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The image of walking

The aesthetics and politics of cinematic pedestrianism

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Introduction: Cinematic Pedestrianism in the City

In René Clair's film *Paris Qui Dort* (1923),¹ Albert, the watchman of the Eiffel Tower wakes up one morning to find the entire city at a standstill. Seeing the city from the top of the tower, he is perplexed by the absolute stillness of the entire capital. Even as his clock ticks forward towards noon, the city does not wake up and he cannot see any slightest motion. Intrigued by the oddity of the situation and knowing what "the city should look like" at this time of an ordinary day, he descends the tower and sets out for a walk along the streets of Paris.² He roves around the city's noted sights, such as Pont d'Iena, Place de la Concorde, and Champs-Élysées, only to find all of them completely deserted. During his improvised pedestrianism, Albert also encounters a car frozen in the middle of its voyage, a man poised to jump into the Seine with a suicide note in his hand, a caretaker taking the garbage out, and a policeman about to catch a pickpocket – all paralysed in the middle of acting. In these shots, what we see for a couple of seconds is a sight of motionlessness, filled with "majestic inactivity," to quote from the intertitles. Without any intervening movement, it is hard to discern whether we are looking at a still or moving image. We are only certain that the film is rolling when Albert walks *into* these fixed frames, the immobility of which contrasts with his dazed wandering (Image 1). The inanimate picture is thus converted into an animate picture by

¹ *Paris Qui Dort* (René Clair, 1923). The film was distributed in France by Pathé in 1925, and the analysis here is based on the open-access digitised copy obtained from the US version, distributed by Blackhawk Films.

² Quoted from the intertitles.

Introduction

the pedestrian's entrance into the frame from out of field. Specifically in this sequence, Albert's walk interweaves stasis and movement, inanimate and animate, photography and film, which exist simultaneously on screen, making the film a reflection on the emergence of cinematic movement via the figure of the pedestrian. René Clair's film thus encapsulates the starting point of this research, namely *pedestrianism as emblematic of the philosophy of movement that informed and accompanied the emergence of cinema in the wake of industrial modernity in the nineteenth century*. In this study, I investigate how this modern conception of movement has continued to manifest itself through the figure of the pedestrian, or the cinematic image of walking, most strongly in the early decades of cinema. I also reveal how the early manifestations of cinematic pedestrianism have continued to influence and inform post-WWII European cinema.



Image 1: Stills from *Paris Qui Dort* (René Clair, 1923)

René Clair's little-known first feature, *Paris Qui Dort*, playfully deals with the new conceptions of time and movement introduced by industrial modernity in a number of ways. The film is a science-fiction comedy that narrates the effects of a recent technological innovation by a mad scientist, Dr. Crase, whose new machine emits a ray that can control time and movement within its range (hence the film's US release title:

The Crazy Ray). With this invention, Dr. Crase is able to either still or animate movements, bring life into and out of motion, speed up or slow down the course of things in the city. Paris, the capital of the nineteenth century, becomes a theatre of different everyday actions, movements, and rhythms. The film makes visible what constitutes the city. Furthermore, Dr. Crase's ray is reminiscent of the "penetrating yet intangible new media," such as telegraphy, photography, radio, and cinema, which were based on physical principles beyond the range of human sense organs.³ It is also evocative of the universal time signal that was first transmitted from the Eiffel Tower in 1913 to regulate and standardize world time. The ray's control over time and movement can thus be considered as a metaphor for the standardisation and rationalisation of time in the wake of the industrial revolution. During the 1920s, cultural imagination was also influenced by the invention by several scientists, such as Guglielmo Marconi and Nikola Tesla, of 'teleforce', which the popular media called a "death ray" or "death beam." It is therefore possible to situate *Paris Qui Dort* among such dystopic films as Lev Kuleshov's *The Death Ray* (1925) and Harry Piel's *The Master of the World* (1934), which similarly concern the destructive effects of a newfound ray. These films ultimately depict the unwelcome effects of technology that enables the consolidation of authoritarian rule over the masses. From this perspective, it can also be claimed that *Paris Qui Dort* shares with Fritz Lang's *Metropolis* (1927) a similar criticism of the corruption of power due to an advanced form of technology that can control, regulate, and govern bodies.

In light of this cultural context, it is possible to approach *Paris Qui Dort* from the perspective of E.P. Thompson's argument that the standardisation and

³ See Maria del Pilar Blanco and Esther Peeren's "Introduction" in *The Spectralities Reader*, ed. Esther Peeren and Maria del Pilar Blanco (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), pp. 1-28.

rationalisation of time in industrial capitalism is closely linked to the structuring of the labour force as part of a “highly-synchronised automated industry.”⁴ This reading can illuminate the philosophy of movement embodied by Albert’s free-flowing pedestrianism vis-à-vis the industrialist standardisation of movement and time symbolised by Dr. Crase’s ray. From this perspective, it can be claimed that *Paris Qui Dort* deals with the modernist tension between the dominant forms of time and movement (industrial time) and the volatile, ephemeral, fleeting movement (wandering, flânerie) that evades such dominance.

Unlike a conventional science-fiction hero, the protagonist of *Paris Qui Dort* is an everyman – a worker with no special powers. His only power is that he can move at whatever pace he chooses while other people and objects in the city are stunned or compelled to move at an unusual pace, for example when Dr. Crase operates his ray to accelerate the rhythm of the city. Albert avoids this fate, as later explained in the film by Dr. Crase’s daughter, because he was above the reach of the paralysing ray when it was operated at 3:25 that morning. This symbolises Albert’s freedom from the mechanisms of power that control time and movement in the city in that Albert’s pedestrianism eludes authoritarian dominance and eventually eliminates its captive impact. A large part of the film shows Albert’s flânerie across the city, investigating the reasons that brought the city to this unusual motionless state. Through Albert’s pedestrianism, we encounter everyday life in the city captured in mid flow.

Annette Michelson argues that with the stream of life evacuated and movement halted, the street scenes in the film’s opening sequence share the same aesthetic of stillness found in some of the photographs of Paris taken by Eugène Atget,⁵ a wandering

⁴ See E. P. Thompson, “Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism,” *Past and Present* 38 (December 1967), pp. 56-97.

⁵ Annette Michelson, “Dr. Crase and Mr. Clair”, *October* 11 (Winter 1979), p. 42. However, it should also be noted that this impression of Atget’s work is largely premised on Walter Benjamin’s analysis in

photographer of deserted streets.⁶ Although his catalogue of street scenes are recognised for their vacant stillness, the fact that Atget returned to photograph the same sites to record change in the urban landscape, such as “the disappearance of buildings as schemes of modernisation swept the city,”⁷ renders the passage of time visible in his oeuvre. From this perspective, Atget’s *flânerie* can be seen as a constructive element of his body of work from 1897 to the 1920s.⁸ In *Paris Qui Dort*, it is possible to detect a similar coexistence of stillness and movement. The still images of the city stilled are linked through Albert’s pedestrianism. Yet these still images, not pictorially and visibly, but technically and invisibly, contain movement: the cinematic movement of the show reel within the projector.

In light of the film’s modernist paradigms of movement outlined above, it is possible to argue that *Paris Qui Dort* is also a reflection on the emergence of cinema. In the film, several direct similarities between the ray and the cinematographic projection stand out. The ray is operated by a lever similar to that of the cinematograph. It can not only still but also speed up and slow down the course of events. These happenings in the diegetic world of the film become a cinematic spectacle showcasing the wondrous techniques of the medium, such as slow motion, acceleration,

“The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction.” Barbara Michaels, for instance, underlines that Atget left behind an immense body of work (some 4,500 prints in the Abbot-Levy Collection), which has been under-studied. It remains unclear what portion of Atget’s work consists of depopulated street scenes that look like a “crime scene” in the words of Benjamin. For further discussion and details, see Barbara L. Michaels, “An Introduction to the Dating and Organisation of Eugène Atget’s Photographs” *The Art Bulletin*, 61:3 (1979), pp. 460-468.

⁶ See Michaels, *ibid.* Eugène Atget organised his photographs into four major series: ‘Vieux Paris,’ ‘Topographie du Vieux Paris,’ ‘Environs,’ and ‘Botanical.’

⁷ Quoted from the website of Victoria and Albert Museum

<<http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/e/eugene-atget/>> Last accessed September 30, 2017.

⁸ In a similar vein, it is possible to draw parallels between Eugène Atget’s catalogue of urban scenes with Alexandre Black’s “Life through a Detective Camera” – over one hundred projected photographs compiled from the street scenes shot with a handheld “detective camera.” Even though the different aesthetics of Atget and Black can be convincingly argued elsewhere, it is also possible to claim that they share a common endeavour to capture everyday life through wanderings. See, for example, Kaveh Askari, “From ‘the horse in motion’ to ‘man in motion’”, *Early Popular Visual Culture* 3:1 (2005), pp. 59-76.

deceleration, and animation. As Annette Michelson puts it, the urban space is used by Clair as the theatre of metacinematic paradigms of movement.⁹ The film thus establishes an aesthetic correlation between cinema as a time- and movement-based medium and the city as the canvas of the new spatiotemporal paradigms of the industrial modernity. In this intersection of cinema and city, the figure of the pedestrian stands out for eluding those spatiotemporal paradigms, thereby producing new temporal and spatial (cinematic) aesthetics.

The fact that Albert was beyond the reach of the ray symbolically points to the contingent and the ephemeral. In other words, there is a strong element of contingency embodied in Albert's pedestrianism. Mary Ann Doane argues that, even though they might seem irreconcilable, the rationalisation of production and contingency are interdependent and allied in the structuring of temporality in modernity.¹⁰ I would like to argue that the same argument can be proposed for movement. The rationalisation of time cannot be considered independently from the rationalisation of movement, the ultimate objective of which is efficiency in production. Hence, so-called irrational movement, which is not productive in the sense of capitalist industrialism, equally needed to be eliminated from the system. Frederic Taylor's and F. W. Gilbreth's studies of motion, which I examine in the second chapter, are significant examples of this objective. Contingency, in the words of Doane, "emerges as a form of resistance to rationalisation ... Its lure is that of resistance itself – resistance to system, structure, to meaning."¹¹ In the chapters that follow, I will try to demonstrate how this ephemeral,

⁹ Michelson, *ibid.*, p. 47.

¹⁰ Mary Ann Doane, *The Emergence of Cinematic Time* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), p. 11.

¹¹ This relation forms the main conflict and source of comedy in Charlie Chaplin's *Modern Times* (1936), where the body of the worker cannot quite fit into the rationalisation of production in the factory. In this film, the worker's inappropriate movements can also be considered as a contingency that needs to be eliminated from the system but is in fact never completely eradicable.

contingent, ungraspable movement of the pedestrian has been translated into cinematic aesthetics in the history of cinema.

Introducing Walking as an Everyday Act of Resistance

The proposition that walking can be considered, and practiced, as an everyday act of resistance was first spelled out by Michel de Certeau. Interestingly, de Certeau's article in *The Practice of Everyday Life*, "Walking in the City," starts with a similar trajectory from an elevated perspective down to ground level, just like Albert's descent in *Paris Qui Dort* from the top of the Eiffel Tower down to the city streets. De Certeau describes "seeing Manhattan from the 110th floor of the World Trade Centre." He is dazzled by the immense fluidity of the city: "a sea in the middle of the sea" with skyscrapers lifting up here and sinking down there. From this high-rise position, "the gigantic mass" of the city seems "immobilised."¹² Elevated above all the rules that govern one's movement in the city ("one's body is no longer clasped by the streets that turn and return it according to an anonymous law"), he enjoys the anonymity of distance. Positioned as the imagined totalizing eye of God, he can read the city like a text or a map. Such elevation thus transfigures him into a voyeur, as he describes it, while descending from the top of the World Trade Centre (WTC) down to the streets resembles an "Icarian fall". Unlike the panoptic voyeuristic pleasure of the god-like celestial eye, street-level vision is that of an ordinary person: "The ordinary practitioners of the city," writes de Certeau, walk.

Counterpointing the elevated position offered by the World Trade Centre with ordinary people treading the urban streets fulfils a metaphorical function in his

¹² Contrary to the ebb and flow that characterises Manhattan in de Certeau's essay, in *Paris Qui Dort*, Albert is confronted with an unsettling absence of movement on the urban streets. See Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Randall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

argument. WTC is not only an icon of Western industrial capitalism but also exemplifies the growth-oriented global urbanism of 1970s. For de Certeau, it is “only the most monumental figure of Western urban development.”¹³ It represents yet another level of accomplishment in Western civilisation’s high-rise architecture, which has been an index of industrial growth in New York since the early twentieth century. Designed with the aim of bringing together international trade companies in the most glorious towers ever, it was the largest construction project of its day. In the words of one historian, it was a city within a city: “It had its own police precinct. It had its own zip code – 10048. It had its own energy source.”¹⁴

A late-1970s advertisement illustrates the parallelism that de Certeau establishes in his article between the viewpoint of the WTC’s 110th floor and “the celestial eye,” associated with a god-like perspective in Renaissance and Medieval paintings of the city (Image 2). In this advertisement, the WTC towers are seen from an aerial viewpoint, strongly accentuating their immense height in comparison with the surrounding high-rise buildings. The text positioned in the upper corner in the blue sky reads: “The closest some of us will ever get to heaven.” The observation deck on the 110th floor of the WTC is thus represented as the point on earth closest to a celestial perspective. Furthermore, the phrase “some of us” communicates selection, privilege or entitlement. It doesn’t encompass all since the collective, the ordinary are almost left out. This is important, especially knowing that the building project met with fierce criticism and resistance in the 1970s. The project itself was an urban renewal venture of business tycoons, spearheaded by David Rockefeller, to make the port area more attractive to transnational companies, which forced the displacement of a large group

¹³ De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 93.

¹⁴ Interview with Angus Kress Gillespie
<<http://edition.cnn.com/2001/US/09/27/rec.twintowers.interview.cnn/index.html>> Last accessed September 30, 2017.

of local residents. Hence, de Certeau's choice of starting with a high-rise perspective from the observation deck at the top of the WTC and descending to explore the common everyday act of walking as resistance to the spatial order perfectly introduces the two aspects of urban experience: on the one hand, there is urban experience shaped, controlled, and monitored by the city planners, politicians, and the bourgeoisie; on the other hand, the urban experience of "ordinary practitioners," who confront, appropriate or resist this prescribed experience. The example of the WTC also helps de Certeau establish another axis: While the panoptic gaze from the 110th floor is privileged, it is also fixed. Against this panoptic mapping of urban space, de Certeau reminds us that ordinary citizens down below are constantly mobile: they wander the streets and even sometimes "make use of spaces that cannot be seen."¹⁵ Thus, he counterpoises an all-seeing panoptic power with buzzing, fleeting and drifting pedestrians – the city's true practitioners. At a conceptual level, the opposition of these two forces shares the opposition of the strict rationalisation of time and space in industrialist capitalism versus contingent, untamed and ephemeral movements – which I introduced earlier through the example of the pedestrian in *Paris Qui Dort*.

¹⁵ De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 93.

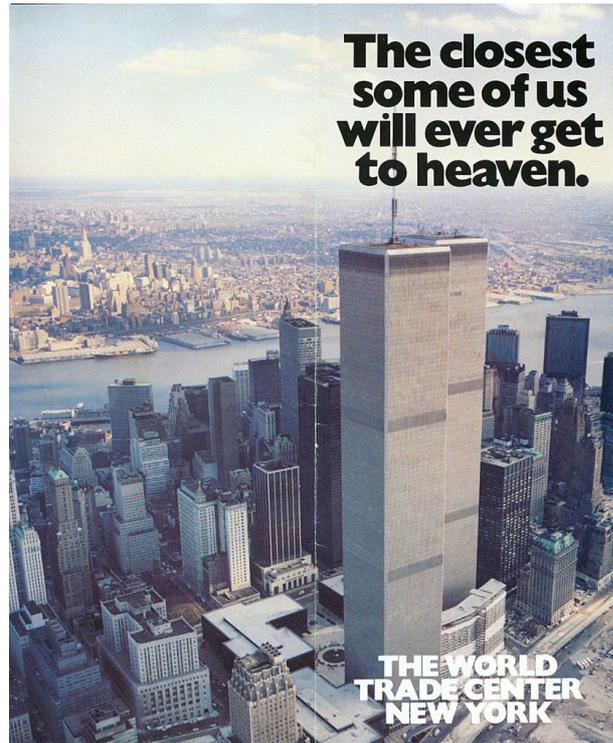


Image 2: The celestial eye – a WTC advertisement from late 1970s

Defining Pedestrian Acts

Published in 1980 in French and in 1984 in English, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, specifically “Walking in the City,” was my main point of departure in this study. As an ordinary practitioner of the city, but more importantly as a woman, I can relate de Certeau’s “pedestrian acts” to my own experience of the city. Since my experience of walking ranges from walking for pleasure to having to walk, for example to save on carfare, or walking to protest, de Certeau’s tactics of pedestrian acts offer an illuminating theory to reflect on my own experience of walking in the city as a young woman. Meanwhile, as a film scholar, I also started tracing the articulation of such urban experiences of pedestrianism in films.

In “Walking in the City”, de Certeau conceives of pedestrianism as a practice performed in the public space, whose architecture and behavioural habits substantially determine the way we walk. For de Certeau, the spatial order “organises an ensemble

of possibilities (e.g. by a place in which one can move) and interdictions (e.g. by a wall that prevents one from going further)” and the walker “actualises some of these possibilities” by performing within the rules and limitations. “In that way,” says de Certeau, “he makes them exist as well as emerge.”¹⁶ Thus, pedestrians, as they walk, conforming to the possibilities brought about by the city’s spatial order, constantly repeat and re-produce that spatial order, in a way ensuring its continuity. However, a pedestrian can also invent other possibilities. According to de Certeau, “the crossing, drifting away, or improvisation of walking privilege, transform or abandon spatial elements.”¹⁷ That is, pedestrians can, to a certain extent, elude the discipline of the city’s spatial order. Instead of repeating and re-producing the permitted possibilities, they can deviate, digress, drift away or depart from, contravene, disrupt, subvert or resist them. These acts, as he calls them, are pedestrian acts.

De Certeau’s point of departure is a Foucauldian understanding of the structures of power. If one admits that spatial practices secretly structure the determining conditions of social life, asks de Certeau, would they then qualify as an apparatus that produces a disciplinary space? For de Certeau, the implication is yes. In the rest of the article, he sets out to investigate the “multiform, resistance, tricky, and stubborn procedures that elude discipline *without being outside the field in which it is exercised*.”¹⁸ For de Certeau, this investigation concerns the domain of everyday practices, of lived space.¹⁹ Pedestrianism is one such everyday practice that opens up a range of democratic possibilities to disrupt the rational plan of the city. In other words, pedestrians may elude or subvert the possibilities shaped by the city’s disciplinary

¹⁶ De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 98.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 96; emphasis mine.

¹⁹ Here De Certeau borrows a term from Lefebvre’s triad: Spatial Practices; Representations of Space; and Representational Space (also known as, Lived Space); see Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (USA: Blackwell Publishing, 1991).

spatial order. That is, pedestrianism is not entirely outside the city's spatial order because it operates within it; yet it also creatively (and playfully) challenges, transforms and subverts that order. For de Certeau, walking "affirms, suspects, tries out, transgresses, and respects, etc. the trajectories it 'speaks'."²⁰ At this point, de Certeau establishes a structural similarity between "the pedestrian act" and "the speech act" by claiming that "The act of walking is to the urban system what the speech act is to the language."²¹ If, from the perspective of semiotics, *la langue* refers to the entire system of a language, *parole*, translated into English as the "speech act," refers to individual creative performances within the system, sometimes subverting, eluding or disrupting the system.²²

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

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

²¹ *Ibid*, p. 97. Also Henri Lefebvre uses semiotic references to explain the production and practices of space, see Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (USA: Blackwell Publishing, 1991).

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

From the perspective of both Lefebvre and de Certeau, it is possible to identify, for example, the following factors that act on pedestrianism. First, the velocities or types of mobilities in the city are “inscribed and prescribed” by the construction or non-construction of spaces, such as roads, paths, pavements, underpasses, bridges, zebra crossings, squares, and parks. In addition, walking trajectories are also strongly determined by mobility habits, the time of the day, safety discourse or the cleanliness of a neighbourhood.²³ They are also affected by one’s identity, such as age, gender, class, and race. Walking alone or walking accompanied may also determine itineraries while desires may lead one through certain pathways in a city: the museum you longed to visit, the cake you dreamed of tasting, the coffee you crave for or the dress you want to purchase in the sales can all shape the route of a *flânerie*. The body itself can govern the trajectory: following some alluring smell or escaping from a repellent smell; taking shelter from the sudden rain to avoid getting wet; getting attracted to a cosy café to heal your fatigue; longing to extend the visual spectacle by walking further and more slowly along a beautiful street; satisfying your hunger in a park; or looking for a suitable place to sleep... This perspective allows for an understanding of the forces that act on and shape the experience of every practitioner of the city. To sum up by going back to the double specificity of pedestrianism, pedestrianism, no matter how emancipated or boundless it may feel, is always caught up in certain constructions of dominant spatial (and body) politics. However, it is also an everyday act that opens up a range of possibilities to elude, subvert or disrupt the material, discursive, and imaginative constructions of dominant spatial politics.²⁴ Within the framework of this study, I use

²³ For example, Jennie Middleton’s research into the socialities of everyday urban walking explores several of these effects on the walking habits of a group of interviewees living in London. See Jennie Middleton, “The Socialities of Everyday Urban Walking and the ‘Right to the City’”, *Urban Studies* (2016), <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0042098016649325>.

²⁴ At this point, Lefebvre’s notion of *right to the city* can also be considered as a good example of multiple forms of resistance to the dominant politics of space. Is pedestrianism a statement of right to the city?

the term pedestrian acts in a strictly de Certeauan sense to refer to those creative, subversive and disruptive acts of walking that disrupt the city's dominant politics of space. I challenge overarching assumptions about the dominant politics of space by investigating in each chapter how it is constructed materially, discursively, and imaginatively. Therefore, in addition to the ways in which the pedestrian acts have been transposed into cinematic aesthetics, my research also focuses on the ways in which the dominant politics of space are articulated cinematographically.

The Methodological Trajectory

Even though cinematic images of walking are abundant in film history, especially in the city scenes, it has not been analysed as an aesthetic practice that has informed film theory and praxis since its earliest days. In my research into pedestrian acts in the history of cinema, I revisit a selection of canonical works to investigate the transposition of specific walking experiences and pedestrian acts into cinematic aesthetics. This was a conscious selection to draw attention to an under-examined dimension in film historiography, namely the influence of the changing aesthetic experience of pedestrianism with the rise of modernity on the aesthetics of the emergent filmic medium. Alongside canonical works, I also focus on a selection of relatively understudied films, filmmakers and theorists, which have been overlooked in canonical

Lefebvre warns us against the constant battle between the planners and practitioners of the city: policy-makers and ordinary citizens constantly act on, produce, and alter the urban space. Lefebvre warns us not to confuse the right to the city of policy-makers, scientific urban planners, and the bourgeoisie as self-acclaimed owners of the city. Through the example of public protests that disrupt the usual rhythm and movement of public spaces, such as “in front of the buildings,” he mentions the rights gained: “the rights of ages and sexes (the woman, the child, and the elderly), rights of conditions (the proletarian, the peasant), rights to training and education, to work, to culture, to rest, to health, to housing.” However, he criticises the “right to the nature,” which he calls a pseudo-right, for veiling the ravaging of the countryside by the city. To avoid such pseudo-rights, Lefebvre clearly emphasises that the working-class, as the true practitioners of the city, can become the agents of the right to the city – a “transformed and renewed right to urban life.” See Henri Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities*, trans. Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas (UK: Blackwell Publishing, 1996), pp. 147-159.

film historiography. For example, thanks primarily to research conducted in feminist media history, it is possible to explore the differences between the walking (and filmmaking) experiences of women and men in the early twentieth century.

Given this historical dimension, my study can be seen as a historical revisionist venture, in which I seek to re-interpret and re-explain certain moments in canonical and non-canonical film history through pedestrian acts. My position as a researcher in-between history and theory is informed mostly by recent scholarly practices of new film history and media archaeology, which are domains enriched to a certain extent by a poststructuralist critical perspective on history narratives and archive practices.²⁵

The in-between perspective that engages with both film history and critical theory was tackled by Jane M. Gaines, specifically in her two articles, “What Happened to the Philosophy of Film History?,” published in *Film History* in 2013, and “Film History and the Two Presents of Feminist Film Theory,” published in *Cinema Journal* in 2004. In these two articles, Gaines argues that the intellectual legacy of history as a discipline has in fact always been laden with a certain level of self-reflexivity or a critical outlook.²⁶ Quoting Annette Kuhn and Jacky Stacey, Gaines reminds us that the separation between history and theory is a false division, albeit one that persists in the intellectual legacy of the discipline.²⁷

In “Film History and the Two Presents of Feminist Film Theory,” Gaines questions the limits of revisionist film history, specifically those of feminist film scholarship, which investigates the eclipsed forms of female labour in the early decades

²⁵ Frank Kessler and Sabine Lenk address the perspectives offered by the new history of cinema, discussing their potentials and horizons within the historiographies of cinema. See “Quelles perspectives pour l’historiographie du cinéma?” in *At the Borders of (Film) History, Temporality, Archaeology, Theories* (Udine: Università degli Studi Udine, 2014), pp. 127-137.

²⁶ Gaines posits the ambiguity of *history/histoire* - “what happened” / “that which is said to have happened.” See Jane M. Gaines, “What Happened to the Philosophy of Film History?,” *Film History* 25: 1-2 (2013), pp. 70-80.

²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 71.

of the cinema. However, her criticism is not a straightforward disapproval but more of an invitation to ask more critical questions to enrich our understanding of both the past and the present. For example, new discoveries of women's activity in early cinema are never enough and they never speak for themselves. Gaines suggests instead that practicing film historians should also question the ways *they* revisit, represent, and rewrite these re-discovered facts.²⁸ Quoting Keith Tribe, Gaines suggests that "invoking women's history" is never complete unless "their actions can teach us something about our actions today."²⁹

Gaines's emphasis on how the rediscovered facts are represented, written or narrativised can also be read in connection with cultural analysis, which takes its primary point of departure as the present. From a cultural analysis perspective, film history can investigate how cultural objects related to the cinematic medium, such as films, stories, institutions and personae, function within their context and how these objects, as well as the knowledge constructed by today's renewed interest in those objects, function in today's society. From this methodological standpoint, excavating the history of cinema to counter and critique canonical historiography operates both retrospectively and prospectively, simultaneously shedding light on the past and the present, as argued by Thomas Elsaesser in his recent book *Film History as Media Archaeology*.³⁰

In this dissertation, my endeavour to re-visit the history of cinema from the perspective of the aesthetic interaction between the city and the filmic medium via the figure of the pedestrian is also informed by this methodological framework. Excavating

²⁸ Jane M. Gaines, "Film History and the Two Presents of Feminist Film Theory", *Cinema Journal* 44: 1 (Autumn 2004), pp. 113-119.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

³⁰ Thomas Elsaesser, *Film History as Media Archaeology: Tracking Digital Cinema* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), pp. 17-26.

cinematic pedestrianism in film history, enriched by the theory of aesthetics, can enhance our understanding, both retrospectively and prospectively, of the media produced by pedestrian acts that elude, subvert or counter the dominant politics of urban public space. Thus, one of the aims is to open up perspectives to analyse the interrelationship between current pedestrian experiences and new forms of media while demonstrating how this interrelationship has transformed the filmic medium.

Current visual media culture, which has great potential to film individualised experiences of mobility via mobile devices like smartphones and wearable cameras, and a broad platform to distribute them via sharing platforms like Instagram, snapchat and other short video-clip sharing media, is particularly suited to an analysis of the aesthetic interrelationship between walking and filming. Filming or photographing while walking has never been this easy, accessible, and shareable. This accessibility, unlike the abstraction of maps for instance, sometimes produces insightful media products reflecting the pedestrian experience in a city or neighbourhood from the perspective of relatively insecure city practitioners, such as women, whose experience of walking (especially after dark) is mostly interwoven with feelings of insecurity, danger and threat across a wide geographical range. For example, a new application recently developed by students from the University of Michigan was released, allowing users to request a friend or friends to virtually walk them home.³¹ This app is one example of how the mutually effective relationship between pedestrianism and the new media can be studied from a contemporary or prospective media perspective. Another example could be the participatory forms of visual media production and distribution,

³¹ This free app, named 'The Companion,' tracks the journey of the user via GPS. In the case of a disruption in the user's trajectory, such as straying off a planned route or starting to run, asks the user to respond in 15 seconds. If the user fails to respond in the given time, the friend receives an alert. The app is also equipped with an emergency button, an "I'm nervous button," that sends an alert to the virtual companion. See *Companion: A Mobile Personal Security App* < www.companionapp.io/> Last accessed October 1, 2017.

especially during public protests when the experience of a city is altered. The rise of citizen journalism may also be analysed from the perspective of the mutually beneficial aesthetic relationship between pedestrian acts and activist filmmaking.

From a retrospective approach, researching pedestrian acts in the history of cinema constructs an alternative history of visual media from the perspective of corporeal experiences regarding the new rhythms and spaces of the city brought about by industrial modernity. The ways in which the cinematic medium has evolved in conversation with alterations in the experience of urban space can shed light on a wider area of diachronical research into the reciprocal relationship between the history of the city and the history of cinema. While there has been plenty of research into the influence of modernity-specific experiences, such as modern forms of transportation (train, automobile, steamship, airplane, etc.), on perception, cognition, and aesthetics, the experience and effects of urban walking are relatively under-examined in media scholarship. Thomas Elsaesser, in his most recent book, *Film History as Media Archaeology*, quotes Erkki Huhtamo and Jussi Parrika's definition of media archaeology, and claims that "discontent with 'canonized' narratives of media culture and history"³² is a driving force to dig deeper into the unspoken stories. My research contributes to exploring such unspoken stories of pedestrian acts that have imbued the cinematic medium.

Cinematic Pedestrianism as an Aesthetic Practice

The methodological trajectory that I have described above, has gradually helped me unfold my initial research question and further specify the following sub-inquiries. How were everyday pedestrian acts articulated in film in response to the dominant spatial

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

order? Did new pedestrian experiences, which emerged with the changing socioeconomic landscape (for example the influx of women into the workforce), inspire new forms of cinematic articulation? How did these images of cinematic pedestrianism function within the larger sphere of cinema culture, including the film industry, presentation practices, and popular reception?

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

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

This conceptualisation can be linked, for example, to the women's suffrage movement, with a different history of struggle in each nation. In many European countries, women did not gain the right to vote until around the First World War. The right to vote, as a way of participating in government, was a shared value restricted to a community of white adult men. It is possible to recognise the distribution of sensible here in that

³³ Jacques Rancière, *The Politics of Aesthetics*, trans. Gabriel Rockhill (London: Continuum, 2004) p. 13; Jacques Rancière, *Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy*, trans. Julie Rose (London: University of Minneapolis Press, 1999), pp. 57-59.

³⁴ "Un partage du sensible fixe donc en même temps un commun partagé et des parts exclusives. Cette répartition des parts et des places se fonde sur un partage des espaces, des temps et des formes d'activité qui détermine la manière même dont un commun se prête à participation et dont les uns et les autres ont part à ce partage." Jacques Rancière, *Le partage du sensible: esthétique et politique*, (Paris: La Fabrique-éditions, 2000), p. 12; my translation.

³⁵ Ibid.

women's political voices were excluded, thereby silenced, by a system that determined who has a say or who doesn't have a say in the community of citizens. In opposition to this, women tried various ways to *speak out* and *make themselves heard*, campaigning for the vote for women on equal terms with men.³⁶ They took their campaign onto the streets. For example, in Edwardian Britain, they sold *Votes for Women* newspapers, marched and staged massive demonstrations. When Emily Davison stepped in front of the king's horse during the Epsom Derby race in 1913, her death was inscribed in memory as a strong political statement for the suffrage movement. Davison's action can also be seen as a disruption of the distribution of the sensible by walking into a space where it was forbidden to walk. The incident was reported by all Britain's major newspapers, captured by Pathé and circulated as a news reel around the world.³⁷ Recent research has shown that Davison was attempting to attach a purple band, a symbol for the Votes for Women movement, onto the king's horse when she was fatally trampled by the galloping animal.³⁸ Attaching a visual symbol of a well-deserved legal equality on a royal body (in this case the king's horse), which symbolises the maintenance of rule and order, would have made a strong statement for the suffrage movement by making visible what the lawmakers were ignoring, or trying to silence, all the while.

To borrow Rancière's expression, such a demonstration of right, or manifestation of "what is just" triggers a reconfiguring of the distribution of the sensible.³⁹ This happens on two levels. Firstly, the subjects that are not supposed to speak out speak out, thereby opening up a new area of possibilities where the

³⁶ June Purvis, "'DEEDS, NOT WORDS'" The Daily Lives of Militant Suffragettes in Edwardian Britain", *Women's Studies International Forum* 18:2 (1995), pp. 91-101.

³⁷ June Purvis, "Remembering Emily Wilding Davison (1872-1913)", *Women's History Review* 22:3 (2013), pp. 353-362.

³⁸ See Vanessa Thorpe, "Truth behind the Death of Suffragette Emily Davison is Finally Revealed" *The Guardian*, 26 May 2013, <<https://www.theguardian.com/society/2013/may/26/emily-davison-suffragette-death-derby-1913>> Last accessed September 30, 2017.

³⁹ Rancière, *Disagreement*, p. 55.

established distribution of the sensible (here, the right to vote on equal terms with men) is undermined. Secondly, others who hear the message can identify with those subjects and join the demonstrations, whereby a new community is formed based on a common value (here, the demand for the right to vote on equal terms with men). This creates a new political subject different from the one delineated by the dominant power structure.⁴⁰ Hence, a re-distribution of the sensible emerges.

The distribution of the sensible also determines, according to Rancière, those can share in what is common to the community “based on what they do and on the time and space in which this activity is performed.” Rancière explains, through an example from Plato, that “artisans cannot be put in charge of the shared or common elements of the community, because they *do not have time* to devote themselves to do anything other than their work.” In other words, “they cannot be *somewhere else* because the *work will not wait*.”⁴¹ This is observed, for instance, in the departmentalisation of work in industrial modernity. In a sense, modernity’s distribution of the sensible is the specialised division of labour.

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

⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 52-59.

⁴¹ Rancière, *The Politics of Aesthetics*, p. 12.

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

Rancière's conception of aesthetics allows us to approach Michel de Certeau's pedestrian acts as aesthetic practices that reveal or disrupt the distribution of the sensible. This is most obvious when, for example, in the mid-nineteenth century, women who idly walked on the streets were looked down on and pejoratively called "streetwalkers."⁴² Similarly, Matthew Beaumont describes how night-walking was a crime in medieval and early modern England.⁴³ The law later travelled to the United States, where night-walking continued to be a crime for many years. Although the law addressed both men and women going out after the curfew bell at 8 p.m., night-walking strongly connoted prostitution and was used in this sense in police records. Beaumont also finds evidence that the statute was used to "regulate the lives of the city's working inhabitants, especially its apprentices and labourers." Intended particularly to

⁴² Susan Buck-Morss, "The Flâneur, the Sandwichman and the Whore: The Politics of Loitering," *New German Critique* 39 (1986), pp. 99-140.

⁴³ Matthew Beaumont, *Nightwalking: A Nocturnal History of London* (London: Verso, 2016), p. 24.

circumscribe the movement of the unemployed poor, the legislation aimed to protect property (against robbery) while serving to “police itinerants and vagrants of all kinds.”⁴⁴ Beaumont concludes that, in practice, the curfew that forbade walking outside after 8 p.m. implemented a political economy. That is, it ensured the reproduction of the labour force, protected private property and controlled the itinerant unemployed poor. The law was not repealed until 1827 in England, although it had already been superseded by another law in the Vagrancy Act of 1824. This pre-emptive law “criminalised people who were itinerant and unemployed as ‘suspected persons’, on the grounds that they might at some point commit an offence.” Beaumont reports how this law was “aggressively revived” under Margaret Thatcher’s administration “in order to fully marginalise youths from black and other ethnic minorities.” It was eventually repealed in August 1981, “as a result of the race riots that took place in cities across Britain that summer.”⁴⁵ These examples demonstrate how the act of walking can be delimited by the dominant aesthetic order (the distribution of the sensible) of the city.

Following from this point, Rancière’s conception of aesthetics also allows us to approach the city as an aesthetic order and to explore how the sensible is distributed. This opens up several possibilities to enhance our understanding of the city’s aesthetic order across different spaces (synchronically) and times (diachronically).⁴⁶

Finally, Rancière’s conception of aesthetics allows us to consider filmmaking as an aesthetic practice. It is possible to observe the distribution of the sensible in filmmaking, the final aesthetic film product, and the exhibition *dispositif* (the film

⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 25.

⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 31.

⁴⁶ For example, it is possible to approach Gilles Deleuze’s “Postscript on the Societies of Control” as one such diachronical study, where the distribution of the sensible changes from the disciplinary societies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, analysed by Michel Foucault, to the societies of control, described by Deleuze.

theatre). Along these stages, a film may reinforce the distribution of the sensible or disrupt it by representing the non-representable.

The Itinerary, a Walk through the Chapters

Over the last decade, there has been growing scholarly interest in walking, as can be seen in an increasing number of conferences, publications and events dedicated to walking. The activities of the Walking Artists Network, which brings together artists with researchers and scholars from a wide range of disciplines, including pedagogy, sociology, urbanism and philosophy, have grown enormously since its foundation in 2007. The diversity of activities organised in connection with the network also attests to the interdisciplinarity of what can now be called the emergent field of walking studies. This scholarly and artistic interest has been accompanied by an increasing number of volumes in popular fiction, science and philosophy focusing on walking. Following Rebecca Solnit's bestselling volumes *Wanderlust: A History of Walking* and *A Field Guide to Getting Lost*, Geoff Nicholson's *The Lost Art of Walking: The History, Science, Philosophy, Literature, Theory and Practice of Pedestrianism*, Frédéric Gros's *A Philosophy of Walking*, Lauren Elkin's *Flâneuse: Women Walk the City in Paris, New York, Tokyo, Venice and London*, and Matthew Beaumont's *Nightwalking: A Nocturnal History of London* have had great success. Keith Tester's edited volume *The Flâneur*, Anke Gleber's *The Art of Taking a Walk: Flânerie, Literature, and Film in Weimar Culture*, Deborah L. Parsons's *Streetwalking in the Metropolis: Women, the City, and Modernity*, Aruna D'Souza and Tom McDonough's compilation of essays in *The Invisible Flâneuse: Gender, Public Space and Visual Culture in Nineteenth Century Paris* are some seminal scholarly publications produced by brilliant researchers with an academic interest in walking. These volumes have been very

inspiring companions throughout my journey into investigating cinematic pedestrian acts.

While this rapidly-growing walking scholarship addresses multiple aspects of urban pedestrianism, only a few studies have approached walking as an aesthetic practice that is socially, culturally and politically constructed. The examination of walking as an everyday act or its derivations, such as *flânerie*, the Situationist practice of *dérive*,⁴⁷ drifting, wandering, tramping, window-shopping, rambling, and roaming, requires an exploration of how these acts are socially and politically shaped. In this diachronical study, I explore cinematic pedestrian acts in a mainly western European context from the 1870s to 1970s, ranging from the emergence of industrial modernity to the burgeoning of liberation movements and the subsequent rise of globalised urbanism.

Chapter One analyses the philosophy of movement that informed the scientific studies of human locomotion in the nineteenth century before the rise of the Lumière *cinématographe*. In an era of widespread scientific interest in anatomy, physiognomy, and eugenics, Eadweard Muybridge's instantaneous photography and Étienne-Jules Marey's chronophotography offered two lines of approaches to the depiction and analysis of somatic movement. While Muybridge privileged certain instants in a continuous stride, Marey sought to uncover the changing rhythms and movements of individual bodies at any instant in various space-times (e.g. running up slopes, walking down slopes). Through a contrapuntal analysis of their studies of human locomotion, I try to establish a connection between Marey's conception of movement and his contemporary Henri Bergson's philosophy of movement. Through this analysis, I argue

⁴⁷ See Guy Debord, "Theory of the *Dérive*," trans. Ken Knabb, *Les Lèvres Nues* 9 (November 1956). Available on *Situationist International Online* < <http://www.cddc.vt.edu/sionline/si/theory.html> > Last accessed October 1, 2017.

that Marey's conception of movement was sometimes close to Bergson's philosophy in imagining ungraspable, un-representable ephemerality as the true state and being of movement. This chapter explores the aesthetics of ephemeral and unrepresentable movement in pre-cinematic images of walking.

Chapter Two, taking its departure from a conceptual affinity between the flâneur and the ungraspable movement explored in the previous chapter, investigates flânerie as a filmmaking practice undertaken by Lumière cinématographe operators. For Lumière, filming modern city life on the streets entailed the incorporation of walking (flânerie) as an analytical practice to read into the workings of public space in order to discover the public space's own rhythm and spatial implications. This analysis informed and shaped the cinematic aesthetics of Lumière. The proposition that Lumière operators' wanderings and observations of city life can be compared to flânerie was first spelled out by Livio Belloi in his 1995 article "Lumière and His View." Drawing on this argument, I investigate Lumière's cinematic aesthetics of pedestrianism through a close reading of over 400 films from the Lumière Catalogue, which have been digitised and made accessible online. Through a close qualitative analysis of selected films, I demonstrate how ambulant Lumière operators analysed the workings of public space and drew their cinematic aesthetics from the aesthetics of public space.

Women, however, did not enjoy the same freedom as men to lounge, stride or flâner in the city. In her seminal essay "The Invisible Flâneuse," Janet Wolff claims that flânerie was essentially male gendered at the turn of the twentieth century. Susan Buck-Morss traces how women in nineteenth-century Paris risked being labelled "streetwalkers" or "whores" if they wandered aimlessly in the public space. The politics that debased women sexually in public space functioned to deny women power over space. By the turn of the century, however, the ethics that prescribed women's

movement, visibility, and behaviour in public spaces became strongly challenged as women were increasingly integrated into the urban workforce. They not only became more visible in the public space on their way to and from work but also became more widely active in leisure, which included loitering, aimless wandering, and hanging out, in addition to cinema-going and shopping. This sociological phenomenon transformed both public space and the cinematic aesthetics that reflected those public spaces. Lois Weber's progressive film *Shoes* (1916) is a powerful discussion of underpaid female labour, the bourgeois ethics imposed on lower-class women and the ways in which their increasing visibility in the public space challenged those ethics. In Chapter Three, I analyse the pedestrian acts of this film's main protagonist, Eva – a young working-class woman who has to work to support her family. In parallel to Eva's pedestrian acts, I also discuss Lois Weber's activist filmmaking as an aesthetic practice that ruptures the distribution of the sensible by questioning middle-class ethics, consumerism, class struggle and power balances in the family.

In Chapter Four, retaining my interest in the pedestrian acts of the working class in the urban public space, I focus on the Soviet avant-garde filmmaker Dziga Vertov's *Man with a Movie Camera* (*Человек с киноаппаратом*, 1929). In a similar fashion to Lumière's *flânerie*, in Vertov's film theory, walking primarily has an analytical function to observe the everyday life in its uninterrupted flow and to film life as it is. In contrast to Lumière, however, such observations formed the basis for Vertov's revelationist cinema, which aimed to render visible the socio-political truth that underlay Soviet urban everyday life. I specifically analyse a particular sequence towards the end of the film, in which a camera mounted on a tripod walks into the frame – just like a pedestrian. This fantasy unification resolves the duality, which I explain in Chapter Two, between the Taylorist conception of the human body as a machine and

its counterpart the flâneur as an aimless wanderer. In the specific sequence that I analyse, the unification of man and machine blends the machine-like quality of vision (from the camera) with the anthropomorphic quality of walking (from the operator). It is through such an ambulant obtaining of images from everyday life that the true workings of Soviet society at large could be revealed to audiences.

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

Displacement also finds strong political expression around the insurgent social movements in Paris leading to May '68. Focusing on this last historical moment, I investigate how walking, wandering, marching or claiming social space changed meanings on the screen in the French New Wave cinema. Agnès Varda's filmography provides a powerful object of analysis due to its diversity of genres, time span, and self-reflexive style, which allows her to comment on both social and cultural changes and filmmaking. Inspired by Patricia Pisters's formulation of Deleuze's aesthetics of

cinema⁴⁸ and Rosi Braidotti's formulation of nomadology,⁴⁹ in Chapter Six, I analyse the images of walking in several Agnès Varda's films: *Cléo de 5 à 7* (1962), *Sans Toit Ni Loi* (1985), and *Les Plages d'Agnès* (2008). The activity of walking (as urban flânerie, circular travelling or walking backwards) is central to these films, and can be seen as a corporeal practice that not only interweaves striated and smooth spaces, to borrow the concepts of Deleuze and Guattari, but also offers a gender-sensitive, political contemplation of the forces of striation and smoothing as well as a re-invention of space. The women in movement in Varda's films embody a transgression of stratified territories, such as the image-oriented society of the spectacle in *Cléo*, myths of adolescence and settled living in *Sans Toit Ni Loi* or the boundaries of aging in *Les Plages d'Agnès*. These women on the move not only transform urban space but also the urban politics of subjectivity.

Before you set foot on this journey through the following chapters, I would like to highlight once again the importance of legwork – posited by Deleuze and Guattari as the only tool to explore a smooth space, a space that is beyond the reach of the stratifying forces of the dominant politics.⁵⁰ The cinematic pedestrian acts that I analyse in these chapters will hopefully trigger an exploration of one's own everyday pedestrian acts that elude, subvert or contravene the dominant politics of space, and an imagination of the media aesthetics that they could inspire.

⁴⁸ Patricia Pisters, *The Matrix of Visual Culture: Working with Deleuze in Film Theory* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003).

⁴⁹ Rosi Braidotti, *Nomadic Subjects: Embodiment and Sexual Difference in Contemporary Feminist Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994).

⁵⁰ Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Capitalism and Schizophrenia: A Thousand Plateaus*, trans. Brian Massumi (London: Continuum, 2004), p. 409.