

PEDESTRIAN ART

The Tourist Gait as Tactic and Performance

Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch

Our walking as tourists is in many respects different from our “non-tourist” or everyday walking. Building on John Urry’s well-known concept of the “tourist gaze”, I suggest the coinage of the “tourist gait” for describing a type of walking characterized, among other things, by a heightened awareness of sensory impressions and an active involvement with one’s surroundings. In this article, I explore how the tourist gait can be employed as a tactic for claiming and experiencing space in our home environs. By comparing tourist gait practices with the phenomenon of *flânerie*, the performance element contained in everyday pedestrianism emerges. Quotidian walking can demonstrate great creativity and is definitively much more than just a means of transportation.

Keywords: walking practices, performance, everyday life, tourism, *flânerie*

Helsinki is an easy city to explore, as most sights are situated within convenient walking distance of the city centre. (...) Traffic in Helsinki is relatively uncongested, allowing you to stroll peacefully even through the city centre. Walk leisurely through the park around Töölönlahti Bay, or travel back in time to the former working class district of Kallio. (From the brochure “See Helsinki on Foot” – The Tourist & Convention Bureau, City of Helsinki)

Walking is a typical tourist activity – and it is a mode of transportation often recommended to tourists as the perfect way to see and enjoy townscapes. Through guided tours and suggested itineraries in guidebooks, places are linked together by walking to create narratives, experiences and representational spaces. However, the purpose of this article is not to study the walking entailed in tourism proper, but to understand the creative ways in which walking prac-

tices are employed in our everyday lives. My point of departure is that a touristic form of walking can be used as a tactic in our home environments and that these practices, even in their quotidian form, contain elements of performance.¹

Walking a city opens up multifaceted ways of experiencing its environments. We get closer to the sights than we would from behind a bus or car window. Through walking we can engage with the surroundings with all of our senses. As we are making our way through, say, the harbour-side market place, we are exposed to a plethora of odours that can range from the sweet scent of vanilla to the malodour of stale frying oil; we feel the cobblestones under our feet and the sea breeze on our skin, and in the orchestra of city sounds we might distinguish church bells, seagulls, or the rattling of cable cars. We are in the midst of a kaleidoscopic multisensory performance in which we are observers as well as participants.

A walk, then, holds the promise of experiences, but taking a walk can be a vastly different type of experience depending on *how* and *why* we walk. A tourist stroll will often assume a very different character from a walk home from work. As tourists we tend to move more slowly and more erratically, trying to “take it all in”, perhaps making sudden stops to take photographs or look at a map. By partaking in the typical tourist activity of the guided walking tour, we place an authority in charge of deciding the rhythm, pace, route and duration of our perambulation, which will likely make it quite a different affair from our daily walk to the office.

Our tourist walks are, of course, not always as enjoyable as presented in tourist brochures: we might get lost, have to make our way through large crowds, end up walking long stretches along motorways or other “unscenic” routes, get blisters and suffer from ill-advised footwear (thin-soled sandals, sweaty warm sneakers, or heels that make negotiating the quaint cobblestoned streets a challenge indeed). The centrality of embodied experience was forcefully argued by the philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty, who defined the lived body as the subject of perception. Our experience of the world “appears to us in so far as we are in the world through our body and in so far as we perceive the world with our body” (Merleau-Ponty [1962] 2006: 239). Thus, it is our awareness of our body and our senses that enables the perception of *being* in a place, and consequently also the feeling of being somewhere else – of being tourists.

Walk like a Tourist – the Tourist Gait

By considering the body in movement, we can see better how it inhabits space (and, moreover, time) because movement is not limited to submitting passively to space and time, it actively assumes them, it takes them up in their basic significance which is obscured in the commonplaceness of established situations. (Merleau-Ponty [1962] 2006: 117)

The relationship between walking and tourism is multifaceted. To a certain extent all walking is travelling and, unless we do our walking on a treadmill,

entails a process that will take us from point A to point B (and, more often than not, back to point A). Throughout history, people have used their feet as their primary means of transportation (see Marples 1959; Solnit 2000; Amato 2004). Walking, however, is slow and taxing. As more people gained access to alternative means of conveyance, travel – and thereby tourism – increased significantly.

Nevertheless, some walking practices are explicitly connected with the development of touristic travel. The medieval practice of pilgrimage, for instance, is often described as an early case of mass tourism.² From its early days tourism was associated with distinction. By the seventeenth century, an extended tour of continental Europe had become a more or less compulsory finishing course in the education of young men of the upper classes. Towards the latter part of the eighteenth century, these so-called “Grand Tours” (or *Kavaliersreisen* in German) were influenced by contemporary Romantic sentiments and began including walking expeditions in scenic landscapes. The Alps became the supreme hunting ground for the hiking travellers’ Romantic quest for the sublime and the spectacular (see, for example, Schama 1995: 478f.; Christensson 2001: 24f.; cf. also Wallace 1993: 19).

During the course of the nineteenth century, the traditional obligatory stops for a Grand Tour, such as Florence, Rome, Venice and Paris, were visited by an ever growing stream of tourists who increasingly not only represented the aristocracy but also the middle classes. Tourism was evolving into an important part of modern life (Löfgren 1999: 7, 161). This process, as Orvar Löfgren has pointed out, entailed that people learned how to be tourists. Through influential books and popular sentiments people were (and still are) taught what to look for and what to ignore, what attitudes and expectations are appropriate for different holiday destinations, but also, importantly, how to describe their experiences (ibid.: 20f.).

The British sociologist John Urry correlated the shift from the “Classical Grand Tour” to the “Romantic Grand Tour” with the emergence of scenic tourism and the development of the “tourist gaze” – a distinct way of viewing one’s surroundings. The

tourist gaze implies anticipation and a way of looking at the environment with interest and curiosity. As tourists we gaze at what we encounter and this gaze is socially organized and systematized (Urry 1990: 3f.). Initially, the tourist gaze was separated from other social activities. However, as tourism is becoming more widespread, the tourist gaze is increasingly bound up with other social and cultural practices. People are, much of the time, tourists whether they like it or not. The tourist gaze is an intrinsic part of contemporary experience, but the tourist practices to which it gives rise are experiencing rapid and significant change. Different gazes and different tourist practices are authorized in terms of a variety of discourses, from education to play (ibid.: 82, 135). In this manner we learn to apply the tourist gaze in a multitude of situations and contexts.

Urry's analysis of the relationship between tourism and a socially constructed gaze can, I believe, be linked to the walking of tourists discussed in the introduction of this article. Building on Urry's much quoted concept, I want to propose the coinage of "the tourist gait" to describe a mode of walking typical of sightseeing and exploring unfamiliar places on foot (Österlund-Pötzsch 2007). Corresponding to the tourist *gaze*, the tourist *gait* implies interaction with the environment and can be defined as a walking practice intended to maximize involvement with one's surroundings. In short, it is a way of experiencing more intensely, and a way of experiencing with both body and mind, not solely with our eyes. Our senses intercommunicate with each other (Merleau-Ponty [1962] 2006: 266) to create the tourist experience. Despite the emphasis on vision (and hence sightseeing) in tourism, the tourist perspective also tends to make us aware of our other senses as we, for example, register unfamiliar sounds and exotic smells. The Finnish architect Juhani Pallasmaa concurs with Merleau-Ponty's statement that our perception is not a sum of visual, tactile and audible givens but that we perceive with our whole beings. Pallasmaa describes the "contemporary city of the gaze" as one that alienates the body and the other senses (cf. Crang 1999: 238). The haptic city, on the other hand, welcomes us to participate in its daily life:

The mental experience of the city is more a haptic constellation than a sequence of visual images; impressions of sight are embedded in the continuum of the more unconscious haptic experience. Even as the eye touches and the gaze strokes distant outlines and contours, our vision *feels* the hardness, texture, weight, and temperature of surfaces. Without the collaboration of touch, the eye would be unable to decipher space and depth and we could not mould the mosaic of sensory impressions into a coherent continuum. (Emphasis in original, Pallasmaa 2005: 143f.)

Walking is an efficient method of exploring. We circumambulate buildings to experience them from different angles, and as we traverse a locality we physically feel the vastness or the compactness of it. Through moving around in a city we perceive its different rhythms, at the same time as we ourselves become part of the city as lived space.

It has been suggested that tourism is more about particular modes of relating to the world rather than going places (Bærenholdt et al. 2004: 2) and that tourist sites are fluid and created through performance (Coleman & Crang 2002: 1, 10f.). These are discourses with which the tourist-gait concept closely aligns itself. Walking practices are part and parcel of the complex processes involved in producing tourist places. Tourism is embodied practice (Croach 2002: 207f.).

The tourist gait refers both to a *style* of walking and to a *method* of achieving different aims. My premise is that the tourist gait can be understood as performance and that it is often used tactically in our everyday lives.

Tactics and Performance

In his study of the history of vacationing, Löfgren pointed out that tourism to a great extent consists of everyday practices and routines (Löfgren 1999: 9). My assertion in this article is that tourist practices and experiences conversely can be introduced into our lives "at home". Discovering how people navigate and negotiate their environments in daily routines and practices was of prime interest to the

French scholar Michel de Certeau. To describe these processes, de Certeau used the concepts of *strategy* and *tactic* (de Certeau 1984). Whereas “strategy” signifies the way institutions and subjects of power try to control and define spaces, “tactics” stands for how individuals try to find their way around these strategies. Tactics are an art of “the weak”, of the ordinary person, and can be found in mundane practices such as cooking, reading – and walking. A tactic can be compared with trickery since it takes advantage of opportunities to manoeuvre within various power relationships, which, de Certeau contended, gives these everyday “ways of operating” a political dimension (ibid.: xvii, xix, 36f.). While one should be careful not to interpret this as a heroic parable of David vs. Goliath, de Certeau’s point of departure importantly acknowledges the individual as an actor and as a subject, who may go with the tide but also finds loopholes and spaces for creativity.

In his much celebrated essay “Walking in the City”, de Certeau compared the movements of a pedestrian to a speech act or a spatial acting out of the place. Through the act of walking, places are woven together in subjective ways. However, people in the streets follow the lines of an urban “text”, which they themselves are creating without having the overview to read (ibid.: 91–110).

The writings of de Certeau highlight the creativity embodied in everyday pedestrianism. The tactical tourist gait is a method of individualizing space. Its adoption might be subtle and carried out for different reasons, sometimes consciously and sometimes not. One of the primary ways that walking can be used tactically is through its performative quality. As is the case with many deceptively ordinary activities, walking becomes performance in a wide array of contexts (Gunnell, this volume). In the words of performance-study scholar Richard Schechner, “any action that is framed, presented, highlighted, or displayed is a performance” (Schechner 2006: 2). What “is” performance does not depend on an event in itself but on how that event is received. Any behaviour, event or action can be studied “as” performance (ibid.: 38, 40). In some cases walking is deliberately performed and framed as art, such as in the work of

Richard Long, Gunter Brus and Bruce Nauman, to mention but a few artists who have used walking as a form of artistic expression.³ Parades, processions, marches, and mumming (Gunnell 2007) are examples of walking performances that are frequently part of sacred and secular rituals. Performance can also be found in everyday walking rituals such as the Italian tradition of the *Passeggiata*, an afternoon promenade that is taken in order to be seen and to see others (Del Negro 2004; for the similar tradition of the *paseo* in Latin America, see e.g. Low 2000). In a broader perspective even a short stroll to buy the evening paper or an after-dinner walk for exercise can contain elements of performance. Going for a walk involves many choices (such as when and where to walk, with what kind of posture and body language, at what pace, for what purpose, with whom, what to wear etc.). Along with other modes of moving and dwelling in urban spaces, walking therefore acts as a lifestyle indicator (cf. Goffman 1959; Giddens 1991; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 1996). Performances of everyday life create the very social realities they enact (Schechner 2006: 42). Deliberately or not, walking inevitably communicates messages about who we are or aspire to be. The element of performance need not be constant. In the same way as people might “breakthrough into performance” (Hymes 1975) during oral narration, people might slip in or out of performance when walking.

The tourist gait implies walking with heightened interest in one’s surroundings. It is about exploring places with one’s senses – it is certainly about seeing, but also at times about being seen. This aspect the tourist gait has in common with the specific mode of walking referred to as *flânerie*.⁴ The *flâneur* as an *Idealtyp* is firmly associated with nineteenth-century Paris as interpreted by Charles Baudelaire and, subsequently, Walter Benjamin. The Parisian *flâneur* is typically characterized as a detached observer attracted to bustling crowds and the hectic pulse of city life. A broader definition could be “a person who walks in the city in order to experience it”. The birth of the *flâneur* is intimately connected with the advent of modernity. As a meanderer in the city this figure is at once dreamer, historian and

modern artist. The flâneur's mode of perception has manifested itself in a large number of literary, and later cinematic, texts (Tester 1994a: 1–7, 13f., 18; Gieber 1999: viii, 3). The flâneur consciously adopts the role of a tourist of the familiar.

While the tourist gait is a folk practice and “common” by nature, flânerie is exclusive to the point of elitism and connotes authorship and artistic creation. But the two modes of walking still overlap in several respects. In fact, although it is usually perceived as a poetic and somewhat academic pursuit, I would suggest that there are many aspects of flânerie to be found in quotidian walking practices and especially in the tactical employment of the tourist gait.

The Tourist Gait Applied and Practiced

The following examples of the tourist gait as a tactic are taken from my ongoing fieldwork on walking practices in the Nordic countries. Apart from field-

work data in the form of case-studies and participant observation, the material consists of interviews with people who for different reasons regularly walk, stroll and travel on foot in urban environments in southern Finland. The majority of the interviewees live in the area of greater Helsinki, but I have also interviewed walkers in the towns of Turku and Mariehamn. In the interviews, they described some of their routines, habits and practices in which walking plays an integral part.⁵ It soon emerged that walking can be used creatively in many different types of situations and for different needs.

For example, a tourist gait redolent of flânerie was employed by several of the interviewees both as a method of making shopping more efficient and as a method of making it more personally enjoyable. Ulla uses a systematic walking tactic when dealing with the mad rush at the biggest department-store sales of the year. It is about planning one's visit meticu-



Ill. 1: Examples of the quintessential tourist gait practiced in Stockholm in the summer of 2010. (Photo: Marika Österlund-Jansson)

lously, using one's local knowledge and getting into the rhythm of the event, she explained, and added: "You have to find the needles in the giant haystack, and be able to – it is like a flow and you have to be able to let it flow through you and grab the things when they come."

Like the urban hero of Baudelaire, Ulla manages to go with the flow while still being aware of singular details in order to make the intended purchases.⁶ Anne, on the other hand, mostly goes shopping to look and not to buy things. In the style of the archetypal flâneur, albeit in a more pro-active manner, she takes the role of the observer and enjoys the feeling of being solitary in the crowd:

To look and to watch people. [In the wintertime] instead of going walking outdoors (...) I might go shopping. Definitely alone. I can't do it with someone else. And that is the advantage of a bigger city. It is wonderful to be able to go out and belong, to be surrounded by people, and still to be anonymous.

In the practice of flânerie, seemingly contradictory conditions are integrated. It is possible to simultaneously feel oneself as detached and as belonging, and to adopt the roles of both observer and actor. Indeed, the performance element of moving in public spaces can be very subtle and almost unconscious, perhaps just an awareness of being dressed a certain way. For example, an acquaintance of mine once told me that her favourite method of cheering herself up when feeling down was to dress up and go for a walk in the city centre. Portraying an air of festiveness works wonders for temporary low spirits, she claimed. Some of the contributors to this study admitted that if they intended to go shopping in a more up-market part of town they liked being dressed accordingly, whereas they would opt for more leisurely clothing if they were "only" walking. Dressing differently depending on the "genre" of walking is of course a matter of convenience, but at the same time, how people dress depends on the intention behind the walk; people dress, and so communicate their intentions, differently for different activities such as shop-

ping and exercising even if the environment and the amount of walking involved might not differ significantly (cf. Goffman 1959: 73f.).

By garnering attention a walk can become a performance although this is by no means its original purpose. An example of this could be walking with a pram. Ellinor pointed out that she personally always preferred to walk in secluded places when her children were sleeping in the pram. However, she observed that grandparents, especially, seem to enjoy taking their pram-pushing walks in public areas where there is a high chance of running into acquaintances and friends – a matter of both being and performing the role of the proud grandparent.

Using the Everyday

Some of the interviewed walkers actively employed the tourist gait as a method of dealing with routine and monotony. Hellin described herself as being easily bored. Consequently, she often tries to change her walking routes. To give herself a challenge she has tried walking in unknown areas with the help of a compass: "It was something I really enjoyed when I tried it. I want to do it again. It makes walking more interesting. I like different kinds of walking," she commented. Introducing an element of confusion which had to be overcome added an aspect of play to an otherwise normal walk (cf. Schechner 2006: 82, 84). Successfully finding her way back to familiar territory gave Hellin a sense of achievement. Her play/performance experiment closely parallels a sightseeing tourist's visit to an unfamiliar environment where the task is to find famous sights with the help of the sometimes scanty data provided.

Siv's tourist gait technique, on the other hand, is a travelling in the mind. She started walking extensively for health reasons twenty years ago and has come to appreciate walking without company. Although the routes are often the same, she revels in the freedom of letting her thoughts roam as she is walking:

Sometimes when I am walking by myself I am thinking that it will be exciting to see what I will end up thinking about. What fun! (...) You start associating and suddenly you are thinking about

something and you wonder how on earth did I come to think about this. Then you have to trace back to find what initiated it. Spending time in your own company is not a bad thing.

It is no coincidence that narrative modes such as stream-of-consciousness can be traced to the flâneurs' touristic journalism of bringing together inner monologues and exterior perceptions (Gleber 1999: 18f.). The ability to discover the familiar anew and registering one's impressions and thoughts lie at the core of the art of flânerie, but can also provide a golden shimmer to an "ordinary" walk.

By applying the tourist gait to the more or less daily walks taken for instance by dog-owners and parents with baby carriages, a necessary task can become imbued with a sense of novelty. Henrika is a mother of two. With the arrival of her children a new type of walking was introduced into her life – the pushing of the pram. As it turned out, both of her children required long walks in order to sleep, and as a result Henrika spent many hours per day in the pursuit of this desired condition. She purposefully undertook to explore and learn more about different parts of Helsinki during her walks. She explained: "I did it quite deliberately since it would have been rather boring to walk aimlessly. When you walk every day it would have been boring to walk the same route over and over again."

In selecting her routes she had three main requirements; it had to be a stretch long enough to allow the child to sleep a sufficient amount of time, the environment could not be too noisy and it had to include interesting visual diversions for herself. In other words, it was the performative quality of the landscape that attracted Henrika. This meant that she, at least initially, planned her walks in advance so that she would cover different parts of the city. Henrika described her walking with the pram as distinct from her normal style of walking and more similar to walking in less well-known terrain:

[With the pram] I walk slowly, and if the purpose is to get the child to sleep I might drag my feet in order for it to take a really long time, and I look in

all the shop windows and at other things, which is quite different from my usual walking. So the rhythm is definitively different, and it is much slower when I walk with the pram. If I walk by myself, I am very fast and [then] I'm not good at *flânerie* and I don't look around much. Of course if one walks in an unfamiliar town the rhythm is different (...) and one pays more attention to the surroundings.

Sofia, who walks her dog every day, has similar ideas of how a good walk should be composed. For her, variation is an important element and through her frequent walks she has developed an intimate familiarity with her home town. The tourist gait tactic of exploring and observing lends Sofia's walks with her dog a "flâneuresque" character. She commented:

In this way you become familiar with both buildings, the environment and with people. Perhaps you are more observant as well, as you are walking without a goal in a way, you make stops every now and then, and have time to look around.

Repsho and her friends have taken the tourist gait tactic even further by deliberately posing as tourists in their hometown of Helsinki. They pretend not to understand Finnish and ask for directions in English and perform their parts as archetypical tourists by taking pictures and making comments such as "Oh, lovely, very nice!" when walking around (cf. Bærenholdt et al. 2004: 2). The do it partly for a laugh and to see people's reactions. "It is nice to joke about the role that you live here and that you have to know everything and, like, know the rules and how to move around", Repsho commented. This performative tactic also allows one to see one's everyday environment with different eyes, she added:

Because if you think of everyday life you just go from one spot to another, and you know basically all your addresses – you know where you have to be. But if you spend an afternoon pretending to be a tourist then you sort of look up and you see the buildings. You see more than just a shop on

the bottom floor. So it is a different view, because most of the time I don't have time to look everywhere and try to see.

Repscho's playful and creative inclusion of tourist gait tactics into everyday walking would likely win favour with the British writer Alain de Botton who, inspired by the French sixteenth century author Xavier de Maistre's account *Journey Around my Bedroom*, decided to conduct an experiment of walking his normal route to the nearby London underground station as if for the very first time. By regarding everything as potentially interesting, he discovered, somewhat to his own surprise, many new details in

the familiar landscape. He concluded, as did Repscho, that it might be well worth our while to try to notice what we have in fact already seen (de Botton 2002).

Place and Memory

Experiences are emplaced. As pointed out by American philosopher Edward S. Casey, it follows that our memory of what we experience is place-specific (Casey 1987: 182). The tourist gait is necessarily shaped by place, but can also be a method of creating memories of places. Spending time in particular areas of the city establishes relations with these places. Walking, de Certeau claimed, opens up spaces to memory and provides a substitute for local legends



Ill. 2: Combining a stroll with the enjoyment of beautiful vistas has long been a popular practice. In the nineteenth century, walking was already an established pastime among the bourgeois and the upper classes. This lithograph from 1852 follows the contemporary convention of placing walkers in the foreground of a panoramic town view, in this case Åbo (Turku). (Åbo Akademis bildsamlingar. Lithography: J. Reinberg)

which places nowadays lack (de Certeau 1984: 106f.; see also Tangherlini, this volume). Frequent walks which include an active involvement with one's surroundings build an awareness of the historical layers of places – specifically with regards to recent micro-history, such as reflections of the kind “Last year this was a bakery, now it's a café” (cf. *ibid.*: 108). Sofia makes use of the fact that she has time to look around during her walks. Apart from generally surveying the surroundings, she is also actively looking for enjoyable things for her dog to do, such as walls for balancing and bollards to jump over. Through her daily walks, she becomes aware of changes in the cityscape and has discovered many favourite spots to return to with her dog. She underlined the feeling of being “at home” in the city. As the example of Sofia and her canine walking companion demonstrates, even small everyday actions have the potential of giving rise to place memories and emotional ties to specific places.

The historic layers and palimpsest-like quality of the streetscapes intrigued several of the interviewed pedestrians. Ari, a Helsinki resident who has visited and lived in many European cities, believes that it is no coincidence that tourists from all over the world are drawn to old-town areas where it is possible to see buildings from many different centuries. He described walking in a suburban “concrete jungle” as heartbreaking, whereas walking with one's senses attuned in an old part of town allows one to discern the human touch behind the urban landscape. This is something, he asserted, that, regardless of whether in one's hometown or abroad, people are naturally attracted to.

The tourist gait tactics of Sofia and Ari turn the surrounding cityscape into an arena of performances in which present-day scenes intertwine with historic layers and personal projections. The creative ambulator has a multimedia drama at her feet.

Transgressing Borders and Travelling at Home

Taking the “scenic route” is a typical example of using the tourist gait tactically. It is a matter of choosing a route explicitly for the aesthetic enjoyment it

provides rather than for its practicality. Here the walker adopts the role of a director by linking scenes together to create a cinematic and sensory performance experience. Several of the pedestrians in this study confessed to being prone to taking their walks in environments that they found attractive even if it was not always the most efficient itinerary. Ari has a number of carefully planned scenic routes he likes to walk. But he also finds himself drawn to beautiful vistas even when he has not particularly set out to find them, which frequently takes him on lengthy detours. Hellin pays close attention to visually pleasing environs in the vicinity of her home and often tries to take her walks past houses with gardens she admires. In the wintertime, she restructures her walk to include homes with festive Christmas lighting. Under Hellin's directed gaze, the gardens are on display. They are made to perform the part of an outdoor art gallery. The artistic gardener, in turn, has successfully captivated her audience (cf. Bauman 1992: 41).

Anne, who walks daily for exercise, deliberately visits both familiar and unfamiliar areas of Helsinki in order to explore the cityscape during her walks. She refers to it as a way of giving everyday life a silver lining. For her, walking is both an aesthetic experience and a way of partaking in city life:

In Helsinki there are completely dissimilar environments with completely dissimilar atmospheres and different types of people. And the shops are different and what they are selling. It is like travelling although it is close. You don't need to go that far.

During her walking expeditions Anne ventured into areas of Helsinki she had previously been avoiding. By walking through these parts of town and finding that things were indeed different but also similar to what she was used to, she eventually turned unknown neighbourhoods into more familiar and less intimidating areas. The tourist gait practice became a possibility of conquering new ground as well as of developing a greater sense of security:

Perhaps I was a bit scared before, thought that it was a bit frightening. But when I walked more outside the comfort zone, it no longer felt unsafe and unpleasant. You became more familiar with it. And at the same time I thought the whole of Helsinki began feeling more familiar. (...) I used to think that it was scary to walk around alone, but after having moved around more by myself I started feeling safe (...) I think you can learn to feel safer by spending more time in these places. The border is more psychological than anything, even though it is associated with a particular place.

For Anne, walking became a way to change her emotional relationship to places she had viewed in a negative light. After visiting these areas with interest and an open mind, she was pleasantly surprised to find that she had, additionally, gained more self-confidence.

Feeling at home and feeling comfortable in an environment are not always one and the same thing; both, however, are complex and multilayered processes. Repsho is a young Finnish woman of Somali background. She moves around with ease in Helsinki and knows her city well. She explained that she feels well attuned to her everyday environments: “[I’m] comfortable here, and I’ve been here for so long. And when I walk here I am confident because I know the language very well, and I know somehow how people are and how they behave. So the environment is familiar.” Repsho observed that when she returned to Helsinki after holidays abroad she felt that Finnish nature and the more “down-to-earth” surroundings in Helsinki were something she identified strongly with. However, when answering a question on where she feels most at home in the city she hesitated:

It is really hard to answer because, okay, in the east [of Helsinki] there are more immigrants but I don’t feel like I am like them, or personally I don’t feel like I am a basic Somali, but then if I go to the centre it doesn’t matter how I’m dressed [she wears a hijab], but when I go to the centre I always feel different. Not necessarily in a bad way, but

I always feel different. But then when I come to the east I feel like I don’t really belong. Of course I might fit in better in the east, because there are more black people, more Somali people. But the feeling “at home” – I wouldn’t use that word for me. I don’t know where I feel at home, except in my own room.

External perception and the perception of one’s body are two facets of the same act (Merleau-Ponty [1962] 2006: 237). As we see others and move around in certain environments we also become aware of ourselves as situated. A feeling of “being different” might therefore force us into a tourist gait despite our wishes. Unrestricted and unquestioned patterns of movement are still in many cases only for certain segments of the population and for those in power. However, it is exactly when an individual is up against limitations that the tourist gait’s tactical importance becomes critical.⁷

Walking to Claim and Perform Space

Walking confirms belonging. Paths and routes that we walk frequently become imprinted in our body movements and memory, at the same time as our walking is an outward performance of a connection to place (de Certeau 1984: 108, 110). Many of the people I interviewed about their walking described a feeling of being in tune with certain settings. Here familiarity does not translate to boredom but to a sense of mastery and confidence. Similar to the flâneur’s ability to read city scenes while weaving in and out of arcades, boulevards and side streets, Helin made use of her local knowledge when walking in her old neighbourhood: “I really liked the routes where I used to live and I loved knowing the landscape so well. Knowing all the shortcuts I could take and so on.” For her, being able to follow a mental map and improvise on one’s feet increased the enjoyment of the walk.

In some cases, walking is a deliberate tactic of claiming and performing space. One example of this is a recent project of making a cultural-historical guidebook for the city of Helsinki. The guidebook, which was published in the autumn of 2010, does,

for the most part, look and function as a normal city guide, containing suggested walking itineraries, historical and cultural information as well as maps and illustrations. However, this particular guidebook has a specific theme: It sets out to explore and investigate Helsinki from a female point of view – or, rather, it is a guide to the Helsinki of women: *Kvinnornas Helsingfors*. The initiators of the guidebook project belong to the mailing list of *kulturfeministerna* (“the culture feminists”), an unofficial network for women working with culture in different capacities. The guidebook project was inspired by guided Helsinki-walks with queer and lesbian themes arranged in conjunction with the annual lesbian, bisexual and transgender cultural festival *The Nights and Days of Tribades*. The suggestion of writing a guidebook with a “female theme” was raised on the network’s mailing list not long after the network had been founded in the spring of 2007, and soon a group of people interested in the project had signed up. Although the majority of the large number of contributors to the book have backgrounds in the fields of culture and academia, their articles are aimed at a broad audience and are written in a popular style.

A primary objective of the project is to reinvest monuments and institutions with alternative meanings. Rita Paqvalén, one of the main editors for the guide, commented on this ambition by underlining the importance of seeing new or unexpected things in familiar environments. She described the city as containing a multitude of voices and layers:

If one learns about things one can see the different layers. The more one learns, the more one sees that there *are* layers, and that there is always something seeping out from beneath the present official facade. There are these gaps.

And it is exactly “these gaps” that make this cultural-historical guidebook distinct from most other official guides to Helsinki. Apart from presenting famous buildings and monuments from a different perspective, the list of contents for the guidebook mentions hospitals and shelter homes, graffiti artists and girl groups as well as drifters and prostitutes.

The stories of the “gaps” are treated as being just as worthy of our attention as national monuments and historical people of power.

Alongside the guidebook, the project group also intends to arrange a number of guided walking tours on different themes from the book. The planned tours will follow a more reciprocal model than the traditional guided city walk. Each tour will be escorted by several guides, taking turns in giving short presentations on various subjects along the route. Rita explained that the intention is to transform the walks into an interactive forum for the project in which the tour participants can ask questions and contribute their own knowledge. She added:

I believe the people who take part will have certain expectations and form more of a collective, which is different from anonymous city tours where the participants probably won’t go and have a cup of coffee together afterwards.

The underlying idea is that the tours will lend the guidebook a physical expression, a living embodiment of the book. In this manner, the walk becomes a story in itself, in which different voices and stories communicate with each other and amalgamate into a communal narrative. The walks aim to create a performed – and concrete – sense of community.

The itineraries in the guidebook can of course also be performed privately according to the individual reader’s initiative and inclination. de Certeau asserted that everyday walkers manipulate spatial organizations to create their own rhetoric of walking. Their movements cannot be captured, but the intertwined paths of footsteps are what give shape to spaces (de Certeau 1984: 97, 100, 102). The tactical tourist gait is a way of performing stories and this is precisely how the tourist format is employed by the “Helsinki of Women” project. In one of the guidebook’s articles, artist Heidi Lunabba discusses how people leave traces in the city landscape, and points out that some ways of leaving traces are disapproved of by the authorities and some traces are just left in people’s minds (Lunabba, 2010; cf. de Certeau 1984: 99). Lunabba has provided the guidebook with sten-

cil portraits of some of the women featured in the articles. Through using one of the stencils, for example with chalk on asphalt, the reader reinforces the mark left by the portrayed woman, while simultaneously leaving a trace both of the guidebook and of oneself. Performing space in this manner equates a visible, albeit ephemeral, claiming of space.

In the “Helsinki of Women” project, the employment of the established formats of the guidebook and the guided tour is used as a means of re-interpreting the emotive charge of places. In my interviews with the editors of the book, the example of the notorious Kaisaniemi Park was raised. In recent years, this idyllic park adjacent to the Helsinki railway station has acquired a reputation for being a dangerous place for women to frequent after dark in the wake of several reported rapes and attacks. In 2007, a group of young women demonstrated against this geography of fear by setting up camp in the park and spending several nights there. The guidebook authors have similar concerns about finding ways of dealing with problematic spaces, to which women’s access has been denied or limited due to laws, tradition or fear. In this way, the seemingly passive act of following prescribed walk itineraries becomes a highly active performative tactic of re-reading and reclaiming city space.⁸

Conclusion

As this article hopefully demonstrates, a closer look at contemporary walking practices in the Nordic countries reveals that walking is much more than just a means of transportation. Walking involves place, motion, and embodied sensory experiences (cf. Casey 1996: 23). The term “tourist gait” is a way of describing a type of walking typical of tourism, in the sense that as tourists we tend to experience things more intensely, have a heightened sensory awareness and increase our interaction with our surroundings. Walking is one of the ways in which we learn to practice and perform tourism. Therefore, the tourist gait is pre-informed by expectations and knowledge that will influence how we perceive our experiences.

However, in this article my aim has been to dem-

onstrate that this manner of walking can also form a part of the everyday and the “getting on” of people. Movement is a vital aspect of dwelling, and of how we inhabit space and create places. Walking is a way to produce space (in this case Nordic Space) as lived and practiced. Moreover, the tourist gait acts as a means of communication, containing the whole range of performance modes from deliberate manifestations to incidental expressions of lifestyle.

In his writing, de Certeau highlighted everyday habits and routines as crucial spaces for the individual to move and to act. This is precisely where walking practices can take on tactical uses. Consequently, the tourist gait not only characterizes our walks on foreign shores. It can be employed at home in order to transform daily habits into tactical manoeuvres which may turn compulsory walks into aesthetic and interesting experiences, become a way of conquering personal fears and expanding one’s borders, or even be a method of negotiating, claiming and performing space. This is performance art of a pedestrian kind – mundane perhaps, but definitively creative.

Notes

- 1 It goes without saying that everyday walking is often experienced as, exactly, everyday and rather boring. It is not necessarily a pleasurable experience. My intention in this article is not to romanticize walking but to draw attention to how people may use their walking creatively, sometimes even in less ideal situations. Walking as a field of research has a substantial, and growing, body of literature. Some authors have studied the cultural history of walking practices in a broader sense (e.g. König 1996; Solnit 2000; Amato 2004; Nicholson 2008), but there are also many works which deal with more specific aspects of walking, such as the connection between walking and literature (e.g. Marples 1959; Robinson 1989; Wallace 1993; Jarvis 1997; Parsons 2000). In the fields of anthropology, ethnology, and cultural geography, the recent emphasis on embodied practices is reflected in an interest in walking as a cultural phenomenon (e.g. Ingold 2004; Ingold & Vergunst 2008). Moreover, special “genres” of walking such as pilgrimage (see note 2) and *flânerie* (see note 4) have long attracted scholarly attention.
- 2 Similarities between the two are easy to find. Even if the overarching reasons for undertaking a pilgrimage

- were religious, many medieval pilgrims were further fired by the sense of adventure and the possibility of seeing far away places during their travels (Birch 1998: 116f.; Webb 1999: 199, 235ff.). Another parallel between pilgrimage and the heritage tourism of today can be found in the quest for the authentic and “real” experiences. In the same way that the pilgrim wants to see, touch and experience the actual objects and places associated with saints and miracles, the tourist is attracted to phenomena and places perceived as genuine and charged with an aura of historical or cultural uniqueness (cf. Webb 1999: 71; Bendix 2000). For studies on modern day religious tourism, see e.g. Swatos & Tomasi 2002. Anthropologists Victor Turner’s and Edith Turner’s seminal work (Turner & Turner 1978) described pilgrimage as a liminal phase (a transition between separation and reincorporation) during which participants can experience *communitas*. Turner’s work is still influential. However, newer studies have offered a critique of the Turnerian structural perspective and have, among other things, emphasized the movement aspect of pilgrimages (see e.g. Coleman & Elsner 1995; Coleman & Eade 2005). Walking plays a more important role in some types of pilgrimage than others. The most well known European “walking-pilgrimage” phenomenon of today is the immensely popular Santiago de Compostela, which has not gone unnoticed by researchers. Recent ethnographic studies in which the authors themselves have walked the *Camino de Santiago* include e.g. Frey 1998; Schire 2006; Peelen & Jansen 2007. For the establishing of a new European pilgrimage trail, *Camino Europeo del Rocío*, see Plasquy 2010.
- 3 Richard Long’s landscape sculptures include e.g. the well-known *A Line Made by Walking* (England 1967) and *Positive Negative: A 15 day walk in the Three Sisters Wilderness* (Oregon 2001). Gunther Brus’ performance *Vienna Walk* (1965) consisted of the artist walking around in the centre of Vienna painted all in white with a black line over his face and body. Performance artist Bruce Nauman has many times used exaggerated forms of walking for his work, e.g. his video *Slow Angle Walk* (1969) investigates movements of the human body.
 - 4 Sharing research interest with his colleague Franz Hessel (*Spazieren in Berlin*, 1929), Walter Benjamin made the flâneur a central figure in his writing (“The Return of the Flâneur” 1999b). Benjamin considered Paris the home of *flânerie* and the poet Baudelaire as one of its foremost representatives. The renewed interest in Benjamin’s theoretical writing (such as the unfinished *The Arcade Project* 1999a) within cultural studies in the 1970s also brought the flâneur back as an analytical figure (see Buck-Morss 1989; Osborne 2005). Useful studies on the flâneur that are often referred to are Tester 1994b and Jenks 1995; see also Gleber 1999, for a thorough presentation of German *flânerie*. The existence or non-existence of female *flânerie*, the *flâneuse*, has engaged several feminist thinkers (see Wolff 1985; Wilson 1992; Parsons 2000). The flâneur has been popular as an analytical tool in studies on contemporary society (see e.g. Shields 1994; Bauman 1996; Jenks & Neves 2000).
 - 5 The interviewees (about 25 people) have been found through recommendations and snowball sampling, 2008–2010. The people quoted in the text have been given pseudonyms. Quotes in Swedish and Finnish have been translated to English by the author.
 - 6 In his famous essay “The Painter of Modern Life”, Baudelaire admiringly describes the artist/flâneur: “The crowd is his element, as the air is that of birds and the water of fishes. His passion and his profession are to become one flesh with the crowd. For the perfect flâneur, for the passionate spectator, it is an immense joy to set up house in the heart of the multitude, amid the ebb and flow of movement, in the midst of the fugitive and the infinite. To be away from home and yet to feel oneself everywhere at home; to see the world to be at the centre of the world and yet to remain hidden from the world – such are a few of the slightest pleasures of those independent, passionate, impartial natures which the tongue can but clumsily define. (...) Or we might liken him to a mirror as vast as the crowd itself; or to a kaleidoscope gifted with consciousness, responding to each one of its movements and reproducing the multiplicity of life and the flickering grace of all the elements of life” (Baudelaire 1964: 8ff.).
 - 7 A related and very important question that unfortunately cannot be adequately addressed within the confines of this article is the ways in which the rights of certain groups of people to move and dwell in the city are restricted and/or controlled through fear, laws, poor design, power relations etc. Regarding the issues of city space in connection with women, see e.g. Koskela 2003, disabled people, see e.g. Gleeson 1999, homeless people, see e.g. Mitchell 2003; Amster 2004, immigrants and ethnic groups, see e.g. Teelucksingh 2006; Galanakis 2008.
 - 8 Another example of how performance and walking practices have been used creatively in order to inspire and initiate social change is the work undertaken by the London-based organisation PLATFORM, which was founded in 1983 as a venue for addressing ecological issues and social justice. Since its inception, PLATFORM has used walking as performance, as a research method, as a political tool and as a medium for sharing information (Trowell 2000). One of PLATFORM’s recent projects has been a series of critical guided walks on contemporary corporate culture during which historical and contemporary ethical issues in trans-

national corporate business have been presented and discussed. These public walks have proved to be immensely popular and have attracted many participants (www.platformlondon.org, accessed May 7, 2010). Jane Trowell, one of PLATFORM's core members, commented on the use of walking as a method and a means of communication: "Walking has been part of PLATFORM's work from the very earliest days. Learning and developing ideas through literally walking the land or city-scape is central to a notion of grounded practice. You need to put your body in the place you are talking about, and move around and through it. (...) We often teach workshops and classes outside and through walks. We are often asked to create a 'walking' response to an issue. Walks and walking work because the issues touch the body, all the senses are triggered. It's a rich experience which cannot be legislated for entirely by the artist/activist. The unexpected happens and the walk has to take that into consideration, even welcome it" (e-mail interview, Jane Trowell May 20, 2010).

References

Interviews

Quoted: Ari, Anne, Ellinor, Hellin, Henrika, Repsho, Siv, Sofia, Ulla

Fieldwork in Mariehamn, Åbo & Helsinki, 2008–2010

Rita Paqvalén, Helsinki (May 12, 2008)

Jane Trowell, London (e-mail interview, May 20, 2010)

Literature

Amato, J.A. 2004: *On Foot: A History of Walking*. New York: New York University Press.

Amster, R. 2004: *Street People and the Contested Realms of Public Space*. New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC.

Bærenholdt, J.O., M. Haldrup, J. Larsen & J. Urry 2004: *Performing Tourist Places*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Baudelaire, C. 1964: The Painter of Modern Life. In: *The Painter of Modern Life and other Essays*. London: Phaidon.

Bauman, R. 1992: Performance. In: R. Bauman (ed.), *Folklore, Cultural Performances, and Popular Entertainments*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bauman, Z. 1996: From Pilgrim to Tourist – or a Short History of Identity. In: S. Hall & G.P. Du (eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London: Sage Publications.

Beck, U. & E. Beck-Gernsheim 1996: Individualization and 'Precarious Freedoms': Perspectives and Controversies of a Subject-Oriented Sociology. In: P. Heelas, S. Lash & P. Morris (eds.), *Detraditionalization: Critical Reflections on Authority and Identity*. Cambridge: Blackwell.

Bendix, R. 2000: Heredity, Hybridity and Heritage from One *Fin de Siècle* to the Next. In: P.J. Anttonen et al. (eds.), *Folklore, Heritage Politics and Ethnic Diversity*. Botkyrka, Sweden: Multicultural Centre.

Benjamin, W. 1999a: *The Arcades Project*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Benjamin, W. 1999b: The Return of the Flâneur. *Selected Writings. Vol. 2, 1927–1934*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University.

Birch, D.J. 1998: *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press.

Botton, A. de 2002: *The Art of Travel*. London: Penguin.

Buck-Morss, S. 1989: *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.

Casey, E.S. 1987: *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Casey, E.S. 1996: How to get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time: Phenomenological Prologomena. In: S. Feld & K. Basso, *Senses of Place*. Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press.

Certeau, M. de 1984: *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Christensson, J. 2001: *Konsten att resa: Essäer om lärda svenska resenärer*. Stockholm: Atlantis.

Coleman, S. & M. Crang (eds.) 2002: *Tourism: Between Place and Performance*. Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Coleman, S. & J. Eade (eds.) 2005: *Reframing Pilgrimage: Cultures in Motion*. London: Routledge.

Coleman, S. & J. Elsner (eds.) 1995: *Pilgrimage: Past and Present in the World Religions*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Crang, M. 1999: Knowing, Tourism and Practices of Vision. In: D. Crouch (ed.), *Leisure/Tourism Geographies: Practices and Geographical Knowledge*. London: Routledge.

Crouch, D. 2002: Surrounded by Place: Embodied Encounters. In: S. Coleman & M. Crang (eds.), *Tourism: Between Place and Performance*. Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Del Negro, G.P. 2004: *The Passeggiata and Popular Culture in an Italian Town: Folklore and the Performance of Modernity*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Frey, N. 1998: *Pilgrim Stories: On and Off the Road to Santiago*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Galanakis, M. 2008: *Space Unjust: Socio-Spatial Discrimination in Urban Public Space. Cases from Helsinki and Athens*. Helsinki: School of Design, University of Art and Design.

Giddens, A. 1991: *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Gleber, A. 1999: *The Art of Taking a Walk: Flanerie, Literature, and Film in Weimar Culture*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Gleeson, B. 1999: *Geographies of Disability*. London: Routledge.

Goffman, E. 1959: *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Doubleday Anchor Books.

Gunnell, T. (ed.) 2007: *Masks and Mummification in the Nordic*

- Area. Uppsala: Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur.
- Hessel, F. 1929: *Spazieren in Berlin*. Leipzig: Hans Epstein.
- Hymes, D. 1975: Breakthrough into Performance. In: D. Ben-Amos & K.S. Goldstein (eds.), *Folklore: Performance and Communication*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Ingold, T. 2004: Culture on the Ground: The World Perceived through the Feet. *Journal of Material Culture*, 9: 3, 315–340.
- Ingold, T. & J. Vergunst (eds.) 2008: *Ways of Walking: Ethnography and Practice on Foot*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Jarvis, R. 1997: *Romantic Writing and Pedestrian Travel*. New York: St Martin's Press.
- Jenks, C. 1995: Watching Your Step: The History and Practice of the Flâneur. In: C. Jenks (ed.), *Visual Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Jenks, C. & T. Neves 2000: A Walk on the Wild Side: Urban Ethnography meets the Flâneur. *Journal for Cultural Research*, 4: 1, 1–17.
- König, G.M. 1996: *Eine Kulturgeschichte des Spazierganges: Spuren einer bürgerlichen Praktik 1780–1850*. Wien: Böhlau Verlag.
- Koskela, H. 2003: "In visible city": Insecurity, Gender, and Power Relations in Urban Space. In: J. Öhman & K. Simonsen (eds.), *Voices from the North: New Trends in Nordic Human Geography*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Löfgren, O. 1999: *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Low, S.M. 2000: *On the Plaza: The Politics of Public Space and Culture*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Lunabba, H. 2010: Att lämna spår i staden. In: A. Biström, R. Paqvalén & H. Rask (eds.), *Kvinnornas Helsingfors: En kulturhistorisk guide*. Helsingfors: Schildts.
- Marples, M. 1959: *Shank's Pony: A Study of Walking*. London: Dent.
- Merleau-Ponty, M. [1962] 2006: *Phenomenology of Perception*. London: Routledge.
- Mitchell, D. 2003: *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space*. New York: The Guilford Press.
- Nicholson, G. 2008: *The Lost Art of Walking: The History, Science, Philosophy, and Literature of Pedestrianism*. New York: Riverhead Books.
- Osborne, P. (ed.) 2005: *Walter Benjamin: Critical Evaluations in Cultural Theory*. New York: Routledge.
- Österlund-Pötzsch, S. 2007: Stadspromenaden: En kringirrande betraktelse. In: G. Limbach & L. Marander-Eklund (eds.), *Reflektioner: En vänskrift till Ulrika Wolf-Knuts*. Åbo: Åbo Akademi.
- Pallasmaa, J. 2005: *Encounters: Architectural Essays*. Helsinki: Rakennustieto Oy.
- Parsons, D.L. 2000: *Streetwalking the Metropolis: Women, the City, and Modernity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Peelen, J. & W. Jansen 2007: Emotive Movement on the Road to Santiago de Compostela. *Etnofoor*, XX: 1, 75–96.
- Plasquy, E. 2010: El Camino Europeo del Rocío: A Pilgrimage towards Europe. *Journal of Religion in Europe*, 3: 2, 256–284.
- Robinson, J.C. 1989: *The Walk: Notes on a Romantic Image*. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Schama, S. 1995: *Landscape and Memory*. London: Harper-Collins.
- Schechner, R. 2006: *Performance Studies: An Introduction*. New York & London: Routledge.
- Shire, D. 2006: The Camino de Santiago: The Interplay of European Heritage and New Traditions. *Ethnologia Europaea*, 36: 2, 69–86.
- Shields, R. 1994: Fancy Footwork: Walter Benjamin's Notes on Flânerie. In: K. Tester (ed.), *The Flâneur*. London: Routledge.
- Solnit, R. 2000: *Wanderlust: A History of Walking*. New York: Viking.
- Swatos, W.H. & L. Tomasi (eds.) 2002: *From Medieval Pilgrimage to Religious Tourism: Social and Cultural Economics of Piety*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Teelucksingh, C. (ed.) 2006: *Claiming Space: Racialization in Canadian Cities*. Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press.
- Tester, K. 1994a: Introduction. In: K. Tester (ed.), *The Flâneur*. London: Routledge.
- Tester, K. (ed.) 1994b: *The Flâneur*. London: Routledge.
- Tourist and Convention Bureau, The: *See Helsinki on Foot*. (Pdf-file). City of Helsinki, www.visitihelsinki.fi/loader.aspx?id=f6dfddac-138f-46bf-9f2a-01e80cbf6799.
- Trowell, Jane 2000: The Snowflake in Hell and the Baked Alaska: Improbability, Intimacy and Change in the Public Realm. In: S. Bennett & J.H. Butler (eds.), *Locality, Regeneration and Divers[c]ities*. Bristol: Intellect Press.
- Turner, V. & E. Turner 1978: *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Urry, J. 1990: *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*. London: Sage.
- Wallace, A.D. 1993: *Walking, Literature, and English Culture: The Origins and Uses of Peripatetic in the Nineteenth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Webb, D. 1999: *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in Medieval West*. London: I.B. Tauris Publishers.
- Wilson, E. 1992: *The Sphinx in the City: Urban Life, the Control of Disorder, and Women*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Wolff, J. 1985: The Invisible Flâneuse: Women and the Literature of Modernity. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 2: 3, 37–46.

Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch, Ph.D., is a researcher in folkloristics at Åbo Akademi University, Åbo/Turku, Finland. Her research and publications focus on empirical and theoretical work concerning walking practices, Finland-Swedish ethnicity, performance and heritage.
(susanne.osterlund-potzsch@welho.com)