sublime' stjernehimmel. Dette spænd hænger sammen med iscenesættelsen af nattevandringen som både en fænomenologisk erfaring af mørkeomsluttethed og en didaktisk erfaring af mørket som medie for ny viden og indsigt, men også må tilskrives vandringen som erfaringsform. For det første er det at gå aldrig begrænset til momentet, men er en tidligt udstrakt praksis, hvorfor mørkeerfaringen uundgåeligt undergår perceptuelle forandring som følge af nattesynet og evt. meteorologiske forandringer. For det andet implicerer vandring som bevægelse altid en løbende forandring af den umiddelbare kontekst, hvis placering og materialitet - overfladernes grad af lysrefleksion og luftens mediering af lys - betinger og toner mørkeerfaringen.

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First Steps from Walking in Snow to Cross-Country Skiing

An Interactional Perspective on Ephemeral Surfaces for Personal Mobility

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Abstract

This article investigates the ways in which a young child learns to sense and move through a transient environment while learning to walk on skis. Audiovisual recordings were made of a parent instructing a child on how to walk on snow and to start moving on skis. Focusing on social interaction, the article examines how snow is sensed and made salient in spatio-interactional practices of walking on snow for the purposes of learning to ski. Talk about the weather and snow surface conditions while walking over the snow develops the child's feeling for snow as a surface for personal mobility.

Keywords walking, materialities, snow, social interaction, video ethnography

> "Reading snow is like listening to music. To describe what you've read is to try to explain music in writing" – Peter Høeg (1993, 37)[1]

In Peter Høeg's thriller novel *Miss Smilla's Feeling for Snow* (1992), adapted for the film *Smilla's Sense of Snow*² (1997), directed by Billie August, the protagonist Smilla Qaaviqaaq Jaspersen has developed an almost intuitive understanding of all types of snow and their characteristics whilst growing up as a child in Greenland. She has also worked as a scientist of ice and snow. Thus, with her heightened 'feeling for snow' she is sure that the tracks left by a boy who fell while walking on the roof of her housing complex in an apparent accident demonstrate that in fact he was chased by someone (the murderer). She tells a sceptical Danish investigator for the district attorney:

> When you're used to playing in the snow, you don't leave that kind of track, because that movement is not efficient, like faulty distribution of your weight going uphill cross-country skiing (Høeg 1993, 37).³

Once settled on the ground, snow can materially change its shape and structure according to temperature, wind-drift, layering, solar radiation, and melting. It is not surprising that any human culture, group or individual in a cold, natural environment develops specific sensitivities for how to walk and move on snow given the affordances of the medium in a nexus of everyday mobility practices. In Danish, one can learn to *stå på ski* (literally "stand on skis") and in Norwegian one can *gå på ski* (literally "walk on skis"). In this article I investigate how snow – a complex, dynamic materiality that can, in the right circumstances, afford spatial movement on its surface – is sensed and made salient in spatio-interactional practices at the interface between walking and cross-country skiing.

A feeling for snow and its surface while walking

In order to analyse a person's feeling for snow in this case study, it is important to understand how we sense and experience space and mobility. Using in-depth interviews with, and photo diaries kept by, ordinary people in inner London, Middleton (2010) investigated the sensory, sensual and embodied experiences manifested in urban walking. Others who have examined how we sense space socially and culturally in relationship to walking include Hockey (2006), Imai (2008), Olwig (2008), Saerberg (2010). How we sense

space and matter has also been studied by researchers interested in the discursive and interactional practices and ethnomethods in which they come to have meaning and salience. For example, Goodwin (1999) has analysed scientists at work to uncover how archaeologists, for example, perceive and categorise soil matter within the social, cultural and spatial practices at an archaeological dig. And Büscher (2006) has followed landscape architects as they use powerful IT design tools to visualise the land they walk over. These studies demonstrate the insights that discursive and interactional analyses of empirical materials can bring to our understanding of the mundane practices of scientists and professionals in which space and matter become meaningful and shared.

However, there are few studies as yet of how water in its liquid or solid state is sensed and felt by children in mundane everyday mobility practices, such as walking or skiing (see Pacini-Ketchabaw and Clark 2016 for a collaborative ethnography of water play in early childhood). Particular types of snow and ice are the building blocks of transient natural and human-made structures, such as glaciers, ice sculptures, igloos and ski tracks. Fallen snow affords movement along its fragile surface. In a more general consideration of the question "what is surface?" in relation to more traditional spatial concepts such as space, place, and region, Forsyth et al. (2013) make the case that human geographers need to re-examine the notion of 'surface' (Lorimer 2012). They contend that surfaces matter, for example in their function as limits of matter and as spaces for material exchange. Surfaces have texture, durability, extension due to repetition and foldability.

Humans moving through snow most often leave an inference-rich visible trace, as the quotation above from Peter Høeg's novel reveals. Walking and skiing in newly fallen snow means that tracks and trails emerge, though they are transient, that can shape future actions and practices. Waitt, Gill, and Head (2008) have studied the experiential knowledge displayed by a heterogenous group of people who regularly walk through a maze of criss-crossing paths in a suburban Australian reserve. They argue that routine walking is best conceptualised as a territory-making process. Within the social context and bodily experiences, walking offers possibilities of making points of connection with 'nature'.

Despite a sharpened attention to phenomena such as surface, trails and the sensing of the landscape, studies of the mundane geography of snow from a social and cultural perspective are scant (see Rautio and Jokinen 2016 for a study of play in snow piles, and Päivi and Don 2016 for a study of slippery snow on the urban pavement). In their study of the traditional knowledge and local perceptions of the environment in Northern Finland, Ingold and Kurttilla (2000) note their informants' childhood memories of skating on the ice in winter and of being able to ride a bicycle on the hard snow-crust in spring. This article reports on a study of how, in the first place, one comes to appreciate snow – its depth, consistency, surface and affordances – as one walks on snow and prepares to ski recreationally.

Nordic skiing

Nordic or cross-country skiing (*langrendsski* in Danish) is a common and popular recreational and sports pursuit wherever there is adequate snow cover in the world. Arguably, it originated in the Nordic countries and has probably been in existence in some form for thousands of years as a means to move more easily through a snow-covered environment, in addition to snow shoes. Today, to become a cross-country skier one needs a pair of cambered skis with bindings, a pair of ski poles, and a pair of ski boots which can attach at the toe to a binding on each ski. As a technology, skis are designed to take the weight of the skier and afford gliding over the surface of prepared snow. Some skis have a grooved pattern embossed onto the centre zone to enable the skier to press down by a transfer of weight and to grip the snow; however, most skis require a temporary wax appropriate for the snow conditions to be applied to the central 'kick zone' in order to facilitate the leg movement required to propel the ski over the surface of the snow.

Interactional analysis of mobility

Until recently, the automobile has been the primary mode of transport in many studies concerned with social interaction and members' methods of sense-making while mobile (Laurier et al. 2008, Haddington, Keisanen, and Nevile 2012). Many of the methods developed to study the car as affording a social and interactional space can be used to investigate other modes of transport or leisure mo-

bility, such as walking (Broth and Lundström 2013), cycling (McIlvenny 2014, 2015) or skiing. There are several key elements of a multimodal interactional approach to mobility. First, there is a focus on situated mobile practices. It can be argued that by focusing on practices, rather than categorising different types of mobilities, it becomes possible to view individuals not as mere mobile subjects, but as actors who are engaged in shaping and (re)producing mobilities and mobile formations-in-action. Second, there is the power of an inductive methodology to examine sequences of mobile action (for recent work see McIlvenny, Broth, and Haddington 2009, Haddington, Mondada, and Nevile 2013, McIlvenny, Broth, and Haddington 2014). Such an approach is therefore an antidote to 'just so' accounts of mobility practices that assume mobility is a social and cultural practice but without ever elaborating or investigating just how it is accomplished. Third, one can study walking in terms of mobile ethnomethods (Ryave and Schenkein 1974, Hester and Francis 2003) – that is, the emic methods that people use to assemble and account for the sensefulness of their mobile formations, practices and actions as they walk.

Data collection

The data collected for this study includes video recordings made during a seasonal winter holiday in the north of Finland. Winter there is typically six months' long with an almost permanent snow cover and temperatures occasionally dropping down to -35°C. The author and his eight-year-old daughter (with other family members and relatives present in some recordings) are the principal participants in the mobile video 'active participant' ethnography. The spoken language used in the data is predominantly English, though on occasions Finnish is spoken. The main site of the study is a municipal public playground near a relative's house on the outskirts of a small town in north central Finland. The child and parent practised at this site on five separate days over a period of seven days. They walked to the site carrying their skis and poles and gained access to the playground by a path that crossed a small wooden bridge.

Since the GoPro camera became popular, head- and body-mounted video cameras have been tried and recommended for a variety of analytical reasons (Brown, Dilley, and Marshall 2008, McIlvenny 2014, Laurier 2013, McIlvenny 2015). Two body-mounted 'sports'

video cameras were used to record the participants in a reasonably unobtrusive way that did not hinder their ability to ski. The video recordings were transcribed in order to further the investigation using ethnomethodological conversation analysis as a methodology (Haddington, Mondada, and Nevile 2013). The analysis focuses on embodied interaction and the sequential organisation of the participants' actions. In the transcripts, the child is referred to as Anabel, and the parent, Peter. Transcript conventions are given in the appendix and are described more fully in Jefferson (2004). A comic transcript is also used to present the data in a novel form that is more readable for short excerpts (Laurier 2014).

Sensing snow as a surface for personal mobility

A landscape covered with fresh snow is almost a three-dimensional *tabula rasa* that scrubs clean the coarse landscape to afford mobile action across its surface. The snow undulates with the geography of the natural and anthropogenic landscape it covers. Thus, particular routes and cadences of movement are possible that are to some extent visible to the trained eye, but that also need to be discovered in and through movement. In good conditions, snow is an almost frictionless surface for spatial movement. Yet, if it is too slippery or icy, then it is difficult to generate momentum or is painful if one falls. Learning to walk on snow and to ski means learning to discriminate and feel the dynamic and every changing snow conditions and to adjust accordingly in order to generate movement, flow and rhythm to successfully traverse the surface.

When conditions are poor, the slippery condition of the snow and ice becomes an abiding concern. For example, on Day 1, the tracks are made in relatively good conditions for skiing, and after finishing the first loop, Peter even comments on Loop 2 that "the snow is just right". However, on Day 2 the conditions for skiing get worse, and this is noted in a number of ways by Peter as they warily approach the playground on foot carrying their skis and poles (see Excerpt, next page).

After rain and near freezing temperatures, the surface has mostly refrozen into ice. The parent and child tentatively walk from the house to the site along an icy path, carrying their skis and poles. Thus, before they even start on the track proper, Peter and Anabel are orienting in different ways to the current snow conditions in

push	stress
°glide°	low volume
:	stretching of prior syllable
par-	cut-off
↑ ↓	high or low pitch at the start of the following segment
(1.5)	timed pause in seconds and tenths of seconds
[ ]	beginning and end of overlap
=	latching (no break)
( )	dubious hearing/unsure transcription
(( ))	transcriber's comment

Excerpt – Day 2/arrival: 'is it slippery'

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1    Peter:    and then we shall have to go over the bri:dge
2              (1.2)
3    Peter:    might be a bit icy: on the bri:dge
4              ((Peter slips))
5    Anabel:   i think you should co:me on the sno:w
6              ((Peter walks off the path onto the snow))
7              (4.5)
8              ((Peter glances at Anabel, who looks at Peter))
9              (4.5)
10   Peter:    y'see there's still sno:w the:re
11             (1.0)
12   Peter:    it'll just be a bit more slippery: (.) toda:y.
13             (5.5)
14             ((Peter glances at Anabel trailing behind))
15             (10.0)
16             ((Peter crosses the bridge carefully))
17   Peter:    okay, ((Peter turns to see Anabel at the bridge))
18             the track's still the:re.
19   Anabel:   is it slippery:?
20   Peter:    no it's not too: slippery the:re.
21   Anabel:   pardon
22   Peter:    it's not too slippery on the bridge
23             but there's a bit of ice:
24             ((Anabel walks over the bridge and arrives at the place))
25             ((Peter turns to look at the playground))
26   Peter:    see there's=
27   Anabel:   =there there is a tra:ck
28   Peter:    yeah (0.5) just abou:t
29             ((Peter puts Anabel's skis down on the old track))
30   Peter:    it's going to be very slippery:
31             (1.5) ((Peter puts his own skis down next to the track))
32   Peter:    the ice: °on: the tra:ck°
33             (2.5) ((Anabel steps out of ski binding))
34   Peter:    so let me- ((Peter bends down next to Anabel))
35             (25.0) ((Peter fits Anabel's left boot to binding))
36   Anabel:   is it gonna be slippery:
37   Peter:    yeah (.) it'll be so- more slippery than yesterda:y.
38             ((Peter fits right boot into binding on first go))
39   Peter:    °there°
40             (6.0) ((Anabel steps forward on the old track))
41   Peter:    you see, (.) can you feel it being slippy=
42             =it'll be fa:st coming dow:n.
43   Anabel:   ↓huh: [↑ya:     ]
44   Peter:          [it'll be]
45             (1.0)
46   Peter:    well luckily we made a tra:ck
47             (1.5)
48   Peter:    'coz no:w we have a tra:ck.
49             ((Peter adjusts binding))
50             ((Anabel steps forward on the old track)
```

anticipation of their skiing. First, Peter orients Anabel to the observable and inspectable features of the site as they approach it. This is done in the form of an observation and an assessment, both in relation to a gloss on what was experienced yesterday, e.g. "there's *still* snow" (line 10) and "a bit *more* slippery" (line 12) [my emphasis]. Second, Anabel requests a confirmation from Peter of his situated assessment of the snow condition in the context of crossing a foot-

bridge (lines 19-23). Third, as they prepare for skiing by putting on their skis, Peter makes relevant again a reformulated (re)assessment of the conditions (lines 30-32), constituting this as an ongoing process of assessment and attentiveness to the conditions as they walk through and over the snowscape. Fourth, as they complete the preparatory stage, with Peter fixing the last boot to the binding on Anabel's ski, Anabel asks again about the slippery conditions (line 36). Some of the questions and statements have been about the quality of slipperiness in relation to a future action (*is going to be* or *will be*) – namely, to ski. The assessment of this quality is repeatedly bound to the activity and in anticipation of it. Fifth, as they step out on the old track, Peter asks Anabel to assess the feeling of the snow as a practical, embodied, tactile experience (line 41): it can be felt as well as known in advance by visual inspection. The caregiver frames the experience as a touch/response-feel (Norris 2012), e.g. a property ("being slippy") of the snow that expresses itself (a response that is felt) when one pushes against it (a touch) with the skis while stepping forward. During this excerpt, we can see that Peter and Anabel are collaboratively rendering the snowscape sense-able and readable, both to gain access to the site by walking and to anticipate the activity of skiing.

Much time is spent on Day 2 learning about and calibrating the new snow conditions. What we can hear on many occasions is that Peter (and Anabel) repeatedly orient to both:

1. the conditions now, which are dynamically changing (in contrast to the steady state in the past).
2. the latent track (e.g. the trace of the track from previous days), which is always skied for another-first-time.

Thus, the practical issue of the quality of the snow in relation to human movement is replayed by both Peter and Anabel in their preparation for skiing on the second day. Moreover, it is returned to again and again over the course of the five days, as Peter and Anabel walk over, inspect and render the amorphous snowscape and the ambivalent space of the playground into a learnable environment with teachable objects in which skiing can take place. For example, the parent invokes categories and qualities that are rendered

Figure 1: Testing the snow's slipperiness as she walks on the snow"

visible or can be felt in the embodied practice of walking over the surface of the snow.

On Day 4, the track is again in poor condition after a stormy, wet night. Peter is adjusting Anabel's ski bindings ready for the first loop of the track. As Anabel stands in her skis on the icy track, Peter, who is not yet on the track, asks "is it slippery" (see the comic transcript in Figure 1, previous page).

Anabel reports that it is not (at least not much) slippery, and then she initiates, in an experimental mode, her own practical 'procedure' to 'test' the snow and thus determine its slipperiness. She steps forward and brings her skis together side-by-side on the track and moves them quickly back and forth while standing still, using her poles to support her. The skis slip and slide underneath her. In surprise, she quickly acknowledges in response to Peter's original question that the track is indeed slippery, "oh yea- ye::s", and Peter confirms. As the days progress, we see a shift from explicit calls to sense the snow, especially what is visible and inspectable, to feeling the snow as an embodied experience in the action of walking to the site and skiing itself.

Making tracks in the snow

As they gradually inhabit the amorphous geography of the snowscape, a practical infrastructure for mobility and learning is developed and maintained in situ. Over the course of five days, as the track is reterritorialised, the parent attends and attunes the child to a number of features of the track, including its authenticity, as they walk to the site and prepare to ski. Much like the footprints in the snow in Peter Høeg's novel, the track serves as a delicate material archive – a trace of past actions, activities and events – in terms of its brief history of use. In their study, Waitt, Gill, and Head (2008, 47) note that "the regular, repetitive weaving through the familiar crisscrossing paths, and the ability to view the land from a variety of perspectives, enables the walker to move through, and to territorialise the reserve as 'their' place." In this case, great effort is spent at the site in order for it to be (re)territorialised despite the vagaries of the weather. On occasions, Anabel takes part in the search for signs indicating the legibility of the geography of the site, learning to demonstrate her competence in reading the snowscape. For example, in the Excerpt given earlier, Peter walks over the bridge,

quickly surveys the site, and draws attention to the visibility of the track – it is inspectable from their current location – that they made for the first time the day before: "the track's still there" (line 18). After Anabel has walked over the bridge, Peter turns to look up the site again, and begins: "see there's…" (line 26), upon which Anabel says "there there is a track" (line 27), attempting to demonstrate a competence that Peter displayed just a minute ago. One might argue that Anabel is doing 'being' a good apprentice. Peter acknowledges the visible trace of the track, though it is just noticeable, and in this case just about skiable, to which he adds that "it is going to be very slippery" (line 30). As a result, Peter and Anabel mutually construct a practice of 'reading' the snowscape in terms of its history and its ski-ability, to which they return each day as they approach the site on foot.

Conclusion

This article has demonstrated an analytical concern with actual, mundane practices that negotiate and maintain the geography of the snow surface as traces of past action and as conditions for future action. The calculation of the snow's affordance for low friction sliding on its surface is a complex science, but for these walkers/skiers their feeling for the snowscape, and their ability to 'read' it, is calibrated to their concerns. We have seen how snow can be talked about, how it can be handled and how it can be felt in motion. Indeed, the participants make use of practical 'tests' for sensing the snow while walking and preparing for skiing. For example, they can stand on the track surface and slide the skis back and forth or prod the snow. Much as for the protagonist in *Miss Smilla's Feeling for Snow*, these feelings for snow are action-directed, in the sense that they only make sense in their anticipation of cross-country skiing in this environment.

This study is based on a mobile 'active participant' ethnography that enables particular insights into the cultural meanings and social interactional practices of this family at this, for them, historic site. Although it is a single case study, following a practitioner and a learner in instructional moments was a good way to get access to salient practices. The study informs our understanding of transient and ephemeral geographies in which participants 'walk' on skis

with a situated material-spatial awareness of the unpredictable terrain within a nexus of social and cultural practices. It demonstrates the importance of empirical studies of the (transient) surfaces and materialities in and over which walking as an embodied and social practice is undertaken. It contributes as well to the need to investigate children's and not just adult walking practices, to understand what pedestrian mobility means in a child's everyday life (Horton et al. 2013) and how children are made mobile (Kullman 2010).

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Notes

1 In the original language of the novel (Danish): "*At læse sneen er som at høre musik. At beskrive hvad man har læst, er at forklare musikken skriftligt*" (Høeg 1992).

2 The US English translation of the Danish title *Frøken Smillas fornemmelse for sne* of the book and the film was not quite the same as the UK version's *Miss Smilla's Feeling for Snow,* which is arguably closer to the original.

3 "*Når man er vant til at lege i sne, sætter man ikke sådan spor, for bevægelsen er uøkonomisk, som dårlig vægtoverføring op ad bakke på langrendsski*" (Høeg 1992).

Mirrored journeys

Central American and African migrants walking in search of another life

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Abstract

Travelling on foot still constitutes, in the midst of the twenty-first century, a fundamental moment in a great number of current migrants' journeys, both across Africa and Central America, fleeing from miserable living conditions and violence. This article compares an in-depth narrative approach to the issue with the mainstream coverage of the Central American caravan by the end of 2018, in order to reflect on the invisibility and vulnerability of walking migrants. While the caravan empowered and brought migrants the opportunity to struggle for a safe journey, this hypervisibility has not been translated into a better-contextualised account in mainstream media. In contrast, the non-fiction books and series of reportages published by Óscar Martínez, and by Xavier Aldekoa with co-author Ruido Photo, focus on the effects of the European Union's and the United States' externalisation of borders and securitisation policies, which force migrants to walk in order to avoid border surveillance and criminal organizations' attacks, and, in the open desert, to face deportation.

Introduction

Migration[1] is closely associated with human behaviour from its origins, when it was an ancestral need triggered by prosecutions, famines and conquests. Warner (1997, 95), citing a large collection of examples dating back to the time of Moses, states, "The migration of people is as old as recorded history." Without other means of transport, the vast majority were compelled to walk – forced by their circumstances. According to Amato (2004, 26), "Since time immemorial walking has been the primary mode of human locomotion" and also one of the first symbolic indicators of class and status.

Even nowadays, in the age of mobility and globalisation, when walking is for most people just a leisure activity (Solnit 2015; Amato 2004, 24), it remains for migrants the only way to achieve their goal of seeking another life. In the midst of the twenty-first century, walking reinforces, to a large extent, Amato's (2004, 17) observation that "through history, those who had to walk formed the legions of the inferior and less powerful [...] they literally inherited the inferiority of the foot."

Today, walking migrants form part of an excluded group who cannot submit the credentials to cross borders without being detained. As one of Aldekoa's (2017) interviewees ask: "You can take a plane and come here easily to take pictures. Why can't Africans travel like you?"

This article focusses on how walking remains a primary resource for thousands of migrants around the world – particularly for those who try to cross the African continent or for Central Americans who do the same across Mexico. In a type of mirrored journey, they struggle to overcome the multiple challenges they meet on the road as walking becomes both the solution and the source of countless health and safety threats (Díaz de Aguilar 2018; Angulo-Pasel 2018). The paper analyses these issues by comparing the reportages published by two narrative journalists, Salvadorian Óscar Martínez (*The Beast: Riding the Rails and Dodging Narcos on the Migrant Trail*) and Xavier Aldekoa, from Spain (*Viaje al corazón del hambre* [*Trip to the heart of hunger*] and *The Backway*, co-authored with the cooperative of photography Ruido Photo), with the mainstream coverage

of the Central American caravan, at the end of 2018. The aim is two-fold: firstly, to analyse the extent to which the walking migrant's condition and the threads of his forced invisibility are the result of the securitisation and border externalization policies; and secondly, to evaluate how an in-depth narrative coverage of the issue can provide a better understanding of the phenomenon than traditional coverage, as happened in the 2018 caravan; even if the caravan itself underlines the empowerment and activism of the migrants and asylum-seekers.

Migrants' journey: invisibility and vulnerability

For thousands of Central American migrants and refugees, walking represents a clandestine way to progress once in Mexico. Óscar Martínez travelled with them for months and offers a detailed account of a "journey through hell" to reach the US border (Goldman 2013, 13). By seeking alternative paths, migrants can avoid the checkpoints set up along the highway and become invisible to the authorities. Undocumented migrants start their trip in Mexico on microbuses and *combis*[2]. However, this is only the first stage of an endless series of hop-on and hop-off moves designed to help migrants sneak pass the checkpoints – at least five times in 175 miles, until they can board the cargo train La Bestia (Martínez 2013, 107-108).

Clandestine and perilous journeys place migrants in danger of new threats, which is a symptom of their paradoxical invisibility (Angulo-Pasel 2018, 144). These secret routes become the domain of criminals and bandits acting under the cloak of silent impunity for crimes committed against invisible migrants. Invisibility removes migrants' human rights, reducing them to the inferior standing of medieval pilgrims (Amato 2004, 48).

The sense of vulnerability is so high that migrants assume that they can be assaulted at any time with no recourse. The suffering they endure on the trail is not just physical. Migratory walking also has lasting effects (Martínez 2013, 142). The traumatic experiences that they undergo during the approximate month of travel it takes to reach Mexico's northern border run deeper. Even if migrants achieve their goal, this pilgrimage through hell, surrounded by all kind of dangers and uncertainty is – unlike a religious pilgrimage (Solnit 2015, 86-87) – unable to provide relief.

Hidden routes impose harsh environmental conditions. Migrants face inhospitable landscapes in southern Mexico, in a combination of human and natural barriers that oblige migrants to climb over barbed wire fences and cross cattle ranches and rivers. In these conditions, disorientation and despair are frequent, as Martínez, embarked on the journey, notes: "We've barely walked a half hour. I can't stop shaking my head. What we've walked is a fraction of what a migrant walks, and we've only reached the beginnings of their journey" (2013, 128).

The conditions are no better in the north, having to cross desert regions that can reach 122 degrees Fahrenheit in the summer, competing for the hidden routes with criminal organisations, mostly as a collateral effect of the governmental offensive against organised crime, drug-trafficking and migration, setting off an escalation of violence (Rodríguez 2014; De la Torre 2015) and as part of the security strategy designed by the United States (Villafuerte and García 2017). Martínez sketches a lawless scenario in which security forces and the two largest industries of crime, people-smugglers (coyotes) and narcos, are two sides of the same coin. The territoriality that they impose makes the migrant route diabolical, walking across the desert in "bandit territory" (2013, 427-428). More than ever, in these extreme circumstances, walking migrants confront the Earth with their bodies as their only resources (Solnit 2015, 57), revealing the precarious and inferior condition that present-day society imposes on them. Faced with the need to escape from security forces and narcos, migrants are doomed to the hardest landscape – the dunes – and the most exposed paths in their way to move forward. Falling into the hands of security forces can result in deportation, but invading the mafia's domain can be even worse.

In a successive chain of extortion processes, coyotes drive up the price for their services (Martínez 2013, 674). They themselves are fleeing from violence and subject to tougher immigration and refugee laws. Wasted migrants cannot escape this exploitation business in which they are the weaker and worthier part of a vicious circle. They must pay coyotes large sums of money for each attempt to cross the border, with no guarantees. Among those who try to reach the US border, walking migrant women are a permanent and notorious object of injuries, "an easy target" of abuses, rapes and murders (Martínez 2013, 473).

A woman walking alone on the border between Djibouti and Somalia inspired Xavier Aldekoa (2011, 4-5) to give a face to the famine, drought, and violence in the Horn of Africa in a series of reportages, *Viaje al corazón del hambre*. The first chapter describes a terrible scene in the world's largest refugee camp, Dadaab: the corpse of a little baby on a wooden bench and, on the opposite side of an empty room, his mother and two brothers in silence. This infant's death is the hopeless result of a nearly 30-day journey of walking, fleeing in 2011 from the worse drought in the region in the last 60 years (Aldekoa 2011, 7). Now, as then, entire families of refugees must walk under extreme conditions, facing natural threats and many forms of violence, from military and bandit abuses to rapes or thefts (Aldekoa 2011).

For migrants from West Africa, Agadez in Niger is a reference point to enter the Maghreb to reach Libya or Algeria (De Haas 2006). It is also the place where migrants contact the smugglers who will bring them by overloaded truck or pickup across the Sahara (Díaz de Aguilar 2018, 11). Walking is not expected to be one of the means of transport on the trans-Saharan journey, but it occurs in the most dramatic circumstances and without much chance of success. The Nigerian authorities' increased control, the arrest of drivers and confiscation of transportation vehicles lead to new and longer clandestine routes in order to avoid police control (Aldekoa and Ruido Photo 2017). The trip is not only more expensive but also more dangerous, as a result of the "failed" European Union policies (Andersson 2016, 1055) encouraging – since the early 2000s – national authorities to supervise all trans-Saharan movements as a first step to stop migrants on a journey toward Europe. This "criminalization" of travel to and through the Sahara has led to the development of a human smuggling business, specialized in the clandestine transport of migrants (Brachet 2018). More kilometres of desert and unknown roads increase the possibilities of suffering an accident, an assault or being dropped by the smugglers. With little food and water, which is extremely restricted on board the overcrowded vehicles, migrants' chances of surviving the walk are limited: "If the vehicle is damaged or lost in the immensity of the Sahara and nobody manages to rescue them, all the passengers will die after a few days" (Aldekoa and Ruido Photo 2017). These deaths remain un-

punished and hidden in a desert turned into a cemetery, where sand buries the corpses in a few hours.

The second unexpected trigger that forces trans-Saharan migrants to walk also derives from the EU's border externalisation measures to prohibit forcibly displaced persons from getting to Europe's borders in the first place. These policies involve agreements to turn Europe's neighbour countries into border guards; that is, "to accept deported persons and adopt the same policies of border control" (Akkerman 2018, 2). Algeria, one of the partners, has implemented radical measures, abandoning thousands of migrants in the desert – including many pregnant women and minors. These abandoned migrants are caught by the police in Algeria while attempting to enter the country or while working there (Loprete 2018), and are left without food or water and are expected to walk for miles (IOMc 2018). According to the reports, the number of migrants walking through the desert from Algeria to Niger is on the rise and some 11,276 migrants have made it over the border in the last years (IOMc 2018).

The subversive walking and the paradoxical exposure

A group of approximately 160 persons left San Pedro Sula – the second-largest city in Honduras and one the most violent in the world – on 12 October 2018 to get to the US–Mexico border. By the time they entered Guatemala, the number had exceeded 3,000 members. When the group reached Mexico, according to the UN (2018), it comprised 7,000 people from Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua. Even though the phenomenon of Central American caravans is not new (De la Torre 2015; Rivera 2017), the scope it reached by the end of 2018, coupled with the US anti-immigration crackdown, drove intensive media attention for several weeks.

If Central American migrants try to achieve invisibility to avoid prosecution on a journey across Mexico that takes weeks, a caravan of several thousands of migrants walking together to the US border seems a subversive way to bring to light a hidden reality, similar to the first demonstrations celebrating sexual identity (Solnit 2015, 315-316). Large groups increase migrants' chance of safe passage, and provide a sense of community and solidarity on the journey (Jacobsen 2018).

This hypervisibility serves as a political action; as a way to expose the dangers that migrants face as a collateral effect of the securitisation policies, which have made their journey even more dangerous by putting them in the hands of professional criminal organizations. Among the large-scale exodus-taking happening around the world and similar abuses concerning migrants (UN 2017), the caravan, the larger of its kind, has added another dimension to the phenomenon.

The physical movement of walking together becomes a public expression, a liminal stage to a representational and symbolic world (Solnit 2015, 319-320); a kind of "political pilgrimage" like Gandhi's, with his famous 200-mile-long Salt March in 1930 (Solnit 2015, 97). As a performative act, the caravan "empowers" its participants. They transcend the role of undocumented migrants and became activists struggling for their right to seek asylum, fleeing the extreme violence in the Northern Triangle (Rivera 2017, 117).

After travelling more than 4,000 km from Central America and covering hundreds of front pages and minutes on TV programs, the caravan of migrants has ceased to interest the media, regardless that the main characters are still awaiting responses to their US asylum claims and new groups are replicating the experience.

Experts assert that calling the "migrant caravan" the exodus "obscures the heart of the matter" and its simplistic coverage hides the reasons behind it (Isaacs 2018; Lovato 2018). In fact, despite the massive media attention, the traditional pattern criticized by many researchers in the mainstream migration coverage (Lakoff and Ferguson 2006; Cisneros 2008; Gabrielatos and Baker 2008; Musolff 2011; Binotti, Marco and Lai 2016) has been prevalent, framing the caravan as an "invasion" or "border crisis" and promoting "alarmist narratives" that statistics contradict (Lovato 2018).

The decontextualized reporting of the caravan has contributed to the reinforcement of US President Donald Trump's discourse, warning about "masses of illegal aliens and giant caravans" or "infiltrated gang members" as a justification for deploying troops on the southern border (Lovato 2018). The attention has not produced better information about the systemic and long-term violence crisis in Central America, or the difficulties faced by asylum-seekers, or the refugee process and the dangers that migrants deal with when travelling across Mexico. Emphasising the threat that their entry

can represent to host societies has harmful consequences in terms of dehumanization and demonstrates a serious violation of the codes of journalistic ethics. In contrast to the negative mainstream media coverage, aimed at an episodic approach to migration, narrative and slow journalism (Neveu 2014; Pauli 2016) provides a more complete and contextualized account (Palau-Sampio 2019) of the reasons and conditions that lead migrants to walk as a last resort.

Conclusion

Crossing unknown territories, trying to avoid police surveillance or the actions of the mafia, abandoned in the middle of nowhere by smugglers that have robbed or deceived them, undocumented migrants, in the twenty-first century, must cover long distances by foot in search of a better life. The works of Martínez and Aldekoa highlight that walking migrants are the living image of today's helpless. Exposed to all kinds of threats, doomed to be invisible, migrants have been deprived of their human rights, while their offenders remain unpunished.

Even if walking involves different moments in the Central American and African migrants' journeys, it is, in both cases, their hardest and most appalling experience, a clear expression of how the body measures itself against the Earth (Solnit 2015, 57). Exhausted migrants must take secret, impassable and dangerous routes with their bodies serving as their only resource, their major asset and a sign of their vulnerability. Fleeing from violence, famine or natural disasters, walking migrants are unable to enjoy the landscape as a *wanderlust* emotion or to connect thinking and footsteps, as vocational travellers do (Solnit 2015).

As the analysed narrative reportages, the extreme situation faced by walking migrants – in both Central America and Africa – is mostly a result of the failed policies on external borders encouraged and implemented by the European Union and the United States. The effort to "fight migration" has fed a criminal industry (Andersson 2016, 1056) that benefits from migrants, returning them to the inferior and vulnerable condition of walkers (Amato 2004). However, walking together can be a performing and empowering act, as the Central American caravan demonstrated, although mainstream media reporting still presents controversial frames.

Like pilgrims, migrants' efforts and suffering is an unavoidable part of a journey that transforms their lives (Solnit 2015, 85; Amato 2004, 57), but contrary to the religious pilgrim, walking becomes a traumatic and involuntary experience that is far from generating spiritual reward. The depicted migrants are forced to walk and by walking, they are dehumanized, deprived of their identities and sense of belonging. No matter whether it is in Africa or Central America, the experiences of walking migrants are reflected in the same mirror.

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Endnotes

1 Following the definition provided by the OIM glossary, *migration* is "the movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border, or within a State. It is a population movement, encom-

passing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification" (IOM 2018b).

2   Small passenger vans used in Mexico for transportation.

The walking cure

Walk-along som undersøgelsesmetode til brugeroplevelser

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Abstract

Experiences are seminal for human well-being. But experiencing is a complex phenomenon challenging standard methods of data collection. Firstly, experiencing is an inner process, which cannot be observed neither precisely nor in its totality from an external position. Observation studies therefore do not sufficiently account for this inner process. Secondly, experiences are dual: on the one hand, experiencing is bound to a stream of moments of sensing and perceptions, on the other hand experience is a recollection of such experiencing. Memory is a retrospective, but fallible representation of these moments. Interviews draw on and activate memory, but they fail to grasp the actual moments of experiencing. This paper presents the

walk-along method as a way to deal with the complexity of experiencing. This method combines aspects of participatory observation and of interviewing as the researcher moves through space with the informants while they are moved by their surroundings.

Keywords walk along method, data collection, mobility, user experience, experience design

Indledning

Evnen til at opleve er central for den menneskelige eksistens. I oplevelsen bliver omgivelserne fysisk nærværende, ofte endda kropsligt påtrængende for os. Og vores selvforståelse er i høj grad baseret på autobiografisk erindring, dvs. på minder om hvad vi har oplevet. Men hvordan oplever mennesker egentlig? Og hvordan kan vi undersøge andre menneskers oplevelser? Der er en banal sammenhæng mellem disse to spørgsmål: en teori om oplevelser må nødvendigvis have metodologiske konsekvenser og omvendt så må metodevalg være baseret på en bestemt teoridannelse. I denne artikel vil vi derfor argumentere for anvendelsen af *walk-alongs* som en metode, der giver indsigt i andre menneskers måde at opleve på. Denne metode består i at følge interviewede på deres rute gennem et rum, mens intervieweren deltager i informanternes interaktioner. Intervieweren er i bevægelse sammen med sine informanter og oplever på den måde, hvad der undervejs bevæger de interviewede. Oplevelser indebærer bevægethed og netop at gå er en af de mest fundamentale former, hvorved menneskekroppen bevæger sig i og med, henimod eller bort fra sine omgivelser.

Artiklen præsenterer hovedtrækkene ved en oplevelsesteori med fokus på de metodologiske udfordringer, som oplevelsesbegrebet stiller forskeren overfor. Derefter følger en kort redegørelse for, hvorfor mere gængse metoder ikke helt er i stand til at møde disse udfordringer. Derfor foreslås walk-along-metoden som et alternativ. Artiklen beskriver den videnskabshistoriske baggrund for metoden og de forskellige former, den kan anvendes i. Afslutningsvis argumenteres der for, hvad netop denne metode videnmæssigt bidrager med – til forskeren såvel som til den interviewede.

Oplevelser

Oplevelser sker i kroppen og i sindet, mens vi er alene eller sammen med andre. De vedrører forandringer af neurofysiologisk (fx puls) og emotionel karakter i organismen, som bryder med hidtidige forestillinger og adfærdsrutiner. Dette brud skærper vores opmærksomhed mod omgivelserne, hvilket kan ændre vores opfattelse af omverden eller vores selvforståelse og derved udvide vores erfaringsgrundlag. (Jantzen, Vetner and Bouchet 2011, 154).

Ud fra denne definition kan der udledes fem kendetegn, der har metodologiske konsekvenser. For det første er oplevelser *situationsforankrede*. Det, som vi oplever, afhænger af den sammenhæng, hvor oplevelsen finder sted. Stedets fysiske beskaffenhed, tingens tekniske karakteristika, de mennesker, vi er sammen med, atmosfæren, vejrligt, lys, farve, duft, støj og andre forstyrrelser samt meget mere betyder noget for oplevelsens varighed og kvalitet. Det samme gør vores egen stemning og indstilling: altså vores evne og vilje til – aktivt – at forbinde os med netop denne konkrete situation.

Dette situationelle aspekt vedrører vores kropslige tilstedevær og vores engagement i et rum med specifikke karakteristika. Men oplevelser er også – og for det andet – *bevægende*. De implicerer tidslig udstrækning. Oplevelser er knyttet til "the immediate flux of life", hvor sanseindtryk og følelser følger på hinanden (James 1912, 117). I denne strøm opstår oplevelsen, når subjektets aktivitetsniveau ændres (fx når engagementet øges eller mindskes) eller når subjektets aktivitetsmodus skifter: fx mellem målrettet og legende adfærd (jf. Apter 1989). Fysiologisk set, er oplevelser således bundet til kvantitative *og* kvalitative forandringer i kroppens bevægethed, dens *arousal*, som i sig selv er konstant fluktuerende (Pfaff 2006). At oplevelser bryder den umiddelbare strøm af indtryk og forandrer subjektets aktivitet, er det tredje kendetegn. Oplevelser er *specifikke*: de fæstner opmærksomheden på strømmen ved at forstyrre den. De gør den oplevende opmærksom på at være en krop, der bevæges i en bestemt situation – noget som i en ikke-oplevende modus (altså i rutinehændelser) typisk tages for givet.

Rutiner bygger på erfaringer. Oplevelser er brud med hidtidige erfaringer, hvilket betyder, at oplevelser forudsætter erfaring. Oplevelser er erfaringsbrud, der konfronterer den oplevende med erfaringens begrænsning. Denne oplevelse af erfaringen giver mulighed for at danne ny erfaring, som sætter forventninger til, hvad

fremtidige situationer kan byde på og hvordan man hensigtsmæssigt kan gebærde sig. Oplevelsens kvalitet afhænger i den henseende af, i hvor vidt den faktiske situation overgår eller skuffer forventningen: altså i hvilken grad den oplevende overraskes. Vekselvirkningen mellem oplevelse og erfaring er det fjerde kendetegn. Oplevelser bygger på og skaber erfaring. De er *dynamiske*.

Det femte kendetegn ved oplevelser er, at de er *komplekse*. Oplevelser er kropsligt umiddelbare, dvs. forankrede i den situation, hvor organismen bevæges, men de er også kognitivt evaluerende, hvor den oplevede bevægethed erindres og forbindes med andre erfaringer. Oplevelser er noget, der hænder kroppen. Oplevelser finder sted i en strøm af sanseindtryk. På den anden side er oplevelser samtidig noget, der huskes som meningsfuldt, efter at de er hændt. Oplevelser erindres som specifikke øjeblikke, der i en bestemt situation stod ud fra strømmen (Jantzen 2013). Denne erindring er, ret beset, en ny situation.

Denne kompleksitet er en metodologisk udfordring, fordi den erindrede oplevelse ikke svarer fuldstændig til den umiddelbare oplevelse i situationen. Dette har Nobelprisvinderen Daniel Kahneman påpeget i sin argumentation for mere retvisende målinger af menneskers faktiske lykkefølelse (Kahneman 1999). De fleste målinger er retrospektive: de måler, hvordan folk husker deres velvære på et bestemt tidspunkt, på et andet sted og i en anden tid end det her-og-nu, hvor der måles. Denne erindrede lykke hæfter sig ved få mindeværdige øjeblikke og negligerer derved den strøm af umiddelbare, men flygtige oplevelser, som disse øjeblikke var del af. *Memorability* er, siger Kahneman, bundet til ét højdepunkt i hele hændelsesforløbet og til dets afslutning. Disse to punkter i øjeblikkenes strøm danner grundlag for fortolkningen af forløbets overordnede betydning og derfor for, hvad der erindres om strømmen. Hvad der faktisk hændte subjektet, mens det var i færd med at opleve, er gået tabt. Erindringen er altid en mere eller mindre fejlbehæftet kognitiv oplevelse af det, der engang blev kropsligt oplevet.

Det fører til følgende metodologiske pointe: Hvis vi som forskere vil undersøge menneskers oplevelser af konkrete situationer, så kan vi ikke nøjes med at registrere, hvordan mennesker erindrer oplevelserne; vi bør også registrere hvad og hvordan mennesker oplever, når og mens de oplever. En sådan undersøgelse bør derfor forholde sig til to konstellationer af tid og rum. Den første er i den

strøm af øjeblikke, hvor noget opleves: altså mens kroppen neuro-fysiologisk er i bevægelse. Vi bør følge den oplevende trin for trin gennem forløbet for at finde ud af, hvad der hænder og hvordan den oplevende (re)agerer i forhold til det, der hænder. Men vi bør også interessere os for, hvordan det hændte bliver mindeværdigt og hvordan det refleksivt tilkendes betydning for den oplevende. Det sker i en anden konstellation: efter hændelsen og ofte et andet sted, end hvor det hændte – derhjemme, på arbejdet, i festligt lag etc., hvor det der engang hændte kroppen fortælles som en oplevelse af fx opbyggelig, tragisk eller spøjs karakter. Det er en ny situation, hvor det hændte fortælles: hvor det sammenfattes, forkortes, udvi-des med alskens tildigtninger og hvor det får en morale. Det ople-vede begynder at blive transformeret til erfaring og bliver en del af den oplevendes selvfremstilling. Og dette sker altså efterlods.

Metodevalg

Hvad er så den bedste vej til at undersøge andre menneskers ople-velser? Nogle eksperimentelle metoder giver interessante indsigter i, hvordan mennesker oplever *in situ* – om end det fortrinsvis vil være oplevelser i en kunstig, ikke-naturlig setting. Galvanic Skin Response (GSR-metoden) egner sig fortrinligt til at måle fluktuatio-ner i den oplevendes bevægethed, men den skaber ikke indsigt i, hvad der specifikt udløser disse ændringer. Det gør eye-tracking til gengæld. Den måler, hvad der er i fokus og hvor længe dette fokus fastholdes (Magnussen et al. 2017). Omvendt, så måler den ikke, hvordan dette fokus påvirker bevægetheden. Disse to metoder kan kombineres, hvilket giver et rigt materiale af sansedata, der doku-menterer både den bevægethed (GSR) og den specificitet (eye-tracking), som kendetegner oplevelser (Bonde and Larsen 2017). Disse data fortæller dog ikke noget om oplevelsens erfaringsdan-nende og forventningsbrydende kendetegn – altså om oplevelsens dynamik. Disse metoder registrerer, hvad der hænder, mens det hænder. De undersøger ikke det hændtes meningsfuldhed eller dets betydning for den oplevendes autobiografi.

Hvad angår betydningen af og for det levede liv, har de kvalitati-ve metoder en metodologisk fortrinsstilling. Og interviewet er ble-vet paradigmatisk for kvalitativ forskning (Denzin 2001). Det er særligt velegnet til at undersøge de forståelser, som mennesker danner sig af det hændte. Interviewet aktiverer erindringen af det

hændte, hvorimod selve hændelsen er på rum- og tidslig distance. I interviewet afdækkes den erfarede oplevelse, dvs. den retrospektive fortolkning af det hændte, som ikke erindres i sin konkrete, situerede bevægethed, men i sin mere overordnede betydning for den interviewedes aktuelle liv. Interviewet transformerer hændelsen til erfaring.

Lige modsat de eksperimentelle metoder registrerer interviews ikke, hvad der hænder, mens det hænder. Det gør til gengæld observationsstudier. Disse kommer – ligesom interviewet i øvrigt – i mange former (Szulevics 2015). Varigheden kan variere betragteligt. I det længevarende forløb, hvor observatøren 'hænger ud' med en bestemt gruppe, bliver vedkommende en deltager i aktiviteter, som gruppen foretager sig. Dette er typisk for etnografiske studier (Hastrup 2015). Denne form for deltagerobservation vil være for ressourcekrævende, når det er afgrænsede situationer og ikke etniske eller sociale grupper, der undersøges. Her er feltobservation, hvor observatøren betragter det liv, som udfolder sig naturligt på et konkret fysisk sted, mere oplagt (Schatzman and Strauss 1973). Denne metode egner sig til at dokumentere, hvad der hænder: hvornår det hænder, hvem og hvor mange der deltager, hvilke aktiviteter deltagerne udfører, hvorledes de reagerer på stedet og hvordan de interagerer med hinanden. Men dette registreres udefra: det er observatørens syn på situationen, der dokumenteres. Dette kan give detaljerede beskrivelser af situationen, men det fortæller intet om, hvordan deltagerne selv sanser og føler det, der hænder (Kusenbach 2003). Metoden giver ikke adgang til deltagernes umiddelbare oplevelser: til hvordan det hændte egentligt bevægede dem og hvad der i grunden overraskede (hvilket vedrører oplevelsens dynamiske aspekt).

Feltobservationer beskriver situationen, mens den hænder. Interviews beskriver, hvad mennesker erindrer om situationen og hvordan de forstår dette i forhold til deres liv. Feltobservationer er på distance fra denne forståelse, mens interviews er på distance fra situationen. Det er derfor nærliggende at bringe interviewet ind i situationen: altså at interviewe mennesker, mens de er i bevægelse og i gang med at opleve situationen. Det er, hvad der sker i *walk-alongs*, som af nogle forskere betegnes som "walking interviews" (Evans and Jones 2011; Jones et al. 2008). Forskeren samtaler her med respondenter om indtryk, overvejelser og beslutninger, mens de sam-

men bevæger sig i rummet. Metoden kombinerer styrkerne ved henholdsvis feltobservationerne og interviews. Den bruger den fortrolighed og tryghed, som det gode interview skaber mellem intervieweren og den interviewede, til at få indsigt i deltagernes emotionelle og kognitive reaktioner, mens de er i gang med at opleve situationen sammen med intervieweren. I modsætning til det traditionelle forskningsinterviews retrospektive karakter giver walk-alongs indblik i deltageres umiddelbare oplevelse af situationen og i de første refleksioner, som deltageren foretager sig for at forstå, hvad der i grunden hænder: altså i oplevelsens første konstellation af tid og rum.

Walk-alongs

Metoden er oprindeligt udviklet inden for humangeografi og bysociologi med henblik på at undersøge stedets betydning for menneskers hverdagsoplevelse af deres eget nabolag (Carpiano 2009; Evans and Jones 2011; Kusenbach 2003). Forskeren følger byboeren på tur gennem sit eget kvarter og får gennem samtale indsigt i, hvordan beboeren oplever sig selv i samspil med omgivelserne. Formålet er at undersøge beboernes naturlige rutiner, der gør nabolaget sammenhængende, meningsfuld og værdiladet for de lokale: fx hvad anses for 'farlige områder' eller hvilke minder knytter sig til bestemte steder?

Denne forskningsinteresse hænger sammen med "the mobility turn" inden for samfundsvidenskaberne, som slog igennem efter årtusindskiftet (Sheller and Urry 2006). Denne vending bygger på tre præmisser. Den første er, at samfundsmæssige processer og relationer er noget der – bogstaveligt talt – *finder sted*, og at det ikke er ligegyldigt, hvor de finder sted (Hein, Evans and Jones 2008, 1268). Det betyder for det andet, at samfundsmæssighed er kropsbundet, "embodied" (ibid., 1269). Mennesket udfolder sig socialt ved sin kropslige tilstedeværelse på stedet og mellem steder. Samfundsmæssighed indebærer derfor for det tredje bevægelse. I forlængelse af Simmels mikrosociologi, så må sociale relationer opfattes som dynamiske. Mennesker forbinder sig med hinanden, fjerner sig fra hinanden, knytter sig til steder og forlader dem igen (Simmel 1998). Samfundet bliver til ved kroppes bevægelse: "Bodies sense and make sense of the world as they move bodily in and through it, creating discursively mediated sensescapes that signify social taste

and distinction, ideology and meaning" (Büscher, Urry and Witchger 2011, 6). Mobilitetsforskning drejer sig derfor om at undersøge, hvordan verden gennem bevægelse erkendes og får mening som en samfundsmæssighed.

For at kunne erkende bevægelsens samfundsskabende betydning, må undersøgelsen selv være i bevægelse. Det er derfor, at mobilitetsforskningen har udviklet et katalog af mobile metoder (for en oversigt, jf. Büscher, Urry and Witchger 2011; Fincham, McGuiness and Murray 2009). Walk-along er en af disse metoder. Den har den skønhed, at den benytter sig af den mest fundamentale af alle kroppens bevægelsesformer: nemlig at gå (Solnit 2001). At gå er grundlæggende for kroppen: "Walking is not just what the body *does*; it is what the body *is*" (Ingold and Vergunst 2008, 2). Og at gå sammen med den interviewede betyder derfor, at forskeren får del i de sansemæssige oplevelser, i de refleksioner, som disse fremkalder, og i de interaktioner som finder sted inden for gruppen og med stederne som følge af oplevelserne og refleksionerne. Mens forskeren bevæger sig gående gennem landskabet med sine informanter, opbygges der således trin for trin et fælles erfaringsgrundlag. Forskeren bliver gennem sin egen bevægelse delagtig i det, der i situationen også bevæger informanterne. Walk-alongs er derfor en oplagt måde at undersøge oplevelser på, fordi metoden kan indfange det situerede, bevægende, specifikke og dynamiske ved oplevelsen.

Walk-alongs kan designes på forskellige måder (Evans and Jones 2011). I den ene ende af skalaen er de 'naturlige' walk-alongs, hvor forskeren følger i fodsporet af informanten, der bestemmer ruten i et landskab, vedkommende er fortrolig med (Kusenbach 2003). Informanterne rekrutteres blandt faste beboere, der agerer værter for forskeren på ruten. Forskeren har inviteret sig selv med på den daglige tur. Her gælder forskningsinteressen menneskers måde at skabe og bekræfte mening der, hvor hverdagen leves. Gåturen sker uden instruktion: altså som om det var en helt almindelig gåtur.

I den anden ende af skalaen er der 'guidede' walk-alongs, hvor forskeren fastlægger ruten, som den interviewede skal gå. I modsætning til de 'naturlige' walk-alongs er det her forskeren, som er fortrolig med ruten, mens den for den interviewede ofte vil være mindre kendt. Forskeren inviterer den interviewede til at gå en bestemt strækning under ledsagelse (Gebauer 2009). Forskningsinteressen gælder her, hvordan en bestemt rute, som forskeren altså har

fastlagt, opleves af mere eller mindre tilfældigt passerende, der er rekrutteret på stedet: hvad lægger de særligt mærke til, hvordan reagerer de fysisk på det, hvad siger de om det etc.?

Der er en række mellemformer på denne skala. Nogle undersøgelsesdesigns nøjes ikke med at følge efter de fastboende, men stiller også semistrukturerede spørgsmål undervejs (fx Clark and Emmel 2008). Dette design ligger over mod de 'naturlige' walk-alongs pol. Over mod den 'guidede' walk-alongs pol ligger designs, hvor stedet er fastlagt, men ruten er fri. Forskningsinteressen gælder her måden hvorpå de interviewede – typisk besøgende – finder deres egen vej i et bestemt rum, som de ikke dagligt færdes i: altså hvordan de orienterer sig, hvad de hæfter sig ved, hvordan dette påvirke deres rytme og bevægelsesmønster og hvordan de undervejs interagerer kropsligt og verbalt (Hitchings and Jones 2004).

Vi har selv brugt metoden i en række undersøgelser med henblik på at få indsigt i forhold, der fremmer eller hindrer brugeroplevelsen på steder, som er designet til at skabe ny erkendelse gennem oplevelser (Lykke and Jantzen 2016; Lykke, Skov and Jantzen 2019; Skov, Lykke and Jantzen 2019). Fælles for disse steder er, at de er (del)udstillinger på et relativt begrænset areal inden for en større museal kontekst: et kunstmuseum (ZKM i Karlsruhe) og et science center (Experimentarium i København). Det er steder, som den besøgende som regel ikke på forhånd kender til fulde. Undersøgelsernes formål var at registrere de interviewedes umiddelbare oplevelser, mens de interagerede med udstillingernes artefakter og samarbejdede med hinanden. Deltagerne blev rekrutteret ved udstillingens indgang og de forskellige walk-alongs blev gennemført med 'naturlige' enheder af besøgende: altså med enkeltindivider (på ZKM) eller med grupper, der i forvejen besøgte udstillingen sammen som fx par, venskabsgrupper, klassekammerater, familier (ZKM og Experimentarium). I gruppeundersøgelserne var deltagerne altså væsentlig mere fortrolige med hinanden end med udstillingen.

Vores undersøgelser ligger altså over mod den 'guidede' pol af skalaen uden at ruten var fuldstændigt styret af intervieweren. Det var nemlig en vigtig pointe ved undersøgelserne at lade folk følge deres egen vej gennem udstillingen, fordi vi var optaget af følgende emner:

- **Rytme og rute** gennem udstillingen (i hvilken rækkefølge benytter de sig af de forskellige installationer, hvad vælges fra, hvor afbryder de besøgende ruten?)
- **Stemning** (hvad karakteriserer stemningen?)
- **Adfærd og interaktion** (hvilke installationer interageres der med, hvilke handlinger gentages?)
- **Reaktioner** (hvad lægger de mærke til undervejs, hvad overrasker dem, hvilke installationer er sjove, kedelige, frustrerende eller engagerende?)
- **Dialog** (hvordan taler de indbyrdes om alt dette? hvordan danner de en fælles forståelse af deres oplevelser?)

The walking cure

Walk-alongs undersøger mennesker i bevægelse. I forhold til oplevelsesteori betyder dette, at metoden giver et mere tro billede af, hvad der sker, mens mennesker er i færd med at opleve noget. Den gør i modsætning til feltobservationer forskeren delagtig i menneskers oplevelse af situationen: af deres kropslige bevægethed, af hvad de specifikt hæfter sig ved og overraskes over samt af hvordan dette ændrer eller påvirker (forstærker, svækker) deres orientering og deres situationsforståelse. Metoden giver altså forskeren bedre adgang til oplevelsens 'hænden' og til de spæde skridt henimod forståelsen af, hvad der er hændt: dvs. til det dynamiske samspil mellem tidligere erfaringer, oplevelsens brud med disse og ny erfaringsdannelse. En sådan adgang har traditionelle, 'stillesiddende' interviewtilgange ikke. De undersøger den interviewedes erfaringer med erindrede oplevelser og registrerer derfor fortrinsvis dannet erfaring: dvs. minder om højdepunkter – ikke bevægelsens fluktuationer mellem mere og mindre intense øjeblikke og den oplevelsens genealogi, der udspringer heraf.

At der faktisk er forskel mellem 'gående' og 'stillesiddende' interviews, viser en undersøgelse af Evans og Jones (2011). De fordelte deres respondenter i tre grupper: en gruppe blev interviewet på klassisk vis, en anden gennemførte 'naturlige' walk-alongs og en tredje blev først interviewet 'stillesiddende' og derefter 'gående' (altså ved 'naturlige' walk-alongs). I alle tre tilfælde var emnet respondenternes relation til deres nabolag. Men der var forskel mellem de tre grupper i, hvad de talte om og hvordan de talte om det. Walk-alongs affødte mere stedsspecifikke data, hvorimod de tradi-

tionelle interviews oftere kom til at handle om andet end netop na-
bolaget: fx om den interviewede selv eller om byrummet i alminde-
lighed. I walk-alongs var der betydeligt større fokus på byrummets
faktiske form. Desuden havde de 'stillesiddende' interviews en ten-
dens til systematisk at glemme visse kendetegn ved byrummet: fx
fabrikker, offentlige bygninger og infrastruktur (kanaler, viaduk-
ter). Tilstedeværelse i byrummet udløste endvidere flere spontane
tilkendegivelser om de fysiske omgivelsers karakteristika og kvali-
teter end de traditionelle interviews, hvor disse holdningstilkende-
givelser i højere grad skulle hjælpes på vej af forskeren.

Der skabes med andre ord en anden viden om stedet i walk-
alongs end i 'stillesiddende' interviews. Walk-along-metoden er
derfor en løsning – en *cure* – på den metodologiske udfordring, som
vi indledningsvist adresserede: nemlig at oplevelser ikke kun bør
undersøges retrospektivt, men også mens de hænder. Oplevelser er
både det, der hænder i en strøm af øjeblikke (i et her-og-nu), og det,
der huskes som autobiografisk betydningsfuldt (i et andet her-og-
nu). De 'stillesiddende' interviews egner sig fortrinligt til at under-
søge dette andet her-og-nu. De 'gående' interviews skaber indsigt i
det første her-og-nu.

I vores egne undersøgelser af oplevelser kombinerer vi derfor
disse to metoder. Vi har fulgt de interviewede trin for trin gennem
udstillingerne og deltaget med dem i oplevelsen. Efterfølgende har
vi 'stillesiddende' talt med dem om det oplevede og hvad den bety-
der for deres selvforståelse. I denne samtale er de interviewedes
erindring blevet hjulpet ved at vise dem billeder fra dele af udstil-
lingen. På den måde har samtalen ikke kun drejet sig om højde-
punkter, men også om selve den bearbejdningsproces, hvorved op-
levelser bliver til erfaring. Det allerede glemte eller det oversete er
blevet gjort aktiv i dannelsen af en mere omfattende mening om det
netop hændte.

Også i det traditionelle interview kan der ske en aktiv videnska-
belse hos den interviewede. Interviewerens spørgsmål sætter tan-
ker i gang om sammenhænge, der hidtil er blevet negligeret. Det
giver den interviewede mulighed for at se visse hændelser i et nyt
lys. Derved kan interviewet endog tilskrives en terapeutisk værdi,
idet den interviewedes fortolkning af det hændte i interviewets løb
kan integrere og rekonstruere oplevelsen i vedkommendes selvfor-
tælling (Rossetto 2014). Denne terapeutiske effekt sker, når rekon-

struktionen af det oplevede selv bliver kropsligt oplevelsesrigt for den interviewede. Interviewet bliver så en "talking cure," hvilket var Freuds egen ordknappe karakteristik af den psykoanalytiske terapiform (Freud 1995, 8).

Vores erfaring er, at walk-alongs fører til væsentligt længere spadsereture gennem udstillingen end når besøgende bare observeres i frit trav, uden interviewere. På ZKM varede et observeret besøg i udstillingen mellem 2 og 15 minutter. Når folk blev interviewet steg besøgets varighed til mellem 10 og 90 minutter. Metoden kan derfor *ikke* betegnes som naturalistisk. De data, den frembringer, er 'kuraterede' af interviewerens intervention i situationen. Den er således en intersubjektiv metode, hvor intervieweren og de interviewede i fælleskab bidrager til (data om) oplevelsen (Pink 2015). Interviewerens tilstedeværelse foranlediger – kanske forleder – de interviewede til at standse op og fundere, hvor de ellers ville være fortsat. Den gør dem måske mere modtagelige for at lade sig overraske. Walk-alongs gør folk opmærksomme på det, som til dagligt ofte forbliver i baggrunden. Derved leverer de et lille bidrag til at få folk til at se det ny og anderledes i det, de antog var velkendt: deres omgivelser. Også i den henseende kan metoden siges at være en "walking cure".

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