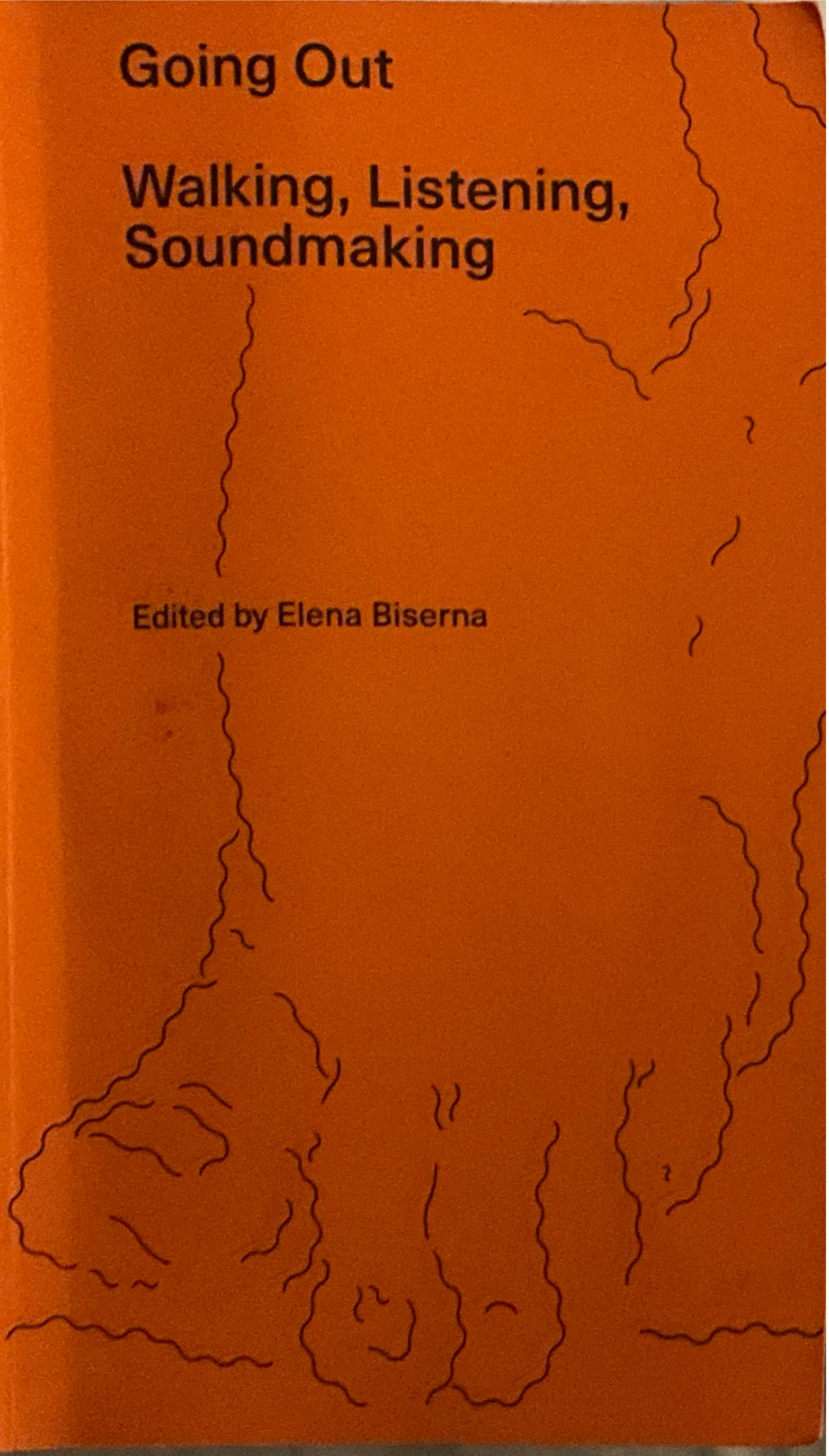
Going Out

Walking, Listening, Soundmaking

Edited by Elena Biserna



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Foreword

Soundwalking, as an artistic practice, exists in a large variety of formats, draws on many different strategies, and is rooted in various desires. It is still a young artistic format, without a clear definition or a shared canon. Though its approaches are manifold, soundwalking is very often rooted in the wish of artists to connect to the natural, political, or social environments which surround them. Historically, soundwalking has allowed artists and musicians to speak about urban and modernist experience. Fuelled by the technological possibilities of listening through sound recording, it has inspired artists to question traditional ways of addressing their publics. Though itinerant performance has long been a site of reflection on the stakes of artistic creation within societal contexts, there is surprisingly little systematic literature about the art form.

This publication addresses this lack by bringing together a theoretical and historical overview of soundwalking in dialogue with a number of exemplary projects and writings. The first spark for this publication began when the independent curator and writer Elena Biserna undertook a residency at Q-O2 workspace in September 2020, developing a research project around scores for walking. During our exchanges, Elena's extensive

knowledge about soundwalking more generally inspired us to together dig further into this rich and variegated practice.

Going Out deliberately draws from a broad perspective on mobile artistic work with a focus on sound, with the intention to nourish the research rather than to define its boundaries too quickly. The book is structured in two parts. In the first Elena gives a comprehensive in-depth overview of the historical and theoretical framework for soundwalking and other itinerant performance formats. The second part consists of a collection of contributions by artists who are involved in soundwalking practices from different eras and geographical contexts. Obviously, the anthology makes no claim for completeness. It mixes artistic projects, republished theoretical writings, facsimiles, interviews, and several newly commissioned texts in an attempt to suggest something of the subject's breadth. By the nature of the format, many soundwalks address the notion of public space and public address, and raise complex issues of how to document and communicate about an essentially ephemeral experience. It is no surprise, then, that the range of strategies reflected here echoes the incredible variation of how public space is conceived and experienced in different parts of the world, in different historical moments, and by different kinds of people.

If so many artists feel the urgency to step out from artistic institutions, as organisers we see it as our task to follow them into the streets. The tension between leaving institutional structures and seeking institutional support is a key concern for many artists working in this format. The anthology takes a wide-angle look at some of the practitioners that make and have made soundwalking what it is, and combines it with the thorough theoretical reflection on soundwalking that Elena has made her focus for more than a decade. She has a unique position in this field, and given the rising attention to this subject and her research, is the ideal researcher to author this publication. This book is intended not as a way of fixing or defining the history and possibilities of soundwalking, but as a source of inspiration and encouragement for all walkers, listeners, and artists.

—Julia Eckhardt, Henry Andersen, and Caroline Profanter

The seemingly trivial and everyday practice of walking never ceases to receive attention in many different disciplinary fields. From the social sciences to philosophy, from literature to anthropology, from cultural studies to urban planning, researchers do not seem to tire of exploring and investigating walking from different approaches and perspectives. In the visual arts, in particular, walking has now both an established tradition and a wide literature.[1] Since the beginning of the twentieth century, walking has emerged as a critical way to explore and intervene on site and in public space, while crossing disciplinary boundaries and redefining their fields. Today, it continues to be a primary concern or an essential methodology for many artists from many different backgrounds.

When, years ago, I started to reflect on walking in music and the sound arts, I was particularly interested in its role as a mediator between subjects and milieus. Intuitively, I saw walking as a way to engage with both publics and issues outside of the field of art, as a tool to highlight the myriad entanglements between subjects and the environment, as a method for acquiring an embodied spatial knowledge. I had the impression that walking practices had had an important role in the history of music, as in the history of visual art, and had introduced important openings, shifts, and reconfigurations of notions of public, performer, composer, artist—and of music itself. Over the years, I started researching and realised that, in my

field, most existing contributions were about a specific form of walking and listening: soundwalks and audio walks; that is to say, experiences (often participatory) of exploration of space through listening to environmental or prerecorded sound.[2] Yet, I knew there was more to it than this, in terms both of genealogies and of forms, contexts, approaches. Delving deeper into these practices led me to change my initial framework, realising that thinking about walking implied also an expansion beyond my disciplinary field—or an *undisciplinising* of my field—and an exploration of performance, dance, theatre, politics, literature, philosophy, urban studies, anthropology, geography, and the social sciences. The relationships between walking, listening, and soundmaking open other histories and manifold paths leading to an array of interdisciplinary artistic practices that far exceed simple definitions and cross pre-established fields.

This book emerges from these reflections and aims to explore these relationships in the arts by raising a range of questions: what is the significance of walking or wandering in expanded sound practices? How do the many discourses associated with walking and its figures—the *flâneur*, the psychogeographer, the rhythmanalyst, the tourist, the demonstrator, the *traceur*, the busker, the cartographer, etc.—resonate in sound and listening? How are they embodied in sound practices? What are the main strategies and tactics used by artists, and how do they

redefine the relationship between subjects and the ecologies they are part of? How do artists interrogate mobile audio technologies and the augmented, hybrid spaces through which we navigate? How do walking and listening participate or create interruptions in the social ordering and disordering of public space and time?

Rather than providing comprehensive or univocal replies, this book addresses these questions through a plurality of voices. In order to follow these paths, retrace interdisciplinary genealogies, account for the multiplicity of contemporary practices, and deal with projects that are often absolutely experiential, contextual, and temporary, the book becomes a crossroads for different (and sometimes even contradictory) positions—in terms of contents, disciplines, perspectives, historical moments, and styles. It is therefore divided into two parts: an introductory essay written by me, conceived as an itinerary into this field, and an anthology of contributions, both previously published and newly written, from artists and theorists from different branches of knowledge.

The introductory essay seeks to reconnect threads between the fragments of several histories and disciplines, to draw the outlines of intersecting fields of action, and to provide frames by which to observe the complexity of contemporary practices. By considering both walking and listening as relational practices—

as embodied and situated acts of spatial perception, interaction, and production—I observe their presence and uses in the arts to question their engagement with sites and the social sphere. Walking is not a traditional artistic technique. For most, it is an action that does not require any virtuosity. Its centrality in the arts is deeply linked to the fact that it generates a multiplicity of relationships, at once phenomenological, perceptive, physical, cultural, social, and political. On the one hand, walking becomes a sort of paradigm of a broader interest in ordinary action that has characterised certain trends in dance and the visual arts since the 1960s. On the other hand, it leads artists—materially and symbolically—to abandon the contexts of production and presentation of art and to invest instead in everyday reality and spaces. Therefore, as an aesthetic gesture, walking introduces expansions of the very notion of art. It is about expanding the practices of art to include non-artistic—or even anti-artistic—actions. It is about downsizing or rejecting the priority of the form to focus on the situation and the process of actualisation. It is about abandoning the institutions and spaces of art to reclaim the public sphere as a potential site of intervention.

It is at these crossroads that walking first appeared in music. Especially in the 1960s, for composers and musicians interested in expanding their field, walking became a tool for questioning its limits, its institutions, and,

ultimately, its autonomy. At the same time, in this phase of re-articulation of media specificities, artists coming from different backgrounds started to dive into the polyphony of the world and to activate it with ambulatory performances, actions, scores, and listening walks. Just a few years later, the World Soundscape Project introduced and defined soundwalking practices. The decades that followed saw an increasing interest in both ambulatory listening experiences and performances, while the mass availability of mobile listening devices such as the Walkman and, later, the MP3 player again prompted another wave of artists to create work at the interface of fixed media and the unstable environment of the street. Today, artists coming from the fields of music, dance, theatre, and the visual arts continue to propose ambulatory performances, interventions, events, scores, and soundwalks, through a variety of strategies, approaches, and *dispositifs*. My text tries to retrace these stories without aiming at exhaustiveness or a systemic study. Rather, it focuses on decisive experiences or moments and the transversal relationships between the arts in order to observe their convergence and encroachments.

The first chapter explores the relationality of walking and listening by following some vectors of thought that recur in many different disciplinary fields. From the recognition of walking and listening as a way of perceiving, knowing, and participating in the environment

from the "inside", in affective, embodied, multimodalal ways, to their potential to expose us to the world and to others, highlighting our interdependence and reciprocity. From the possibility of rewriting the imposed spatial order and the social organisation of time through our "ambulatory rhetoric"[3] and the "disordering"[4] of collective rhythms, to the interpretation of the street as "democracy's greatest arena",[5] where forms of co-presence and simultaneity—of coexistence—may exist. This chapter also tries to problematise the neutrality and universality of walking and listening to recognise different "situated" lived realities related both to the politics of bodies and geopolitical contexts. Thus, it addresses systemic oppressions co-produced with space and spatial practices, generating regimes of hyper-visibility or invisibility (of amplification or silencing). All of these lines of reflection resonate in the different sections of the second part, but also in the following chapters.

The second chapter enters the field of art to follow walking, listening, and soundmaking in the 1960s—from Fluxus performances and scores to the Scratch Orchestra's "environmental events", from certain projects of visual artists such as Adrian Piper and Dennis Oppenheim, to the first listening walks of Philip Corner and Max Neuhaus. In these practices, walking is firstly a tool to go outside, to get out of the concert hall, to redefine reception methods, to subvert the economy and the relations of

music production, to welcome the contingency of everyday life, to break the limits between art and non-art and blend them in the social sphere. Listening walks, in particular, propose a reversal of the very notion of composition by transforming the work into a frame for experiencing environments through walking and listening—a reversal that returns in many ambulatory projects in the following decades.

This reversal is one of the cornerstones of the practices that, starting with the World Soundscape Project (WSP), articulate walking, listening, and recording, establishing a relationship to the environment precisely in the slippages between "on-site" and "off-site" experience. The third chapter crosses this constellation, starting from the definitions of soundwalking of Hildegard Westerkamp, Murray Schafer, and Barry Truax and the first map-scores for soundwalks published by the group in *European Sound Diary*.[6] It follows the dialogue between recording and the mobile experience of listening in situ, focusing on the work of Westerkamp and Andra McCartney, who deconstruct the documentary, all-encompassing, and neutral character of recording to emphasise its subjectivity, situatedness, and the recordist's positioning. The chapter also explores experiments—both pre- and postdating the work of the WSP—in multiple disciplinary fields by outlining the many dialectical positions between listening, walking, and field recording as well as the different approaches to listening that characterise

the projects of Moniek Darge and Godfried-Willem Raes, Walter De Maria, Marina Abramović, Luc Ferrari, iLAND, Gianni Broi, Myriam Lefkowitz, and Ultra-red, as well as opening up to other artists included in this anthology such as Amanda Gutiérrez, Budhaditya Chattopadhyay, Jacek Smolicki, Akio Suzuki, and Vivian Caccurri.

Through multiple ways of listening, soundwalks point to our interconnection with the physical, acoustic, perceptual, cultural, and social milieu of which we are a part, and always imply a relational way of engaging with them. Since the early examples of the WSP, this auditory exploration of environments was equally a practice of ambulatory interaction with their soundscapes or acoustic features. Many artists reinforce, critically revise, or expand this interaction to other fields through mobile sound actions and performances. The fourth chapter addresses ambulatory projects establishing processes of interaction or occupation of space through soundmaking or silence-making. It follows these acts as ways of exploring personal or collective presence as well as platforms for agency or transformation; as means of orientation feeding a sense of place, as well as dissonances and interferences disrupting the sonic order and the rhythms of social life. Thus, it introduces projects grounded in acoustic interactions and physical dialogues with sites (such as the instrumental pieces of Michael Parsons and Jérôme Joy, or the works

based on voice or footsteps by Viv Corringham, Pamela Z, katrinem, and Davide Tidoni), sometimes directly evoking echolocation and its potential for orientation (Kathy Kennedy, Aisen Caro Chacin, Carmen Papalia, and Félix Blume). Then, it turns to some of the artists who have revisited and reappropriated social practices of mobile music making—marching bands, street players, processions or marches—echoing history, infiltrating everyday life, connecting to traditions, exploring specific cultural figures, or sometimes proposing a sharp critique of their norms and ideologies (Lawrence Abu Hamdan, Fernando Godoy, Miguel Isaza and David Vélez, Luca Vitone, Brandon LaBelle, Oussama Tabti, Tao G. Vrhovec Sambolec, Benoît Maubrey, and Lorena Mal). Next, it follows the steps of some projects in which ambulatory soundmaking becomes a way to interfere with acoustic territories and the power relationships that they reproduce and co-produce (David Hammons, Francis Alÿs, Younes Baba-Ali, LIGNA, and Anna Raimondo) or to claim a collective presence using the political demonstration as a form (David Helbich, Yeb Wiersma, and Paul Bailey) or to suppress art in political action by joining the tradition of sound and vocal tactics of disobedience and dissent that occupy not only public space but also its audible spectrum (Hiwa K, Elana Mann, and Colectiva 22bits). A spectrum that can also be emptied, instilling a silence that becomes an expression of rejection and interruption of

the rhythms of social production and reproduction (Francis Alÿs and Rafael Ortega) or public staging of the violent expropriation of the word in colonial history (Jimmie Durham, Maria Thereza Alves, and Alan Michelson).

This expropriation—albeit in different contexts and for different subjects—is also at the heart of the three projects of the Polish artist Krzysztof Wodiczko which frame the final chapter of the introduction. Starting from his tools for selective listening in the context of Soviet state propaganda, the chapter crosses some of the countless walking practices in contemporary "hybrid spaces"; spaces that are at once mobile, connected, and social, and where the boundaries between physical and digital, between public and private, between local and global are increasingly blurred.[7] It thus explores the work of several artists for whom mobile technologies become platforms to create generative opportunities for immersion, interpretation, imagination, interaction, or critical interruption of spatial dynamics. For some artists (Cilia Erens, David Helbich, Peter Ablinger, Laurent Cassière, Dawn Scarfe, Lauren Tortil, Akitsugu Maebayashi, Stéphane Marin, and Tim Shaw), it is a matter of revealing sounds and environments, emphasising the performativity of listening or reconfiguring our ordinary perceptive modalities. For others, the stratification of space–time dimensions and the potential for constant oscillation between private listening

and public space are used as expanded scores that aim to transform listeners into performers (Willem de Ridder, LIGNA, and many theatre companies) or to sink into a sort of "physical cinema"[8] through site-specific narratives and immersive soundtracks that suspend the participant between real and imaginary, between past and present (Janet Cardiff and George Bures Miller, Teri Rueb, Justin Bennett, and Graeme Miller). Next, the chapter explores how mobility itself can generate the listening experience through the listener's actions and interplay with the environment in works by Christina Kubisch, Edwin van der Heide, Jessica Thompson, Lalya Gaye, and Yolande Harris that turn space into a field for improvisation. If some of these projects adopt a critical stance towards the notions of public space and publics, others target technologies themselves, infiltrate their functioning, overturn their economy. So, the last chapter finally turns to some artists who problematise and reveal the continuous surveillance enacted in hybrid and augmented spaces (Annina Rüst and Jasmine Guffond), the ubiquity of communication networks (Sybille Deligne and David Zagari), the privatisation and branding of auditory space (Matthieu Saladin), or who use them as counter-investigation tools to map the capillarity of offshore finance in public space (RYBN). This partial overview traces only some of the paths travelled to experiment with, appropriate, or subvert contemporary hybrid spaces and opens up to other possibilities of hijacking the daily

uses and forms of social interaction, control, and marginalisation that are reflected and reproduced within them.

Following the paths of walking, listening, and soundmaking inevitably leads us to confront a panorama of research that interprets space and spatial practices as a terrain of intervention through a radical porosity in the everyday sphere and the experiential and contextual character of the aesthetic experience. An expansion of the field that directly summons the (physical, cultural, social, political) production of space itself. The second part of the book explores the ways and fields in which this happens by exploding my narrative through an anthology of contributions by artists and interdisciplinary thinkers. This part aims to open up to other perspectives, to highlight what is at stake in these practices and how walking, listening, and soundmaking can nourish reflections and actions on important issues in contemporary spatial thinking and practice. It is therefore structured in six sections, imagined as resonant chambers for a plurality of approaches and forms: essays, documents, manifestos, interviews, archival documents, scores, narratives, sets of instructions, conversations, drawings, transcripts, fictions, and even a call for papers. Some of these contributions have been selected from their original sources and republished, others have been newly written for this book. The majority of these texts engage with the topic

directly, but some have been included to diffract or enlarge the focus of the book: to suggest approaches that might inform a critical thinking around walking, listening, and soundmaking. The focus is on contemporary practice but this anthology also includes documentation on some of the pivotal antecedents in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. It features some of the key figures in this field, while giving space to younger or emerging artists as well as to less well-known historical projects. It centres on art practices, while including reflections on specific cultural figures—such as the demonstration or the marching band—or examples from other fields—such as oral history, anthropology, or politics. Overall, this anthology aims at promoting a circulation between theories and practices (or a displacement of their limits), considering both as processes of research and knowledge production as well as of action and transformation of the world. Therefore, each of the six sections brings together a selection of writings and projects around some notions and approaches that emerge as central. However, the intention is not to create "categories". Quite the opposite is true: the themes of the six sections are intentional in their intricacies and overlaps. Most of the contributions could be found in different sections and activate transversal relationships with the other projects (and the many other artists, authors, and perspectives for which we have not been able to find space in this book).

"The Everyday" follows the opening, the relationship, the integration, the revelation of the everyday in the projects of some historical and contemporary artists: Max Neuhaus, Willem de Ridder, Collective Actions Group, David Helbich, Janet Cardiff and George Bures Miller, Jacek Smolicki, Carolyn Chen, and Tao G. Vrhovec Sambolec. The result of profoundly different periods and geopolitical contexts, these projects necessarily show distinct motivations and postures but also testify to a continuity of interest in the potential of the banal, the ordinary, the trivial as the context of a (transformative) action.

"Environments and Ecologies" analyses some approaches to the relationship to places and the profound transformations that have characterised the very way of thinking, representing, and interpreting them by interweaving theoretical texts, manifestos, conversations, and artistic projects by Hildegard Westerkamp, Albert Mayr, Tim Ingold, katrinem, Akio Suzuki, Beatrice Ferrara and Leandro Pisano, Catherine Clover, and AM Kanngieser. Thus, this section traces some of the shifts in paradigms that harbour critical reflections on environmental and social justice, deconstructs the ideology of man as master of the world, claims the agency of non-human subjects to try to compose with them and re-imagine our ways of living together.

"Spaces for Publicness" introduces some ways of thinking and inhabiting public space, building publics or counter-publics. Starting

with a manifesto by Gascia Ouzounian and Sarah Lappin which invites listening to imagine the cities of tomorrow, the section juxtaposes artistic projects and reflections on some ambulatory sound figures to investigate the relationships between physical and discursive spaces; between the built environment and arenas of social interaction. Contributions by Ultra-red, Vivian Caccurri, Brian Hioe, Brandon LaBelle, Stefan Szczelkun, LIGNA, Edyta Jarząb, and Oupa Sibeko propose different approaches to rhythmicity and arrhythmia, order and disorder, noise and silence and the ways in which they support the formation of different publics.

The fourth section, "Walking Bodies", aims to put in dialogue (and to promote) an array of "citizenship practices"[9] and "world-making"[10] strategies that enlarge the right to the public sphere and envision other spaces in a context characterised by deep asymmetries in spatial power relations. Based on "situated",[11] embodied knowledges and experiences, the texts and projects collected here propose imaginings and platforms that challenge the co-production of gender, race, sexuality, and disability in public space and even in listening practices. Starting in the 1960s with Adrian Piper and her experiences as a "Colored Woman Artist" in the public sphere, the section continues with Andra McCartney and Sandra Gabriele, Amanda Gutiérrez, Jennifer Lynn Stoever, Stephanie Springgay, Carmen Papalia, Christine Sun Kim, and Charles Eppley.

The potential of partial perspectives and experiences returns in the final two sections. "Memory and (Counter-)Narratives" presents texts and projects revising official, institutional, or normative histories attached to places and spatial knowledge to uncover personal and erased histories or to speculate on different possible futures. This can happen through personal reflections and associations mediated by listening to different places (Budhaditya Chattopadhyay), through the voice and stories of the inhabitants (Viv Corringham and BNA/BBOT) or of specific communities (Ella Parry-Davies), but also by building a museum of imaginings and ghostly voices of terrorism in an airport (Stéphane Degoutin and Gwenola Wagon) or destabilising the linear understanding of time to generate a dialectical relationship between past and future (Mendi + Keith Obadike and Eleni Ikoniadou).

"Mapping and (Counter-)Cartographies" turns to representations of space, their ideology, aims, and politics by gathering several projects that use listening and walking to map places or to build collective, personal, or critical cartographies. The projects and words of Justin Bennett, Christina Kubisch, RYBN, Alisa Oleva, Anna Raimondo, Naomi Waltham-Smith, and Libby Harward accompany us through different ways of deconstructing abstract and universalising geographies proposing personal representations, practices of investigation and exploration or feminist and

decolonial counter-maps that contest the power relations underlying the cartographic *dispositif*.

Starting from Part I, which is also a sort of narrative "map" of the chapters and sections, this book invites you to take a journey. It urges you to cross trajectories and drifts, to find your own ways to walk among the pages, building personal paths, following specific threads, artists, trends, or themes. Connections and bridges from the first to the second part are suggested as annotations to guide your movements so that you can take a linear itinerary, follow the directions, or just drift. As the historian and activist Rebecca Solnit writes,

> the subject of walking [...] can be invested with wildly different cultural meanings, from the erotic to the spiritual, from the revolutionary to the artistic. [...] Walking has created paths, roads, trade roots; generated local or cross-continental senses of place; shaped cities, parks; generated maps, guidebooks, gear, and, further afield, a vast library of walking stories and poems, of pilgrimages, mountaineering expeditions, meanders, and summer picnics. The landscapes, urban and rural, gestate the stories, and the stories bring us back to the sites of this history.[12]

1.

Walking and Listening as Relationship

From Walter Benjamin's writings about the *flâneur* to the most recent literature, walking has become a true topos of contemporary thought and almost a synecdoche for the dynamics of knowledge, habitation, and appropriation of space. While in Romantic culture walking is described as a privileged way of enjoying an aesthetic experience of "nature", at the end of the nineteenth century it is the urban space that becomes of primary concern from a cultural, social, and political point of view, as well as in aesthetic research. As Nicolas Whybrow observes, "the archetypal figure of the urban walker or 'wanderer' continues to have currency in the twenty first century as the embodiment of the city's transiency".[13] Walking seems to have become a metaphor for the very becoming of lands and the urban. Today, however, the city is a dispersed, protean, decentralised phenomenon, circumscribing "nature" with respect to "culture" becomes increasingly complex[14] and "the centre–periphery and external–internal dialectics give way to polycentric and non-hierarchical systems, nets or rhizomes".[15] Walking traverses and articulates all these discursive and physical spaces, from those that are anthropised to those considered wild, from the public to the more contested.[16] At the same time, the heterogeneity of contributions and practices reveals "the extraordinary variety of ways of existence of walking"[17] which are embodied in heterogeneous figures, from the Parisian *flâneur* to the tourist of historic centres, from the shopper to the protester, from the pilgrim to the jogger, from the cartographer to the excursionist—each reappropriated in various ways in the arts. Walking is a complex and multiple practice, closely linked to specific (geopolitical) contexts and to the phenomenology and politics of the body in space.

Despite the diversity of perspectives, approaches, landscapes, and disciplines, theoretical hypotheses and artistic practices seem to find a point of convergence in interpreting walking as a relational platform. Walking always involves establishing relationships. The sociologist Rachel Thomas defines it as an "*activity that anchors the pedestrian to the city*"[18] (and, I add, to the milieus and other human and non-human beings): "Even in its most ordinary function, walking allows the pedestrian

to *be* urban and to *make* the city."[19] Yet, this relation between body and (urban) space is not univocal but rather reciprocal. As the feminist theorist Elizabeth Grosz writes in her essay "Bodies-Cities", "the city is made and made over into the simulacrum of the body, and the body, in its turn, is transformed, 'citified', urbanised as a distinctively metropolitan body".[20] Bodies and space mutually constitute each other, are in constant negotiation, "co-build" themselves; the body on the move experiences an environment that is itself always moving. Thus the micro-practice of walking emerges from time to time as a way of observing, understanding, and reading space, as an embodied and contingent relationship with the world; it becomes a tactic of rewriting (of reappropriating, redefining) the urban system, or is read as the material basis for (social, democratic, political) participation in the public sphere, an act of resistance to contemporary acceleration and the promotion of a lived time in opposition to the linearity of chronological time.

If we consider walking as a relational practice, the same can be said of listening. The listening and reverberating subject is always part of a vibrational process with the environment and other subjects. Sound is pervasive, it spreads out in space connecting all bodies that it encounters. It is not an object nor an attribute of an object but is generated by the reciprocal relationships between contexts, objects, and subjects.[21] As the anthropologist Tim Ingold reminds us, sound "is a phenomenon of *experience*—that is, of our immersion in, and commingling with, the world in which we find ourselves".[22] Thus, auditory knowledge is always embodied and always implies interdependence, a myriad of entanglements, with the different ecologies we are part of. It is "knowing in-action: a knowing with and knowing through the audible", as the anthropologist Steven Feld has written.[23] Moreover, it always contains its agency: neither listening nor sounding are modes of passive reception, but rather active ways of reading and rewriting reality, of acting and being acted upon.

An Embodied Situated Spatial Knowledge

Walking is first of all viewed as a mobile, situated, and embodied methodology to explore and perceive spaces. In other words, it has been interpreted primarily as a "form of engagement integral to our perception of an environment".[24] This interpretation is linked to a whole tradition of thought that understands walking as a means to perceive, read, and comprehend the environment.

This is the "ambulatory knowing—or knowledgeable ambulating"[25] described by Ingold, who explains how our perception of the environment as a whole is forged "in the passage from place to place, and in histories of movement and changing horizons along the way". In other words, how "*we know as we go*, from place to place".[26]

The vision of walking as a way to perceive and know the environment from within are rooted in the late nineteenth century. The *flâneur* represents the archetypal figure of this possibility of exploration and observation of urban space from below. As the historian Mary Gluck states, the true prerogative of this (White, male) literary figure, both a symbol and a symptom of the emergence of the modern city, is his "radical sensibility and innovative visual practices, which made him distinct from all other social types of his age. The *flâneur*'s unique achievement was to pioneer a new way of seeing, experiencing, and representing urban modernity that privileged the everyday perspective of the man of the street over the bird's-eye view of the rationalist or the moralist".[27] It is precisely this ability to observe the new metropolitan landscape from an internal perspective, by walking through it, that characterises the act of *flânerie*.[28] The *flâneur*'s mobile gaze bonds the links between the heterogeneous elements that make up the urban fabric, tracing its fragmentary nature to continuity. As the sociologist and architectural theorist Lucius Burckhardt writes, "He who walks has the sensation of being able to possess the characteristics of an environment. He mentally integrates isolated fragments of perception and is able to weld them into an overall impression."[29]

This activity is often described as "revealing", opening up the possibility to perceive and experience the world outside of any banalising frame, to capture the aesthetic dimension of the everyday. This interest in the everyday—the subject of the first section of this anthology [see "The Everyday", p. 149] traverses twentieth-century arts and permeates walking practices. In other words, walking seems to allow one "to remake the world by displacing it from its repeated faces, [to] take it back by producing a real conversion of the gaze of the pedestrians available to the space and time they traverse", as the art historian Thierry Davila states.[30]

Nevertheless, much of the literature on *flânerie* remains focused on the gaze, on a view of environments as landscapes and on a sense of detachment and control over the environment. In contrast, many contributions insist on the embodied nature of walking.[31] In his book *The Practice of Everyday Life*, for example,

Michel de Certeau starts the chapter devoted to walking in the city by comparing the view of Manhattan from the World Trade Center with the experience of the passers-by. Immediately, he underscores the role of the body by emphasising its exclusion in the view "from above":

> To be lifted to the summit of the World Trade Center is to be lifted out of the city's grasp. One's body is no longer clasped by the streets that turn and return it according to an anonymous law; nor is it possessed whether as player or played, by the rumble of so many differences and by the nervousness of New York traffic [...] His elevation transfigures him into a voyeur.[32]

For de Certeau, the panoramic experience is characterised by voyeurism, by the "exaltation of a scopic and gnostic drive".[33] It is the expression of a desire for control which makes urban complexity understandable, but without considering its practices; a way of knowing which presupposes a subject-spectator remote from reality (de Certeau speaks of "a solar Eye, looking down like a God")[34] who perceives the city as a homogeneous and anonymous totality. For him, this experience is opposed to the ways of knowing space that are disclosed by walking, by dwelling and practising it "down below".

This disembodied, universal, objective, and objectifying "solar Eye" has often been compared to the modern cartographic gaze which represents space as a homogeneous, measurable, and fixed entity according to a two-dimensional Cartesian system. This image is echoed, among others, by Tim Ingold, who speaks of "a point of view above and beyond the world".[35] For Ingold, modern Western cartography "transforms everywhere-as-region, the world as experienced by a mobile inhabitant, into everywhere-as-space, the imaginary 'bird's-eye view' of a transcendent consciousness".[36] Through this abstraction—we might say "fiction"—spatial experience is forgotten and the world is reduced to a fixed representation, which does not consider the practices of human and non-human beings nor the continuous transformations of this very world.

Other writings focus on immersion and sensorial contact: here the *flâneur*'s internal, "bottom-up" perspective becomes multimodalal and walking is a methodology for "knowing the world through the body and the body through the world", in the words of Rebecca Solnit:[37] a practice producing an affective and embodied spatial knowledge. The anthropologist David Le Breton, for example, claims the centrality of the relationship between

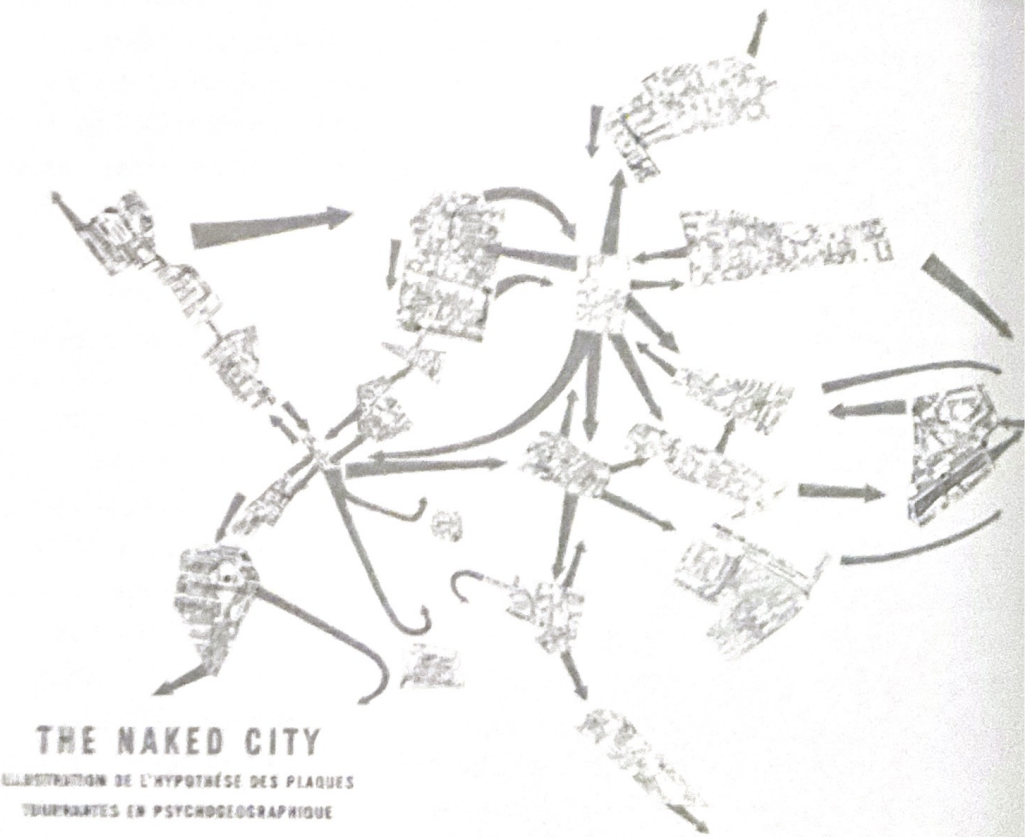
body and world unfolding through walking in opposition to the erosion of the sensory sphere in contemporary life. The city, for Le Breton, is an inexhaustible source of both physical and mental stimuli:

> The relationship existing between the walker and the city, with its streets and neighbourhoods, whether one already knows them or discovers them on the way, is above all an emotional and bodily one. A sound and visual background accompanies their ambulation, their skin registers temperature variations and reacts to the contact of objects and space. They cross layers of inviting or repelling odours. This sensory plot infuses the walk along the streets with a pleasant or unpleasant atmosphere depending on the circumstances. The experience of walking in the city solicits the body in its entirety.[38]

This solicitation is not restricted to the city and urban space. Walking also reveals our interdependence with the different milieus we traverse: how they affect our senses, our ways of moving, our behaviour, our choices. How the materials that make up the ground or the temperature influence our pace, how the wind hinders us, how light or shadow attracts or repels us according to the seasons, how we seek or seek not to meet others, how the buzzing of a wasp can cause pleasure or fear, how a tree can guide us to take a break … Hence, the legendary detachment of the *flâneur*—this disinterested spectator of urban life—leaves room for a different regime of attention, of "attraction", even.

This attraction is at the core of psychogeography, defined by Guy Debord, one of the founders of the Situationist International,[39] as "the study of the precise laws and specific effects of the geographic environment, consciously organized or not, on the emotions and behavior of individuals".[40] The Situationists' programme aimed at the collapsing of art into politics by radically transforming the city, its ordering and its power dynamics to finally transform its life. Starting from a profound critique of the capitalist organisation of space and a recognition of its emotional and behavioural impact, the Situationists wanted to study the city to lay the foundations of what they termed "unitary urbanism", to imagine a new environment designed according to the desires of its inhabitants. The main tool of this study was the *dérive*, described in the first number of the journal *Internationale situationniste* as "a mode of experimental behaviour linked to the conditions of urban society: a technique of rapid passage through varied

ambiances".[41] Therefore, drifting—walking without an aim or goal, following the desires arising from the environment—became a method to experience and register urban atmospheres and their effects on human emotions, but it was also conceived as a revolutionary tool: a way to subvert the functionalism, consumerism, and alienation imposed of everyday life and urban planning through a collective practice of disorientation, an experimental way of inhabiting places, and a different use of space and time.[42] Not by chance, the *dérive* was also the base of a "renewed cartography"[43] conceived as a means to transgress official representations of space.[44] Debord's *Psychogeographic Guide of Paris* and *The Naked City* (both 1957) are examples of this subversive process, where the cartographic gaze is exploded into an archipelago of "atmospheric unities" connected by red arrows representing the drifter's paths and passages.



Guy Debord, *The Naked City— Illustration de l'hypothèse des plaques tournantes en psychgéographique* (1957). Lithograph on paper. Collection Frac Centre-Val de Loire. Courtesy of the collection Frac Centre-Val de Loire.

Other practices of counter-mapping, critical cartography or rewriting the stories of spaces through walking, listening, and soundmaking are the focus of two sections of the anthology: "Memory and (Counter-)Narratives" and "Mapping and

(Counter-)Cartographies". [see pp. 407 and 455]
Listening, in fact, is a fundamental part of these multiple emotional and embodied relationships among human, non-human, and milieu. As the anthropologist of music Georgina Born writes, "sound [...] is always experienced from particular subjective and embodied, physical and social locations".[45] Therefore, auditory knowledge is always situated, partial, and temporal. The term "soundscape", coined by R. Murray Schafer in the early 1970s,[46] would seem to suggest a romantic association with that of landscape and, therefore, to a "subject-spectator" separated from reality, as if experiencing it through a window. However, we can imagine it in ecological terms, highlighting the interdependent relationships between subjects and contexts, as in some projects in section three of the anthology, "Environments and Ecologies". [see p. 209]
We can think of it as the totality of the sound and vibratory flows in which we are immersed, which cross us, compose us, and with which we compose; which at the same time exceed us, and escape our perception; in which we listen, vibrate, and resonate—and in this way define ourselves.

Listening provides information not only on the nature of the objects and subjects that inhabit the world but on our mutual relationships, our constant becoming, our simultaneity. Sounds can only be experienced in their "making", in the dynamics of their continuous change in space and time, in a fluid, unstable, and transitory dimension. They are always moving, travelling, traversing. In other words, listening cannot generate a vision of the world as an inert, stable, and fixed entity populated by objects and subjects, but unfolds in a flow of interactions: "a spatio-temporal geography, a dynamic geography of events rather than images, or activity rather than scene", as Paul Rodaway has it.[47] And this geography is never independent of the one who crosses it: "The soundscape moves with the sentients as they move through the environment and it continually changes with our behavioral interactions."[48] In other words, we not only perceive a sound geography but, in inhabiting it, we reshape it and necessarily take part in it, or, better, we participate in a contingent process of mutual definition.

In his book *Listening*, the philosopher Jean-Luc Nancy describes sound as "methexic (that is, having to do with participation, sharing, or contagion)".[49] He further theorises the listening subject as the product of resonance and referral (*renvoi*), or a "diapason subject". In this way, his apparently aesthetical reflection enters the field of politics and becomes a figure of "being

singular plural": the coexistence and reciprocal exposure to each other that, according to Nancy, define Being as a "we" before every "I". That is, the process of going beyond individuality to recognise the heterogeneous multiplicity of "being-with".[50] Thinking with Nancy, we can listen to the body itself and recognise that it is not an inert matter but is made up of resonances, of referrals; that it has no boundaries but is in continuity with the world and with other human and non-human beings; that, as the philosopher Emanuele Coccia puts it, "our body, our sense of self, is something that we have extracted from the continuum of the world".[51] To accept that we are porous and interdependent and therefore also vulnerable and that this vulnerability, as the philosopher Judith Butler proposes, is not in opposition to our ability to act but is the ontological and existential condition of the body, exposed and permeable to "environments, social relations, and networks of support and sustenance".[52] Sound has this potential: to expand, cross, transgress, connect, infect, and therefore also to open up the possibility of a radical relationality in opposition to the neoliberal ideology of the sovereign, free, and autonomous individual and to the vision of the world as a fixed, immutable, and separated from the self.

Rewriting and Reappropriating Space

Walking, however, is not only a practice that allows us to immerse ourselves in space, to know it from the inside, through contact and proximity, to commingle with milieus. Walking is also a spatialising practice, a practice producing space.[53] This view is particularly important in French literature, where considerable emphasis is put on walking as a way to reappropriate and rewrite the environment.

De Certeau, again, sees pedestrians' practices not only as a way to read and perceive, but also (and first of all) as a form of *writing* urban space. In his words, the city becomes "an urban 'text' [passers-by] write without being able to read it".[54] By establishing a clear dichotomy between planners and users and assigning to the latter the possibility of reshaping the spatial order imposed from above, de Certeau interprets walking as one of those resistance tactics through which users can reconfigure the dominant cultural economy. Accordingly, he explicitly refers to the linguistic system by comparing walking to a speech act. As a linguistic system, the functionalism of urban planning provides a system of use and control of spaces, setting up a number of

possibilities, rules, and interdictions. Pedestrians actualise and put this system in use, but they can also redefine, reinvent, or deny its rules, thereby creatively rewriting urban space through their personal and social practices.

This linguistic metaphor also appears in the writings of several authors, notably in Jean-François Augoyard's *Step by Step*. In this examination of everyday walking patterns in a newly built borough in Grenoble, Augoyard proposes a rhetoric of walking and describes this practice as a form of interaction between the pedestrian's individuality and the organisation of the built environment, as an act of articulation of the urban spatial structure, as a way to read and rewrite space: "Walking resembles a reading-writing. Sometimes rather more following an existing path, sometimes rather more hewing a new one, one moves within a space that never tolerates the exclusion of one or another [...] the succession of steps effectively rewrites the space that opens before the walker, even when done in the slightest of action modes."[55] From this perspective, urban spaces are not stable and inert formations, but are activated and actualised by the practices of those who cross them, by the "legs' generative grammar"[56] put in place through walking, as Jean-Cristophe Bailly puts it. Therefore, walking becomes a methodology to read, but also to reappropriate and rewrite space.

In his book *Acoustic Territories*, the artist and theorist Brandon LaBelle translates this process in the auditory realm:

> The urban soundscape is itself a material contoured, disrupted, or appropriated through the meeting of individual bodies and larger administrative systems. From crosswalk signals, warning alarms, and electronic voices, the urban streets structure and audibly shape on a mass scale the trajectories of people on the move. In contrast, individuals supplement or reshape these structures through practices that, like de Certeau's walker, form a modulating break or interference.[57]

Following LaBelle, we can imagine a constant negotiation between collective forms of institutional organisation of the audible and processes of reappropriation (between strategies and tactics, in de Certeau's terminology). On the one hand, soundscapes reflect wider principles of spatial organisation that also correspond to dynamics of power, control, and privatisation. The sociologist Rowland Atkinson uses the term "sonic ecology" to emphasise the power of sound and music to demarcate and connote space according to patterns related to use, to the social, functional,

and cultural characteristics of the different parts of the city, as well as to their timing. In this way, the city is organised into "acoustic territories", i.e. "spaces defined, owned or contested by those who, relatively speaking, control the soundscape of public and private spaces".[58] In other words, the soundscape is not only organised, but also "socially organising".[59] On the other hand, it is the result of processes of reappropriation, habitation, and individual and collective self-representation. As Sophie Arkette states, "City space has been and is constantly being carved up into communities defined by economic, cultural, ethnic, religious divisions and consequently acoustic profiles and soundmarkers are in constant transition. [...] Each community has sets of soundmarkers which reinforce its own identity; each district has its own sonic profile, even if that profile is not a permanent feature."[60] It is in this shared sound fabric, already the result of complex dynamics of power, that the walking listeners inscribe their own temporal rhythm through an interaction between their own sounds, those already travelling through space and the acoustic features of the environment. They always read and rewrite space. Thus, milieus are space–time multiplicities created and recreated in the contingency of their mobile experience.

Reappropriating Time

Another recurring reverberation in walking literature is time. For the Situationists, the *dérive* had already become a way to oppose the system; the art system and its delegated offices but, above all, the capitalist system and its emphasis on productivity which leads to the reduction of the street to the rationalism of travel and which occupies time with production and consumption. This vision of walking as a form of resistance to contemporary efficiency and speed, as well as to the new forms of physical and virtual mobility permitted by today's means of transport and communication technologies, returns incessantly.[61]

For Augoyard, it is not simply a dichotomy between speed and slowness: rather, walking manifests "the immediacies and discontinuities of lived time over against the linearities and transitivities of chronometric time".[62] The ambulatory rhetoric and, more generally, the dynamics of dwelling unfold in multiple temporalities—contextual, experiential, collective, social—which do not exclude a linear temporality but intersect and "contaminate" it. In this way, the pedestrian experience not

only favours speed or slowness as such, but unfolds in a lived time which, while not completely disregarding the chronological, reappropriates it in contextual and subjective ways.[63]

This non-linear conception of time is at the heart of the project to which the philosopher Henry Lefebvre consecrates his final, unfinished, book: *Rhythmanalysis*. In these writings, Lefebvre lays the foundations for thinking about the interrelation of space and time in daily life through a notion that will become particularly generative: that of rhythm. "All rhythms imply the relation of a time to a space, a localized time, or [...] a temporalized space".[64] Lefebvre also introduces the figure of the rhythmanalyst who: "is always 'listening out', but he does not only hear words, discourses, noises, and sounds; he is capable of listening to a house, a street, a town as one listens to a symphony, an opera. Of course, he seeks to know how this music is composed, who plays it and for whom".[65] The rhythmanalyst listens to complex and multiple urban rhythms to investigate the social organisation of time in specific spaces and "the mix of social ordering and disordering through which spatio-temporal patterns are laid down", as Tim Edensor puts it.[66] This analysis unfolds starting from listening to the rhythms of their body, used as a metronome to feel how other biological and social rhythms—daily rhythms, the rhythms of work, circulation, seasons, annual festivals, nature, plant growth, etc.—tune (or untune) through complex synchronisation systems.

Read in the context of Lefebvre's other writings on the urban condition, this last book seems to go beyond social theory to continue the philosopher's invitation to reappropriate time and space, to oppose the commodification of the city and of social relations in order to cultivate and overflow the "urban": "place of desire, permanent disequilibrium, seat of the dissolution of normalities and constraints, the moment of play and of the unpredictable".[67] An urban that, for Lefebvre, is based on use value and that resists, despite everything, in the interstices of the order imposed from above, containing the promise of revolutionary social change that arises from the street.[68]

Sharing, Reclaiming, and Occupying Space

The interpretation of walking as a way to appropriate space and time discloses the possibility to consider it as a fundamentally emancipatory practice—or as a practice of "r-existence", as Adriano Labbucci has it.[69] This potential is at the core of a

large body of works in which walking is discussed against the background of the dynamics of access to and sharing of public space. In this perspective, walking is first of all a way of "being present in the public space"[70] and of reclaiming the "right to the city".[71] Secondly, it becomes a way to encounter the "Other", to expose oneself to the social, economic, and cultural complexity of urban life as well as "all the difference of age, taste, background, and belief that are concentrated in a city—and aroused by the diversity around them".[72] It is the "walking 'between'" as described by the anthropologist Franco La Cecla, "the democratic walking of those who move in the city and meet both known and unknown people";[73] a way of being in the presence of the unfamiliar, of the unexpected, of the stranger, thus enriching our experience and experimenting with forms of living together as well as of friction and conflict.

The urban condition, here, is understood as a forum of interactions with strangers, a platform for facing, recognising, and alimenting difference and complexity in the public sphere, all interpreted as key elements of political life.[74] The street becomes a platform for public life and walking a methodology to cultivate and reclaim it. As Rebecca Solnit states: "Walking the streets is what connects [...] the personal microcosm with the public macrocosm. [...] Walking maintains the publicness and viability of public space."[75]

This claim on the street as a primary site for sharing and participating in political life—as "democracy's greatest arena", as Solnit puts it[76]—is also at the heart of the (often sonorous) campaigns of several groups fighting for the enlargement or inclusivity of the public sphere, such as Reclaim the Streets, Critical Mass or the feminist events Reclaim the Night. Their street actions constitute a statement against the power dynamics emerging in urban space, its commodification, or the exclusion of specific subjects and groups from its conception and use, becoming examples of what Jennie Middleton calls "pedestrian acts of resistance".[77]

This promise comes back very often in the arts, where walking emerges as a privileged means to engage the urban in its many layers, crossing disciplinary boundaries, abandoning institutional venues, and infiltrating social space. From the first Dadaist excursions in Paris[78] to many contemporary artists, walking in the arts is above all an "act of presence"[79] in public space. This presence is embodied in a particular direct way in the contributions included in the third section of the anthology—"Spaces for Publicness" [see p. 287]

but, as we will see—comes back very often in many ambulatory listening or soundmaking practices.

Deneutralising Bodies and Spaces

Is walking always and in any case an emancipatory practice, a practice of appropriation of space and time, of sharing and exchange, of self-representation in the public sphere? Rather, the political potential of walking seems to have been largely introjected by urban pedestrianisation policies that often focus on key terms such as "social cohesion" or "community interaction".[80] Another of the many processes showing how public policies often normalise (and dilute) the aims of radical critiques of contemporary planning.

Besides, are the potentials of walking that we have seen so far truly accessible to everyone everywhere? Who can afford to wander selflessly, indulge in *flânerie* or *dérive*, and even be visible or audible in public space? Can we ignore diverse geopolitical contexts? Can we really imagine the "walker" as a "neutral" subject? These questions cannot be answered without questioning the presupposed universality of the subject on the move and of the contexts in which this subject walks; and, given the centrality of the body in walking, we can only do so starting from the politics of the body in the public sphere.

In the 1950s, the anthropologist Marcel Mauss was already describing walking as a "technique of the body" and, therefore, a biological and psychological—but also a social and cultural—phenomenon, a *habitus* that, as such, requires learning and that varies according to cultures and societies.[81] In so doing, Mauss deconstructs the interpretation of walking as a "natural" act and opens the way to a less essentialist vision highlighting the role of culture and society in determining "how" we walk. Prolonging this reflection, it stands out how many of the previously mentioned contributions are written in the West and cannot account for the complexity of the ways walking appears in non-Western practices and knowledges; in other words, how the "canon" on walking was built on the removal or marginalisation of other forms of knowledge or frames of reference: indigenous knowledge, practices of relating to the non-human or to the land.

A few decades later, it is feminist, decolonial, anti-racist criticism and critical disability studies that put the questions on the table: Who can walk? Where, how, and when? Who has

the "right to the city"? Which bodies are visible and which remain imperceptible? Which try to stay below the threshold of the visible and the audible, and why? Starting from these "situated knowledges", as the philosopher Donna Haraway defines them[82]—knowledges produced from a specific body, perspective and positioning—we can deconstruct the universality of the walker and the figures in which they are embodied. This presupposed universality actually conceals a specific position, that of the dominant subject, made possible by social institutions that legitimise their apparent neutrality. Similarly, the practices and social organisation of space and time are not neutral or innocent but are systems that reflect, co-produce, and reproduce hegemonic relations, starting with the ableist, patriarchal, and racist ones. More generally, the exclusion from or hyper-visibilisation of certain bodies in public space corresponds to their exclusion from the public sphere. This goes in parallel with the erasure of certain forms of spatial knowledge and practice. As a result, these processes forge invisible restrictions and boundaries and produce various forms of vulnerability, invisibility, exposure, silencing, marginalisation, illegitimation, self-interdiction, and segregation. Thus, when thinking about walking and its potentials, we need to acknowledge different lived realities grounded on disability, gender, racialisation,[83] sexuality, social class, age, and state of health, as well the fact of possessing certain documents, or not (and of course their intersections).

Feminist geography, for example, has been studying gender-based "geographies of fear" since the 1990s, emphasising how walking in urban space, for women and minoritised genders, means acquiring an often unwanted visibility, exposing oneself to sexual harassment, the fear of violence.[84] These geographies are also time-based and defined by complex rhythms: the night, for example, still remains a space to be appropriated. Several contributions, including some texts in this anthology, have focused on the problematicness or impossibility of a female equivalent of the *flâneur*[85]—this "hero of the modern city, enjoying the freedom to stroll in the boulevards and arcades, visit the cafés and department stores but, importantly, 'to observe and be observed'", as the dance scholar Valerie Briginshaw defines him.[86] In reality it is the traditional assignment of women and other subjectivities to private space, as opposed to public space—conceived by and for the master subject man, cis, White and able-bodied—that persists in complex patriarchal structures of design, control, and occupation so that, as the feminist geographer Leslie Kern writes, "women still experience the city through a set of barriers—

physical, social, economic, and symbolic—that shape their daily lives in ways that are deeply (although not only) gendered".[87] In this context, the encounter with otherness idealised by so much literature is always on the verge of becoming confrontation or violence not only for women but, in different ways, for all marginalised bodies. There are several "material geography[ies] of exclusion"[88] that intersect with each other.

Already among the Situationists, as the art critic Lori Waxman notes, "drifting freely through Paris was not a tactic that could be unconditionally practiced by the group's Moroccan and Algerian members, or, under a different set of circumstances, their few female associates".[89] Notably, Abdelhafid Khatib's "Attempt at a Psychogeographical Description of Les Halles" (1958) published in the second issue of the journal *Internationale situationniste* could never be finished because he was the victim of two arrests by the police and spent two nights in a cell. That year a curfew was imposed on North African people after 9.30 p.m., officially to discourage the Algerian National Liberation Front's attacks in Paris, but de facto limiting the freedom of movement of all racialised people; a limitation that persists today through both spatial segregation and everyday racism. In "Walking while Black", the essayist Garnette Cadogan recalls how, growing up in his hometown in Kingston, Jamaica, walking at night was a real pleasure despite its dangers. He says: "walking became so regular and familiar that the way home became home".[90] His words recall how Charles Baudelaire described the *flânerie*—"To be away from home and yet to feel oneself everywhere at home"[91]—but Cadogan's experience dramatically changed after he moved to New Orleans and then to New York. Here, his enthusiasm to discover the city had to confront the racial structure of public space, the suspicious reactions of passers-by and regular police aggression. Therefore, "walking became a complex and often oppressive negotiation".[92] As he writes:

> Walking while black restricts the experience of walking, renders inaccessible the classic Romantic experience of walking alone. It forces me to be in constant relationship with others, unable to join the New York *flâneurs* I had read about and hoped to join. [...] Walking as a black man has made me feel simultaneously more removed from the city, in my awareness that I am perceived as suspect, and more closely connected to it, in the full attentiveness demanded by my vigilance. [...] But it also means that I'm still trying to arrive in a city that isn't quite mine. [...] Walking—the simple, monotonous

> act of placing one foot before the other to prevent falling—turns out not to be so simple if you're black. Walking alone has been anything but monotonous for me; monotony is a luxury. [...] We want the freedom and pleasure of walking without fear—without others' fear—wherever we choose.[93]

For Cadogan, his body is at once invisible and hyper-visible, and anonymity and monotony are a privilege.

This complex politics of visibility and invisibility comes back in experiences of disability. Space and spatial practices also normalise able-bodiedness and hardly accommodate different mobility, visual, or auditory needs, resulting in what has been called a "disabling city".[94] In Astra Taylor's film *Examined Life* (2008), Judith Butler invites the activist Sunaura Taylor to take a walk. During the walk, they discuss disability as a social, political identity rather than a physical one and reflect on what it means to "take a walk together" starting from their bodies: those of a gender-non-conforming person and of a person born with arthrogryposis and using a wheelchair. Taylor stresses the "normalised standards of our movements" and how they disempower disabled people, especially in the public sphere, to use their bodies in manners that are not considered normal: this "compulsory able-bodiedness or able-mindedness", quoting the crip theorist Robert McRuer, that "structure[s] the rhetoric of political economy" in neoliberal times.[95] Taylor also suggests the importance of physical access, since it also "leads to social access and acceptance" removing some of the structural barriers in a world built and conceived through the naturalisation of healthy, able bodies. As proposed by the critical disability scholar Aimi Hamraie, "access is not just easy movement through a space, but a struggle for the recognition of disabled people as a heterogenous political and cultural force".[96] As such, not only does it question the category of "disability"—its supposed homogeneity and its reduction to an individual "problem"—but addresses the systemic character of ableism and its regimes of normalcy as they are co-produced with space and spatial practices.[97]

All of these and many more "struggles for recognition" intersect, generating other narratives of walking based on political identities and identifications as well as on the heterogeneity and uniqueness of embodied spatial experiences. Narratives that unsettle and trouble the walking "canon" as well as the deep asymmetries that define our ways of walking and of establishing relations with places and others.

Contemporary sound studies equally questions the colonial, patriarchal, and ableist construction of auditory cultures and how these forms of domination manifest themselves in listening: from the recognition of a generalised "aural diversity"[98] to the search for an "acoustic justice"[99] or at least a "situated listening": a listening process capable of recognising and questioning the symbolic positions from which we listen.[100] The "Walking Bodies" section [see p. 357] articulates these trajectories through projects that problematise walking and different politics of the body, identity, and listening at the intersection of gender, sexuality, racialisation, and disability, from the 1960s on, where our journey through artistic practices also begins.