Mapping Montreal Flaneurs' Stories

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Abstract

Mapping Montreal Flaneurs' Stories

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Although traditionally, the flaneur has been attached to the specific geo-historical context of nineteenth-century Paris, flaneurs have evolved throughout the twentieth century and continue to meander in contemporary cities. Flaneurs not only meander; they also tell stories about their meanderings, including stories about a city, a neighbourhood, a street, a park, a bench and about the different people and non-human creatures they encounter. Given the detail-oriented trait of the flaneur's personality and their capacity to act as a connoisseur and a collector of unnoticed, invisible and neglected city's components, these stories provide a unique perspective on the city, on its inhabitants and their behaviours. In this project, I investigate flânerie as a critical tool to reflect upon the relationships between people, objects, and places through the mapping of these stories. My journey in the world of flanerie starts with the identification of contemporary flaneurs who have been telling stories about their flaneries, with a particular focus on Montreal. Among the rich material these flaneurs collected and shared, I selected seven stories from a printed magazine (i.e. the Flaneur Magazine) dedicated to flaneries along rue Bernard from Outremont to Mile End. To map these stories, I developed a graphic language dedicated to representing various spatio-temporal and personal aspects of these stories. This language was inspired by the concept of Inductive Visualization (Knowles et al. 2015), which allows for the spatial expression of a story based on its content, in contrast with conventional euclidean cartographic structure. This approach led me to produce The Flanerie Atlas of Rue Bernard, which corresponds to the creation part of this research-creation project. Throughout the production of this original atlas, I was able to develop a methodology to map data from stories and to propose a new (carto)graphic language dedicated to the representation of stories. This atlas revealed certain particularities of Rue Bernard as captured by flaneurs' stories. It led me to reflect on the relevance of mobilizing flaneurs' materials to study a park, a street, a neighborhood. Flaneurs' materials, in this sense, show their potent to reveal people's affective bonds with places.

Keywords: Flaneur, Mapping stories, Spatial representation, Inductive Visualization, Montreal, Rue Bernard

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Chapter One

Introduction

"We walk, or I do, to pay attention, to see the streets, the buildings that surround us, to immerse ourselves in a world that might otherwise slip by. And yet, the paradox is that the more we walk, the less we notice, the more the passing landscape blurs to indistinction" (Woolf, 1930, p. 1).

Walking in the cities has a long history of being a fundamental and meaningful social activity (Shortell et al., 2016). Pedestrians have always existed in cities, and their standpoints have been one of the most influential modes of knowing (Furlani, 2016). These urban walkers include workers, shoppers, urban planners, and tourists, as well as flaneurs. Flaneurs occupy a particular place in the city due to their unique type of wandering and strolling and their way of looking around and observing the city from a critical point of view (Shortell et al., 2016). Although traditionally the flaneur has been attached to the specific geo-historical context of nineteenth-century Paris, this character has evolved throughout the twentieth century and continues to meander in contemporary cities (Boutin, 2012; Coates, 2017; Hughes, 2017; Nuvolati, 2014; Rizk et al., 2017; Westin, 2014).

Contemporary flaneur has demonstrated their adaptability to the physical changes of the cities (Richards, 2003) and their capacity of being timeless and placeless (Westin, 2014). Flaneurs have been called Neo-flaneurs (Fahmi, 2008), Cyber-flaneurs (Featherstone, 1998b), Hybrid Flaneurs (Sylaiou et al., 2018), ethnographers (Kramer et al., 2011) and urban cartographers (Page et al., 2016). They have appeared in movies such as "Midnight in Paris" (dir. Woody Allen 2011) and "La Grande Belleza" (dir. Paolo Sorrentino 2013)(Boutin, 2017); in the work of photographers such as Benoit Bordeleau; in novels such as the "Rulles, Jours ouvrable" (Carpentier, 2005); in computer-generated texts such as "Entreville" by and J.R Carpenter(2006) and in newspaper articles such as in "Flaneur Magazine" published since 2013. These multiple appearances illustrate the recurrent presence of the flaneur in popular culture and allude to the possibility of this contemporary urban figure to offer a unique and unconventional perspective on the urban environment (Baudelaire, 1964; Benjamin, 1999; Gluck, 2003; Kramer et al., 2011).

The concept of the flaneur and the act of flânerie appeared in 19th-century literature, such as in Balzac's "La Comedie Humaine" (1845), Dumas' "Les Mohicans De Paris" (1863), and Allen Poe's "Man of the Crowd" (1840). However, it was Walter Benjamin (1999) who, through interpreting Baudelaire's "Paris Spleen" (1869), conceptualized and defined the flaneur and turned him into one of the most ambiguous and critical figures in the essential literature of modernity and urbanization. Flaneur's ambiguity derived from Benjamin' analysis (Birkerts, 1982) within which this figure played some detective role capable of reading people's persona via a human countenance of the street and sometimes merely a wanderer and observer aloof from the crowd (Frisby, 1994; McDonough, 2002; Tester, 1994). The tension between the desire of being part of the crowd (but not in the crowd) and the passion for seeing without being seen (Tester, 1994; Westin, 2014) is part of the flaneur's character, which increases their ambiguity and the difficulty to identify them.

Some scholars have tried to describe flaneurs by differentiating them from other city walkers. Indeed, just like any influential figure, ersatz of flaneurs have appeared, making it necessary to clarify the flaneur's main characteristics. Whereas Flanerie, as the flaneur's central performance, is conventionally identified by walking, wandering and roaming, Shield (1994) proclaimed, "Flânerie is more specific than strolling" (p. 65). Flanerie comes along with observation as its centrepiece (Trivundža, 2011); it is a way through which the flaneur can delve into the urban environment and into people's behaviours and specific aspects of urban life, which are generally overlooked by urban dwellers. In the same vein, Gilloch (1992) emphasizes flaneur's calm, unrushed conduct and wandering combined with a keen attentiveness to trivial, scattered and insignificant details of his/her surrounding (Cutcher et al., 2018; Trivundža, 2011). This detail-oriented trait of the flaneur's personality is essential for my research project since it characterizes their capacity to act as a connoisseur and a collector of unnoticed, invisible and neglected city's components, including human components (Birkerts, 1982; Cutcher et al., 2018; Frisby, 1994; Nuvolati, 2014).

There are different ways for flaneurs to collect urban data (Dörk et al., 2011). For Nas (2012), flaneurs can be Immobile and Mobile. While the immobile flaneur prefers to remain in a particular place in the city (e.g. a bench, a terrasse, a café) to observe it, the mobile flaneur engages more physically with their surrounding through meandering. Thus, the practice of flanerie can be seen as a way to reinforce the flaneur's perception and comprehension of the city (Murail, 2017; Trivundža, 2011). Moreover, despite the dominance of their visual sense and despite the flaneur's reputation for his/her extraordinary

ability to observe, there are, undeniably, other senses that influence flaneur's perception such as feelings, smells, flavours, sounds, weather and textures (Baudelaire, 1964; Boutin, 2012, 2017; Kramer et al., 2011). Simultaneously, flaneur's understanding of the city is informed by their thinking and reflects their capacity to actively interpret the many information collected through their critical point of view (Nuvolati, 2014).

The essential aspect is that "the act of flânerie is not complete until the flaneur's insights are shared with a public" (Trivundža, 2011, p. 78). Sharing observations, thoughts, ideas, critics, interpretations with others while (or after) wandering and loitering within shops, cafés terraces and streets and exploring "forgotten corners of cities" (Frisby, 1994) entails the flaneur to be a knowledge producer and a narrator (Frisby, 1994; Nuvolati, 2014). Flaneur's production can be extremely diverse within two primary forms of expression: (1) textual including literary texts (e.g. prose, poetry, plays), journalistic texts (e.g. feuilleton, sociological texts, cultural criticism), narratives and reports, and (2) visual productions including illustrations, caricatures, paintings, photographs and films. Thus, the flaneur is a unique urban data collector who collects, records and documents his/her readings, as well as a writer of the city who shares his/her collections, artifacts, ideas, and perceptions through different means of expression (Coates, 2017; Nas, 2012; Rizk et al., 2017).

Given the growing interest for stories and storytelling in different disciplines of the humanities and social sciences, including cultural geography (Cameron, 2012; Freeman, 2015) and urban planning (Sandercock, 2003; Throgmorton, 2003; Van Hulst, 2012), in this project, I propose to study how the flaneur's unique perspective of places, both as an urban stroller and a storyteller, can contribute to a better understanding of certain aspects of our relationships with the city, with a particular focus on Montreal.

In the next chapter of this thesis, I attempt to contextualize the flaneur's figure historically and politically based on Walter Benjamin's understanding and interpretation of the concept. By reviewing the flaneur's contribution to critique the social and cultural conditions of contemporary cities, I describe how the flaneur has evolved since its origins. Then I discuss the main functions of contemporary flaneurs in the cities through the study of their productions and the potential of these productions to study the sense of place in cities.

In chapter 3, I present the process of collecting data from Montreal's flaneurs that led to the development of my database. Then, I describe the methodology I have developed to mobilize flânerie's production to study a particular place: Rue Bernard in Montreal. I have no personal connection with this street, but I came to learn about it through my encounter with a special issue of the Flaneur Magazine dedicated to this street that became the primary dataset for my project.

The fourth chapter is the core of this thesis; it is the creative part of this research-creation project that takes the form of an Atlas: The Flânerie Atlas of Rue Bernard. Among the different types of research-creation projects identified by Chapman and Sawchuk (2008), this atlas can be considered as part of "research-for-creation" since the research phase was done prior to the creation phase. This atlas is a stand-alone object that includes a series of maps of seven flânerie stories. Each mapped story is accompanied by a brief description of the story's main components, the graph, and the flânerie synthesis section. Through the flânerie synthesis, I have focused on each story's significant aspects that led to characterize Rue Bernard. This atlas offers an alternative form of compiling different geographical data and peoples' relationship with their everyday experiences of places. As Rebecca Solnit (2010) claims in her cartographic narrative of San Francisco, "every place deserves an atlas" (p. vii), including rue Bernard.

In the fifth chapter, I explored the potential of flânerie production to study Rue Bernard and visualize the street's multilayered dimensions by analyzing the atlas. To do so, I started by exposing the physical traits of Rue Bernard. Then I reviewed the street's intangible features, which helped reflect my research question and the advantages and drawbacks of using flânerie production to study places. Finally, in the last chapter, I reviewed the main contributions of this thesis regarding the potential and limits of mapping flânerie stories to study urban places.

Before delving into the concept of flaneur, I just want to mention that I have been fascinated by this concept and this figure since 2016 when, as a student in Urban Studies at Azad University of Khorasgan Branch, I took a course in philosophy in which I read about Walter Benjamin's Arcade Project. Meanwhile, I was supporting a group of students at the Art University of Isfahan (Iran) that was working on a project of "looking at the city from flânerie perspective." Throughout these two experiences, I became fascinated by the Flaneur, its geo-historical background and its function in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It also inspired me to engage in flânerie in the city while taking

photos of what I felt was worth capturing and recording for my own design purposes. This became a turning point in my academic and professional career as an urban designer.

Chapter Two

The Evolution of the "Flaneur": A Literature Review

This chapter draws on Walter Benjamin's understanding and interpretation of the concept of the flaneur, discusses how this urban character remains relevant to study contemporary cities and addresses the following question: How does the flaneur contribute to critique and narrate the social and cultural conditions of contemporary cities? Addressing this question involves reviewing how the figure of the flaneur has evolved since its origins; engaging in the gender debate related to this figure; considering the main functions of contemporary flaneurs in the cities through the study of their productions; and discussing the potential contributions of flaneurs to urban studies.

2.1 Contextualizing the figure of the flaneur

"For the perfect flaneur, for the passionate spectator, it is an immense joy to set up house in the heart of 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 center of the world, and yet to remain hidden from the world".

(Baudelaire, 1863, p. 9)

The trope of the flaneur and the act of flânerie appeared in 19th-century literature, including Honoré de Balzac's *La Comedie Humaine* (1845), Alexandre Dumas's *Les Mohicans De Paris* (1863), and Edgar Allen Poe's *Man of the Crowd* (1840). However, it was Walter Benjamin who, through his interpretation of Baudelaire's *The painter of modern life* (1863) and *Paris Spleen* (1869), conceptualized and defined the flaneur as a way to interpret significant changes in modern history, industrialization and modern capitalism (Gleber, 1999; Tester, 1994).

While Baudelaire (1863) was portraying the flaneur as an artist-poet who dwells in the heart of the multitude and views everything from its very center while remaining anonymous, Benjamin turned the flaneur into one of the most ambiguous and critical figures in the essential literature of modernity and urbanization. According to Benjamin, this ambiguous figure (Birkerts, 1982) played some form of detective role and was capable of reading people's personas via the human countenance of the street (Frisby, 1994; McDonough, 2002; Tester, 1994). Benjamin celebrated the flaneur's anonymity. Indeed, the flaneur's character is typified by the ability to get lost in the crowd in a way that balances

the tension between the desire to be part of the crowd (but not in the crowd) and the passion for seeing without being seen (Tester, 1994; Westin, 2014). While it is a significant characteristic of the flaneur, such anonymity has also contributed to challenges in identifying flaneurs.

Through his flânerie notes and reflections from different cities such as Berlin, Paris and Mosco, Benjamin transformed the flaneur "from the negative conception of the stroller and producer of harmless physiognomies to the notion of the more directed observer and investigator of the signifiers of the city" (Frisby, 1994, p. 35). From Benjamin's perspective, the flaneur is "an emblem of the public sphere, a product of changes in the physical landscape and forms of movement those changes made possible" (Reynolds, 2007, p. 71). Thus, the flaneur was both an actor and a product of change. Indeed, in the 19th Century, cities such as Paris were undergoing profound modifications with the development of "grand boulevards" and department stores, which provided new territories for the flaneur to wander; as well as a rich social environment within which to understand the modern city (Frisby, 1994; Reynolds, 2007). For Benjamin, the modern city is the "flaneur's habitat" (van Leeuwen, 2019, p. 302), while at the same time, it is the "gravity center" for understanding modernity (La Rocca, 2017, p. 10).

On the one hand, the flaneur emerges as a symbol of modernity who becomes modernity's agent and gets affected by the commoditization of everyday life. Frisby (2013) argues that the flaneur's abandonment and submersion in the crowd is the result of prior experience in which "he had already succumbed to the world of commodities, either as a commodity himself or as a consumer" (p. 252). Synthesized by Gilloch (1992), the flaneur becomes "the strolling embodiment of the commodity" (p. 115). On the other hand, flaneurs act as keen observers capable of critiquing modernity and the conditions that shape the city, such as rapid changes in urbanization, industrialization and the commoditization of the society. The flaneur's sight, in this sense, focuses on the urban spaces, people, the flow of capital in cities, and how modern cities sink into commodity and consumerism while resisting those changes (Buck-Morss, 1986). Buck-Morss (1986) suggested that flaneurs, with their vulgar, luxury and self-controlling behaviors protest against the production process by ignoring rush hour and lingering around instead. Flaneurs demonstrate their rebellious positioning "against the division of labor" (Benjamin, 1999, p. 427) by aimlessly strolling in the city while standing against the "productive work time" and "functional leisure" that exist within the capitalist discourse (Buck-Morss, 1986). Hence, although flaneurs are products of modernity, they stand outside the constraints of industrial capitalism and its expected social behaviors, to walk at a slower pace compared with the

crowd surrounding them. In this context, flaneurs are much more engaged with looking, inspecting, imagining, reflecting and interpreting their surroundings than are many others sharing their spaces.

Flaneurs provide insight into modern everyday life by engaging in a way that challenges the bourgeois norms and expectations of production and efficiency. They turn to famous figures and simultaneously become marginalized urban characters within either cities' places or within social classes (Benjamin, 2019; Frisby, 1994; Gluck, 2003; Tester, 1994). A flaneur could stand in front of a shop window to reflect genuinely over the fashion trends, factories and origins and places of raw materials that went into making them (Benjamin, 1999; Buck-Morss, 1989; Gluck, 2003). This kind of flaneur behaviour "had given rise to a hundred types of reflections which the other spectator did not even suspect; it gave him[her] the opportunity for a long voyage in the imaginary world, that brilliant world, the best and above all, the fairest of all possible worlds" (Gluck, 2003, p. 70). Flaneurs' imaginary ability allows them to see what lies beneath the surface of things and to uncover their hidden meaning or aspect (Gluck, 2003; Tester, 1994). From this perspective, the flaneur's ability to read the city as a text becomes a common motif in the literature of flânerie and modernity.

Before delving into this feature of flânerie, it is worth mentioning that flaneurs in the 19th and 20th Centuries moved back and forth between streets and department stores (Ferguson, 1994). Department stores were forms of "logical outgrowth" of 19th century arcades (Ferguson, 1994, p. 34). Their numbers grew rapidly in the early 20th Century. While they offered consumers mass-produced commodities, they also offered the flaneur a new semi-public space for flânerie, while at the same time blurring the line between flaneur and consumer (Buck-Morss, 1989). Hence, the development of department stores contributed to the transformation of the flaneur into a consumer of goods and an agent of consumerism (Benjamin, 1999; Tester, 1994). The development of these semi-public and semi-private places had another consequence for flânerie: It opened flânerie to women (Reynolds, 2007).

2.2 Female flaneur and woman's flânerie

"She is not a disembodied eye like the theoretical flaneur who wanders through the city 'invisibly' and untouched, but a sentient participant in the city."

(Meskimmon, 1997, p. 21)

The existence and the presence of female flaneurs in public urban spaces have been broadly investigated and debated since the origins of flânerie (Buck-Morss, 1986, 1989; Burns, 2012; Dreyer et al., 2012; Gleber, 1997; Kramer, 2011; Wilson, 2001; Wolf, 1994; Wolff, 1985). Buck-Morss (1986) and Wolf (1985) argue that in the 19th Century, the presence of women in the street was mainly associated with prostitution. Similar to prostitutes, who were engaged in consumerist societies both as "seller and commodity," women's connection to consumerism involved consuming (i.e. buying goods and commodities) while being consumed by the male gaze as visual commodities and objects of desire (Buck-Morss, 1986; Gleber, 1997; Tester, 1994). According to Wilson (2001), the development of department stores had another influence on women's flânerie: making it possible in the first place. Indeed, these department stores expanded women's possibilities and opportunities to leave the domestic sphere and to wander in public and semi-public places (Van Nes et al., 2009; Wilson, 2001). By entering into department stores and other places such as theme parks, cafes, restaurant, museums, tea rooms, galleries and exhibitions, women found themselves with more freedom and safety to engage in "the pleasure of looking, socializing and strolling" (Dreyer et al., 2012, p. 40). Yet, the female flaneur has never experienced the city in the same way as the male flaneur (Van Nes et al., 2009). Her experience has been limited by the scarcity of leisure time, an abundance of domestic responsibility, and issues around safety in less crowded places (McDowell, 1999; Tester, 1994; Van Nes et al., 2009).

In the 20th Century, women have been encouraged to share and advertise their strolling experiences and stories across different places and spots. These flânerie stories became popular in 20th century novels such as Anita Loos' *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes (1925)*, Jean Rhys' *After Leaving Mr. Mackenzie* (1930), and *Good Morning Midnight* (1936). In these novels, female characters talk about their strolling in various places from London to Paris and describe their journeys across the Atlantic to Munich and New York (Wagner, 2019). While these flâneries were apolitical and characteristic of upper-class women, in the late 20th Century, women's flânerie and aimless movements in the street have been gaining a new "subject position, someone who becomes a new figure of a resistant gaze" (Dreyer et al., 2012, p. 41; Gleber, 1997).

The new image of women as flaneurs stands against the initial image of them on the streets as a "visual commodity" (Dreyer et al., 2012). In her study, Flaneuse: Women Walk the City in Paris, New York, Tokyo, Venice, and London (2017), Lauren Elkin illustrates women strolling in different city spots to investigate "its dark corners, peering behind facades, penetrating into secret courtyards" (Elkin, 2017, p. 19). Elkin envisions cities for the flaneuse as "performance spaces or as hiding places; as

places to seek fame and fortune or anonymity; as places to liberate herself from oppression or to help those who are oppressed; as places to declare her independence; as places to change the world or be changed by it"(p. 19).

Thus, although flânerie in the early 19th Century was considered as a "uniquely gendered practice" (Gleber, 1997, p. 68), throughout the 20th century, women engaged more systematically in flânerie – a reflection of the evolution of women's positions and rights in relation to the city (Carrera Suárez, 2015; Dreyer et al., 2012; Kramer, 2011; Nuvolati, 2014; Parsons, 2000; Richards, 2003). Although there are some clear differences in the way males and females engage in flânerie, the focus of this project is not to study these differences but rather to engage with their complementarities in order to explore how flânerie can be mobilized to better understand certain aspects of our relationship with cities.

2.3 Stepping back: what is flânerie?

The concept of flaneur has evolved since its emergence. It has transformed from a popular flaneur into a kind of avant-garde flaneur (Gluck, 2003), from someone who "serve[s] no tangible purpose" (Malone, 2012, p. 83) to someone with multifaceted functions in cities (Nuvolati, 2014). Throughout this evolution, scholars have tried to define the flaneur's features and personalities to differentiate them from other city walkers such as tourists, window shoppers and daily travellers. Indeed, ersatz of flaneurs have appeared over time, making it necessary to clarify the main characteristics of the flaneur and the act of flânerie.

Whereas flânerie is conventionally identified by walking, wandering and roaming, Shield (2014) argued that "flânerie is more specific than strolling" (p. 65). For example, it includes observation as its centrepiece (Benjamin, 1999; Tester, 1994) and is considered a thinking activity and a creative process (Ingold et al., 2008; Lucas, 2004). Flânerie is also a way through which the flaneur can delve into the urban environment, including people's behaviors and specific aspects of urban life that are generally overlooked by other urban dwellers. Flaneurs scrutinize their surroundings by looking around, observing cityscapes, people's facial expressions, manners, gestures, and guessing people's identities (Benjamin, 1999; Werner, 2004). They are usually calm and unrushed with a keen attentiveness to trivial, scattered and "insignificant" details of their surroundings (Cutcher et al., 2018; Gluck, 2003).

This interest in fragmented and crystallized features of the city turn flaneurs into collectors, discoverers and inventors of everyday life meaning (Birkerts, 1982; Frisby et al., 1994).

This detail-oriented trait of the flaneur's personality is essential for my research project since it characterizes their capacity to act as a connoisseur and a collector of unnoticed, invisible and neglected city components, including human components (Birkerts, 1982; Cutcher et al., 2018; Frisby et al., 1994; Nuvolati, 2014). This trait of the flaneur, in addition to many others, has evolved over time, along with the transformation of the city (Edmondson, 2014; Meagher et al., 2019).

2.4 Derive, quasi flaneurs towards contemporary flânerie

Different perspectives on flânerie have entailed different practices of walking and different critical and political visions of urban places (Bassett, 2004). In the 1950s and 1960s, situationism, an avant-garde artistic movement, adopted the practice of urban wandering to explore the modern city (Vachon, 2004). Through the practice of a form of flânerie named "dérive" (i.e. drifting), situationists were pushing a clear political agenda: studying and crossing psychogeography barriers (i.e. urban barriers that are imposed on us by a functionalistic and capitalistic structure of the city) (Debord, 1958). The theory and practice of the dérive were developed as "a way of life that corresponded to a living critique of the modern city" (Vachon, 2004, p. 53). Drifting experiences were then mapped to represent another perspective of the city based on impression and perceptions and structured around what situationists called "unite d'ambiance" (Debord, 1958; Harris, 2015). The dérive was part of the "psychogeography" of the city that was based on "subjective associations and emotions ingrained in the urban structure and texture and their effect upon people in cities' places" (Smith, 2010, p. 2).

Despite the apparent similarities between flânerie and drifting, they each have their own specificities. While flaneurs stroll through the city unintentionally, drifting has a clear political agenda. Drifting is also clearly defined by a set of rules (e.g. "at each intersection follow the tallest person for no more than two blocks"), while flânerie is not. Finally, dérive often involves a small group of people (possibly under the influence) while flânerie is usually engaged in individually.

Flaneurs and psychogeographers are still present in contemporary cities and have inspired contemporary forms of strolling. While traditionally flaneurs have been attached to the specific geohistorical context of nineteenth-century cities, these urban characters have evolved throughout the twentieth century and continue to meander in contemporary cities under the names of Neo-flaneur

(Fahmi, 2008), Cyber-flaneur (Featherstone, 1998a; Litherland, 2017), Hybrid flaneurs (Psarras, 2018), Urban ethnographer (Jenks et al., 2000; Kramer, 2011), Urban cartographers (Page et al., 2016), and Urban explorer (Cohen 2003).

These multiple reappearances of flaneurs illustrate the recurrent presence of the flaneur in popular culture and allude to the possibility of this urban figure offering a unique and unconventional perspective on today's urban environment (Baudelaire, 1863; Benjamin, 1999; Gluck, 2003; Kramer et al., 2011; Meagher et al., 2019; Reynolds, 2007). Contemporary flaneurs have demonstrated their adaptability to physical changes in cities (Richards, 2003) while demonstrating the capability to be timeless and placeless (Westin, 2014). Hence, scholars have introduced the concept of the flaneur in various disciplines (e.g. urban studies, cultural studies, literature, cartography, art studies, gender studies, etc.) either as a method of collecting qualitative data or as an analytical device (Birkerts, 1982; Cutcher et al., 2018; Daniilidisa, 2016; Edmondson, 2014; Ilkay, 2018; La Rocca, 2017; Nuvolati, 2014; Vaughan, 2009). The concept of flaneur is now "democratized," and in its contemporary forms, it stands as a metaphor for the contemporary urban dweller, collecting information and producing narratives (Meagher et al., 2019; Reynolds, 2007) while leads us to one of the essential aspects of flânerie: flaneurs' production.

2.5 From flânerie to production of [journalistic] text

"The social foundation of flânerie is journalism" (Frisby, 1994, p. 95)

According to Trivundža (2011), the function of flânerie is not completed until the flaneur's insights are shared with the public (p. 78). Sharing flaneurs' observations, thoughts, ideas, critics, and interpretations with others entails the flaneur being both a knowledge producer and a narrator (Nuvolati, 2014; Frisby, 1994). A flaneur's production can be extremely diverse within two primary forms of expression: textual and visual. Textual production can take the form of literary texts (including prose, poetry, plays), journalistic texts (feuilleton, sociological texts, cultural criticism), narratives and reports; whereas visual productions include illustrations, caricatures, paintings, photographs and films (Frisby, 1994; Trivundža, 2011).

In cultural geography, urban studies and critical theory, flaneur "embodies the spatial practices of walking as writing, writing as walking" (Reynolds, 2007, p. 70). Through their writing and reading of cities, the flaneur collects, records and documents. This documentation can then be shared through

different means of expression (Nas, 2012; Rizk and Birioukov, 2017; Coates, 2017). For the flaneur as a writer of the journalistic text, the modern city becomes a subject that is seen as a text made up of both material and metaphorical elements. Flaneurs' writing on cities tends to grasp and render these elements and "uses the fragments of consumer culture to make meaning" (Reynolds, 2007, p. 71). Their representations and interpretations of everyday life become a narrative device providing a multilayered and multi-dimensional form of expression that "offers more than descriptive social fact" (Ferry, 2017, p. 54). Through their self-reflective and multi-dimensional narratives, flaneurs have been trying to challenge normative discourses, in addition to informing or inspiring social change (Ferry, 2017). In other words, flaneurs are not only in the process of making meaning through their narratives but also in transforming the given meaning and value of urban places and bringing to the surface marginalized places and stories (Nuvolati, 2017; Reynolds, 2007). The flaneur can thus be considered as a unique urban data collector who is simultaneously an idiosyncratic urban storyteller. Hence, looking at flaneurs' data and artifacts can be seen as a way to delve into people's relationships with places from a different angle that may make us stop for a moment and think about everyday experiences and our connection to places.

2.6 Why stories? Why places?

"Every story is a travel story—a spatial practice" (De Certeau, 1998, p. 115).

Small stories, which can be defined as local, very personal, and toneless (Cameron, 2012), become significantly valuable for those who are engaged in transforming the dominant narrative. Storytelling practice, which refers to gathering individuals' experiences, memories, appetites and passions of city dwellers, can have significant power in understanding and (re)constructing relationships with the places in which we live (Chamberlin, 2010). Stories indeed can become a compelling means of giving value to people's experiences and making them known to others (Benjamin, 1969). Stories carry within them "elements that are both personal and social; they become a means of describing one's place in the world, of locating the individual within shared spaces" (Till, 2009, p. 114). Stories, which carry a significant amount of personal memory, feelings and history (Altman, 2008), might also be able to create "social, political and intellectual changes" and "transforming dominant narratives" (Cameron, 2012, p. 574). Stories can also give us access to

"marginal detail of everyday life" (Keith, 2003), and to a great extent, can help us in understanding our relationship to different aspects of places in more depth.

2.7 Memory, Sense of Place and flânerie

Stories "are not about abstract space but about [real] place" (Bodenhamer, 2016, p. 210). Stories are not only about describing these places and the events and memories associated with them; they also contribute to the production and formation of these places (Tuan, 1991). Stories, regardless of their tellers and origins, underline the relationships people have developed with places evoking experiences, memories and senses ties to those places (Bodenhamer, 2016; Caquard & Griffin, 2019; Caquard, Shaw, et al., 2019; Garda-Rozenberga, 2019). For Tuan (1979), we know the world through our experiences and senses of hearing, smelling, tasting, touching and seeing. These sensory dimensions, together with memories, "contribute to place meaning" (Raymond et al., 2017, p. 5), which is one of the critical elements of the sense we give to places (Williams, 2014).

Although the concept of sense of place (genius loci) is complex and multilayered, it mainly refers to "the intangible quality of a material place, perceived both physically and spiritually" (Vecco, 2020, p. 225). A sense of place is understood as being activated through our embodied experiences such as walking, observing and sensing. We indeed know, perceive and describe the atmosphere and character of a place (ambiance) through our senses, memory, intellect and imagination (Jiven et al., 2003). This resonates with the flaneur's notion of the sense of place, which Benjamin referred to as "the priest of genius loci" (Benjamin, 1999, p. 264). Mobilizing flânerie, in this sense, can be seen as a way to uncover and even make sense of place (Birkerts, 1982; Daniilidisa, 2016; Edmondson, 2014). Indeed, as flaneurs walk through the city both physically and mentally (or psychologically), the places they pass (such as streets, alleyways, parks, cafes and restaurants) become embodied sensory places imbued with their memories and imaginations. Flaneurs' experiences are "bathed in the multitude of sights, sounds, smells, tastes, and touches" (Boutin, 2012, p. 131). Flaneurs are thus not only keenly aware of buildings, architecture, streets, people, and urban animals but also of intangible aspects of the city.

Memory plays a particular role in the flaneur's experience. Indeed, Benjamin made a distinction between two types of flaneurs' experiences: "Individual experiences or immediate experiences (Erlebnis) and concrete historical experiences or long experiences (Erfahrung)"

(Benjamin, 1999, p. 984). Benjamin suggested that "Erfahrung" was formed out of multiple "Erlebnis." This resonates with Buck-Morss (1986) interpretation of Benjamin's theory of childhood history and its fusion with collective history: "But the two levels, individual and collective [...] intersected concretely because every childhood was superimposed on a particular segment of collective history. Indeed, the material components of both remembering were the same" (Buck-Morss, 1986, p. 134). Flâneurs recall their childhood and the places they passed while traversing and experiencing diverse urban places. Flaneurs' movement in cities is not just a spatial movement; it is also a temporal one: "a movement back in time" (Buck-Morss, 1986, p. 132; Edmondson, 2014). Flaneurs are then also "time-travellers" (Presner et al., 2014).

Moving back in time and being a time-traveller, the flaneur surfs on "a wave of memory [that] brings back memories of other moments, other times and spaces" (Reynolds, 2007, p. 156). While the flaneur passes through certain places, they remember certain events and make the past come alive as echoes in the present (Benjamin, 1999; Buck-Morss, 1986; Presner et al., 2014). De Certeau (1998) suggests that childhood experience "determines spatial practices," which later have an influence on city planning. The role played by childhood memories can serve to "discover and preserve collective memory and identity over the threatening homogenization of urban space" (Daniilidisa, 2016, p. 428). Thus, taking "experiences, memories and senses" into account in flaneurs' stories, can potentially expand our understanding of people's relationship with places.

While the figure of the flaneur has been mobilized extensively in literary studies, urban studies and cultural geography (Ferry, 2017; Furlani, 2016, 2018; Mostafa, 2009; Vila-Cabanes, 2018), little attention has been paid to the material collected and produced by flaneurs during and after their flâneries – an aspect that can enrich our understanding of contemporary cities. In this thesis, I propose to study how the flaneur's unique perspective of places, both as an urban stroller and a storyteller, can contribute to a better understanding of certain aspects of our relationships with the city, with a particular focus on Rue Bernard Montreal.

Chapter Three

Methodology

In this chapter, I present the methodology I have developed to mobilize flânerie production to study places. Before delving into the data collection process, I briefly review how mapping as a creative practice can help make sense of flânerie stories and how inductive visualization, in particular, can serve as an alternative approach to mapping these stories. Then I describe the mapping designed to produce The Flânerie Atlas of Rue Bernard. This original Atlas aims to push the limits of what an atlas might be through the integration of the entire atlas production process and through the exploration of new forms of spatial expressions inspired by flânerie production.

3.1 Mapping stories: The potential of Inductive Visualization

Mapping stories have increasingly become common practice not only for telling stories but also for studying narratives and the places described in them (Caquard et al., 2014). The study of places often involves representing intangible elements such as feelings, emotions and memories (Apostol et al., 2013; Caquard & Griffin, 2019; Molden, 2019). These elements are challenging to map due to their complex spatial and temporal dimensions (Caquard & Griffin, 2019; Caquard, Shaw, et al., 2019). This complexity has demanded that geographers, GIS scientists and mapmakers go beyond long-established uses of conventional visualization and mapping techniques in pursuit of new forms of spatial expressions, such as Inductive Visualization.

Inductive Visualization is a concept and a practice introduced and developed by Anne Knowles and colleagues (2015) to represent and study the experiences of Holocaust survivors in relation to place. This approach is based on the idea that spatial representations of stories emerge from the material under study rather than from preconceived cartographic models. Inductive Visualization, in this sense, has the potential to reveal the complex spatiotemporal aspect of stories. In their attempts to visualize the spatial aspects of Holocaust survivors' narratives, Knowles and colleagues (2015) developed a set of symbols, creative diagrams and content dependent sketches that enabled them to represent some key narrative aspects, such as the multiple scales at which the narratives unfold; interwoven narrations; and, stories within stories. This approach has been inspirational in the

development of my approach to representing flaneurs' stories and the experiences of places described in them, including emotions, memories and time.

3.2 Montreal flâneries

Before being able to map flâneries, it is essential to identify flaneurs and their productions. In this regard, I began my project by strolling through the Internet using search engines as well as social networking services such as Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, Hashatit, YouTube and Pinterest. My strolling was directed by the use of a combination of keywords, for example, "flaneur," "flânerie," "strolling," "wandering," "loitering," and "Montreal." I searched local news media, including the Montreal Gazette, CTV news Montreal and CBC archives. As a result of these explorations, I was able to identify 11 projects and literary works in both English and French that reported flânerie activities in Montreal. I was then able to extract a range of material from these projects in relation to individual flaneurs or groups, including literary and journalistic texts, photos, audio files, videos and digital content (hypermedia narratives). I organized flaneurs' productions based on types of material: Texts, Videos, Films, and Multimedia (see Table 3.1).

Type of	Name of	Type of	Title of the	Methods of	X 7	_	Places of
Material	Flaneur	Production	Production	documenting	Year	Language	flânerie
			Ruelles, jours ouvrables Flâneries en ruelles montréalaises		2005		475 kilometres of Montreal Alleys
	André Carpentier	Novel	Extraits de cafés Flâneries en cafés montréalais	Flanoter: flânerie and note-Taking Flanoter	2010	French	Montreal Cafes
			Moments de parcs Flâneries en parcs montréalais		2016		Montreal Parks
Texts	Felix Leclerc (A collection of aphorisms, sentences or short poetic passages)		Le calepin d'un flaneur	Writing	1961	French	Unknown (Quebec, Montreal)
	Hugh Hood	Short stories	Around the mountain	Writing	1994	English	Mont-Royal
			Main Brides		1993		Coffee shops
	Gail Scott	Novel	Heroin	Writing	1987	English	Different places in Montreal
	Robert Kilborn	An article in Westmount Magazine	Step out smartly into Spring	Writing	2015	English	Montreal
Videos and Films	Shannon Walsh	Documentary film	In St-Henri, August 26	Movie making	2011	English	Saint-Henri Neighborhood
	Benoit Bordeleau	Collaborative hypermedia project: web page <u>Hochelaga</u>	Flâner dans Montréal: portrait du projet Dérives	Writing and	2012		
			Published Story	Au détour de habitude	photography		French
		Audio document (As part of Speed Colloque Hochelaga Imaginaire. Symposium)	Axe, like or How to open doors with a tomahawk		2014		
dia	J.R. Carpenter	Digital content (interactive digital map) - hypermedia narrative	Sniffing for stories	Photography, voice recording, video clip and computer- generated texts	2012	English	Mile End
Multimedia	Julie Mannell and Kaie Kellough	Guidebook, Textbook including mas and photos	Navette. (Flaneur walks pamphlet Series)	Creative writing	2015	English	Various places in downtown Montreal
	A Group of Concordia Graduate and an artist	A web page including Flaneur's lexicon and a collection of photos by Ezra Soiferman	The Flaneur's Lexicon	Photography and archive surveying (as part of a group discussion: walking through time: Flaneur, voyeur or participant?)	2006	English	Unknown places in Montreal
	A Group of German-based Journalists	Journalistic text (a collection of stories, comics, poems, essays, profiles and photos+ an audio file)	Flaneur Magazine	Writing photograph, unstructured and informal interviews	2014	English	Rue Bernard (Montreal)

Table 3.1. The Flaneurs' productions in Montreal identified in this project

Individual flaneurs were selected either because they self-identified as flaneurs or because they were described as flaneurs by others, including scholars such as Furlani (2018) and Chisholm (2002). These flaneurs have collected, retold and shared their observations and experiences in various ways. For instance, novelist, writer and self-identified flaneur André Carpentier spent several years collecting observations of his strolling throughout Montreal and published them in a trilogy of novels. In the first novel, "Ruelles, jours ouvrables" (2005), Carpentier reflected on three years of strolling along 475 kilometres of Montreal alleyways, in particular those connected to his childhood memories, which was part of a personal journey(Bergeron, 2012). In his second novel, "Extraits de cafés; Flâneries en cafés montréalais" (2010), Carpentier shared observations from his immobile flâneries in various Montreal cafés. Through this project, he sought to witness events in order to characterize the café's function in the city as well as the ways collective identity is experienced in those places (Bergeron, 2012). Finally, Carpentier's third novel, "Moments de parcs" (2016), describes his flânerie experiences in Montreal's parks, where he paid meticulous attention to the seasonal transformations of the city. In these three thematic flâneries in haphazard places and pathways, Carpentier employed the experimental technique "Flanoter," to record some ephemeral aspects of his flâneries: « J'aime à croire que le verbe clé de mon entreprise est flânoter, qui, à l'oreille, joint la flâne à la prise de notes¹ » (Carpentier, 2005, p. 102).

Felix Leclerc is another francophone writer and poet who exposed his sense of happiness, his faith in love and life, and his vision of the world in "Le calepin d'un flaneur," published in 1988. Hugh Hood and Gail Scott's contributions to flânerie are also purely textual. In "Around the mountain" (1994), English writer Hugh Hood compiled twelve short stories "containing specific descriptions of distinct seasons in Montreal, different areas of the city, unique groups of people, and notable individuals" (Struthers, 1985, p. 2). Through strolling various settings in Montreal (e.g. Mont-Royal, Saint Lawrence River and Laval), Hood describes the commercial developments of the city while reflecting on its political and social situation. In her two novels, "Main Brides" (1993) and "Heroin" (1987), Gail Scott delved into several gender and class issues related to the city and described them from a flaneuse perspective. Scott's sensitivity to topographical features and movements between places enabled her to create a distinctive atmosphere of urban places. In "Main Brides," she takes the readers from Main Street to Park Avenue, then to Berri Metro station, and Ste-Catherine Street, while glancing at the mountain and stopping at a Greek restaurant (Malone, 2012). Robert Kilborn concludes

¹ "I like to think that the key verb of my venture is *Flanoting*, which to the ear, links *flane* to note-taking" (Furlani, 2018, p. 88)

this list of flaneurs-writers with his recollection of an encounter with famous Montreal flaneurs such as Leonard Cohen who is described as a "Flaneur sans pareil," Pierre Trudeau; the "just watch me" flaneur, and Guy Laliberté, a man who "remains a flaneur among flaneurs" (Kilborn, 2015).

Beyond text, some flaneurs have mobilized visual forms of expression to share their experiences. Film director Shannon Walsh has made a short documentary entitled "In St-Henri, August 26" (2010). This film is part of a large body of work coordinated by Walsh, which involved 16 different filmmakers telling multiple flâneur stories about the St-Henri neighbourhood in Montreal.

Other flaneurs have combined different media to share their flânerie experiences. Benoit Bordeleau, a francophone writer and researcher-flaneur, published his story of the Hochelaga district entitled "Au détour de habitude" in 2012 and shared his textual and photographic explorations of Hochelaga in a weblog. J.R. Carpenter is an artist-researcher who strolled in Mile End back alleys while producing poetic text, video clips and soundtracks. In her "Entre Ville" project, Carpenter invites us to explore her production through a multilayered and interactive digital map. Two Montreal based writers, Kaie Kellough and Julie Mannell collaborated on a project entitled "Flaneur walks Pamphlet Series," which was published in 2010 as an attempt to "create poetic/conceptual walking tours of the cities [...] to guide readers through a re-exploration, re-habitation and re-experiencing of their urban space" (Kellough, 2010, p. 1). In this project, these two writers offered different points of view about fragments of the city through texts, maps and photos. "Navette" (2010) is a short story written by Kellough in which he takes his readers to flâneries in various places, streets and neighbourhoods. In her conceptual project, "This is you here," Julie Mannell (2010) describes her experiences of the city through x-ray vision and poignant insight. These two writers invite us to move through time, family, buildings, politics, music and personal memories of the city.

The last flânerie production about Montreal identified in this project is a special issue of the *Flaneur Magazine*. This magazine is a startup literary magazine, which was first published in 2013 by Ricarda Messner. Along with two young German-based journalists, Ricarda Messner travelled to major cities around the world and devoted an entire magazine to particular streets such as the Corso Vittorio Emmanuelle in Rome, the Fokionos Negri in Athens, the Boulevard Ring in Moscow and the Rue Bernard in Montreal. They spent two months in each city, "strolling through the streets, talking to people and getting to know authors and artists who [would] later contribute to the magazine themselves" (Glotzmann, 2017, p. 5). The idea behind the magazine is to see a neighbourhood or a street with different eyes and not "to portray the cities according to a set pattern each

time" (Glotzmann, 2017, p. 5). Through this process of incorporating diverse perspectives, they collected new stories that go beyond conventional historical narratives.

Eight issues of the magazine have been published to date. The third issue, published in 2014, focused on Rue Bernard in Montreal. This issue is loaded with stories of residents, passers-by or shop owners, a collection of comic strips, photographs, poetical texts and profiles through which journalist-flaneurs have attempted to compose and present a multilayered image of Rue Bernard. This group of flaneurs included two photographers and three writers who spent two months in Rue Bernard interviewing residents and business owners, taking photos of various places, as well as recordings, sounds and songs of the street. The magazine, with its eclectic content, provides valuable data for studying spatial aspects of the street. This is the material I used for my project.

3.3. Data collection process

3.3.1. Flaneur Magazine: Structure, form and content

The 130 pages of the magazine are organized into four categories: "Stories," "Without Words," "Series," and "Essays" (see Figure 3.1). Each category consists of various textual and visual documents, such as poetic passages, photographs, drawings and maps. The "stories" category includes eight series of stories in which people of Rue Bernard talk about their experiences and everyday life. In "Without Words," the two flaneur-photographers share some of their particular photographs of Bernard street. The "Series" category is the most complex and fragmented section of the magazine. It includes seven pieces in which flaneurs explore the street individually and document what they see, using different tools and techniques such as disposable cameras and drawings. In the last category, "Essays," the flaneur brings to the surface stories about the street from people with diverse origins and identities. This category also includes an architectural essay, with some historical facts about the street, a map and a few small photos of Rue Bernard.

² I was not able to access the audio files despite several email requests I sent to ricarda@flaneur-magazine.com



Figure 3.1. The four categories of Flaneur Magazine: "Stories," "Without Words," "Series," and "Essays."

Departing from a design rationale of ordered structure, the reader is invited to meander throughout the fragmented structure of the magazine. The connection between stories is not immediately apparent and appears only through the reading of these stories. The unconventional design of the magazine (e.g. unusual paper sizes, folded pages, detached pages) reinforces the impression of fragmentation and meandering it conveys to the reader (see Figure 3.2).

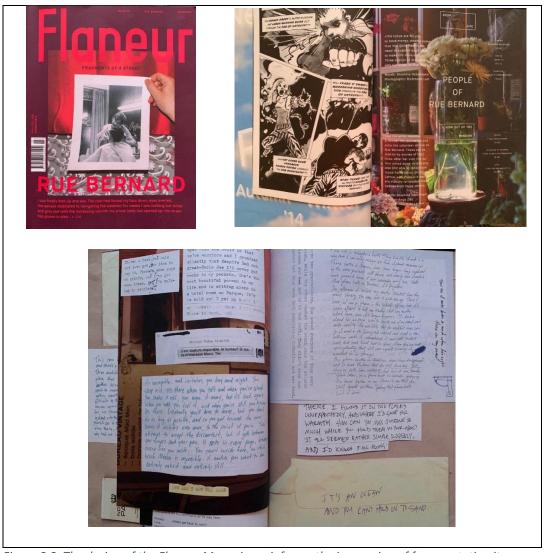


Figure 3.2. The design of the Flaneur Magazine reinforces the impression of fragmentation it conveys (cover page and page X on top, Pages Y and Z at the bottom)

3.3.2 Stories selection

Instead of trying to map all of the places mentioned throughout the magazine, I decided to go into more depth with a selection of stories. Hence, I first chose one set of stories for each of the four categories to explore a broad range of data to map (See Table 3.2). By reading the magazine, I realized that the stories were organized geographically, starting with stories from the west of the street (i.e. from Outremont) and ending with stories from the east part of the street (i.e. Mile End). I ended up selecting six stories that represent different categories, different types of environments as well as different parts of Rue Bernard.

Category		Title	e of the selected stories	Type of story (Textual, visual)	Pages	Mapped statues
Stories	1		Yves; Interior/Exterior	Text	7-15	Mapped
	2	Ma	thieu; Rocks in the pocket		105-107	Mapped
	3	C1	Tammy	Text	50-51	Mapped
Series	4	Shop life	Peter	Text	52-53	Mapped
	5		Dominic	Text	54-55	Mapped
Essays	6	A hybrid identity (Part 1: Hyphenated people)		Text	16-17	Mapped
Without Words	7	A Plea for permissive posture		Photo collection	25-29	Unmapped

Table 3.2. The 6 Stories from the Flaneur magazine that have been selected to be mapped in this project (note: the seventh story was not mapped in this project)

Yves; Interior/Exterior

In his story, Yves, the old barber of Outremont and the owner of a barbershop, is adorned with the celebrity cover of Paris Match and sees himself being as much a therapist as he is a hairdresser. His feelings, experiences, and the people he met in the neighbourhood over the years made him thoughtful. He also shares childhood memories [souvenirs] of his mother.

Mathieu; Rocks in the pocket

Mathieu Leroux is a Montreal based author, performer, director and dramaturgical advisor, and a resident of the east side of the street. Mathieu talks about the different places of Rue Bernard while revealing some of its characteristics over time, such as some strange way of communication among anglophones and francophones. He also recalls his father's memories extensively.

Shop life; (Tammy, Peter and Dominic)

In this series, three individuals (Tammy, Peter and Dominic) who run three shops on Rue Bernard – a flower shop, an antique shop and a shoe shop – talk about their backgrounds, memories and experiences related to this street, revealing unwritten historical narratives such as the legacy of former owners.

A hybrid identity; (Part 1: Hyphenated people)

The "A hybrid identity" section is comprised of four stories where different people with diverse identities share their ideas, thoughts, and memories about the neighbourhood. In Part 1, Andrew Zadel, a Canadian and local resident of Rue Bernard, reflects upon being Canadian while speaking about people from Rue Bernard, who have grown up with a mixed bag of identities.

A Plea for permissive posture

Although this section has been included in the "Without Words" category, it could also be part of the hybrid identity category since it represents a group of dancers from different backgrounds performing in the street in front of an abandoned industrial graffiti-covered building while showing a rusty street billboard (see Figure 3.3). This story was not mapped in my project, yet it is worth noting.







Figure 3.3. The Pictures of "A Plea for permissive posture" (Pages 26-29 in the magazine)

3.3.3 Collecting data from stories

After selecting the stories, I started reading them carefully and collecting different types of data. First, I identified geographical elements, including common noun place names (e.g. a street, a park), proper noun place names (e.g. Ave Park) and urban features (e.g. a bench). Then, I concentrated on memories, emotions and related events described by flaneurs to study the meaning associated with different experiences of flânerie and the meaning associated with various aspects of the city. Next, I recorded all the living encounters mentioned in the stories (i.e. humans, animals and plants) to further expand my analysis to reflect the way that flaneurs see our relationships with the city and its multiple inhabitants. I then organized these places, urban features, memories, emotions, feelings, and

encounters in a database with the idea that this could help to identify potential relationships between these different materials and certain types of places (see Table 3.3).

1	Source of da Type of da		Name of	The first row of the table contains general information about each piece of data		
1	Pages		Storyteller	(e.g. Source of data, type of data, storytellers' names and page number)		
Temporality			ty	Includes any temporal element that can be identified, such as a specific minute or a year, night and day or summer and winter.		
Memories			3	Compile flaneurs' memories associated with the stories. It also includes memories of people encountered during the flânerie.		
Events ³			Represent the personal, political, cultural and social events mentioned in stories.			
Thoughts, Ideas, feelings		feelings	Compile abstract aspects of flaneur's and storytellers' experiences.			
			People	Compile storytellers' encounters, including humans, animals and plants. It also		
En	icounters	A	nimals/Plants	includes "objects and spatial features" of stories that cannot be geolocated, such as "a corner of a street," "a bench," "a building," "a graffiti on the wall,"		
		0	bjects, Spatial Features	and "an antique plate."		
		Certain places		Include all the places names mentioned, such as street names, neighbourhoods,		
	Places	Str	eets, Alleyways	businesses and countries that are structured in two groups:		
		Ne	eighbourhoods Districts	1) The type of place in which real places are differentiated from imaginary ones and current places from the ones that do no longer exist (e.g. Café		
			Cities	Sarajevo replaced by a Sport Station)		
			Countries	2) The scale characterizes the "precision" of the location, from a room in a house, a street or a neighbourhood to a city, a province, and a country.		
			Continent	nouse, a succe of a neighbourhood to a city, a province, and a country.		

Table 3.3. Description of the different types of data collected.

This data structure displayed in Table 3.3. is the result of a long process of reading, coding and representing the diverse data included in flaneur material. This process involved many subjective decisions, as is illustrated in the following examples. In "A hybrid identity," Andrew Zadel recalls an ordinary day sitting in Montreal's government office while remembering different places and people.

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³ Although flaneurs trajectories can be complex combining real and imaginary places, people, events and moments, I tried to trace these trajectories through time to illustrate the sequences of events and the transformation of emotions expressed by each storyteller.

Then he goes deep into his memories of travelling to Kosovo as an anthropologist and U.N. member (see Figure 3.4).

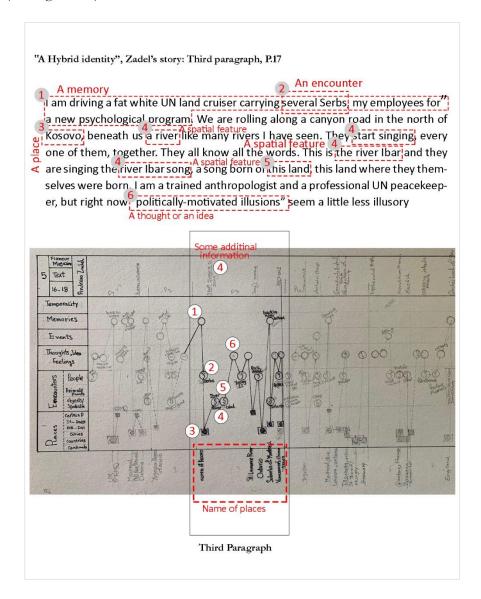


Figure 3.4. Illustration of the coding and mapping process ("A hybrid Identity," Andrew Zadel, 3rd paragraph. P17)

In Figure 3.4., the Y-axis represents the different types of data I am interested in (see also Table 3.3), while the X-axis represents where we are in the story (i.e. the story starts on the left and ends on the right). As illustrated in this figure, every time Zadel recalls a memory or mentions his thoughts (which correspond to the different types of data I am interested in), I added a symbol in front of the corresponding entry to organize these elements on the graph. This process enabled me to produce a visual synthesis of his narrative. I applied the same method to the six stories studied in this

project. Once these different elements were plotted on the graph, I started to map the connections between the dots using different types of lines: continuous lines to represent the explicit links between sequences of the story and dashed lines for showing the lack of relationships between paragraphs or sections of the story (see Section 3.4.3 for more details). The goal was to develop a visual language that could simultaneously capture the fragmented spatio-temporal dimensions of each story while also showing the story's complexity and the multiple connections that comprise it. This led me to develop a graphic language that is universal enough to be mobilized for a range of stories and specific enough to capture the uniqueness of each story's components.

3.4 Developing a graphic language

3.4.1 The overall graphic structure

As illustrated previously, the general structure of the graphic language for mapping flaneur stories is indicated in the graph in Figure 3.4. The types of data are organized along the Y-axis (e.g. temporality, memories), while particular moments within a story are arranged along the X-axis. The length of this axis is divided into columns that correspond to the number of paragraphs of the text. The column width represents the length of the corresponding section of the text. Wider columns represent large paragraphs, and narrower columns represent shorter ones. For instance, Tammy's story consists of eight paragraphs that have different lengths (see Figure 3.5).

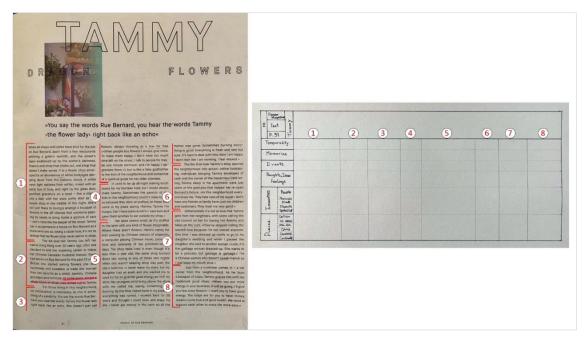


Figure 3.5. Tammy's table layout (from the "Shop life"); Eight paragraphs in the text (left) are synthesized in the eight columns in the graph. The width of columns reflects the length of the corresponding text.

3.4.2 Figures (symbols)

3.4.2.1 Symbols Serve to Differentiate the Data

To distinguish the data visually, I used visual variables such as size, colour and shape (see Bertin (1967)). I also developed three sets of symbols. The first set represents abstracts elements, such as memories, events, thoughts, ideas, and feelings. The second set represents various types of encounters, including people, animals, plants and objects or spatial features, and the last set of symbols serves to differentiate places such as their types and their scales in stories (see Table 3.4).

Type of data			Symbol	Description
	Memories, Events, Thoughts, Ideas and Feelings			In case of mentioning two elements in a sentence or a paragraph.
Set 1				In case of mentioning more than two elements in a sentence or a paragraph.
				Negative, positive connotations of memories, feelings, and events
Set 2	Encounters	People (An Individual, a group of people and kids)	(3)	Indicates a group of people- the smaller size of the symbol indicates the appearance of kids in the story
		Animals/ Plants	(9)	Indicates both animals and plants
		Objects & spatial features	3	Various symbols based on the mentioning object or spatial feature (e.g. rivers, a balcony, and a bench)
Set 3	Places	Certain places (e.g. a shop, a building)		The different sizes of symbols signify different scales of places. The more precise is the location, the smaller is the symbol.
		Streets, Alleyways	•	
		Neighbourhoods Districts	•	
		Cities		
		Countries		
		Continent		

Table 3.4. Different types of symbols and variables used in the maps

3.4.3 Relationship between symbols and the story's elements

The different elements have connections with each other, and these connections can be of different types and strengths. I used two types of lines to characterize these connections. Continuous lines show the explicit links between sequences of the story (e.g. between two successive paragraphs that are connected by textual markers such as "so" and "then"). Dashed lines indicate that there is no

specific connection between the sections mapped. This usually happened when a narrator wants to talk about a different element or has jumped into another subject. For instance, in the last two paragraphs of "A hybrid identity," Zadel talks about multiculturalism in Canada while mentioning some of the common ideas among people. Then in the next paragraph, he switches topic and talks about Bernard Street by describing spots such as a sporting store and a Greek tailor. I used a dashed line to separate these two paragraphs. A dashed line, indeed, emphasizes a rupture in the narration (see Figure 3.6).

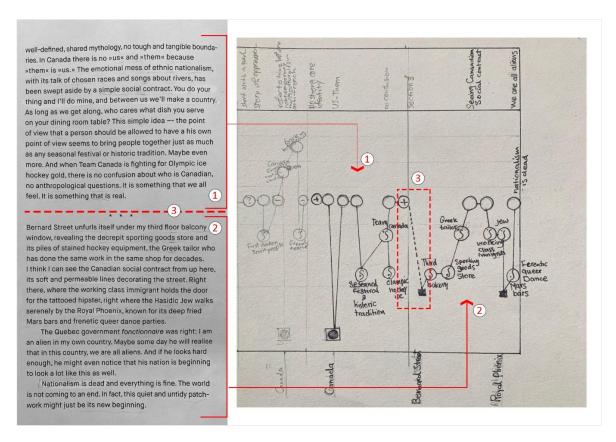


Figure 3.6. The two-last paragraph of Zadel's story and the two types of lines used in the table (Left: the original text; Right: a part of Zadel's table representing the two paragraphs)

3.4.4 Representing different voices

Each of the stories has a different style of narration. Some have two or more narrators talking about their experiences, memories, and thoughts. Others are told from the first-person perspective,

and in a monologue format, or in the third person. For instance, in "A hybrid identity," Zadel talks at the first-person in a monologue style:

My grandmother lies dying in a palliative care hospital. The cancer has eaten enough of her back muscles to make her working women's legs useless, her bowels sluggish and untrustworthy. She is ninety-six years old, and life has not been easy. She raised her children alone, her husband fleeing Yugoslavia when the communists took control. It is a story I like to tell how the Canadian Pacific came to the Austrian refugee camp and hired my grandfather, how my father met his father on a Montreal pier at the age of twelve. (Excerpt from Zadel's story, paragraph 4. p.17)

In "Shop life" stories, the main narrator is a flaneur who uses many quotes from three individuals - Tammy, Peter, and Dominic, while sometimes being in conversation with them. Through these conversations, we become familiar with these three characters, and we start to know more about them:

For those living in this neighbourhood, no introduction is necessary, as she is something of a celebrity. You say the words Rue Bernard, you hear the word Tammy the flower lady right back like an echo. She doesn't just sell flowers, always throwing in a few for free. "When people buy flowers, I always give more. To make them happy. I don't have too much time left on the street. I talk to people for maybe one minute minimum, and I'm happy. I appreciate them". But is like a fairy godmother to the kids of the neighbourhood and somewhat of a spiritual guide for her older clientele. (Excerpt from Tammy's story, p.51)

For "Shop life," I produced three graphs: one for each character. In each of these graphs, I differentiated the multiple voices that were part of each story with different background colours. For instance, in Tammy's story, the flaneur is the main narrator, but he uses quotes from Tammy. I then used a yellow background for the parts of the story that correspond to Tammy's words, while the

background for the other voice [i.e. flaneur/narrator] remains white. This technique helps to synthesize and visualize the narrative structure of each story (see Figure 3.7).

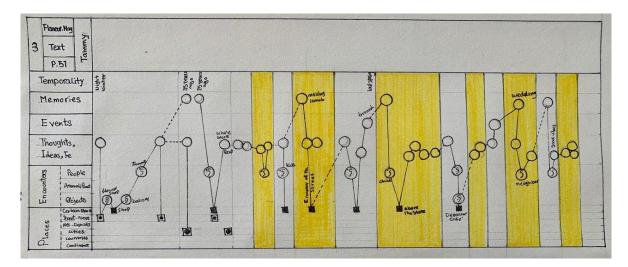


Figure 3.7. Using two different background colours to represent two voices within the same story (Tammy's story in "Shop life").

Another challenge for visualizing different voices in stories is that certain storytellers include someone else's story within their own narratives:

[a]t the sports station on St-Catherine, I met a man in a leather jacket with brown hair combed straight up, looking in from the sidewalk: Branko. He did not want to come in but preferred to watch from the sidewalk; so, he could smoke, and moreover, he said, he feared any kind of enclosure. Afterwards, I kept running into him all over the city- on St. Catherine, Bernard, in Westmount, and in the Center, and I wondered how come he walked so much, or did he shadow me and follow me? (Excerpt from Novakovich's story, p20)

From here to the end of Novakovich's story, Branko tells his story in the form of a conversation with Novakovich.

[&]quot;I am restless. I can't be still very long. I was trapped so long during the siege of Sarajevo that now I must walk outdoors. I have a fear of entrapment".

[&]quot;Really? But you were a Serb in Sarajevo".

[&]quot;why do you say that?"

[&]quot;well, you root for Djokovic."

[&]quot;come on. I also root for the Croatian national soccer team. But all right. If you insist, sure, ok, but that didn't matter once you were trapped in the city. Grenades and shrapnel don't ask your I.D."

[&]quot;Why the hell did not you leave? [...]" (Excerpt from Novakovich's story, p20).

To entangle these multiple stories, I used branches. Branches are folded stories connected to the main story that can be revealed when unfolded. In the previous quote, the side story of Branko has been branched to the main narrator's story (i.e. Josip Novakovich's story) since the story moves to Branko talking about his different lived experiences, such as being trapped during the siege of Sarajevo, coming to Montreal as an exile, and escaping from Sarajevo (see Figure 3.8).

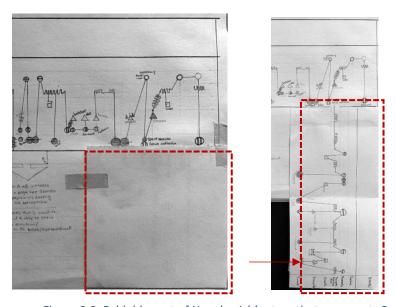


Figure 3.8. Foldable part of Novakovich's story that represents Branko's story as a side story

3.4.5 The Flânerie synthesis

The final goal of this graphic language was to enable a comparison between stories. To reach this goal, I created a simplified version of each graph that was drawn on a transparent foldable area made of vellum paper. On this translucent paper, I represented a selection of what I felt were the main aspects of each story that emerged from the graphs. For instance, in "Shop life" in Tammy, Dominic and Peter's stories, I focused on: a) the details of their shop, which draws my attention to the cultural dimension and diversity of the neighbourhood; b) the mutual relationship between memories, places and emotions which highlight their sense of place

In terms of technique, I used colourful paintbrushes to draw on the synthesis area. I used three different colours to differentiate the significant elements of the stories (e.g. Magenta for physical features, Blue to highlight the relationship between memories, places, and emotions). Throughout the method and the visual language described in this section, I produced a series of seven graphs and seven associated synthesis graphs compiled in the "Flânerie Atlas of Rue Bernard."

Chapter Four

The Flânerie Atlas of Rue Bernard

The fourth chapter of this thesis is the creative part of this project: The Flânerie Atlas of Rue Bernard (see Appendix A). This Atlas consists of two main sections:

a) The Process/Journal of Mapping Flânerie stories

In the first part of the Atlas, I explain the process of reading the Flaneur Magazine and collecting data from its stories. In this process, I took different steps to visualize and map flânerie stories. Producing the initial sketches in this phase helped me to generate in-depth insights about both Rue Bernard and the stories. In the initial stages, I tried different styles for representing stories, which enabled me to highlight various components in each visualization. In the second section, I show how these primary steps were developed to establish a homogenous structure for mapping stories. I also discuss certain challenges I faced during the visualization process, including those related to creating appropriate types of symbols. In the last section, I present some of the map-making experiments that I shared with my peers at the Geomedia Lab in the Fall of 2019 to get constructive comments and feedback.

b) Flânerie Atlas of Rue Bernard

In the second part of the Atlas, I present the Atlas itself. The Atlas has three sections: 1) Introduction, 2) History, including a few sketches of Rue Bernard's past, and 3) the Atlas per se. The Atlas' maps stretch from Outremont to Mile End and start with Yves' story as "a therapist" of the neighbourhood at the west end of the street; followed by Mathieu's words from the east end of the street, then by Tammy, Peter, Dominic, Zadel, and Homel's story. Each map consists of three pages where the first page includes a short description of the story while emphasizing its most significant elements, the second page presents the graph, and the third page (i.e. the transparent foldable synthesis) is a synthesis of what I felt were the main aspects of each story.

Chapter Five

Discussion

By making this Atlas, I aimed to explore the potential of flânerie production in the study of a place (i.e. Rue Bernard in Montreal). Focusing on flâneurs' narration/production of Rue Bernard, I attempted to visualize the street's multilayered dimensions. Through the processes involved in creating the Atlas, I was able to delve deeply into both the physical and intangible aspects of the street, which contribute to shaping people's sense of place (i.e. people's everyday experiences, memories, feelings, and attitudes). I start this chapter by presenting the physical traits of Rue Bernard. Then I review the intangible features of the street. This leads me to reflect on my research question and on the advantages and drawbacks of using flânerie production to study places. I conclude this chapter by discussing the potential and limits of the visual language I developed in this study to map stories.

5.1. Rue Bernard

As discussed in chapter two, flaneurs' engagement with the physical and intangible dimensions of a city can be seen as a way of uncovering and even making sense of place. The Flânerie Atlas of Rue Bernard tries to expose the atmosphere and multilayered character of the street through visualizing people's relationships with places as reported in flaneurs' stories. To reveal people's sense of place, the Atlas delves not only into the physical parameters of the street (e.g. size, scale, components, diversity, texture, decoration, colour, odour, and noise) but also into people's experiences, memories, imaginations, attitudes and feelings related to these places.

Each story mapped into the Atlas highlights certain physical features of the sections of Rue Bernard. For instance, David Homel and Cynthia Hammond's architectural essay (from "A hybrid identity" category) focus on the west end of Rue Bernard (i.e. the Outremont side), which is characterized by a luxurious environment, clean sidewalks, green islands, edged flowerbeds, Victorian lampposts and low-density urban fabric (see Appendix A, Atlas p.57). According to Homel, Outremont is "no place to walk if you are lonely [...] the street is lined with large, stately apartment blocks with a heavy feeling about them. Each apartment has its balcony, but you rarely see anyone sitting there. There is hardly anyone on the sidewalk" (Excerpt from Homel's story, Flaneur Magazine, p.23). The features mentioned by Homel are not only recorded in his graph (e.g. the Object/spatial features entry

and small sketches below the graph) but are also reflected in the synthesis area (see Appendix A, Atlas p.74).

The street's physical characteristics change substantially when we move toward the east, closer to Avenue du Parc and Mile End: Commercial places are more numerous with trendy restaurants; sidewalks become narrower, and the environment is noisy and not-so-clean. Intersections become busy with pedestrians, cyclists, buses, and minivans. Homeless people and drug addicts appear, which reveals a sense of poverty in contrast with the wealth of the west end. To identify these physical features in the graphs, I drew small sketches below the columns in the graph, which correspond to paragraphs in the story referring to the physical aspects of Rue Bernard.

These very general characteristics are combined with more detailed descriptions. Indeed, as mentioned in chapter two, flaneurs often have detail-oriented personalities, which lead them to pay keen attention to trivial, scattered, and "insignificant" details of their surroundings. For example, in the "shop life" stories, the flaneur provides a detailed description of the three shops: their façades, decorations, objects, colours, and noises. The façade of Tammy's flower shop is described as a place covered by "an abundance of white birdcages dangling down from the balcony above [where a] white neon light radiates from within, mixed with an eerie hue of blue" (Excerpt from Tammy's story, Flaneur Magazine, p.51); Peter's antique shop is a place that is "jam-packed from top to bottom with furniture, lamps, dishes, cutlery, status and jewelry" (Excerpt from Peter's story, Flaneur Magazine, p.53); while Dominic's shoe shop is a tiny shop dominated by the pastel green cupboard surrounding it; and Yves' barbershop is defined by "chairs and sinks [that] are full of books. The shop is full of his personal belongings, and travel souvenirs since he flies to Europe [...] next to the barber chair is a television playing the German movie" (Excerpt from Yves' story, Flaneur Magazine, p.9). Through these elaborate descriptions, flaneurs can take us to the more intimate places of streets as they draw our attention to people who live there and the unique ways these people contribute to the creation of distinctive neighbourhoods. Through these descriptions, the street moves beyond the built environment to reach the intimate places that are an essential part of any place. These intimate places also reflect cultural dimensions. For instance, consider the description of the flower shop belonging to Tammy (a Chinese woman who moved to Canada 35 years ago): "Her store seems small, as it's stuffed to the brim with any kind of flower imaginable. Where there aren't flowers, there is candy for kids passing by, Chinese statues of emperors, a computer playing Chinese music [...]" (Excerpt from Tammy's story, Flaneur Magazine, p.51)

The cultural diversity of the neighbourhood is also reflected in the stories of Peter and Dominic. Peter keeps a Greek dish, and Dominic listens to Arabic music while eating Syrian cookies. The flaneur pays attention not only to peoples' backgrounds but also to how they show their sense of belonging to their respective places of origin. These descriptions make clear the strong links that still exist between this neighbourhood and the multiple places of the origin of its inhabitants.

According to Benjamin (1999), certain flaneurs are also capable of reading people's persona and disclosing aspects of their personalities and their destiny. This is related to the way a flaneur can see what lies beneath the surface of things and reveal their hidden meanings. For instance, in the story of Yves (the owner of a barbershop in Outremont), the flaneur (as the main narrator) starts by describing Yves as "a 64-year-old man with grey, balding hair and a grey beard, both dyed a golden brown. Wearing a lavender shirt, jeans, and sneakers. Has three rings on his fingers" (Excerpt from Yves' story, Flaneur Magazine, p.9). The flaneur then outlines Yves' personality as an independent, open mind, free and very patient person who is in peace with himself and satisfied with his lifestyle. These personality traits seem to impact his customers' behaviours. If we look closely at Yves' graph in the Atlas, we see that different types of people appear in the "people" entry (including stingy people, insecure people and unhappy fellows) (See Appendix A, Atlas p.62). Yves' customers have found the barbershop to be a safe and secure spot for sharing personal stories, including those related to financial insecurity. Yves's story focuses on his customers' behaviors, and their attitudes lead him to talk about his own attitudes, concerns, feelings, and values in life. He talks a lot about "money," which is mentioned eleven times in his story, each time being associated with a particular belief or ideology, including those related to freedom and independence. Yves's relationship with Rue Bernard is, indeed, an "ideological relationship," which is based on "conscious values and beliefs about how humans should relate to physical places" (Cross, 2015, p. 5)⁴.

These stories also describe the community's social structure and its human fabric, including the storytellers and the people of the neighbourhood. Tammy gives a few flowers for free and provides food to the kids in front of her flower shop. Peter and Dominic sell their goods at a lower cost to customers "who appreciate an object" or who donate things to people who need them. When I

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⁴ Cross (2015) describes different types of connections with place and categorizes them into seven types of relationships: sensory, narrative, historical (Including biographical, genealogical, ancestral), spiritual, ideological, commodifying, and material dependence. Cross (2015) also notes that people have more than one relationship with a single place, which is changeable over time.

considered the relationship between "People" and "Place" in the graphs and compared this to the human fabric described by the storytellers of the street, I noticed that similar features represent people at each end of the street. For example, Yves' descriptions of people who live at the west end of Rue Bernard include characteristics such as 'millionaires but cheap, stingy, and insecure.' This tendency is also a mark of the stories centring on Zadel and Homel. At the east end of the street, towards Mile End, the human fabric of the neighbourhood changes. For instance, when I examined Tammy's graph, I observed that the "People" entry on her graph was populated by "hungry kids, people who are on welfare and supportive neighbours." Homel's story also reveals the view that people with different economic statuses live at the two ends of the street. Although the seven mapped stories may not be enough to obtain a full picture of the human fabric of Rue Bernard, there are descriptions in each of the stories that highlight the significant human fabric that characterize both ends of the street.

A significant pattern that appears throughout the Atlas is the mutual relationship between people's experiences, memories, and emotions. As discussed in chapter two, memory plays a particular role in the flaneur's experience. In addition, flaneurs' strolling in cities travels back and forth in time as childhood and memories are evoked. Such recollection of the past is often triggered by details and particular moments, as is illustrated in Dominic's story. In a Proustian moment, Dominic recalls his early life and memories of his mother while eating Syrian cookies and listening to Arabic music.

In "shop life," Peter journeys deep into memories of his youth in his description of cities and places in which he had lived, including his feelings about those cities. Peter's graph shows that each time he remembers a place, he associates it with some feelings: Milwaukee, as an unfriendly town, evokes a feeling of hate, while his restaurant in the Plateau evokes a sense of love. Yves' graph also shows the connection between certain concepts, certain times, and places. For instance, when Yves talks about "money" – one of his main concerns in life – he immediately thinks of "paying the rent," then reminisces about his youth when he made only a little money to support himself, and he had to live in "the back of his salon" with his girlfriend. This place (the back of his salon) evokes certain feelings and emotions, which Yves experienced at that moment, such as "not having space and freedom" (see Appendix A, Atlas p.62). Connections between memories, emotions and sense of place are also clear in Tammy's story in which she remembers two emotional events (the burning down of her flower shop and an encounter with neighbours who laughed at her because of her origin and language). Through her description of these events, Tammy talks about how she felt supported and

loved by the community, as well as how she felt humiliated and racially discriminated against (see Appendix A, Atlas p.66).

In Mathieu's story, certain places trigger memories and some associated emotions (emotional memories). For instance, while he recalls several places in Montreal, one memory in particular triggers an emotionally charged memory of his father:

"[N]eon Skates, Le Depanneur café, Phonopolis, Drawn & Quarterly, Sonorama Disc, HELM, Nouveau Palais, Cheskie's, La Papaye Verte, Patisserie les 3M, Café Souvenir, Theatre Outremont, Le petit Italien.

Wait.

We did go to Le petit Italien.

I should remember.

It is where our relationship reached a halt.

Frozen in time.

Stuck in <u>anger</u>, stuck in <u>misconceptions</u> of ourselves, stuck with incompatible words to talk about the past." (Excerpt from Mathieu's story, Flaneur Magazine, p.105; see also Atlas p.64)

On Mathieu's graph, certain places evoke conflicting emotions. For instance, at the beginning of his story, Mathieu describes a queer bar as a place where he loves to dance, yet, at the same time, it makes him profoundly uncomfortable (see Appendix A, Atlas p.64). Mathieu's feelings and experiences of different places in Rue Bernard are significant elements of his story through which he identifies his relationship with the street. In Mathieu's story, Rue Bernard is, indeed, a setting through which he expresses his sensory experiences and emotions.

Mathieu's sense of place also includes backstories and larger narratives reflected in the street. It is, in fact, characterized by a strong sense of identification with Rue Bernard's backstories as well as with memories of his father. This can be considered as a "narrative relationship" where "learning about a place and developing bonds to place through the telling and hearing of stories" (Cross, 2015, p. 504). In his story, Mathieu fabricates a narrative that involves imagining his father at a young age and merging this to his understanding of the street's past. For example, he talks about his father's era when there was tension between Anglophones and Francophones. In so doing, Mathieu reveals some local history when "kids and teenagers used to communicate with each other with rocks in their pockets to attack the other clan" (Excerpt from Mathieu's story, Flaneur Magazine, p.106). This imaginative approach to narrative becomes a gateway that links Mathieu to his father, the street's historical events, and himself since his identity is formed by events and memories over time in Rue Bernard. Looking for traces of his identity bond to Rue Bernard, Mathieu relies on two photographs:

One belongs to his father who stood in front of a typical Montreal apartment building (taken in 1967); The other is a portrait of Mathieu had taken recently in the same place in a similar posture. Through those photos, he describes his relationship with Rue Bernard and his sense of belonging to the city.





Figure 5.1. Left: Mathieu's father (1967); Right: Mathieu (2014)

The sense of belonging to a place is also central in Homel's story (under "A hybrid identity" Category). In his story, Homel describes his appreciation of the alleyways of Outremont in terms of the residents who challenge the rights of non-residents to use these alleys: "What are you doing here? I have never seen you before. You can't drive here, it's our alley" (Excerpt from Homel's story, Flaneur Magazine, p.23). Homel also describes summer times when people use picnic tables to block access to the alleys. There is an unwritten law: "Do not enter, Picnic in progress" (Excerpt from David Homel's story, Flaneur Magazine, p.23). Homel also draws our attention to less tangible aspects of belonging to a place, including "spiritual relationship[s]." A spiritual relationship involves the experience of a deep sense of belonging in a particular place with "no connection to religion or spirituality but rather relat[ing] to the basic definition of spiritual" (Cross, 2015, p. 508). As Homel's graph illustrates, people (including children) of the neighbourhood have displayed a deep sense of belonging through activities such as blocking the alleyways with picnic tables and standing against a policewoman's objection to this (See Appendix A, Atlas p.74). These examples of peoples' activities in the alleys highlight their deep connections to the living place and the ways these connections are performed. According to Cross (2015), this type of sense of belonging to a place is difficult to describe and share and is different from a sense of belonging that occurs over time.

Certain cultural, social, and historical features of Rue Bernard appear throughout these stories. For instance, Mathieu describes cultural and social elements of the street, which he sees as a place with "multi-ethnicity, vibrant culture, good architecture, great food, English and French, old and new, rich and not-so-rich, damaged and spotless, and queerness" (Excerpt from Homel's story, Flaneur Magazine, p.105).

Zadel's story also draws our attention to the social and cultural aspects of the street associated with hybrid identities, ethnicities, and people with multi-cultural backgrounds living together. He also talks about issues faced by working-class immigrants (e.g. language barriers and cultural differences), the unwritten Canadian social contracts (e.g. you do your things, I'll do mine, and between us, we'll all make a country), and the relationship between Quebecers and the rest of Canada (e.g. in terms of language and cohesive identity). In fact, Zadel's relationship with the street is also identified as a "narrative relationship," defined by the accumulation of historical moments in the city and beyond. Zadel's graph shows that his (personal) memories are connected to key moments such as his grandmother's death, his grandfather's escape from Yugoslavia, and the arrival of Canadian Pacific recruiters to the Austrian refugee camp to hire his grandfather (see Appendix A, Atlas p.72).

Rue Bernard's character is shaped by everyday experiences, memories, emotions, and diverse cultural backgrounds. The street, indeed, acts as a container for different types of sense of place imbued with memories, emotions, and events for people with hybrid identities, whose spatial memories and conflicting emotions are tied to other places. People of Rue Bernard have attributed various meanings to the places that are influenced by their many personal and social attributes such as "culture, gender, activities performed in a place, individual preferences, social position, age, and feelings" (Dazkir, 2018, p. 253). These characteristics are brought to the fore both by the Atlas and by the mapping process.

5.2. Flânerie's productions to study places

The Flânerie Atlas of Rue Bernard reveals that flaneurs, as urban data collectors, provide a nuanced perspective on places: A perspective that relies on personal experiences, on memories and on the relationships developed over time with other individuals and with particular sections and spots of Rue Bernard. While the stories are visualized through continuous graphs, they represent spatial fragments of memory partially linked to the street. The stories compiled in this Atlas provide a patchwork of personal and collective stories. Looking at places from a human-centred perspective (i.e. flaneur) highlights not only the different senses that individuals have of places but also the various

meanings ascribed to the places. Flaneur productions acknowledge people's emotional relationship with places and the bond between places and identities (i.e., how people identify themselves in places). Mobilizing flânerie productions in urban studies and cultural geography can contribute to the conversation on "place attachment" and "place identity." Flaneurs are not only able to reveal people's affective bonds with places but can also uncover the ways "people describe themselves in terms of belonging to a specific place" (Hernández et al., 2007, p. 310). Indeed, in the course of analyzing these seven stories and trying to understand the senses of a place they contain (including attachments to different spots of Rue Bernard), I found that the flaneur's perspective could contribute to enriching our understanding of people's relationship with places.

5.3. Visual Language to study stories beyond Flânerie studies

Using Inductive Visualization as a "creative, experimental exploration of the structure, content, and meaning of source material" (Knowles, 2015, p. 244) helped me to reveal spatial and temporal patterns that were embedded in the [flânerie] stories. The visual language I developed based on this method allowed me to delve deep into the multilayered and complex components of each story (e.g. memories, emotions, and spatial features) and visualize them independently and collectively. By developing an original visual language for mapping the stories, I became aware of the potential and limits of certain components of the process and outcome regarding graphic structure, symbols, relationships between elements, different voices and the visual synthesis of all the graphs.

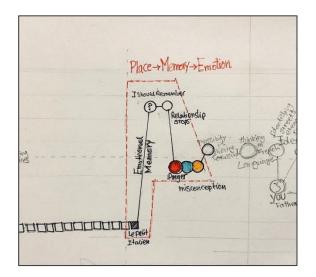
Although the graphic structure has been designed to represent and compare stories of different lengths, certain stories, such as long stories and poetic style stories, are more challenging to represent. For instance, Mathieu's story is written in a lyrical style in which the paragraphs are not easily identifiable; and it was not possible to divide the graph into clear sections. Hence, the unexpected length of his graph makes it difficult to compare it with other stories. In addition, given the level of detail recorded in certain stories, certain graphs are more difficult to read (e.g. Mathieu's graph).

As I highlighted in the Atlas, one of the strengths of this visual language is that it can represent different voices and styles of narration (e.g. first-person and monologue format). This is made possible

⁵ Place attachment can be defined as "an effective bond that people establish with specific areas where they prefer to remain and where they feel comfortable and safe"; while Place identity is defined as "a component of personal identity, a process by which, through interaction with places, people describe themselves in terms of belonging to a specific place" (Hernández et al., 2007, p. 310)

by using different background colours for each voice in the graphs (e.g. in Tammy's story, yellow background for her words, and white background for the main narrator). This visual language is also flexible enough to represent interwoven stories and some rather complex narrative forms. Using photographs and sketches embedded in the graphs (e.g. Mathieu's graph in the Atlas, page 64) provided an innovative way to represent the geography of a story. However, there were limitations in representing all of the details in the stories due to their complexity and diversity.

Another innovative form of expression is the transparent foldable synthesis for each map, which enables a comparative analysis of the story maps. This comparison revealed the connection between people's memories, feelings, thoughts, and their encounters with places across the stories. Looking at their connections, I observed that in most cases, storytellers' feelings or encounters were connected to their memories, which had a spatial dimension (i.e. from feelings/encounters to memories and places) (e.g. Yves, Tammy, and Dominic's story) (see Appendix A, Atlas, p.62, 66 and 70). While in a few cases, such as Mathieu's, the connection between these components is different. In Mathieu's graph, for instance, the connection between these elements starts with a place (e.g. Le Petit Italien), goes to a memory (e.g. his father's memory) and links to his intense emotions (e.g. anger) (see Figure 5.2, and Atlas p.64).



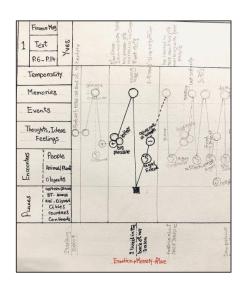


Figure 5.2. Two different connections between Places, Memories and Emotions (Left: Mathieu's graph; Right: Yves' graph).

The second interesting observation concerns the diversity of scale in the places retrieved by people's memories. For instance, Mathieu's graph shows that the places he recalls are limited to Montreal neighbourhoods (e.g. Verdun, Little Italy) and places in the city (e.g. La Papaye Verte and HELM). While Peter's graph reflects his memories flying from his youth to the present time, where the scale of places he recalls shifts from a smaller scale to a larger scale. In other words, when Peter talks about his early twenties, he recalls Greece and Milwaukee, and when he talks about his forties, he remembers his restaurant in Plateau or his antique shop in Rue Bernard. In the stories mapped here, I noticed that the more people retreated to memories involving places at a great distance from Montreal, the fewer details they shared in their stories, whereas places closer to Montreal were often described in more detail.

There are many aspects of this Atlas and its graphic language that could be improved upon and further developed. For example, each story could be synthesized via different transparent layers (i.e. on top of each other). Each of these layers could highlight a particular aspect of the story. For instance, one translucent layer could highlight the historical events connected to places, and another could focus on the relationship between people's economic status and places. Also, the translucent layers could be moveable between stories instead of being fixed and permanent. It may also be interesting to add information in the lines that link the different events throughout the graph using different line styles, colours and textures.

The visual language I developed in this study could be used for mapping various types of stories. This method of visualization can be used for highlighting people's memories (spatial and episodic memories) and emotions associated with these stories and different types and scales of places. This approach could also be useful for extracting complex spatial and temporal data within different stories that have different styles of narration. This method of mapping stories is also flexible enough to be used in relation to literary and journalistic documents. Although there are many examples of the use of maps to represent stories, there is no clear visual method/approach that can be applied to a range of stories to study them and the places they describe. I hope that the method/approach developed in this project can contribute to filling this gap. In fact, as I was developing my method, I was able to apply it to the sketch mapping of Residential Schools survivor stories in my capacity as a research assistant on the Residential Schools Land Memory Mapping Project; and my resulting map work was in turn used as a model for university students who engaged in similar sketch mapping as part of their course work (Pyne and Taylor, 2020; Pyne and Thomas, 2019).

Chapter Six

Conclusion

In this thesis, I started by contextualizing the figure of the flaneur, its evolution, and the development of flânerie in urban studies. I then discussed how this urban character remains relevant to study contemporary cities and the potential contributions of the flaneur to the geographical study of the city. I envisioned flânerie as a critical tool to reflect upon the relationship between people, objects, and places. By focusing on what the flaneur does and produces, I discussed their capacity to act as connoisseurs and collectors of unnoticed, invisible and neglected city components and their ability to share their findings through storytelling.

Within this context, I investigated the spatial representation of the flaneur's perspective on the city by mapping their stories. To do so, I focused on Montreal and on different types of flaneurs and flânerie productions. Among the rich material available, I concentrated on seven stories in the Flaneur Magazine (2014). To map these stories, I developed a graphic language dedicated to representing various spatio-temporal and personal aspects of these stories. This language was inspired by the concept of Inductive Visualization (Knowles et al. 2015), which allows for the spatial expression of a story based on its content, in contrast with conventional euclidean cartographic structure. This approach led me to produce The Flânerie Atlas of Rue Bernard, which corresponds to the creation part of this research-creation project. Throughout the production of this original Atlas, I was able to develop a methodology to map data from stories, to propose a new (carto)graphic language dedicated to the representation of stories, to reveal certain aspects of rue Bernard as reflected in flaneurs' stories; and to reflect on the relevance of mobilizing flaneurs' material to study the city.

The process of developing a cartographic methodology required defining certain domains of interest that emerged from the stories under study (e.g. people's memories, everyday experiences, feelings and places), identifying them within each story and structuring the results in a spatiotemporal graph developed to visually synthesize them. Through this process, I developed a visual language that could serve to map any type of story. This approach allows for the study of each story as well as a corpus of stories, as illustrated in the Flânerie Atlas of Rue Bernard. This Atlas offers new perspectives on the way we can look at stories and, on the way, we look at places through stories.

The Flânerie Atlas of Rue Bernard is shaped by people's stories and everyday experiences. It represents the multidimensional character of the street and people's sense of place through its

compilation of seven mapped stories. It provides an opportunity not only to see the flaneur's narrations of the street but also to delve deep into the physical and intangible aspects of the street that impact people's sense of place.

It also reveals the various meanings people ascribe to different spots, which stem from their everyday experiences, memories, feelings, intense emotions, attitudes, and diverse cultural backgrounds. Seeing rue Bernard from "down below" provides an insight into the actual image of the street that is akin to what de Certeau believed is a more close and in-depth view of the city. This view highlights the clear opposition between the west and the east end of rue Bernard in terms of peoples' economic standing and physical features. It also highlights the higher human presence and cultural diversity in the east end of rue Bernard and the close relationship between the street and the private sphere that exists in that section of the street.

Through this thesis, I hope to have contributed to an enhanced understanding of the potential the flaneur offers for urban studies. Although the figure of the flaneur has been mobilized extensively in urban studies and cultural geography, the use of the flaneur's productions as a source of data to study places required more attention. Through this project, I was able to highlight the potential of flâneurs' stories to study the relationship between people and the complexity of people's sense of place and sense of belonging. I also identified the necessity and the potential of developing new forms of spatial expressions that both emerge from the story and can be applied to a corpus of stories. Not only I identified this necessity, but I developed an original graphic language that enables the visualization of different components of stories. This (carto)graphic language that could be reapplied to any kind of story might be the main academic contribution of this project, as illustrated in The Flânerie Atlas of Rue Bernard. However, as with any mapping endeavours, certain things are magnified by maps and others are simply erased, such as, in this case, vanished places that people keep with them long after they disappear or women's experiences of flânerie. This project did not contribute to solving this intractable cartographic issue but hopefully contributes to expanding our understanding of what could be considered when studying urban geography.

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Appendix A – The Flânerie Atlas of Rue Bernard

Churcher Four

Flaneurie ATLAS &

Bernare

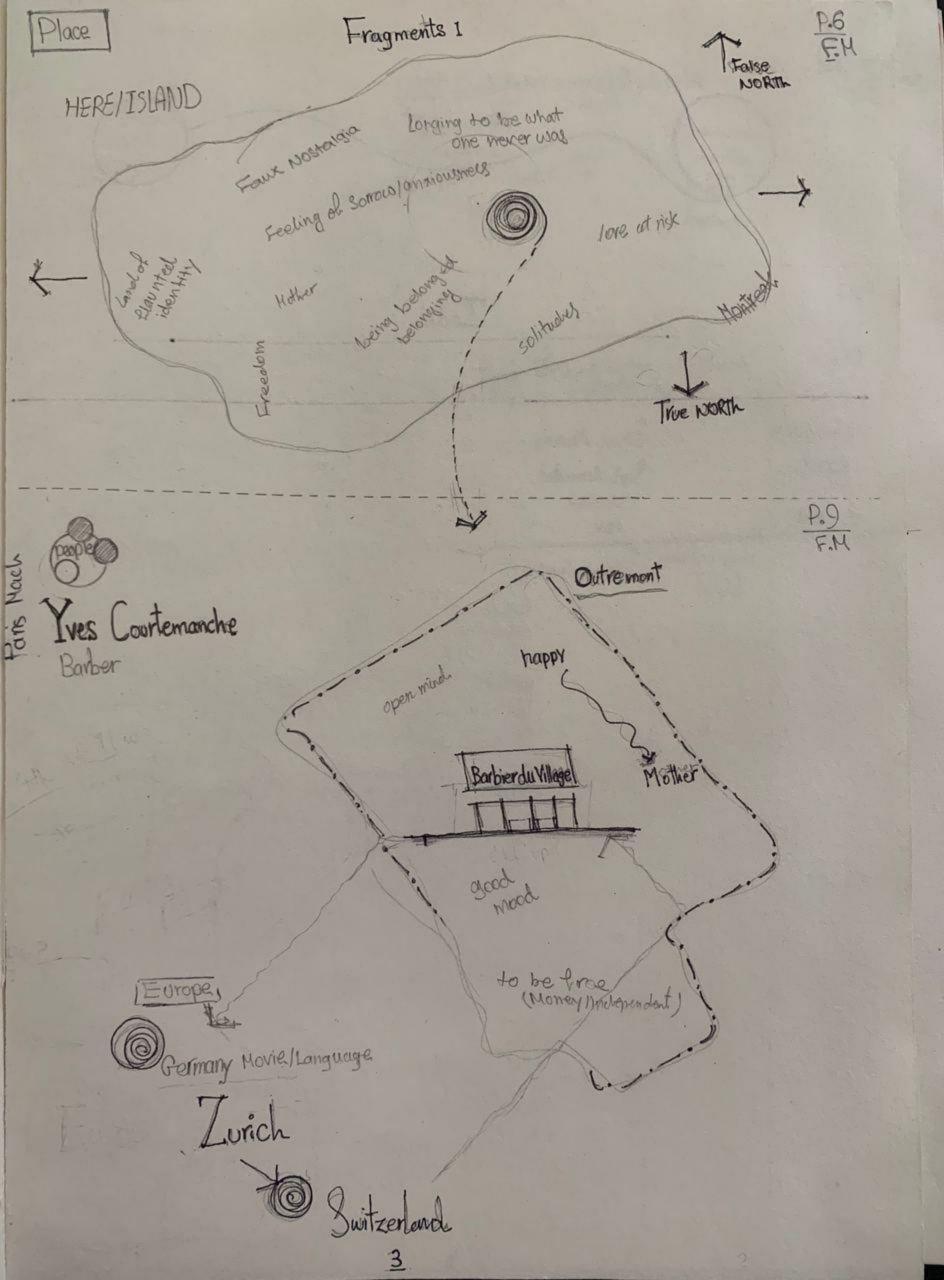


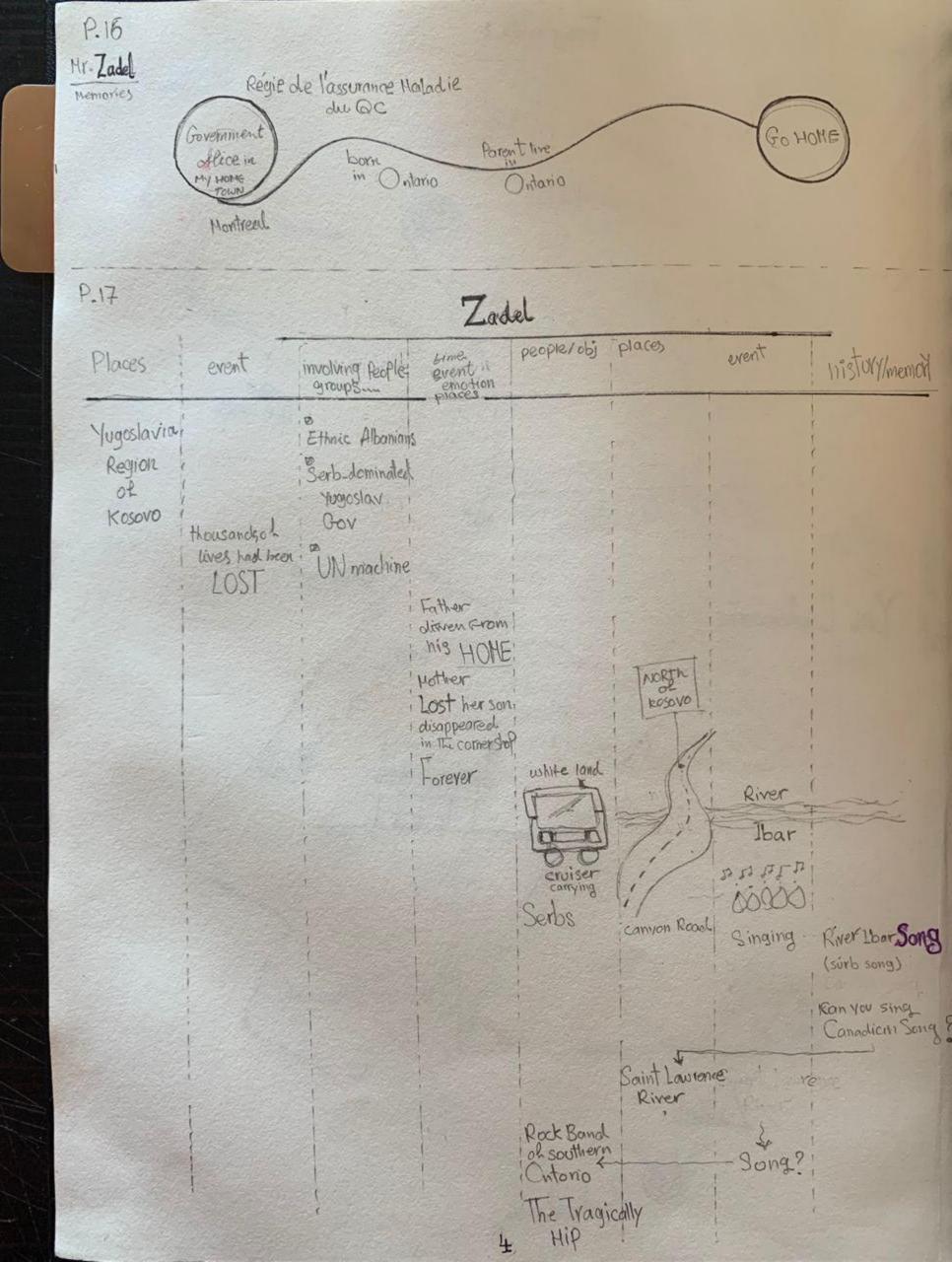
Journal The Process of Mapping Flâneurie Stories

Towards Mapping Stories; Initial Sketches

In this section, I explain the process of reading the Flaneur Magazine and collecting data from its stories. In this process, I have taken different steps to visualize and map flanerie stories. Producing the initial sketches in this phase helped me to generate in-depth insights in relation to the stories. In the initial stages, I tried different styles of representing stories, which enabled me to highlight various components in each visualization.

To begin, I read the entire Magazine to explore what types of data it could provide. The Magazine starts with incomplete information about Montreal and Bernard Street, entitled "Fragments", to describe the material scattered throughout the Magazine. The Fragments are tasted with some personal feelings, abstract notions (e.g. freedom), places and individuals highlighted in the texts (e.g. Mother and kids). Since my focus was on 'places of the street', I began taking notes about different places and their connected components.

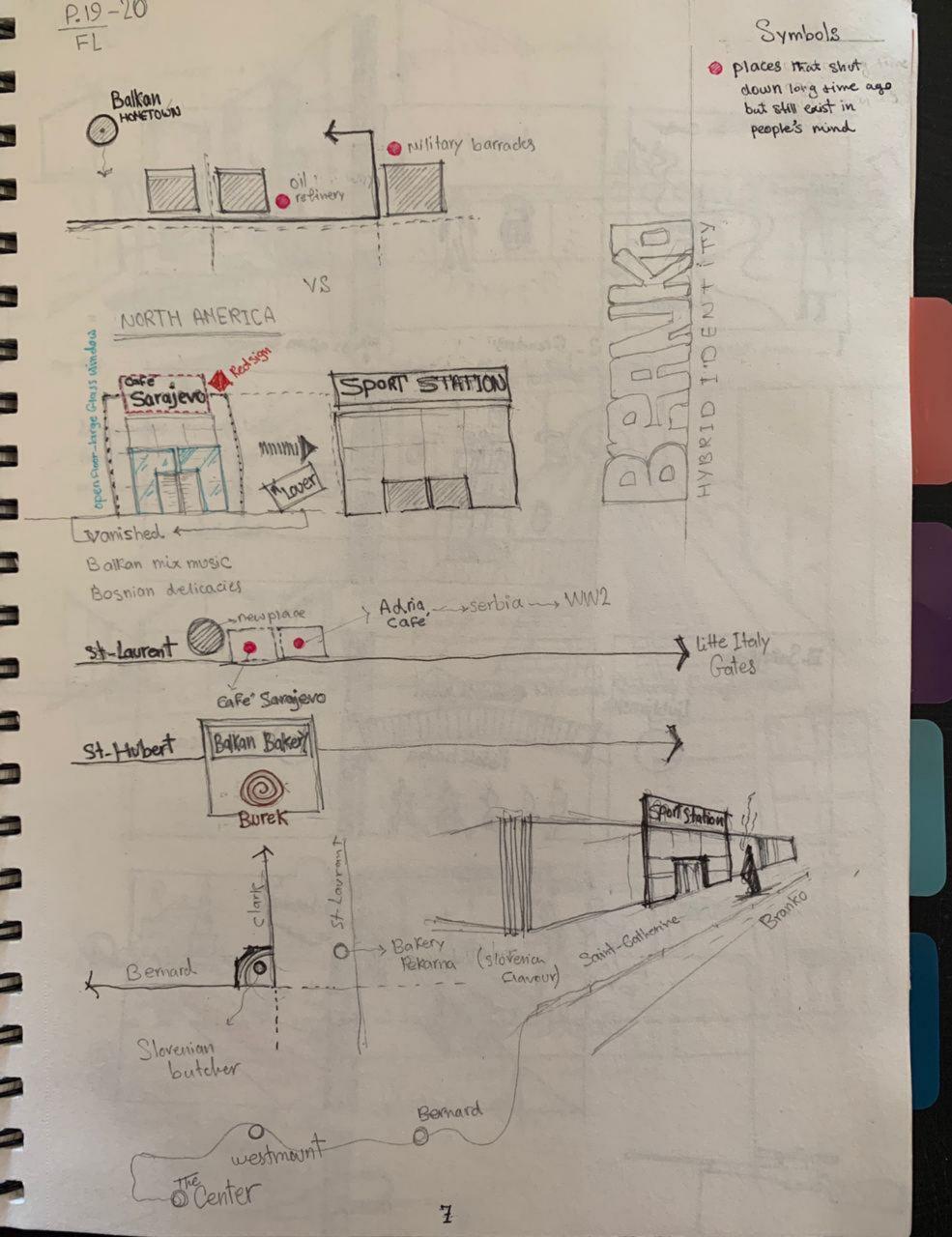


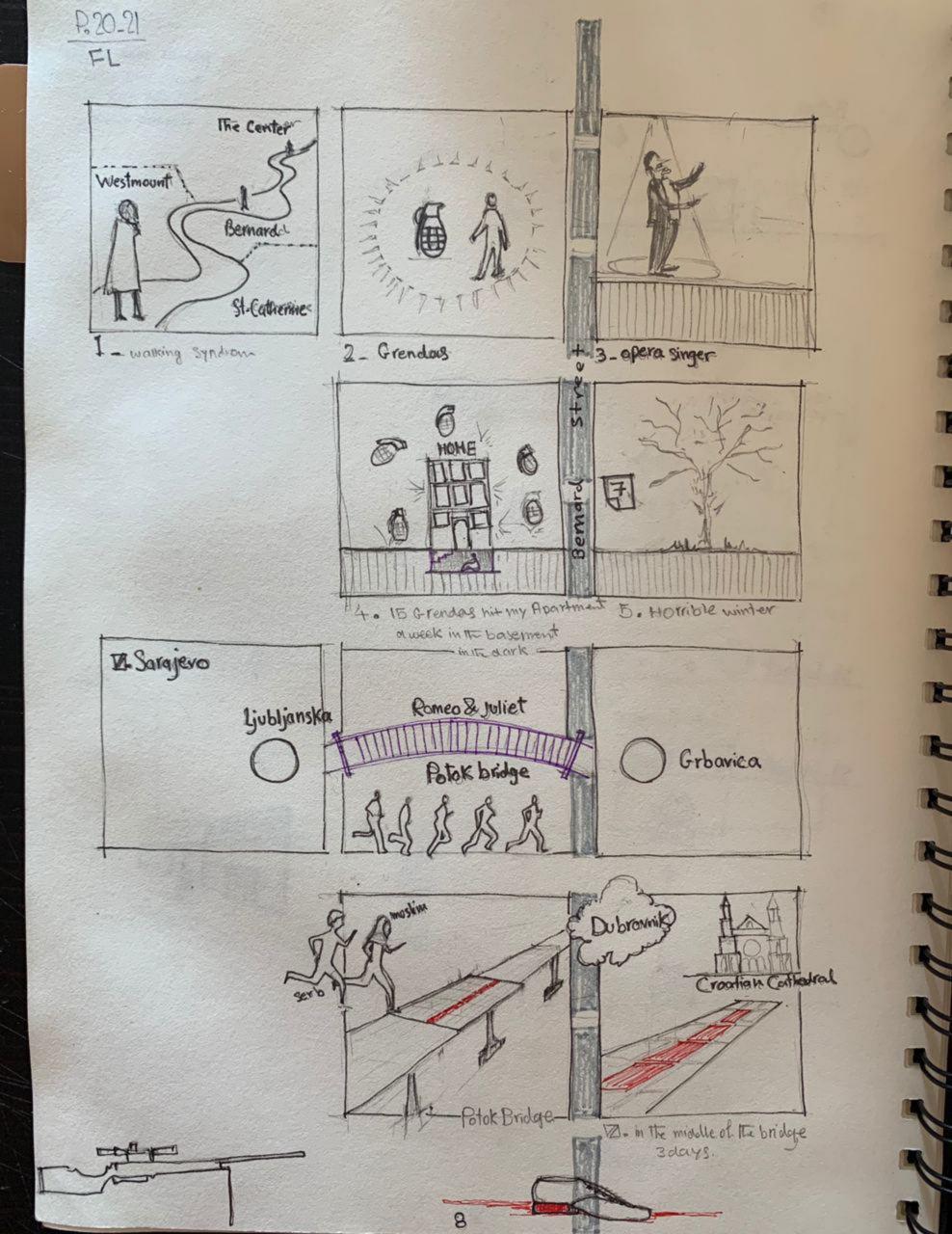


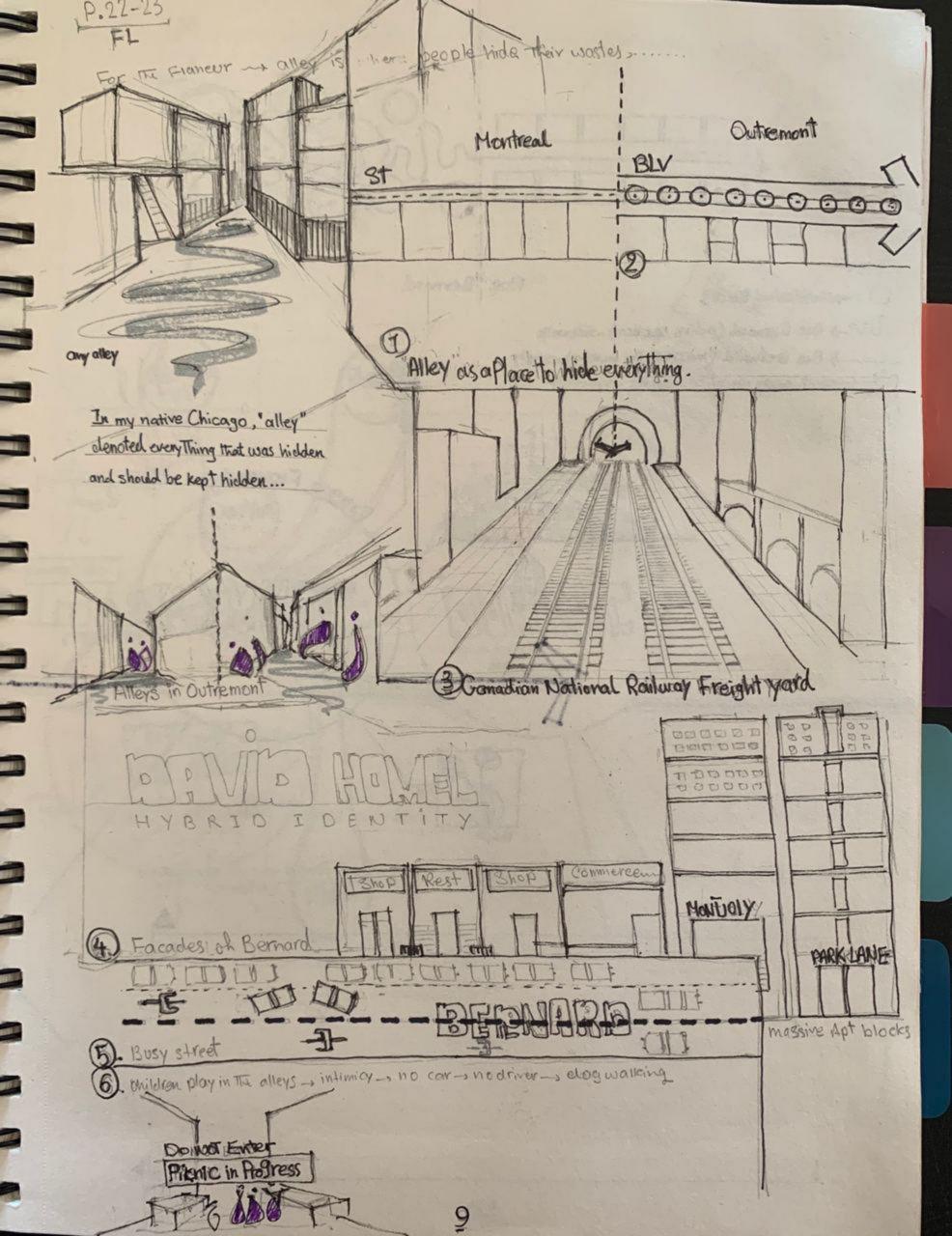
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Suburbs of Montreal
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Barrett's privateers
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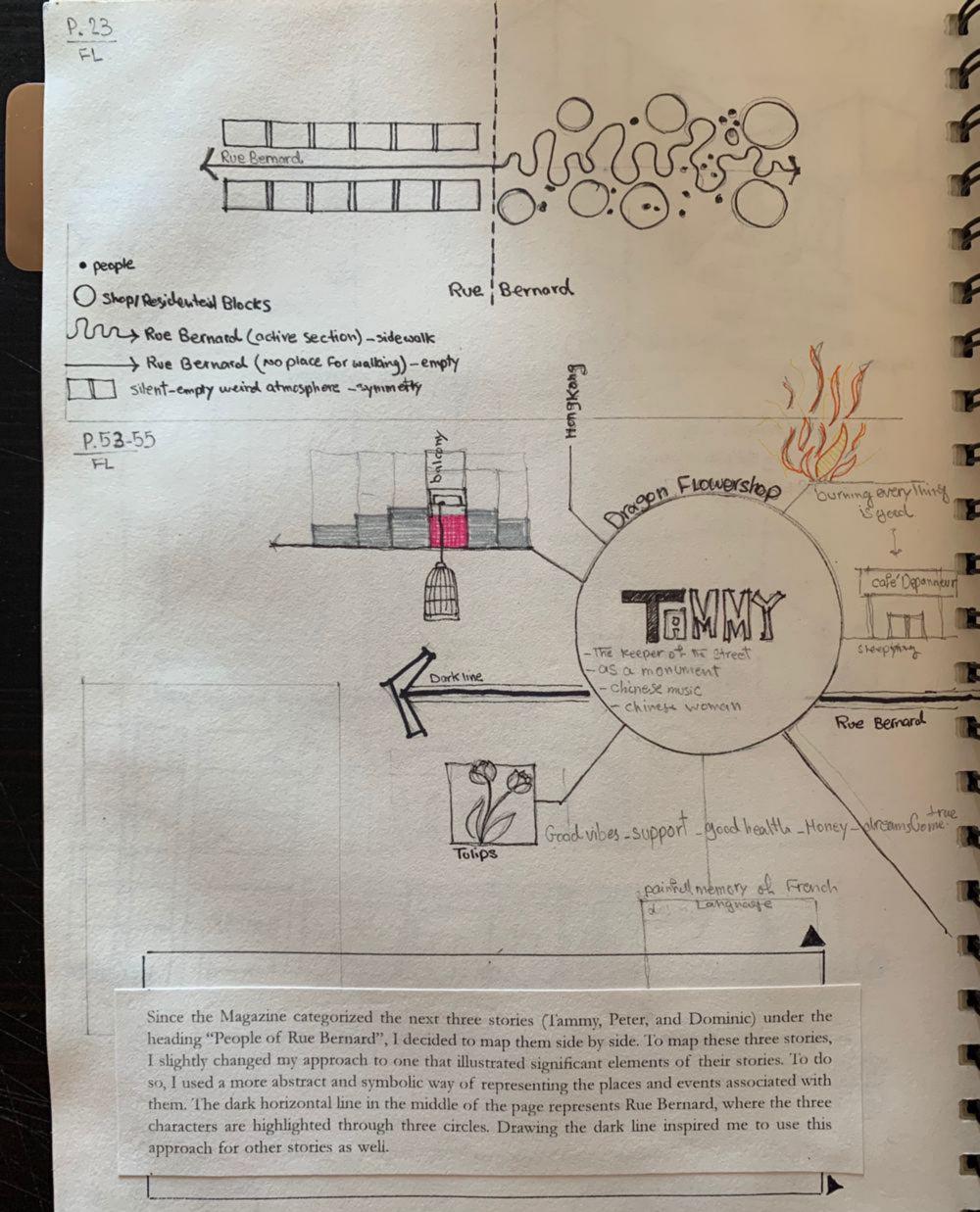
In Andrew Zadebs story, I was faced with various place names, painful events and personal memories linked to them. To record these elements, I used a simple table where the columns represent the type of data. The order of the columns is based on the trajectory of the story. Instead of writing words and sentences in columns, I drew some quick sketches in the table's cells, which correspond to the particular section or paragraph of the text.

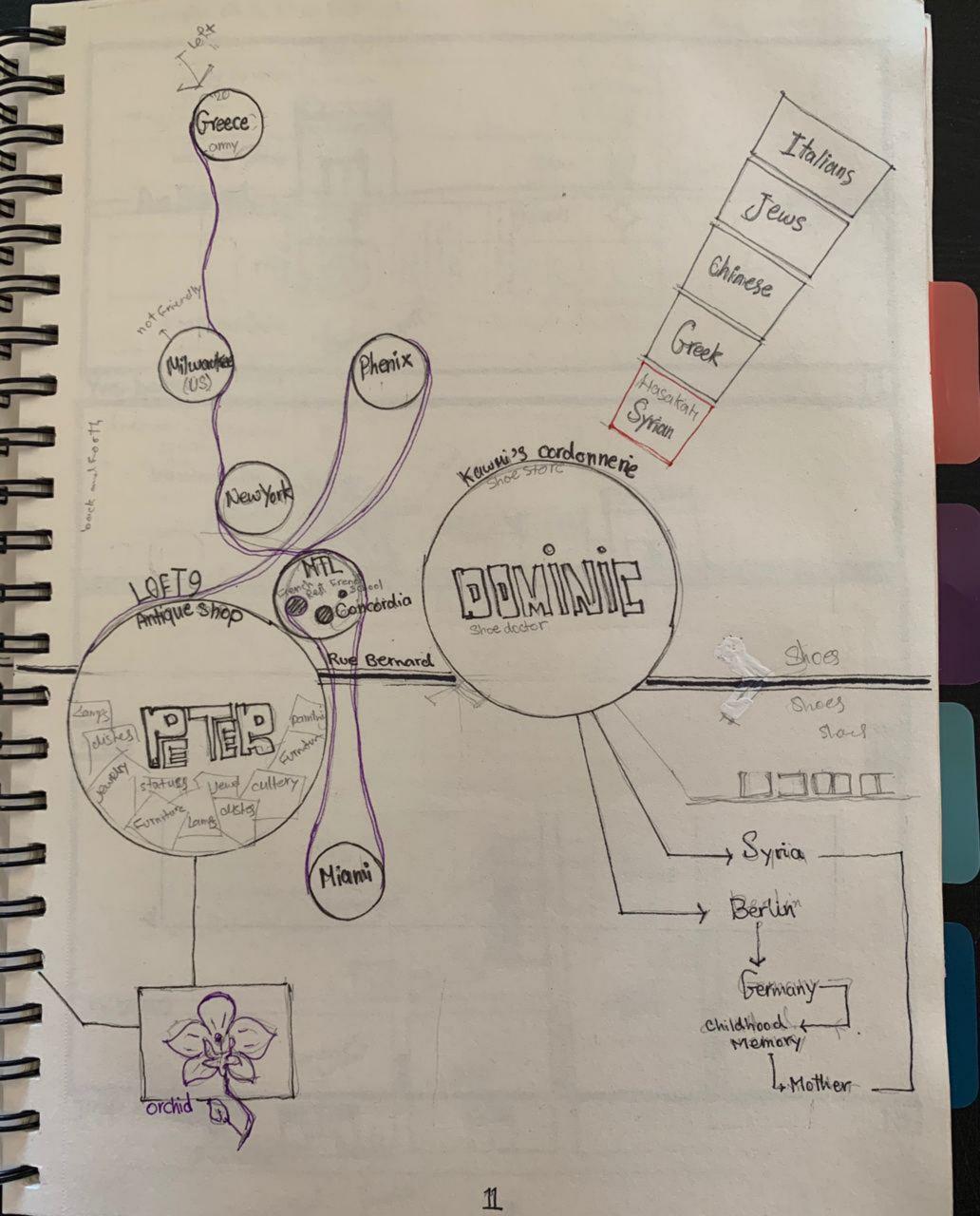
Relying more on a visual representation of stories and less on words inspired me to map the next four stories via the sketching of different sequences. For example, I sketched some sections of Branko's story that referred to places and related events. Although the selection of the parts to be described visually was subjective, I tried to highlight moments of his story that emphasized places, events, and feelings. Arriving at the midway point of the story, I decided to arrange the sketches to explain the story's trajectory. In this regard, I drew a thick gray line in the middle of the page representing Rue Bernard and then arranged the sketches.

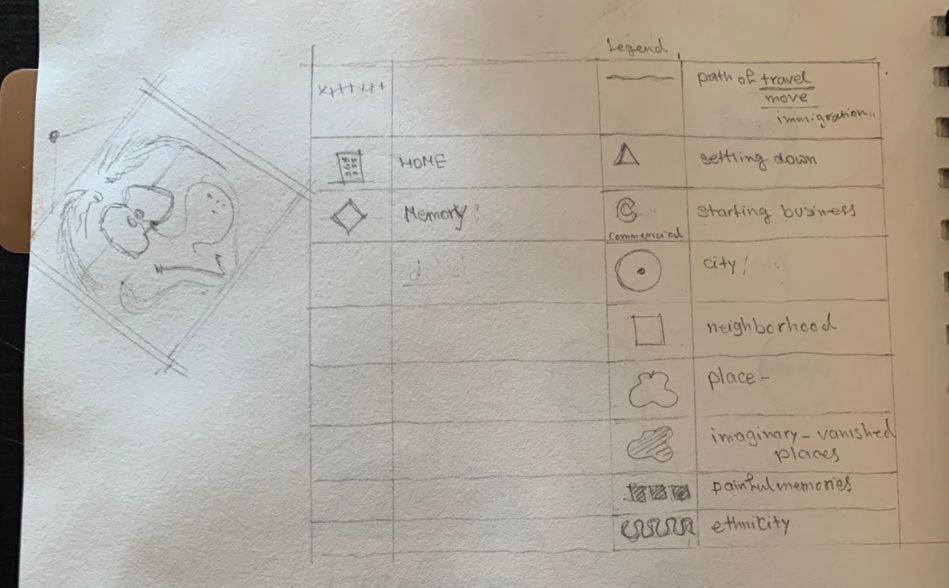






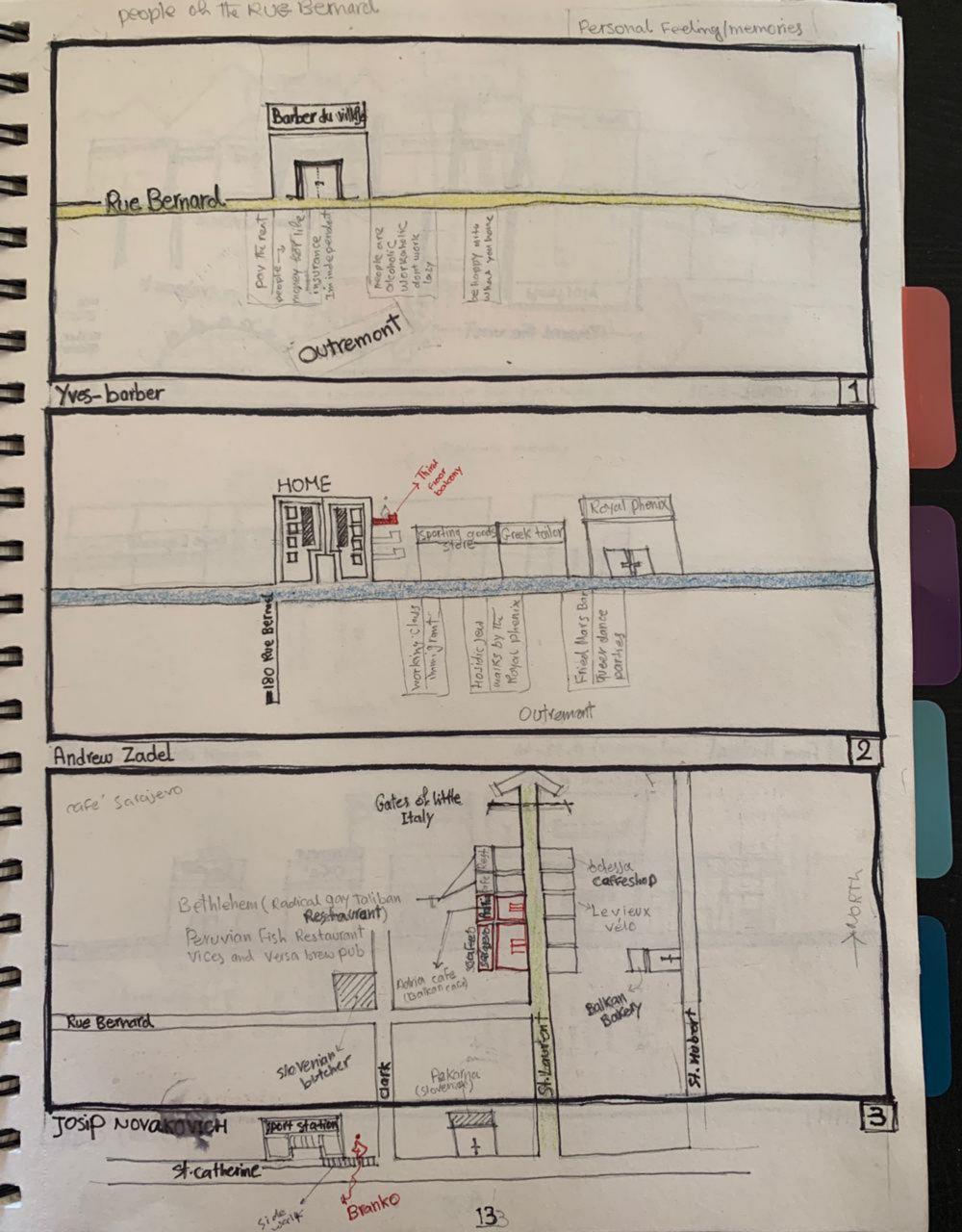


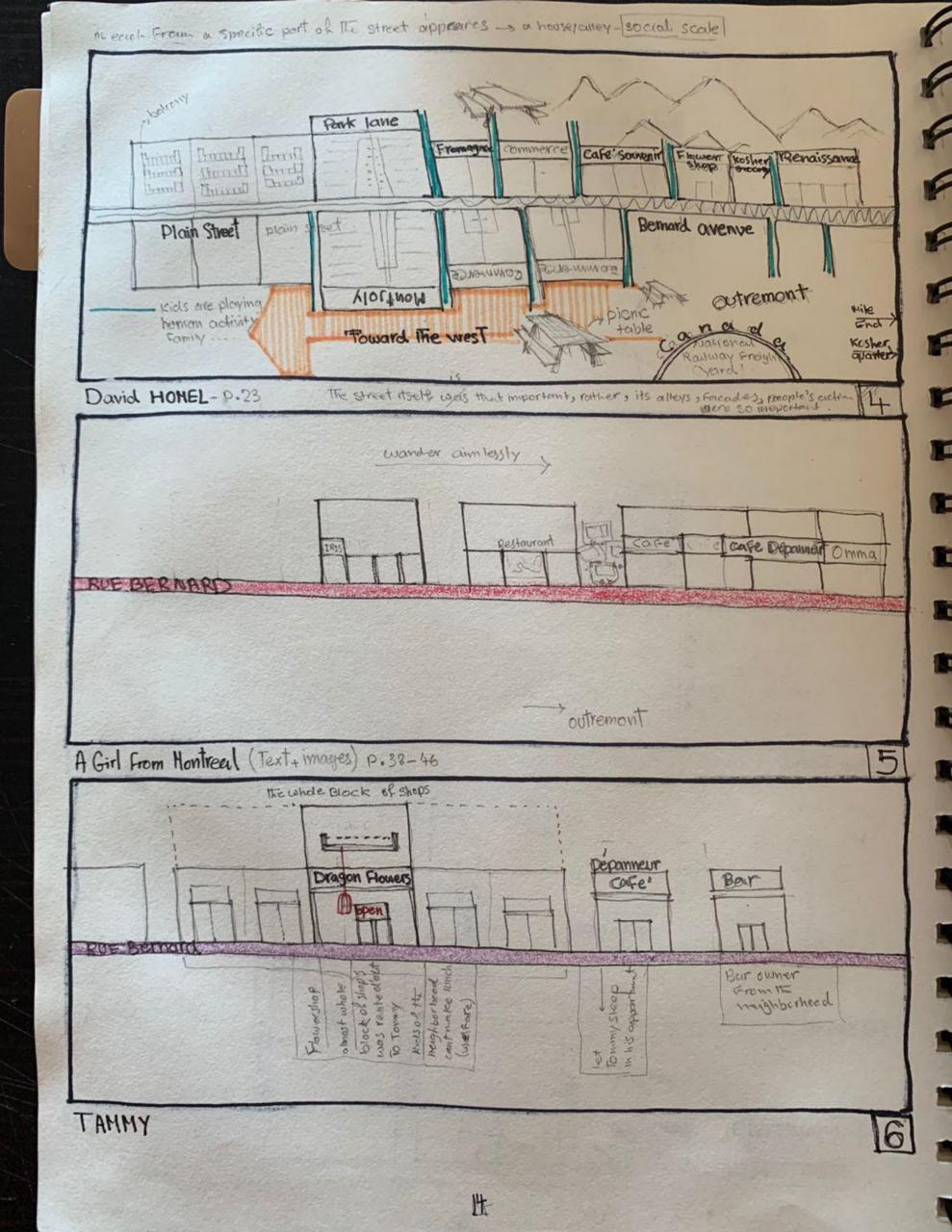


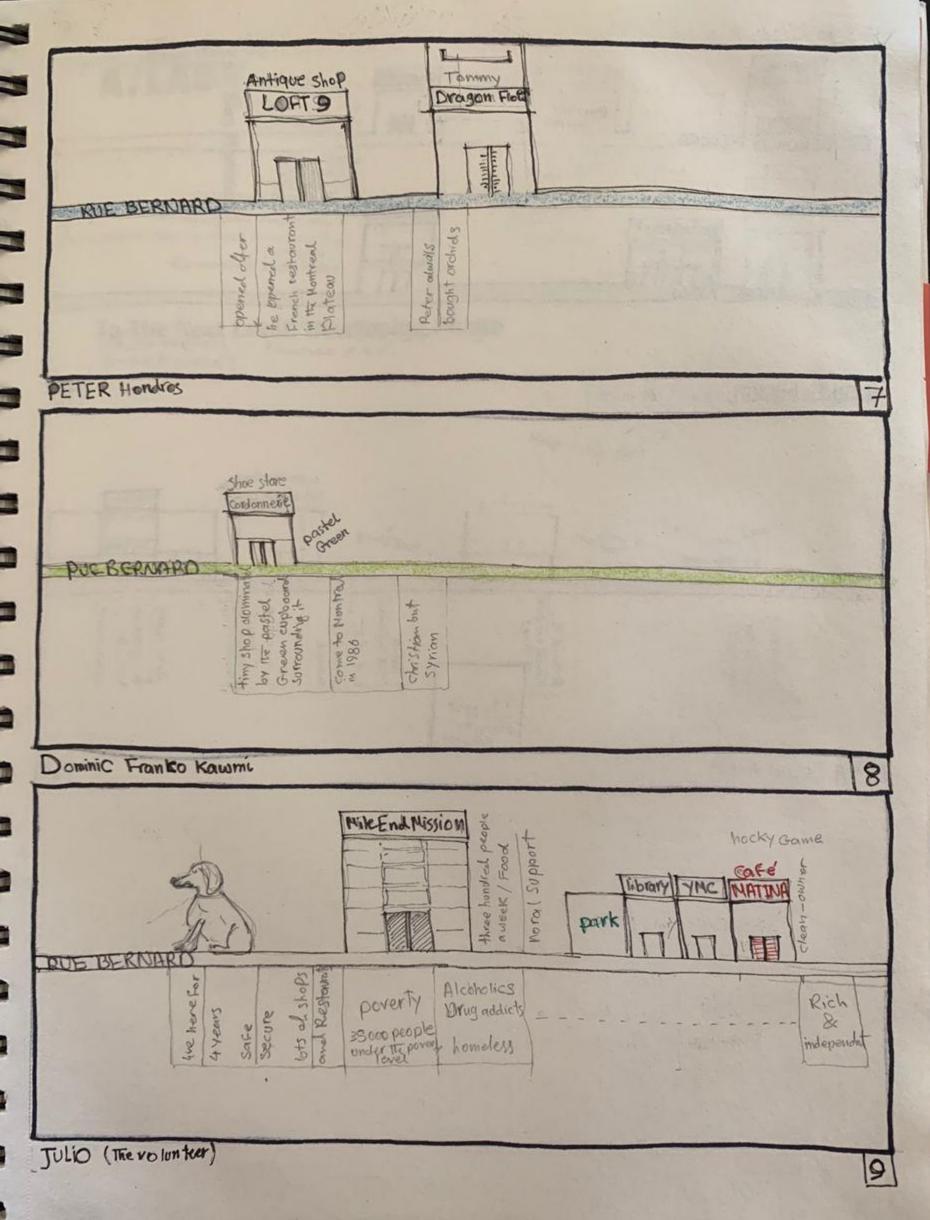


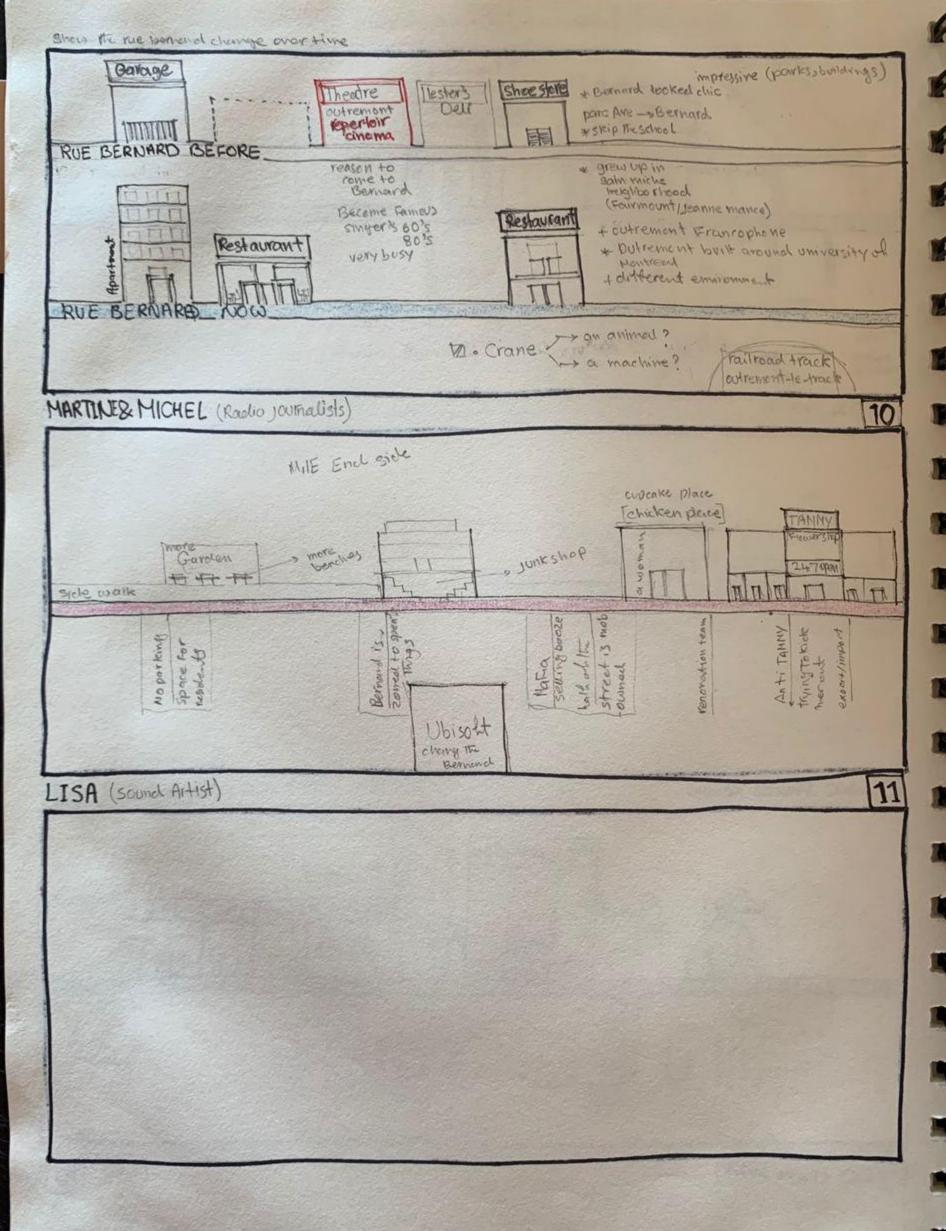
After reading the stories once more, I tried to map them based on using fixed elements such as equal-sized frames. To do this, I drew equal-sized frames with a line passing through as Rue Bernard for each story. I then started sketching various places of Rue Bernard without considering their exact situation on the street. These frames helped me see different components of the stories simultaneously and compare them through the details revealed in each story. Although I was able to sketch all the places of Rue Bernard mentioned in the stories, the limited geographical frame this required meant that I was unable to include many other places referred to in the stories (e.g. places in other cities, countries, or even in other neighbourhoods).











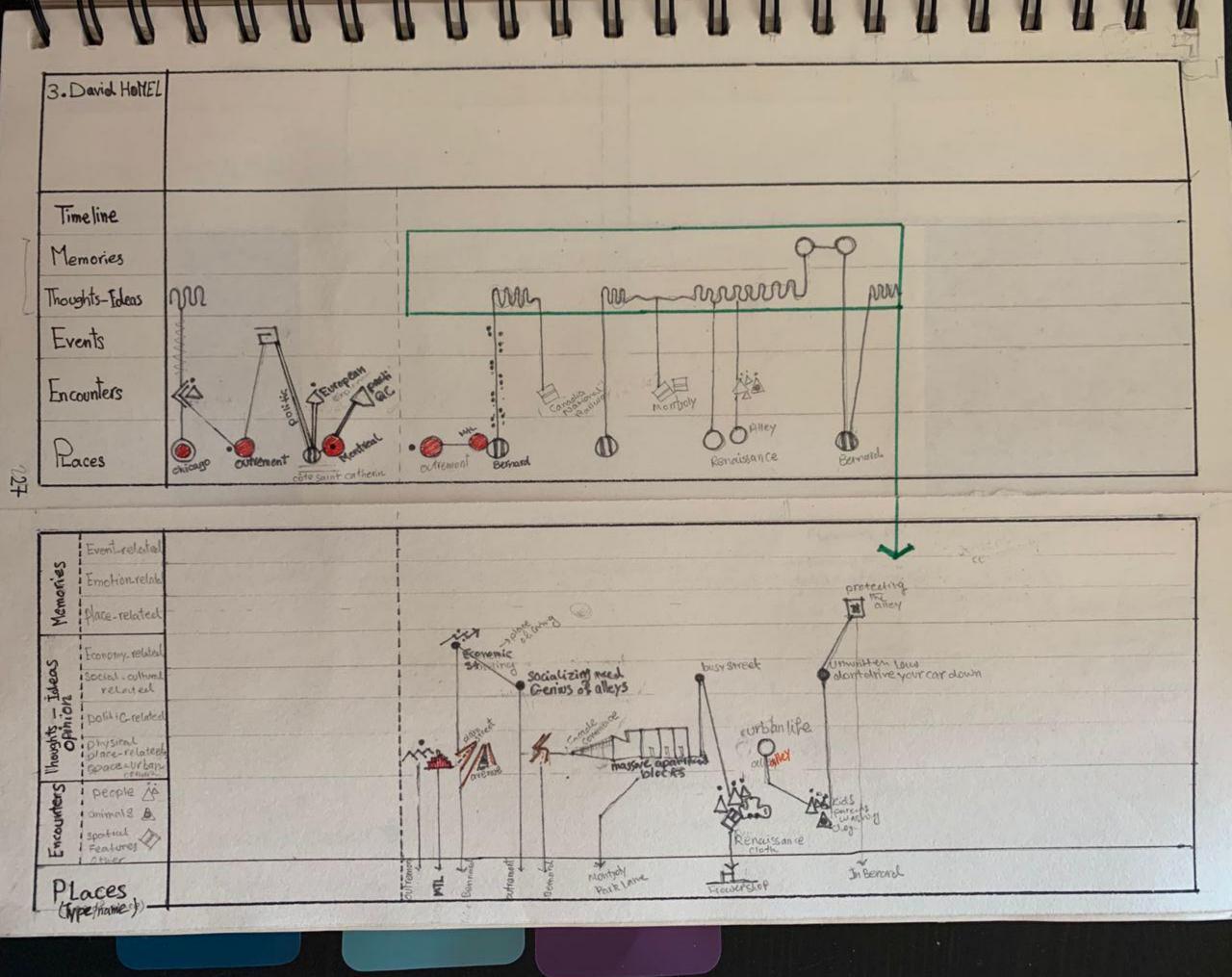
Flaneurie A71AS Q Rue Bernard

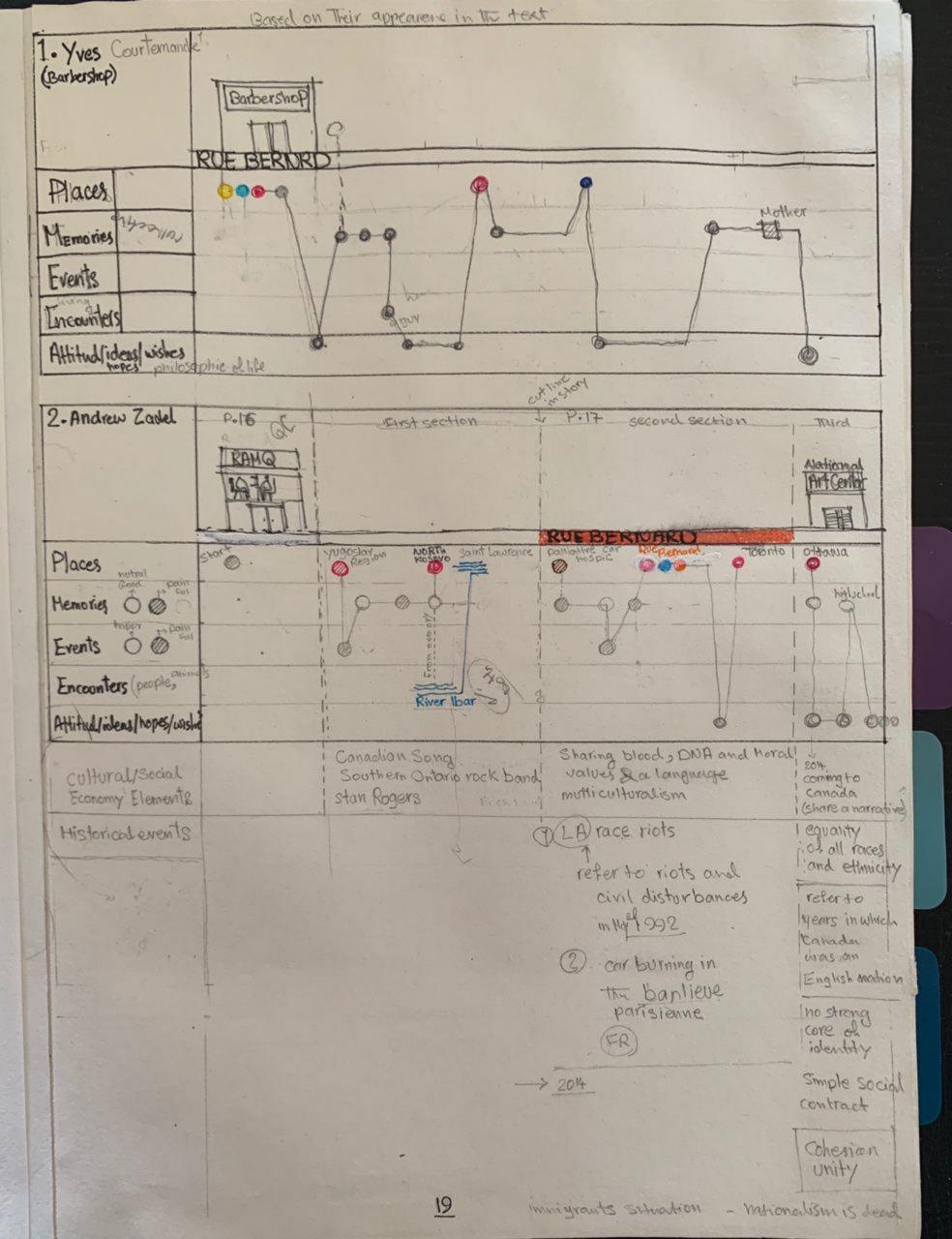
To The Next Level; Developing Phase

Reviewing the stories and sketches, I noticed that people moved between their thoughts, places, memories, and feelings, while mentioning others. In this step, I kept those fixed frames and the passing line as Rue Bernard with a slight shift in the line's position. Then I started mapping stories once more and redesigned the framed structures. This resulted in a second iteration of my work on the story table, with the creation five new items on the left side: Places, Memories, Events, Encounter and Attitudes.

Part of my review included rereading the stories with a view to collecting data from them. For instance, in Zadebs story, every time Zadel mentioned a place or an idea, I inserted a symbol (a simple circle) in front of the corresponding cell. I did the same for the Events, Memories and Encounters entry. Then I connected them based on their order of appearance in the text.

Through this process I was able to record places mentioned in the stories with greater ease, and better observe the movement between the different elements of the stories. However, by going in-depth into Zadebs account, I realized there are limits in showing the negative and positive connotations of memories or illustrating the remarkable, tragic, traumatic, and political events Mapping more stories this way, I faced some other challenges regarding depicting more abstract data such as cultural differences and barriers, political viewpoints and / or social issues. Since the simple circles were not able to convey all aspects embedded in stories, I came up with the idea of using visual variables such as different sizes, colours, and shapes.





At least two narrators, including Tammy, Peter, and Dominic, are featured in the "People of Rue Bernard" stories. In these stories, the main narrator is a Flaneur, who used many quotes from the three individuals, while sometimes being in conversation with them. Through these conversations, I became familiar with these three characters, and I learned more about them. To differentiate the characters visually in each story, I used different colour backgrounds. This makes the spatio-temporal components of each narrator clear and visible. In Tammy's story, the Flaneur is the main narrator, but he uses quotes from Tammy. I used a yellow background for the parts of the story that correspond to Tammy's words, while the background for the Flaneur remains white.

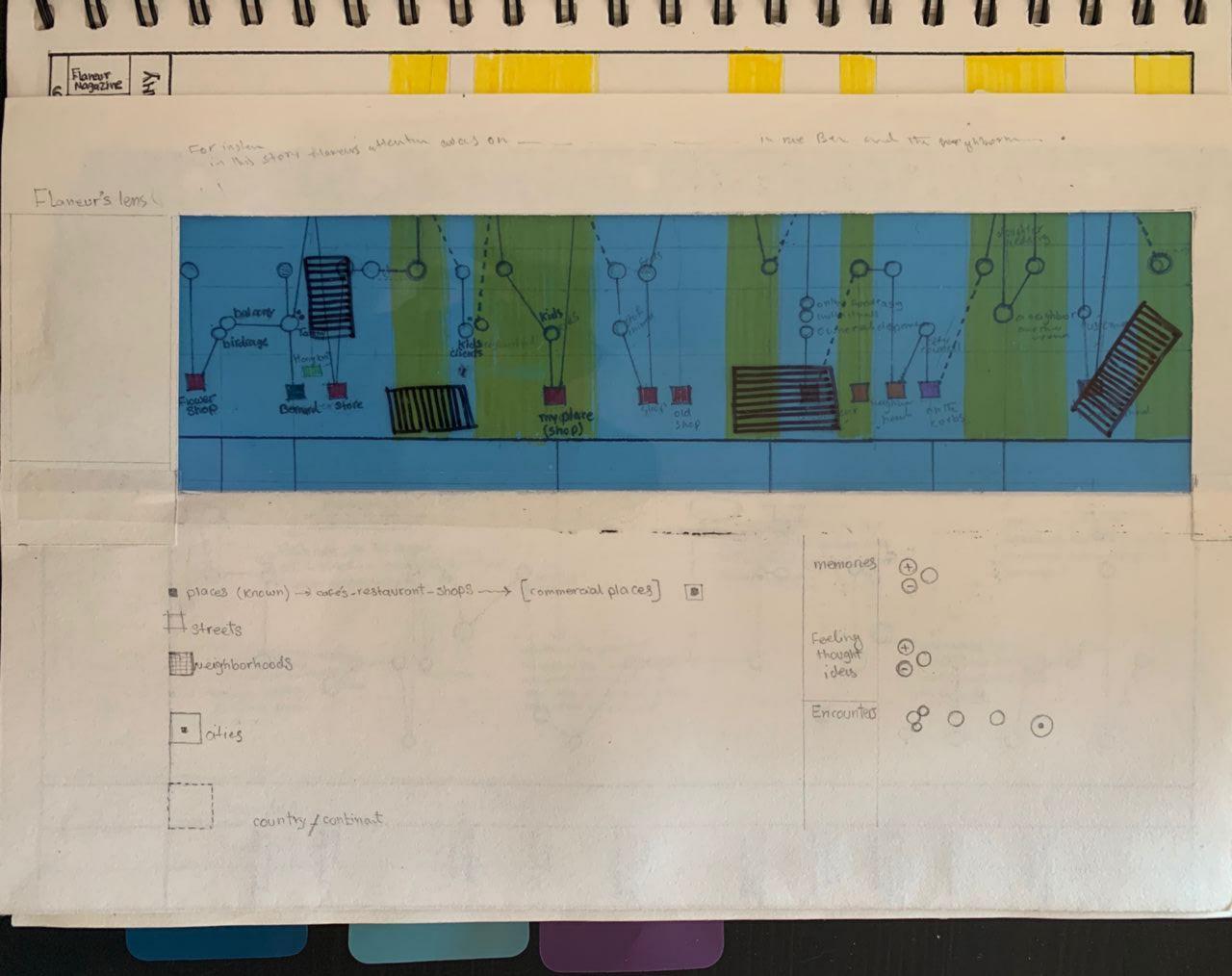
In the second table, I recorded more information about Tammy's story. By reading her story, I realized that the first narrator's role in telling Tammy's story was explicitly visible.

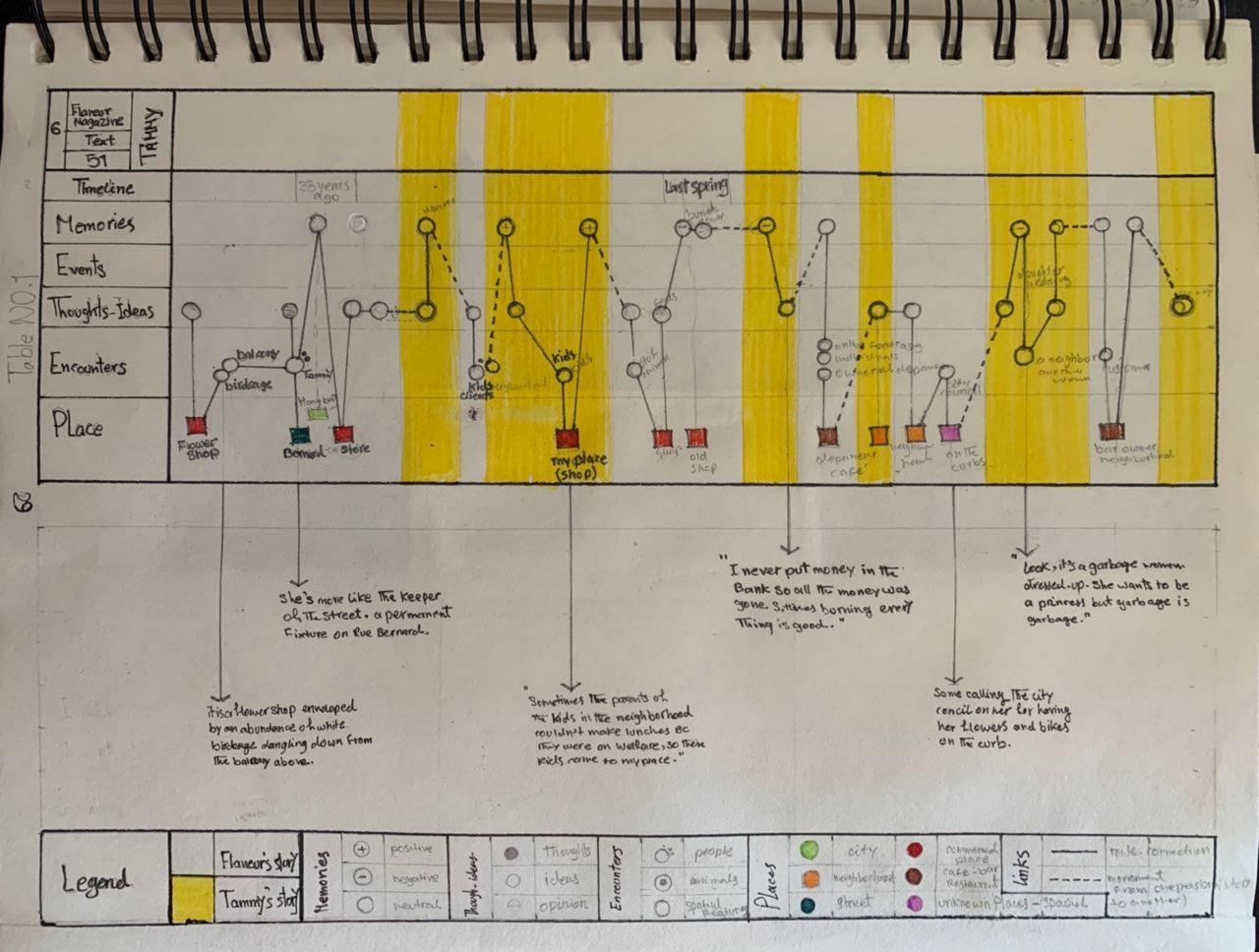
It was as if the Flaneur was looking at her story from a unique perspective in a way that highlighted specific aspects, such as her role in Rue Bernard as a "godmother", or her struggles in the neighbourhood regarding her Chinese background. To show these specific aspects of Tammys story, I came up with the idea of producing a visual synthesis by using a foldable colourful transparent paper.

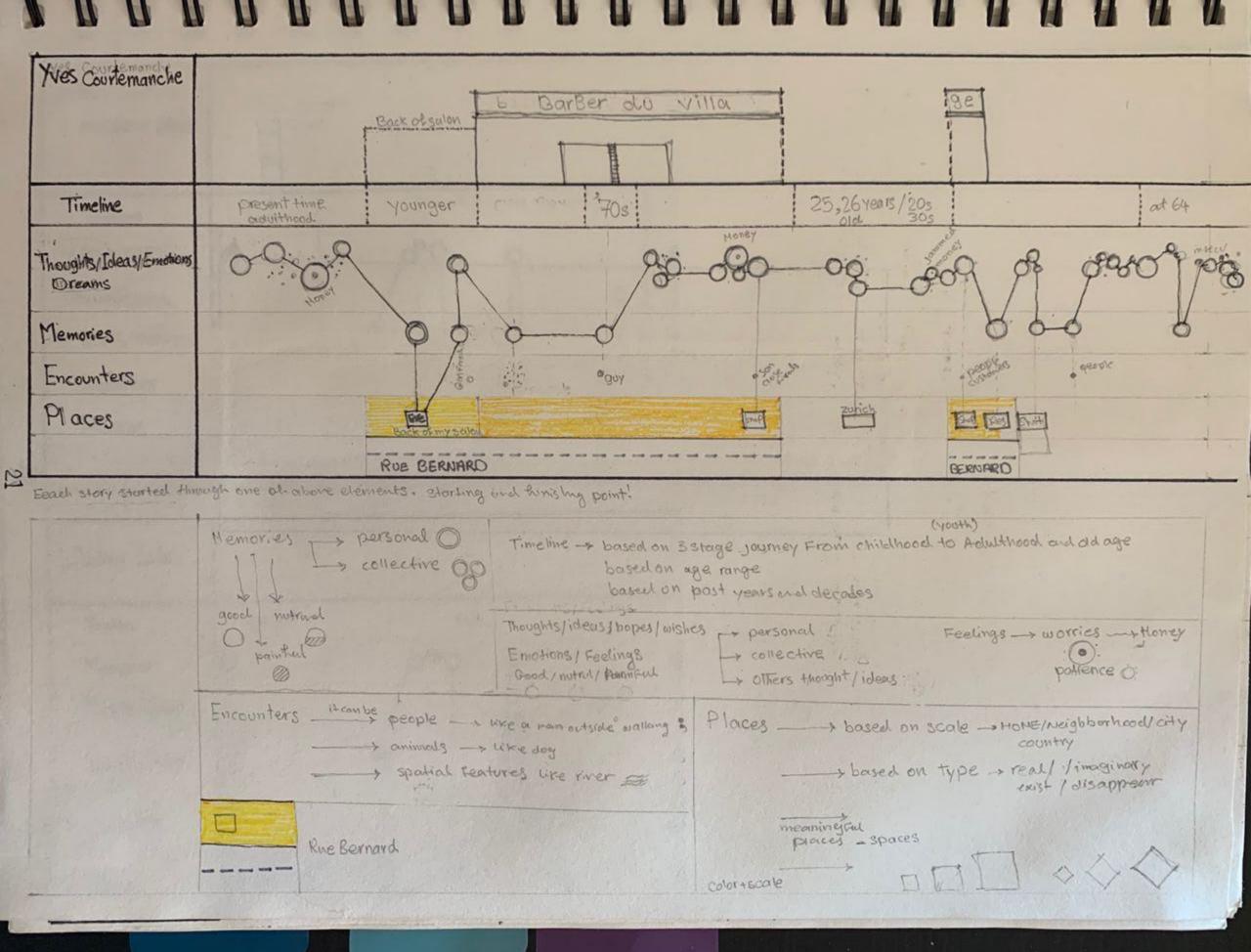
2

Developing the graphic language and table layout

After sharing the new maps with Professor Caquard, I focused more on developing the graphic language and arranging the tables components. In this table, I added a Timeline row representing any temporal elements that could be identified, such as a specific minute or a year; night and day; and summer and winter. I also moved the Places row to the end of the table. I used various sizes and shapes of circles to indicate different types of Memories, thoughts, ideas, or emotions. following tables are some of my attempts to develop a graphic language.



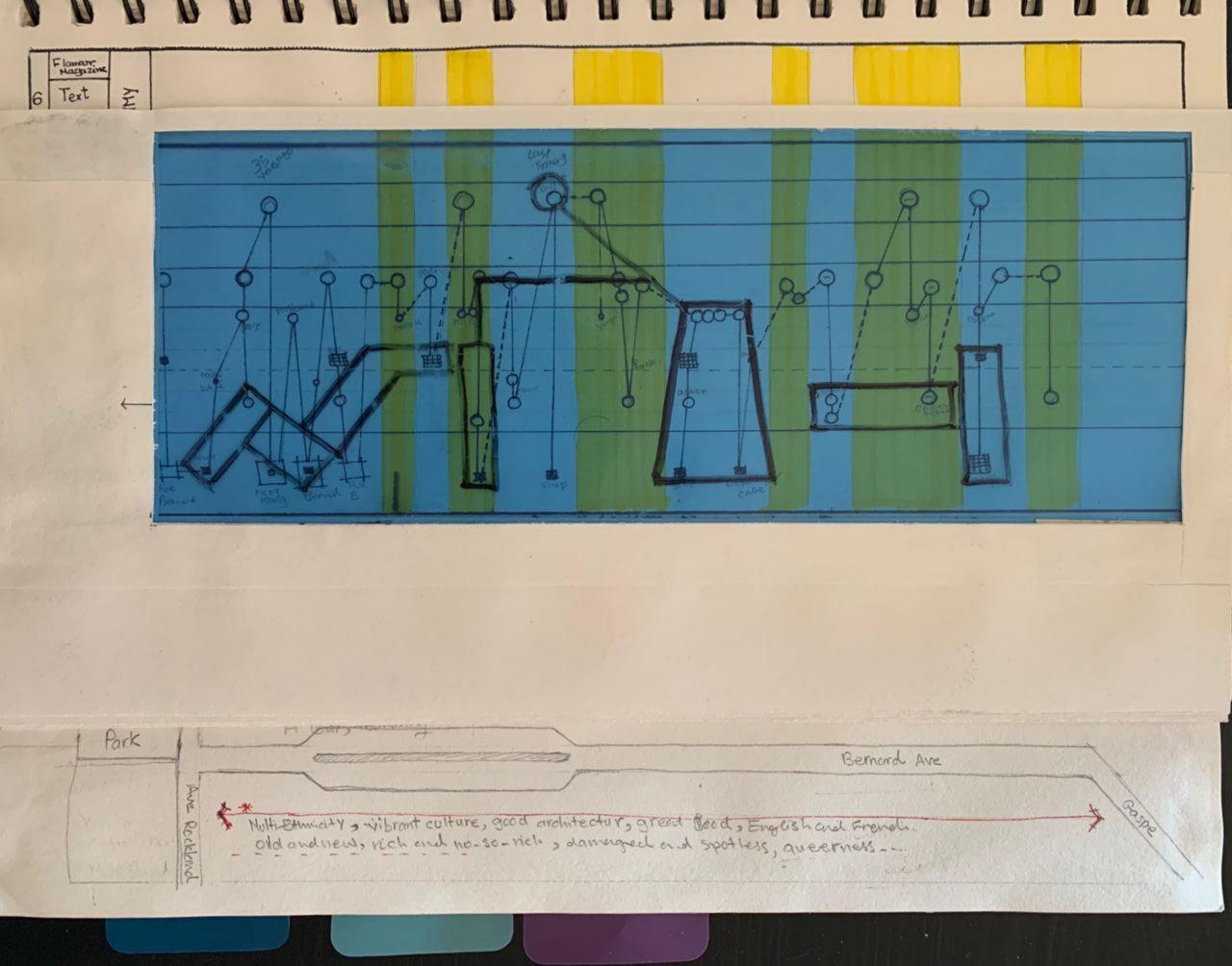


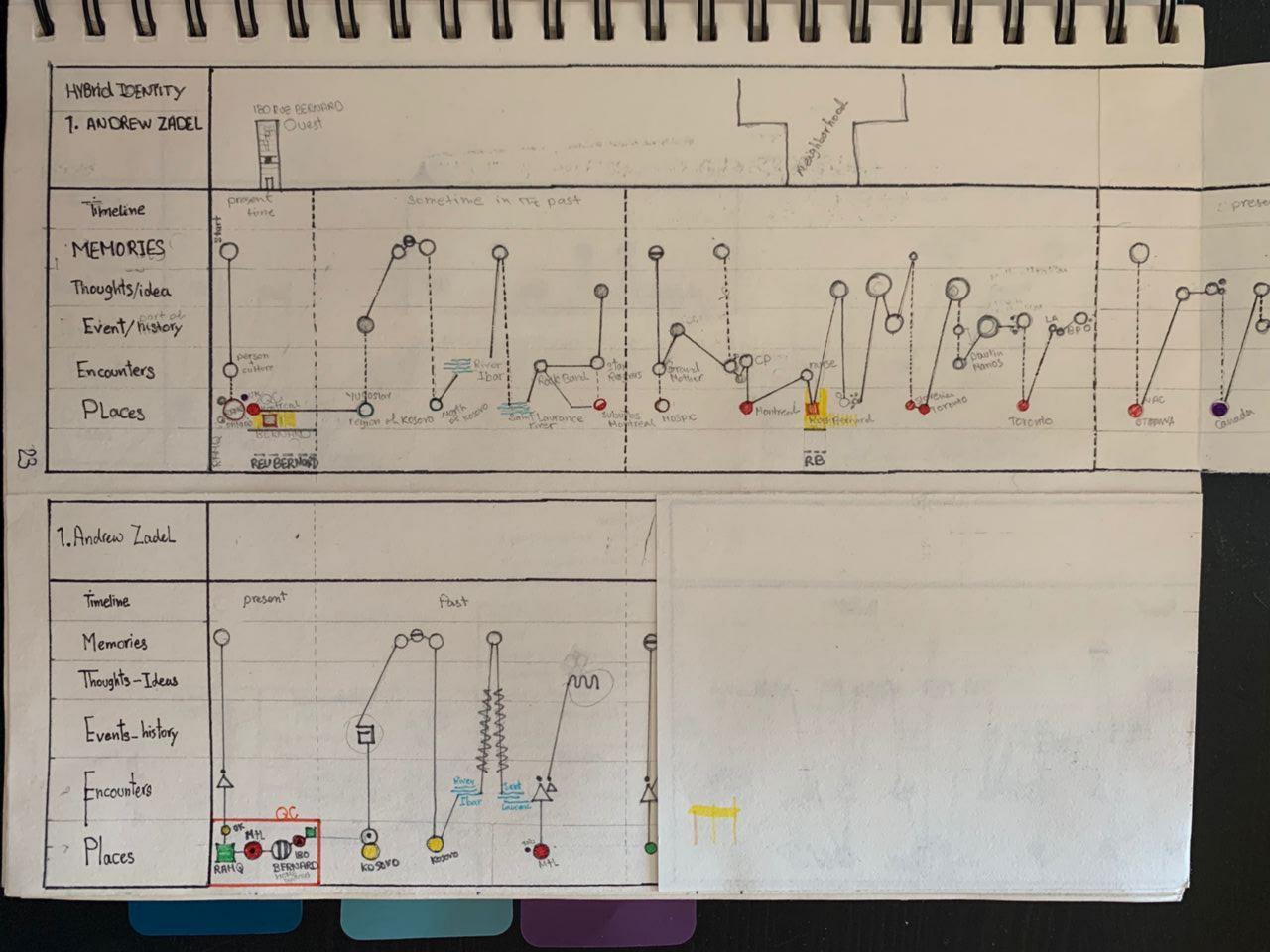


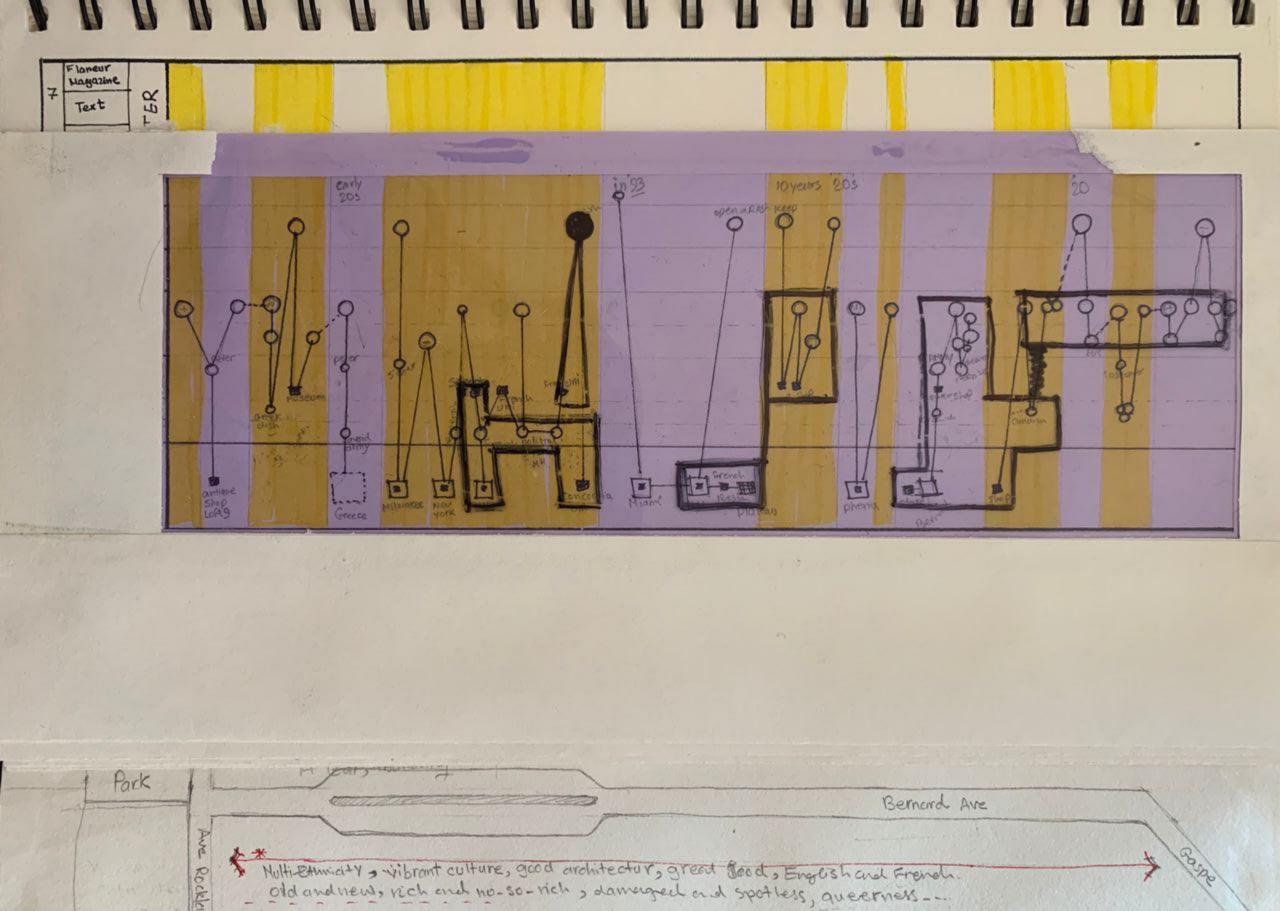


In the following pages of this section, I tried not only to map four stories, including Tammy, Peter, Dominic, and Yves, but I also decided to use the transparent area differently. In addition, I focused on creating various symbols for showing places that convey scale and type simultaneously. Readability and simplicity of the symbols were the two main criteria in my design process.

In Zadel's story, I tried to use more complex shapes and colours with respect to symbols. Although this helped me to illustrate the data of Zadel's story more richly, the table also became more complex to read. The two following tables show different types of symbols and figures for Zadel's story. I also increased the horizontal length of one of the tables in order to map all of the sequences in his story. Defining column widths was one of the most challenging parts of this work.

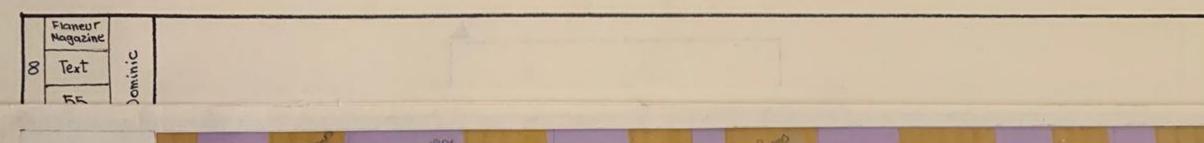


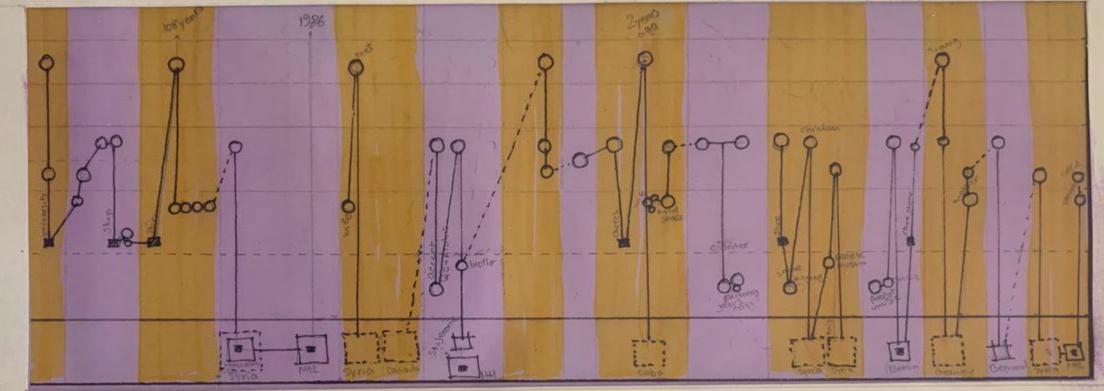


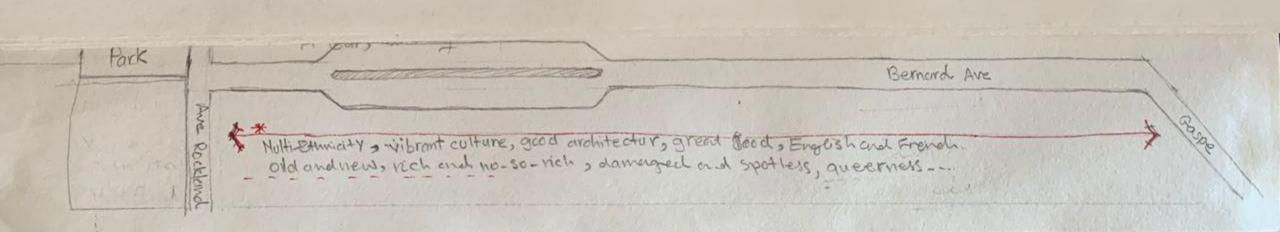


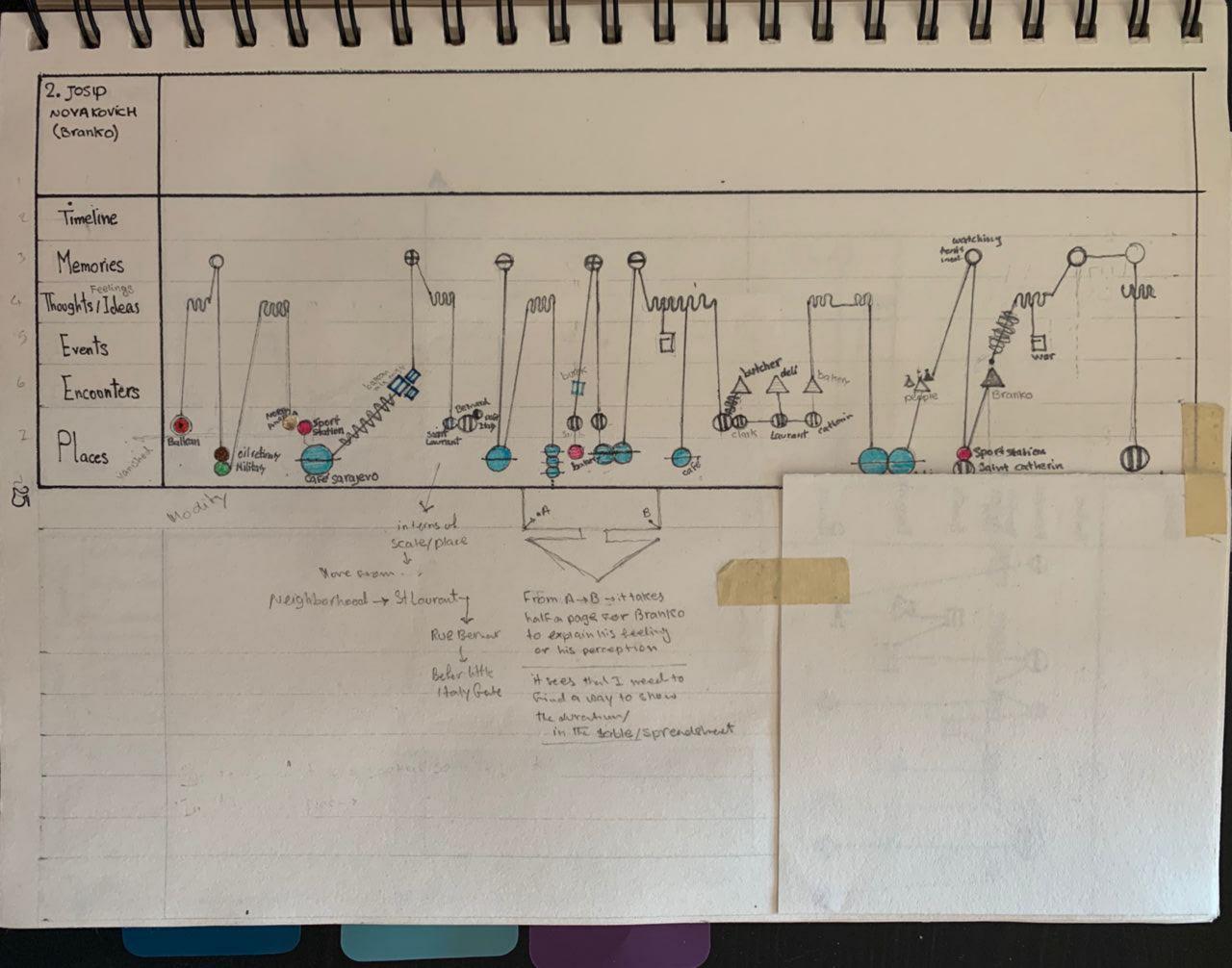
I faced another mapping challenge when it came to Novakovichs story: Side stories. In this story, Novakovich includes someone else's story within his narratives (Branko). To represent this side story, I used a branch. The branch is a folded story connected to the main story that can be revealed when unfolded.

At this point in Novakovich's story, Branko starts talking about his lived experiences, including being trapped during Sarajevo's siege, escaping from a bridge as a war invalid in Sarajevo many years ago, and coming to Montreal as an exile.









Issues with designing the table

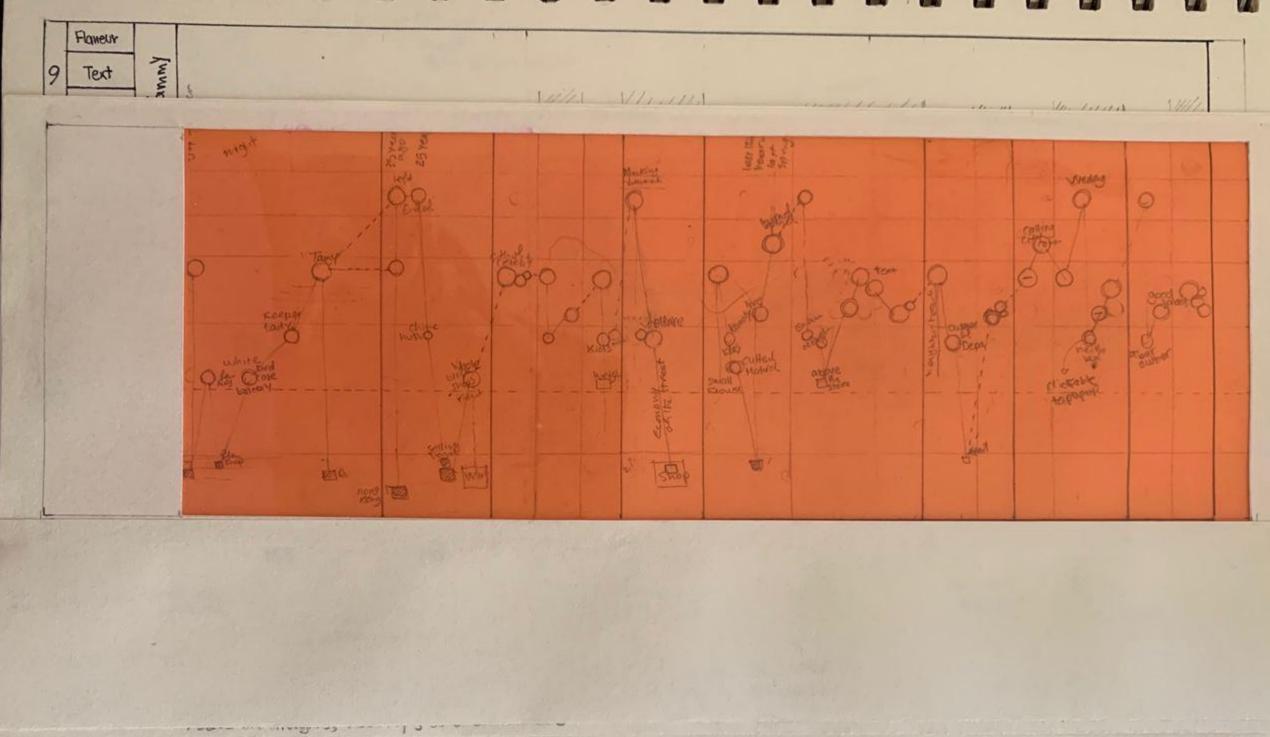
Row size

One of the questionable items in the table design was inconsistency of row size, in particular with respect to the "Encounter" row and "Places" row.

Width of Columns

To define columns widths, I referred to the original text in the Magazine.

In this regard, the column width corresponds to the length of the corresponding section of the text. Larger columns represent larger sections of the text, and narrower columns represent smaller sections. For instance, Tammyos story consists of eight paragraphs / sections of different lengths. In this map, P1, P2, etc. represent eight paragraphs of her story.



Park

Bernard Ave

Bernard Ave

Nulli Ethnicaty, wibront culture, good anothitectur, great Good, English and French

old and news, rich and no-so-rich, damaged and spotless, queerness...

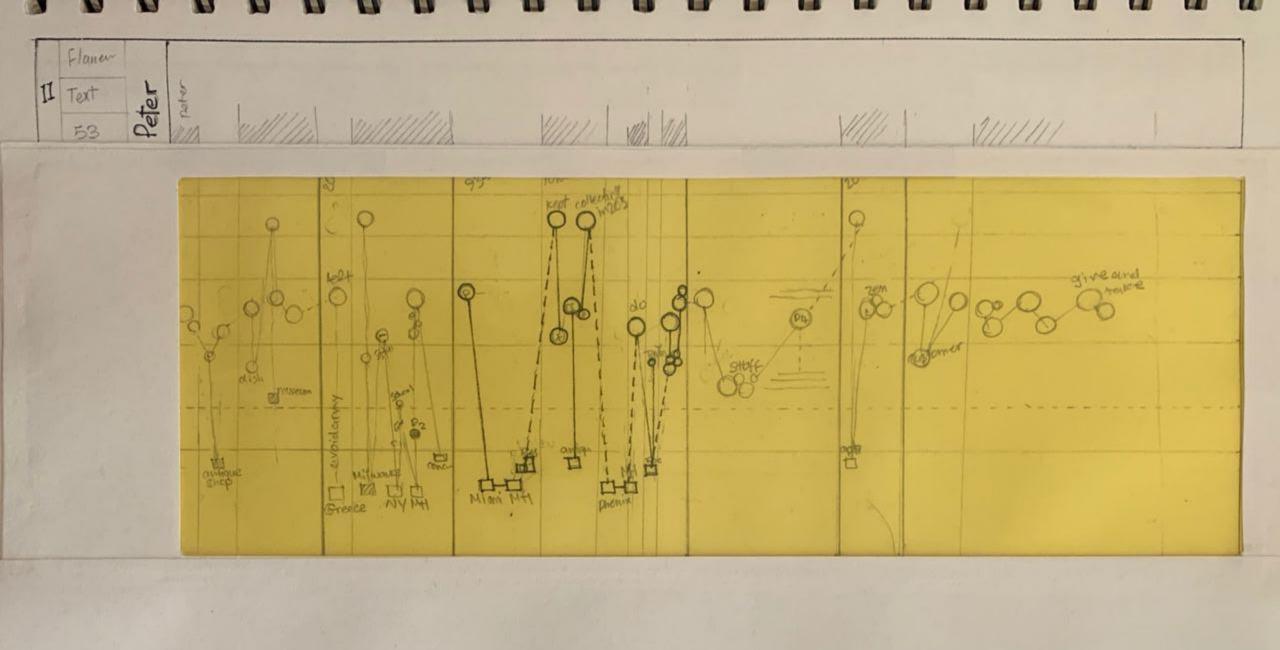
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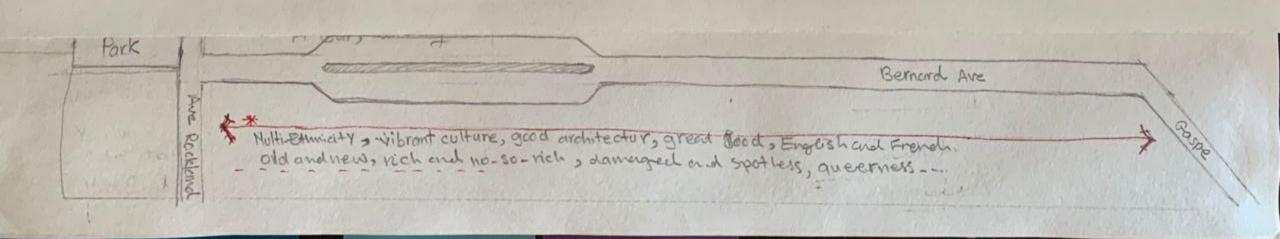
Reading more stories in the Magazine, I realized that each story was attempting to reveal a particular aspect of the street. For instance, with David Homel's story, I realized that merely identifying his memories or thoughts in the table would not reflect the various and multilayered social, economic, and cultural aspects of Rue Bernard, as he wanted his story to impart. So, I decided to provide a second table for Homel's story in which I classified his memories or thoughts according to the following criteria:

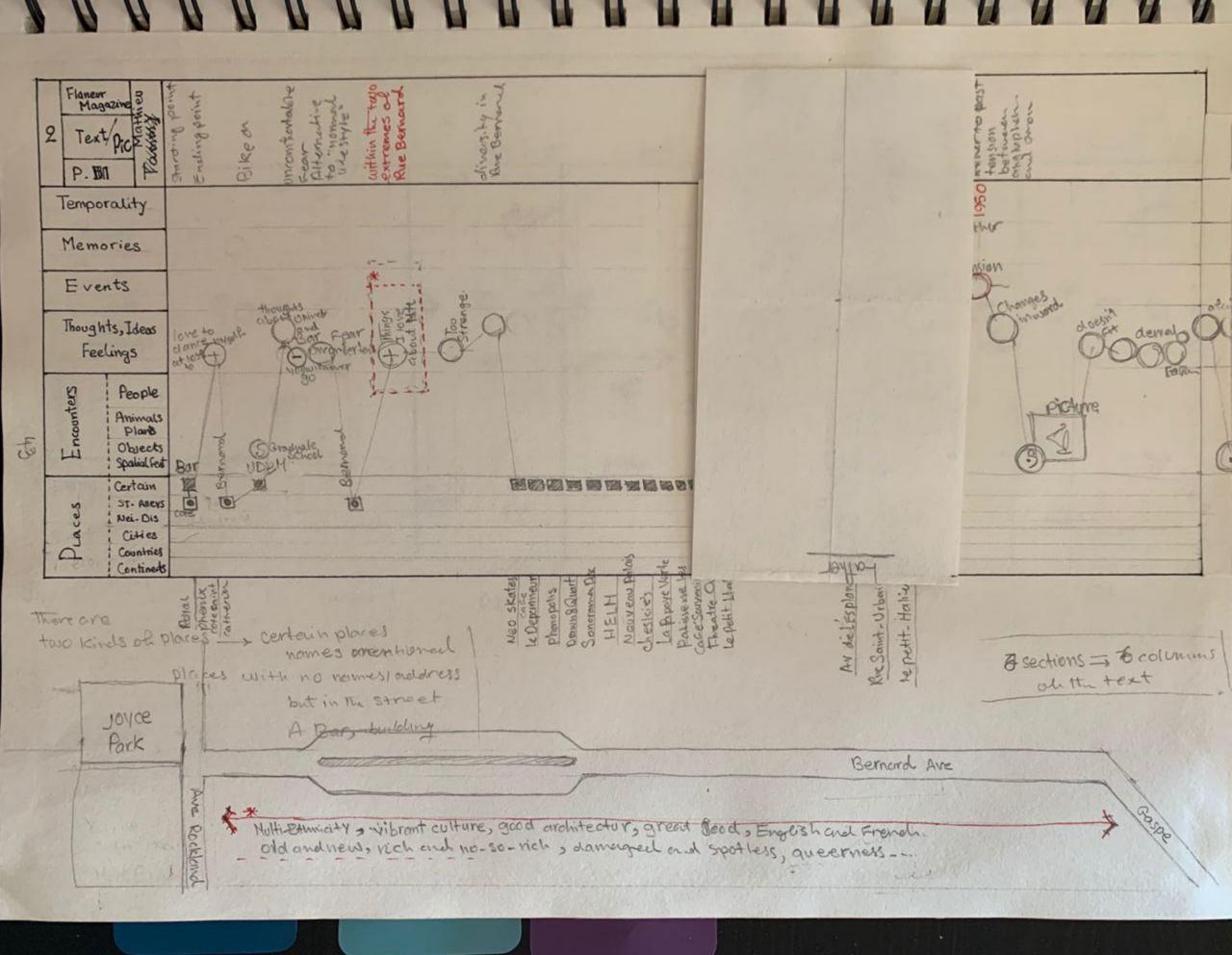
"event-related memories", "emotion-related memories", "place-related memories", and "Economy-related thoughts", "social- and cultural-related thoughts", etc.

Different shapes and colours of symbols have been used in this story mapping to indicate this abstract data.

Rue Benard' Listener, Patient Flaneur Therapist-philosopher people's 10 Text+Photo . Authorise about money (transell, others stones) by 14 patient 0 towards people his phosophi attituding wife he was able to change the almbient ala his shop transmy it to a sate Place Lorpeople around to come and talk and Shave Turstony Howey has two + in the tent eronomy, Financial issues, one when your sales obent threedom, indepenery with meens Morney one money - Ereedom, indeprently The other tim when toutes exbent prophes insecurity or stringiness inche money -+ HOW money many cultiment representate in May Hind less talks about places, more talks about people, like style and people's concerns in like. Way of living Focus on thoughts, heeling g and encounters Park Bernard Ave Nulti-Ethnicity, wibrant culture, good architectur, great Bood, English and French old and new, rich and no-so-rich, damaged and spotless, queerness ...





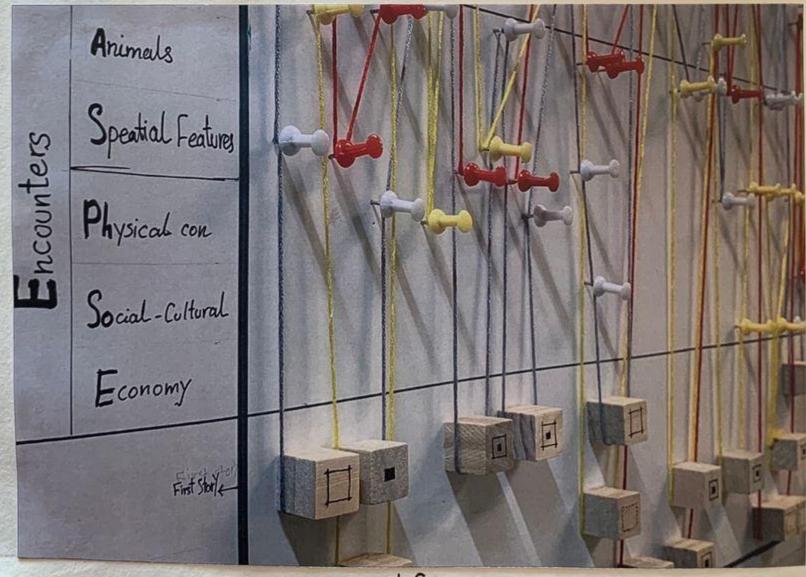


Flaneurie ATLAS Q Rue Bernard

Experiments of Map Makaing

In Fall 2019 and early winter 2020, I had several valuable opportunities to present my initial mapping experiences to the Geo Media Lab. Although I already had my work to this point to discuss, I decided to embark on some new mapping of the same stories by using the following different materials:

- Thick black cardboard to represent the table of stories
- Map Pins as symbols in the tables
- Colourful swing threads to represent connections between pins
- Thin, colored cardboard to represent different voices in the stories (yellow)
- Small wooden cubes to represent Place



Til .

\$1500 (and resemble super-connected print) 11 spects [2] city [1] configurations.

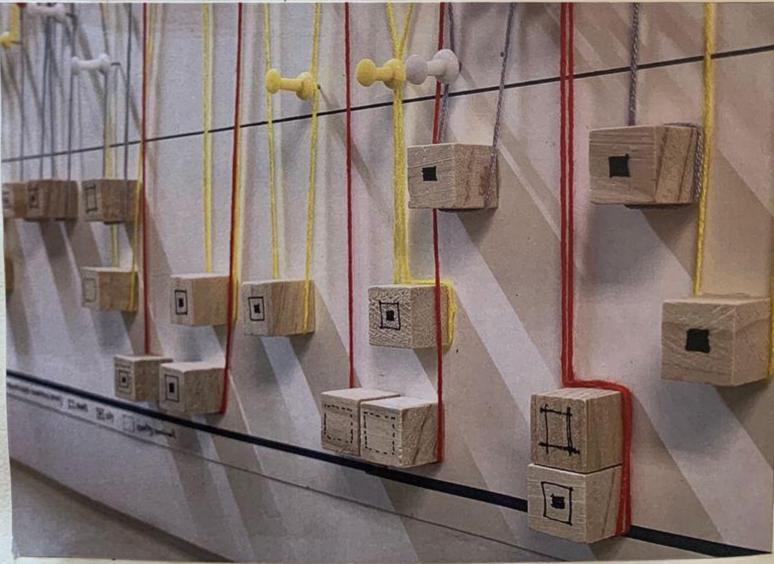
I used these materials in the first presentation to map Tammy, Peter, and Dominic's stories (Figure 1). My goal was to see their narratives of Rue Bernard simultaneously. To do so, I selected three colours of swing threads to represent the three narrators and chose pins with the same colours as the threads.

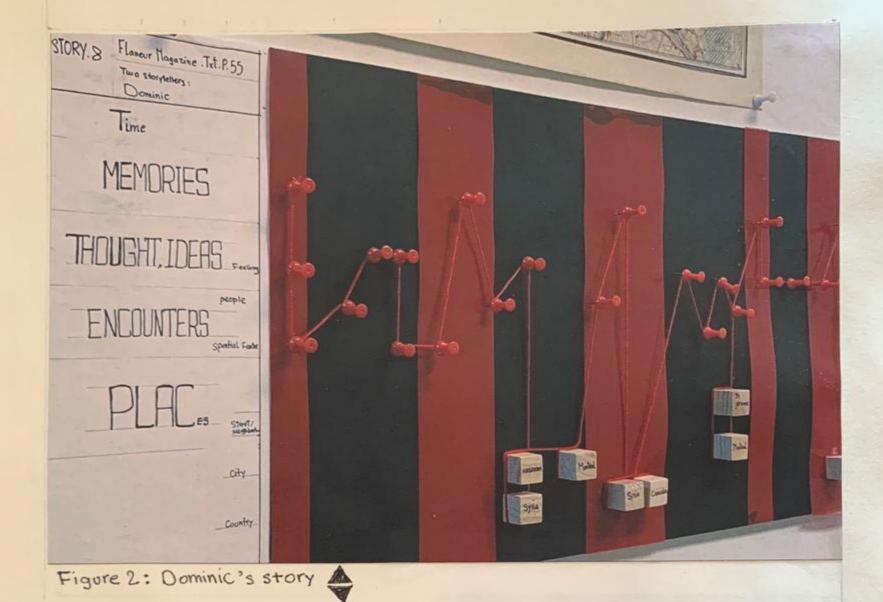
I collected and recorded the data in the way I had developed to this point (as is described in the previous pages), except that pins were used instead of symbols, and swing threads were used instead of lines.

In this new process of mapping stories, I realized that following them was in this way not easy, and that this mapped presentation distracted map onlookers due to the geographical complexity revealed by this method. Reading Places also was complicated. Places looked unclear to the audience since the small wooden cubes could not show names and scales of the places correctly.

Defining the distance between pins (i.e. elements of the table) was another questionable aspect of the map. And I was unable to show the different voices of each story with this approach to mapping. I focused on one story (i.e. Dominic) in my second meeting with the Geomedia Lab and used the same material I presented in my first meeting (Figure2). In Dominic's story, I was able to show the two voices of the Flaneur (main narrator) and Dominic. In this regard, I used a black background for parts of the story corresponding to Flaneurs words and a red background for the parts with Dominic's words. In this version, I was more explicit about place names and scales.

Figure 1: Three stories: Tammy, Peter and Dominic





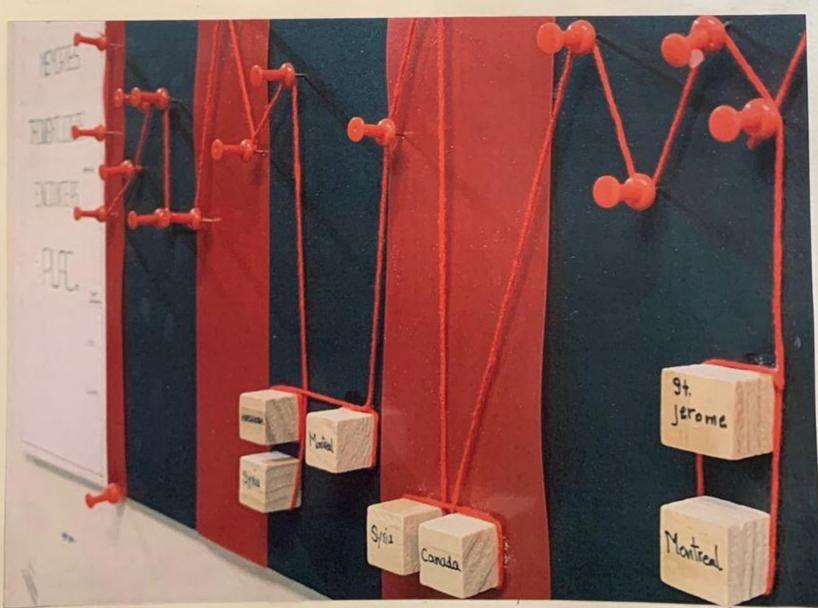


Figure 3: Tammy's story

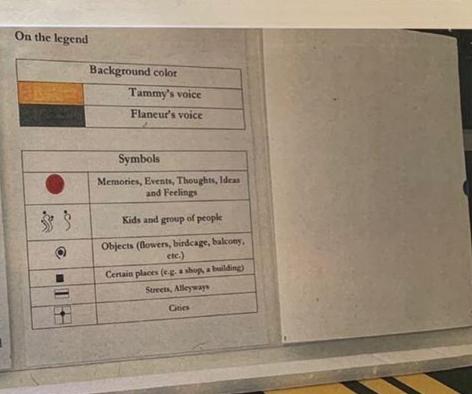


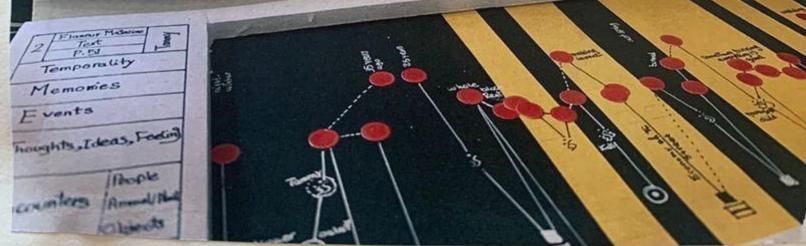
In this version, I mapped the stories of Tammy and Yves individually. Each map consists of three foldable pages made of cardboard (Figures 4 & 3). The first page includes a short description of the story, while emphasizing its most significant motifs. It follows a guideline to the legend as well as the third section. In the third page (i.e. transparent foldable synthesis), I represent a selection of what I felt were the main aspects of each story.

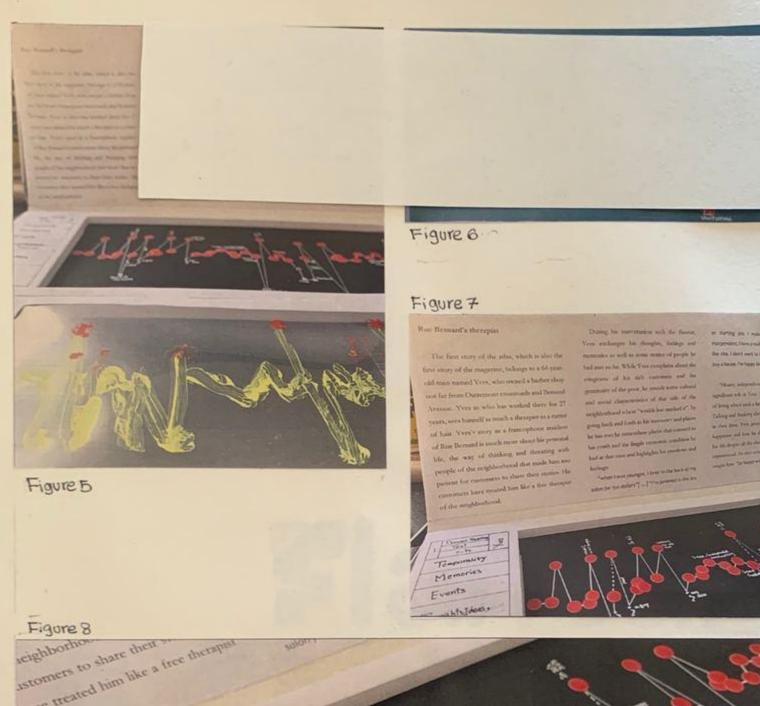
Figure 4: Tammy's story

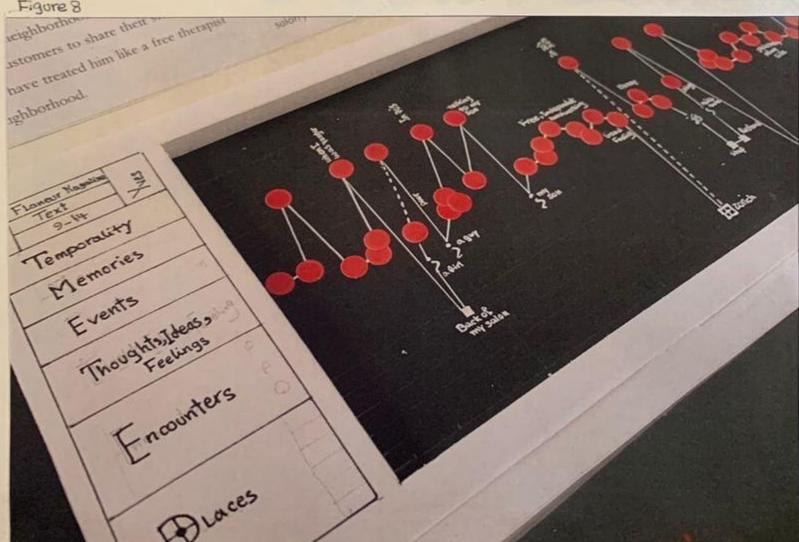
Tammy's story starts with the flaneur's description of her flower shop at Rue Bernard, which is open all the time and doesn't make sense to the narrator. Tammy's shop with "an abundance of white birdcage dangling down from the balcony above" and "a white neon light radiated from within mixed with an eerie hue blue" sticks out in the street and impressed the flaneur at the very first glance.

Tammy's story, then follows by a brief introduction to her background in Hong Kong and her move to Canada many years ago. The most important part of her story then begins when the flaneur introduces her as keeper of the street and











Introduction

"Over time, atlases have changed: from being rare artifacts in possession of the rich and powerful, they have turned into everyday objects" (Orangotango, 2018, p. 12).

The following collection of maps represents one of many possible ways to look at the relationship between people and places. This is a visual-art based practice that can provide us with a tool to "criticize, provoke and challenge our ways of thinking about space, place and maps" (Orangotango, 2018, p. 13). The beauty of the artistic approach taken to the creation of the atlas lies in its interpretive nature, which invites "different perceivers [with] different interpretations" (Leavy, 2015, p. 164). Hence, through the seven maps of Rue Bernard, I aim to provide an opportunity to look at the street and its places through the inhabitants' stories from a different "mapping" perspective.

Rue Bernard stretches from Outremont in the west (as an avenue), to the east (as a plain old street) in the industrial area known as the Mile End. This long street is embodied with stories, memories, and all sorts of meanings; while it also represents cultural differences, barriers, and people's interactions with places. Delving into flânerie maps, I am curious about "what is going on in the neighbourhood", "what places have lost, closed down or gentrified over time there", "how people talk about their experiences in the street", and "how people with different ethnicities

By focusing on these questions in the following mapped stories, I attempt to make a perceivable picture of the street that is derived from people's stories, including personal experiences that may not have been previously considered, having the holistic image of Rue Bernard, I try to demonstrate flaneurs' multilayered narratives of the street, while highlighting some of the cultural, social and political aspects of Rue Bernard and the undocumented history of the street.

This atlas stretches from Outremont to Mile End and starts with Yves' story as "a therapist" of the neighbourhood from west of Rue Bernard; followed by Zadel's story as "a hyphenated Canadian"; and ending somewhere at the east end of the street with Mathiews words "Rocks in the pocket".



History

From "a manicured space" To "a cup of strong coffee at the dep"

"To articulate the past historically does not mean to recognize it "the way it really was". It means to seize hold of a memory as it flashes up at a moment of danger" (Benjamin, 2009, p. VI).

The following sketches of Rue Bernard's past stem from an essay entitled "an architectural essay" by Cynthia Imogen Hammond, "a great walker of cities" (Flaneur, 2014, p. 74) who shared her lived experience in the street. The essay begins with a brief description of the morphology of the street, which leads the narrator to the west and Outremont or the east and Mile End. For Hammond, the character of Rue Bernard has much to do with the juxtaposition of labourers and people who have lived in relative luxury.

"side

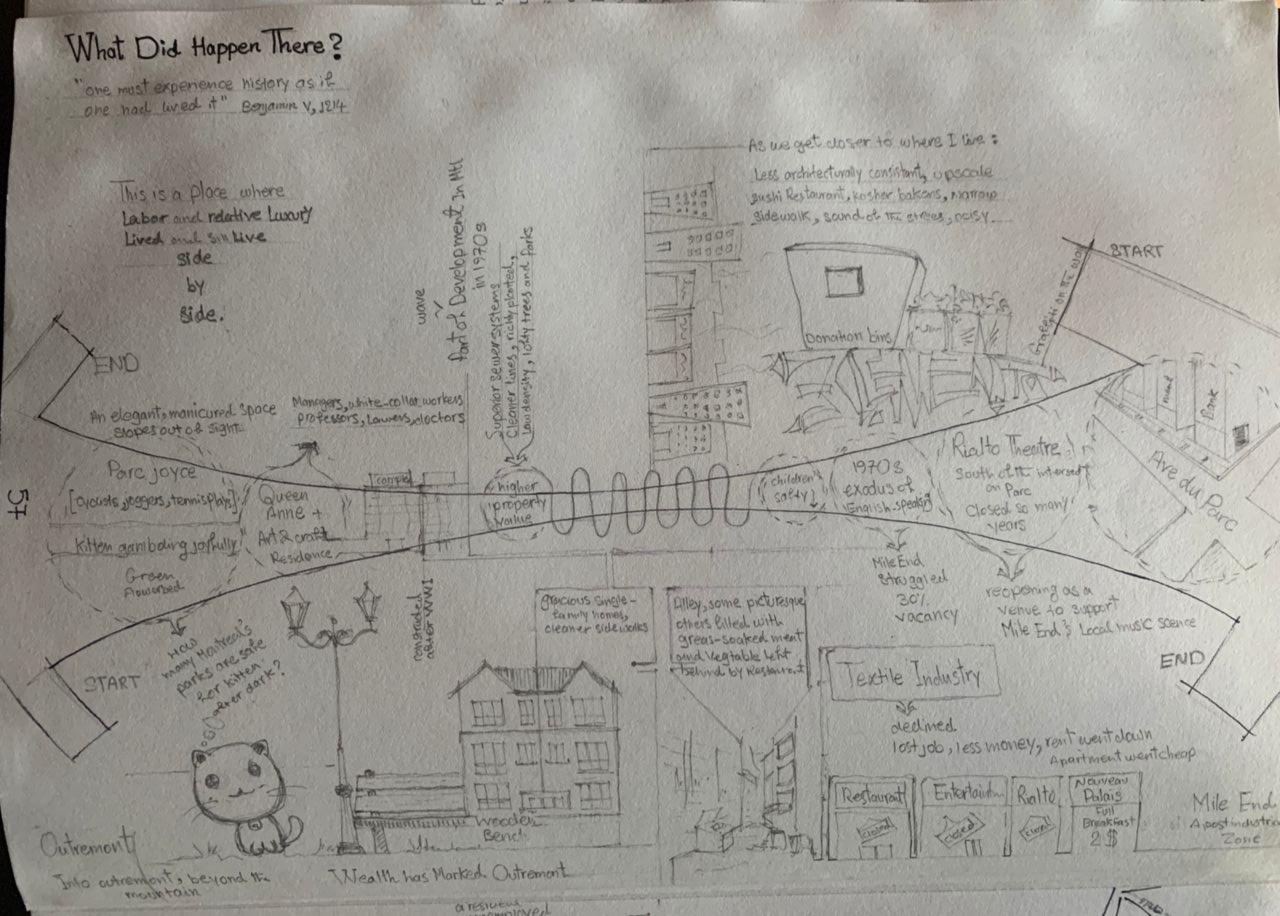
By side"!

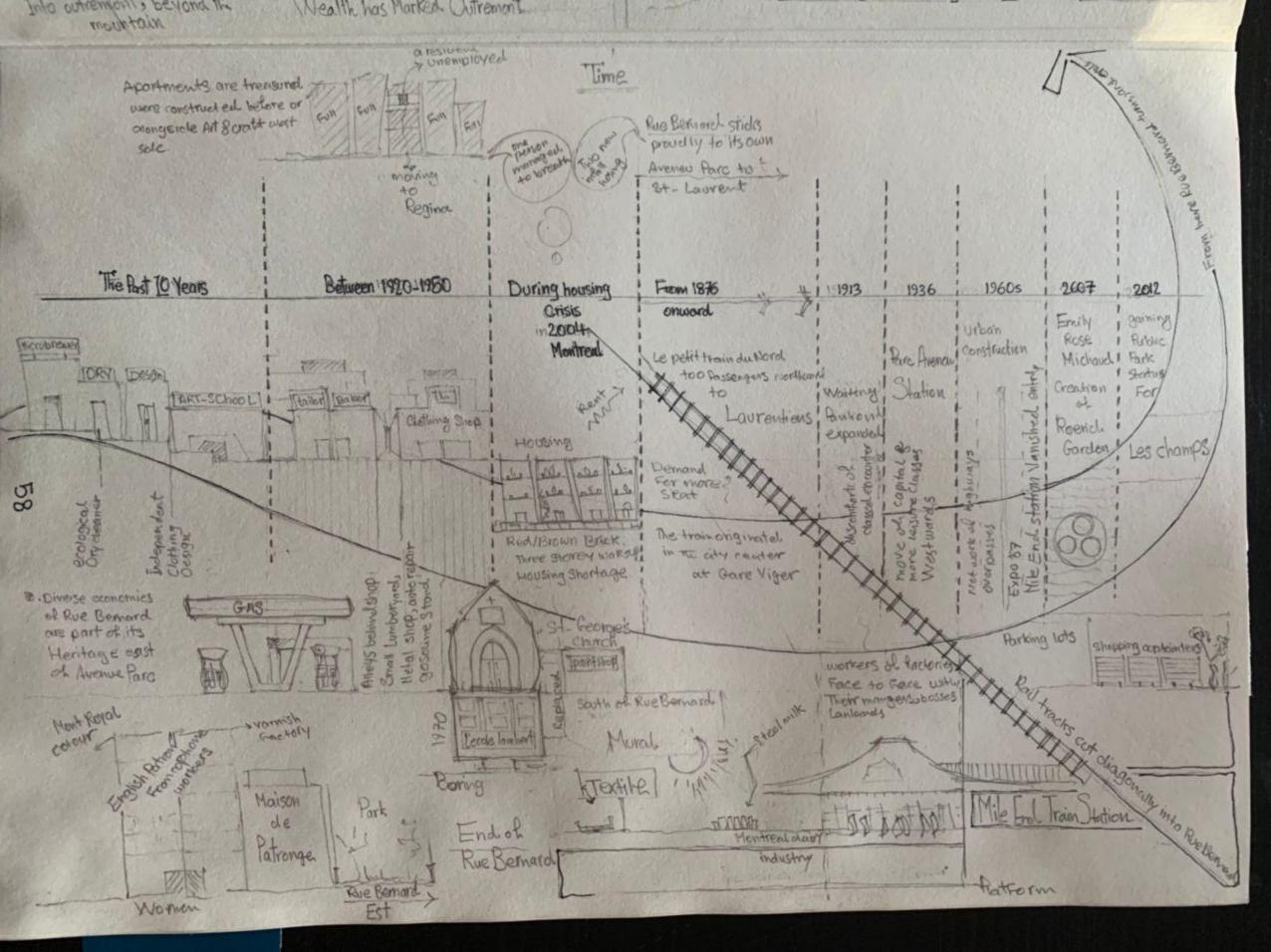
Imogen has chosen Parc Joyce as a starting point to talk about Rue Bernard (or as she emphasized, ending point, depending on where we start our journey). Then she continues to the east where a "former industrial and gentrified zone [is] demarcated by rail tracks to the north; Mile End." Joyce Park is where a kitten could jump joyfully around and be safe even at night. The west side of the street is where beautiful and stylish places show off: Parks "have edged flowerbeds, wooden benches, and Victorian lampposts. All politely respect a rule of three storeys, no more". Residential complexes such as Queen Ann and Art & Craft, which belong to managers, lawyers, white-collar workers, and doctors indicate the class of people here.

The development of the north and west of Montreal's older core over the first seventy years of the twentieth century has affected this part of the city. A superior sewer system, clean sidewalks, richly planted areas, low density, and high property value are features of Outremont as a wealthy francophone borough in Montreal are parts of this development.

Approaching the east side of the street, Rue Bernard gets busier with "less architecture consistency"; "narrow sidewalks"; noisy streets; large metal donation bins; graffiti tags on the glass of bus shelters; and alleys where "some are picturesque, and others [are] filled with grease-soaked meat and vegetables." At the intersection of Rue Bernard and Avenue Parc, the lack of safety for cyclists, pedestrians, and children are highlighted.

Arriving in Mile End, the street's past is entangled with the history of a declining textile industry, including people who lost their jobs and the demolition of Mile End station. At the very eastern end of the street, the essay reviews the events that took place in Rue Bernard from 1876 onward, including being faced with a 30 per cent vacancy for almost two decades, the deterioration of Rialto Theatre, the opening of commercial places that serve people with cheap menus such as Nouveau Palais. According to Imogen, Rue Bernard's past is also tied to a -30member community organization, including artist Emily Rose Michaud who fought for land known as "Champ de possible" and created a landscape-scale artwork in 2007, which considerably influenced the potential for the land's future.





Flaneurie ATLAS Q Rue Bernard

To The Altas

STORIES

	Yves	62
Shop life	Mathieu	64
	Tammy	66
	Peter	68
	Dominic	70
	Zadel	72
	Homel	74

Rue Bernard's therapist

This is the story of a -64year-old man named Yves, who owned a barbershop not far from Outremont crossroads and Bernard Avenue. Yves has worked there for 27 years and sees himself as a therapist as a cutter of hair.

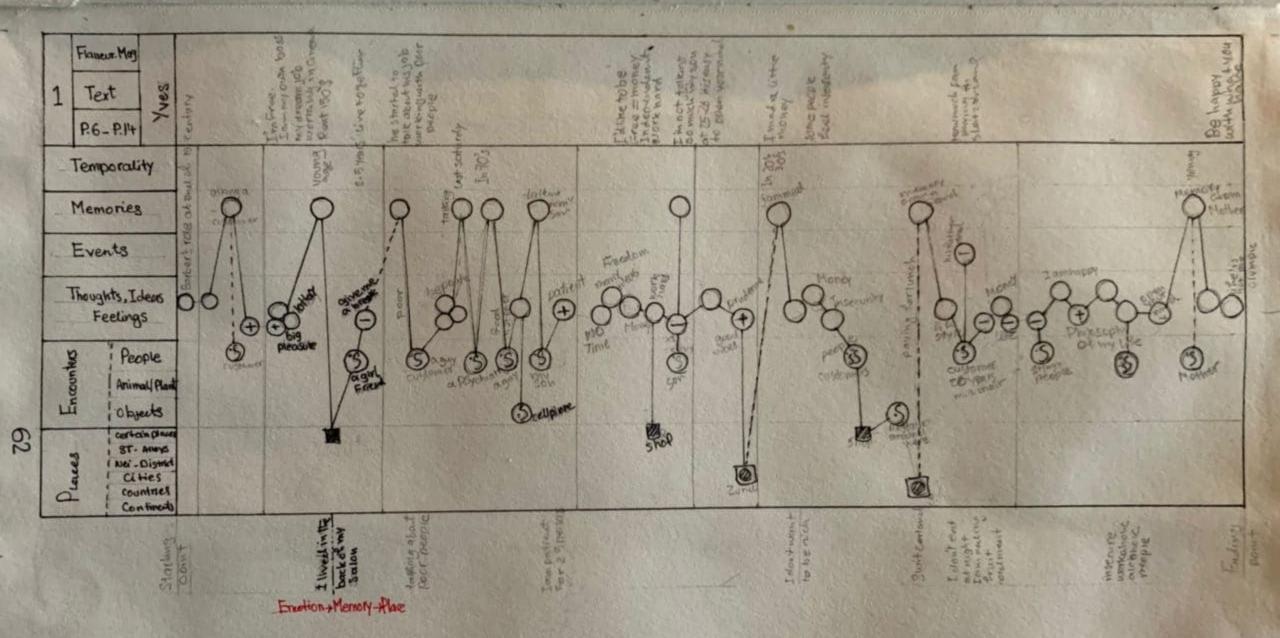
Yves's story as a francophone resident of Rue Bernard is much more about his personal life, his way of thinking about life and his meetings with different people. He treats his clients with patience, and often encourages them to share their stories. Yves' customers, indeed, have treated him as a free therapist. Talking about people of the neighbourhood, Yves complains about the stinginess of his wealthy customers and the generosity of the poor. He also revealed some cultural and social characteristics of that side of the neighbourhood where "wealth has marked it" (i.e. Outremont).

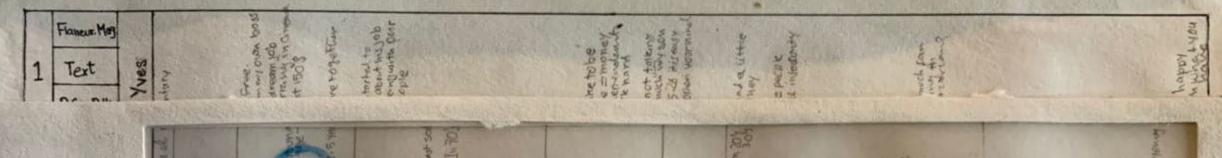
Yves also talks about the sense of insecurity that many have in their lives, while providing his own perspective of happiness, including how he decided to be happy despite the insecurity and shortage he has experienced.

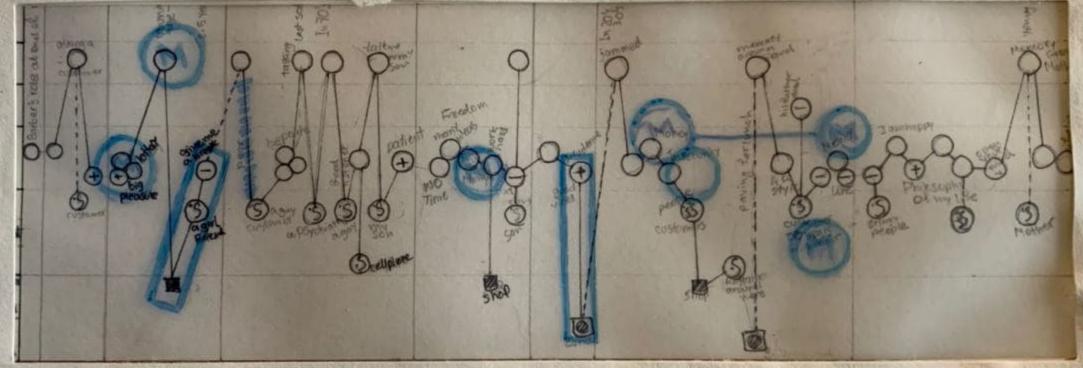
As the story progresses, Yves shares more of his thoughts, feelings, and memories. By going back and forth in his memories and some places such as the back of his salon, Yves recalls his youth and the fragile economic condition he lived through at that time:

"When I was younger, I lived in the back of my salon for 150 dollars [...] I'm jammed in the 20s or starting 30s. I make a little money; I'm independent, I have a really open mind. I'm happy like this. I don't want to be rich; I don't want to buy a house. I'm happy like this" (p.13).

"Money, independence and freedom" play a significant role in Yves' mindset and his life, which comprises a significant portion of his story as well. Yves also calls up his mother's memories and what he learned from her: "be happy with what you have". At the end of his story, he subtly points out the differences between living in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries with the advent of cell phones, Twitter, and so on.







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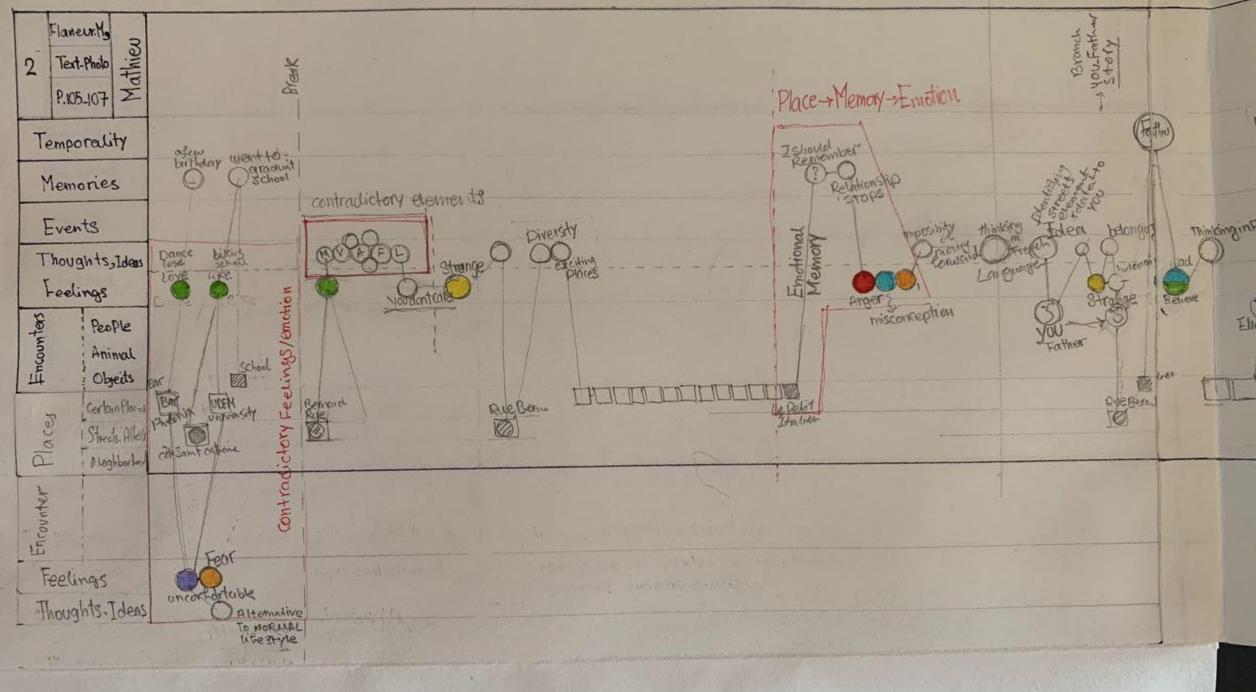
Rocks In The Pocket

Mathieu, as a young resident of Rue Bernard, starts his story by remembering two different places in the street that he used to frequent. He talks about his good moments and feelings there; then in the next sentence, he describes them as "[t]wo places you will never go to. Two places that make you profoundly uncomfortable". He continues his story by talking about diverse things in Montreal that he loves, such as "multi-ethnicity, vibrant culture, good architecture, great food, English and French, old and new, rich and not-sorich, damaged and spotless, and queerness». Mathieu then recalls the memories of his father while talking about "Le petit Italian", where he had dinner with his father many years ago. This evokes strong emotions, including anger. In his story, Mathieu changes the language of narration to French to talk about his more personal thoughts. Then he jumps to memories of his father to "identify elements on the street" that could be related to his father. Through this, he talks about

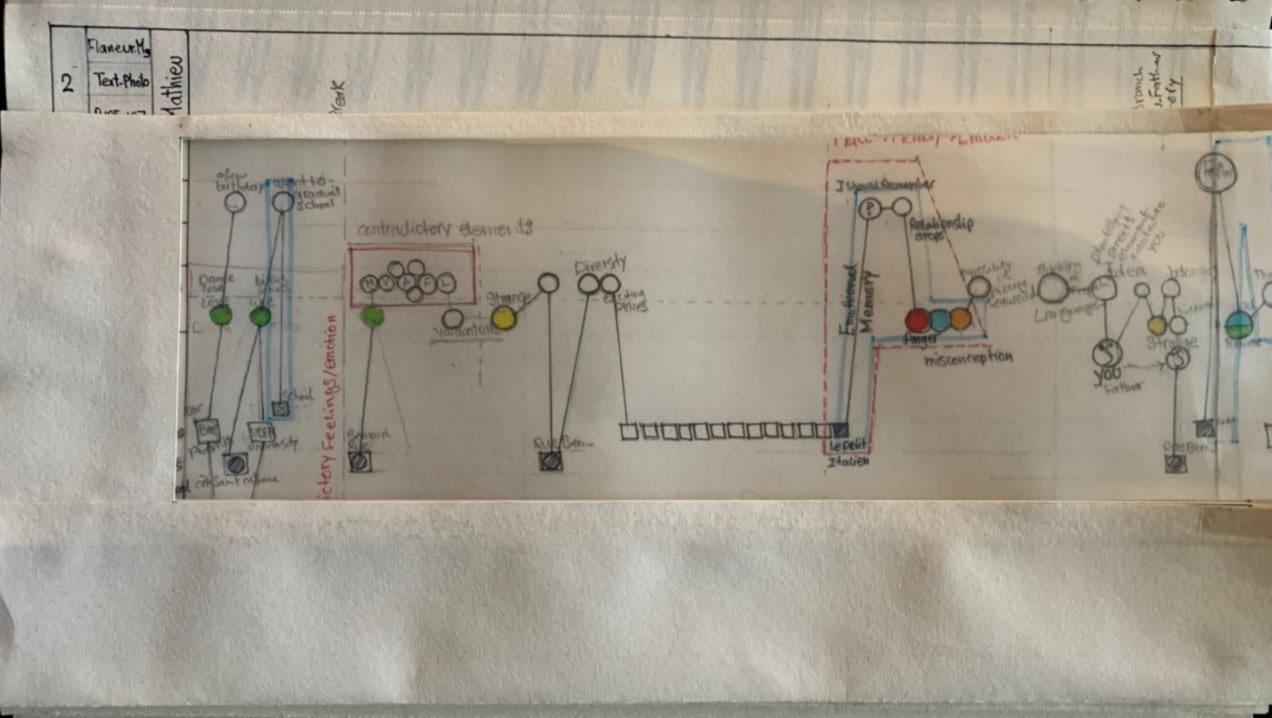
his father's birthplace, job, living condition, etc. Then he mentions a backstory in which there was a tension between anglophones and francophones:

"Kids and teenagers used to walk around with rocks in their pockets to attack the other clan: there was no other way to communicate besides fighting back". Through that, he compares the current condition of the city where everything has changed.

Mathieu also talks about two photographs: one is his father's portrait in which he is standing in front of a typical Montreal apartment building with a twisted outer staircase; the other is taken in a similar location and features an image of Mathieu assuming a similar posture to that of his father in the first image. Through these photographs, Mathieu tries to identify himself and connect himself to the street: "My recreating this picture on Esplanade is evidently a lie. But also, a very significant and truthful moment to me".



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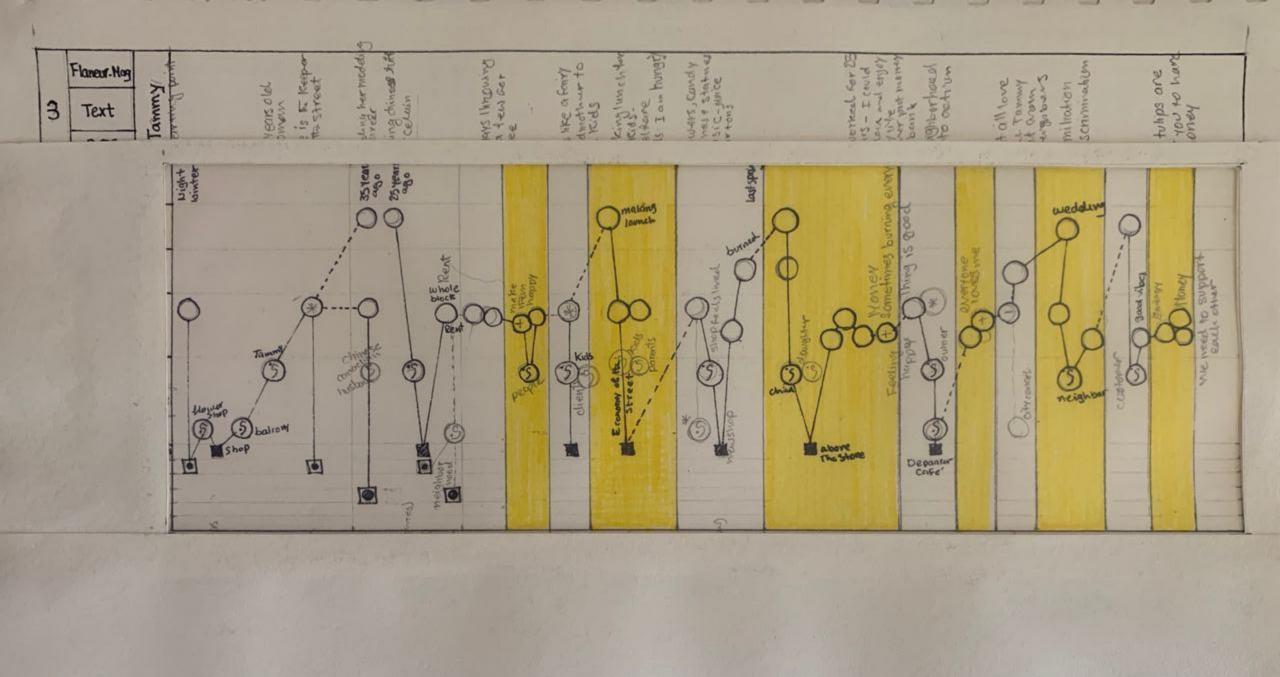


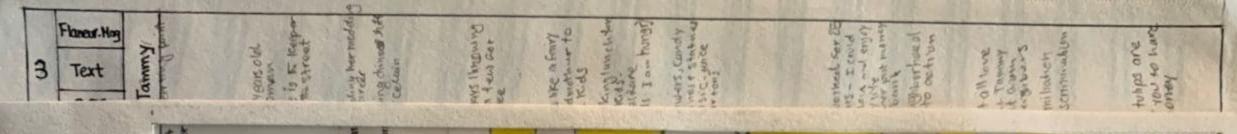
Rue Bernard's Godmother

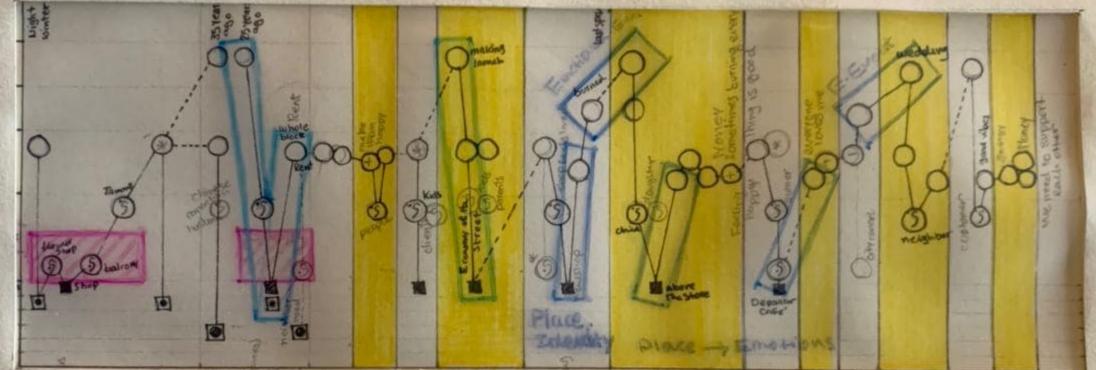
Tammy's story starts with the Flaneur's description of her flower shop at Rue Bernard, which is open all the time. Tammy's shop has "an abundance of white birdcages dangling down from the balcony above"; and "a white neon light radiating from within mixed with an eerie hue blue" sticks out in the street. This impressed the Flaneur and at first glance didn't make sense to him.

Tammy's story continues with a brief introduction of her background in Hong Kong and her move to Canada 35 years before. The most important part of Tammy's story begins when the Flaneur introduces her as keeper of the street and later as "a fairy godmother" to the kids of the neighbourhood. When the narrator speaks of Tammy's attempts to feed the kids and some people on welfare, the other side of the street's life - and somehow, the inhabitants' economic condition - become more happened to her, such as the burning of her shop need to support each other".

and the money she consequently lost, since she never put money in the bank. Speaking of these spotty memories, Tammy talks about the people who cared about her at that moment and helped her to re-open her flower shop. This is where the community showed its support and affections in many ways, including online fundraising for Tammy and giving her cash and a place to live for a while. There are also moments at which Tammy felt intimidated, such as encounters with some neighbours who were reporting her to city council for having her flowers and bikes on the curb. Tammy recalls one of those moments when she felt humiliated: "One time I was dressed up nicely to go to my daughter's wedding and when I passed the neighbour she said to another woman "look, it's the garbage woman dressed-up. She wants to be a princess, but garbage is garbage". I'm a Chinese woman who doesn't speak French, so I just keep my mouth shut" (p.51). Despite the apparent. Next Tammy starts talking about her painful moments in her life, Tammy ends her story experiences and recalls some painful events that by spreading good energy since she believes "all







Rue Bernard's collector

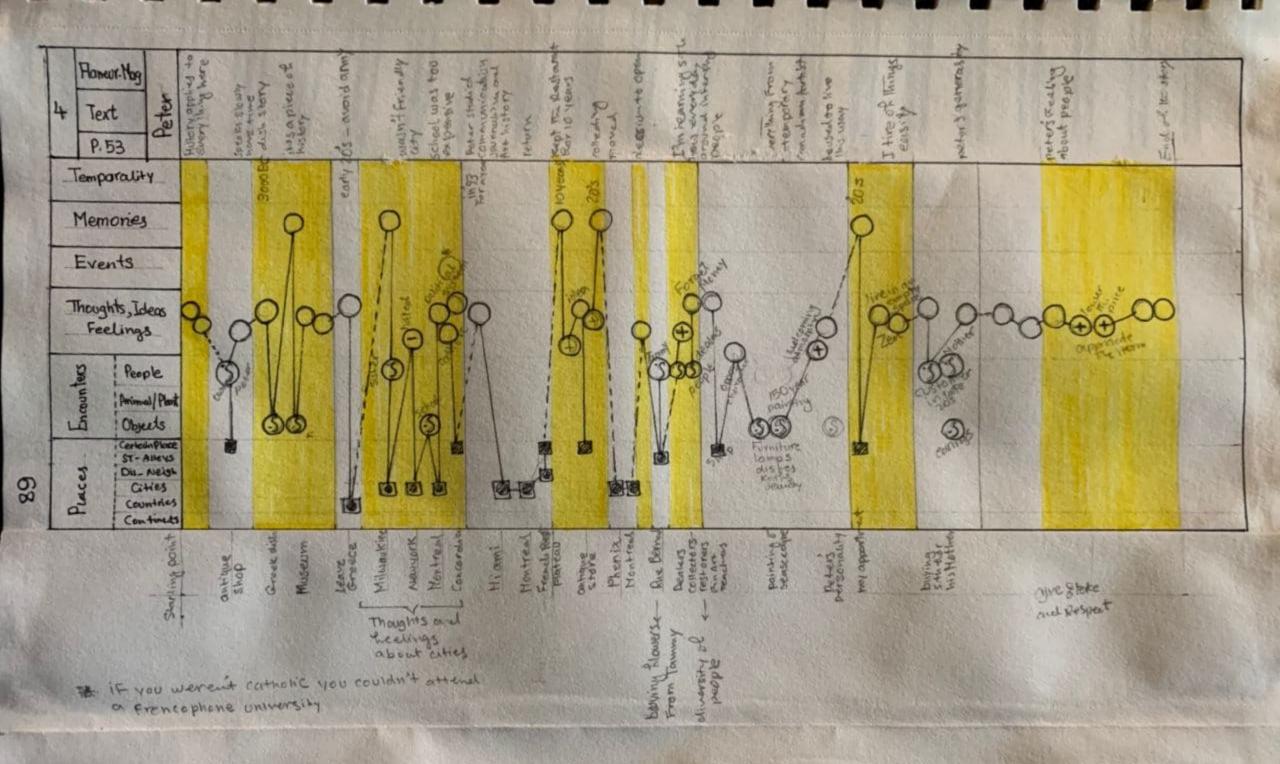
in Rue Bernard, starts his story by talking about while and went back to Montreal to open a French the value of objects that somehow find their way restaurant in Plateau, where he worked for 10 years. into his shop and carry a story by themselves. He Peter changed his mind after that, which resulted in believes that "history applies to everything here him pursuing his passion to have an antique store. [his shop]".

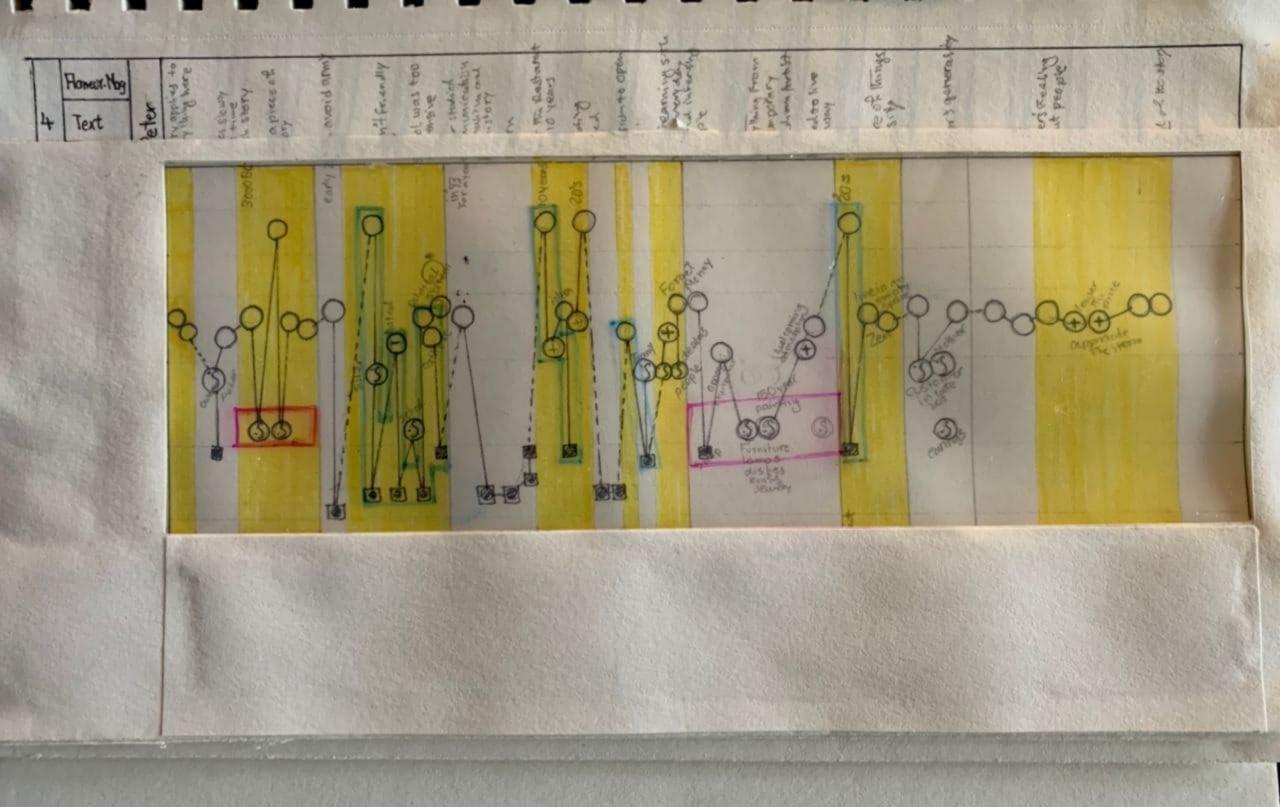
takes us back to Peter's origins in Greece and types of objects one may find: explains how he found his way into Montreal. "everything from contemporary Canadian artists Travelling across different cities such as Milwaukee to -150year-old oil paintings of seascapes". As the and New York, Peter talks about his feelings and story goes on, we learn more about Peter's character perceptions in relation to living in those cities and and attitudes and the welcoming ambiance of his explains why he decided to leave them. He chose shop. Then we are guided to Peter's lifestyle and the to live in Montreal due to its friendly environment way he treats his customers: "I sold those earrings and affordable education.

attendance at a French university because of noble idea". the political system: "If you were not Catholic, you couldn't attend a francophone university.

So, I improved my English and was accepted to Concordia University immediately". Then, Peter Peter, a 52 -year-old owner of an antique shop recalls how he moved to Miami and Phoenix for a Reviewing Peter's journey through his twenties, the narrator then returns to the present moment As the main narrator of Peter's story, the Flaneur and describes Peter's shop, its arrangement and the

way cheaper that I bought them for, but I just like it when I have pleasant people that appreciate an However, Peter points out that he was denied object. It's important to me when people have a





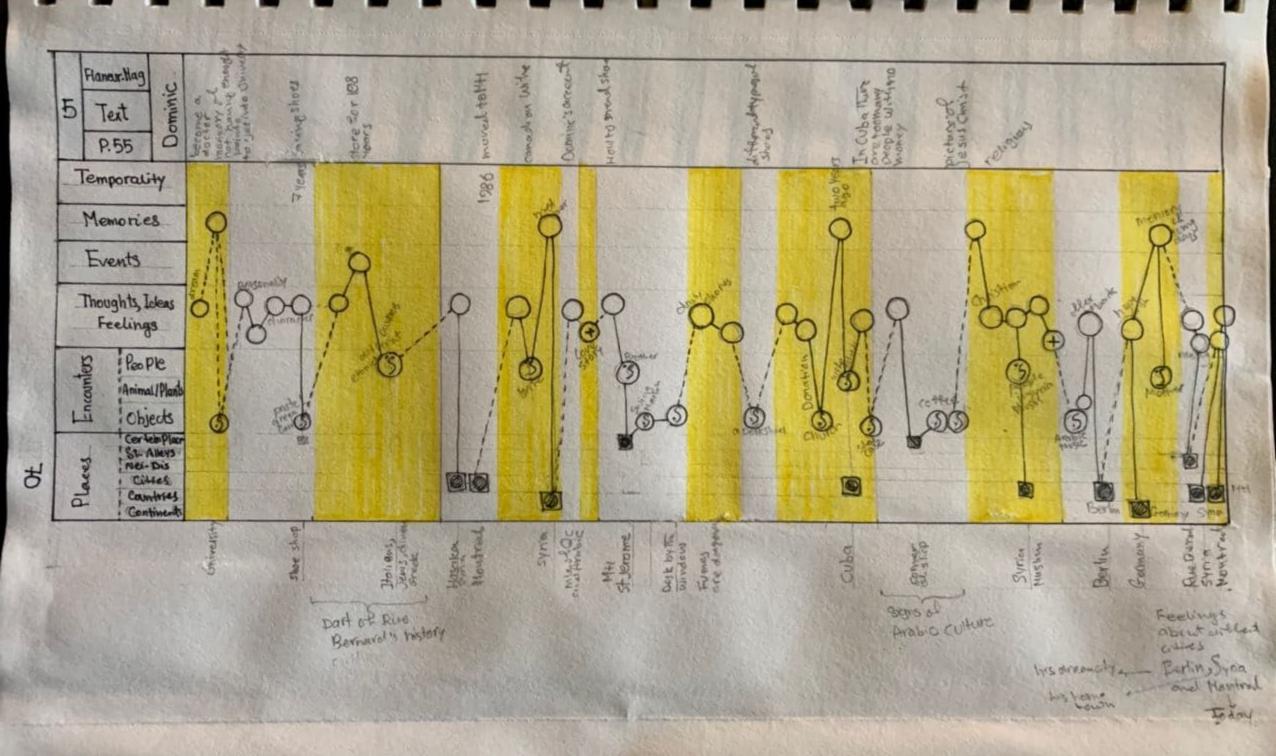
Rue Bernards shoe doctors: 108 years of ethnic diversity

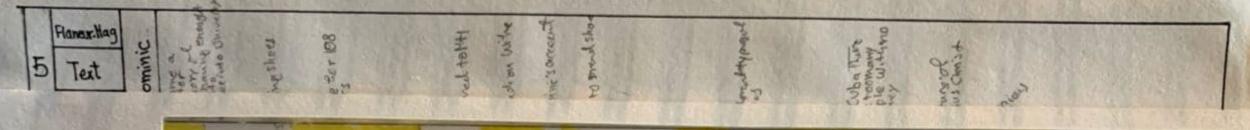
Dominic's story begins with his desire to become a doctor as a teenager. Not having enough points to get into university, he chose to become a shoe doctor. Similar to the stories of Tammy and Peter, the narrator of Dominic's story is the Flaneur. The Flaneur describes Dominic's personality and shop as a tiny stuffed with shoes and shoe repair equipment. Then Dominic reveals that the shop "has always been a shoe store. Italians, Jews, Chinese and Greek owners were here before me".

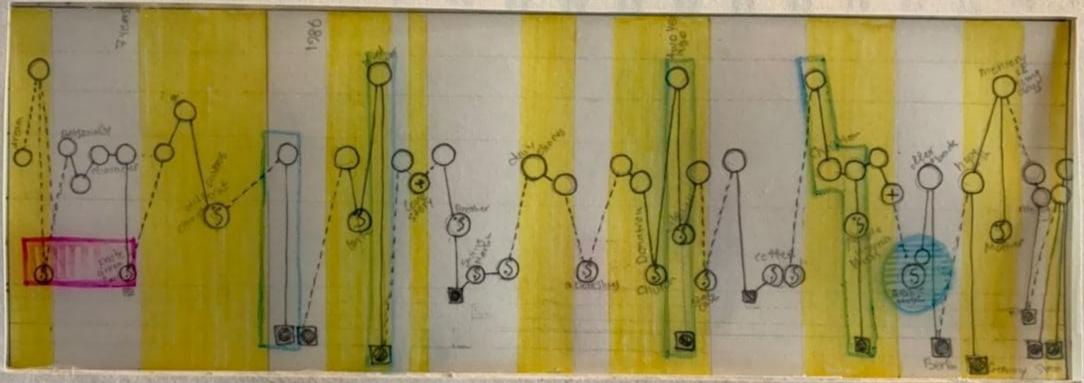
The story then flashes back to Dominic's origin, marriage to a Canadian woman, and the time he had to wait to receive his papers to move to Montreal. Dominic explains that he was a sewist [tailor] before learning to fix shoes from his brother. He talks about his experiences working with shoes, its difficulties and people who forget to pick up their shoes. Through this, he recalls his trip to Cuba with his family and his donation of clothes,

shoes, etc. to hotel staff: "I took a whole suitcase just filled with left-behind shoes, clothes, pens and calculators, which I gave to the hotel staff. They were delighted. In Cuba, there are too many people with no money". Back to the present moment, the narrator mentions some signs of Arabic culture in Dominic's shop, such as offering the narrator a cup of coffee behind the counter, Arabic music, and Syrian Cookies. Referring to Arabic culture, Dominic explains why he has several pictures of Jesus Christ in his shop:

"Two of these pictures were already here when I took over the shop. I speak the same language as Jesus spoke. I am a Christian, but in Syria, most people are Muslim now. It used to be different. I miss Syria. The people are good". After expressing his longing for Syria, Dominic recalls his youthful desire to go to Berlin and his mother, who did not allow him to do so. Missing Syria and being far away from his mother, Dominic ends his story by giving his opinion about living in Montreal and the people.







Rue Bernard's hyphenated people

Andrew Zadel's story is one of the five stories in the Magazine featuring people with hybrid identities who live on Rue Bernard.

Zadel begins his story by remembering the day he went to RAMQ to renew his health insurance card. While he wonders why the officer asked him about his return to Quebec, Zadel recalls a place – The Yugoslavian region of Kosovo – which takes his story away from Quebec. Zadel worked as a UN agent in Kosovo and talks about several Serbs who were singing a song about the river Ibar. Then he asks himself: "Does the Saint Lawrence River have a song?". To answer this question, Zadel names a few Canadian songs, such as Barrett's Privateers, and expresses concern that they will be forgotten.

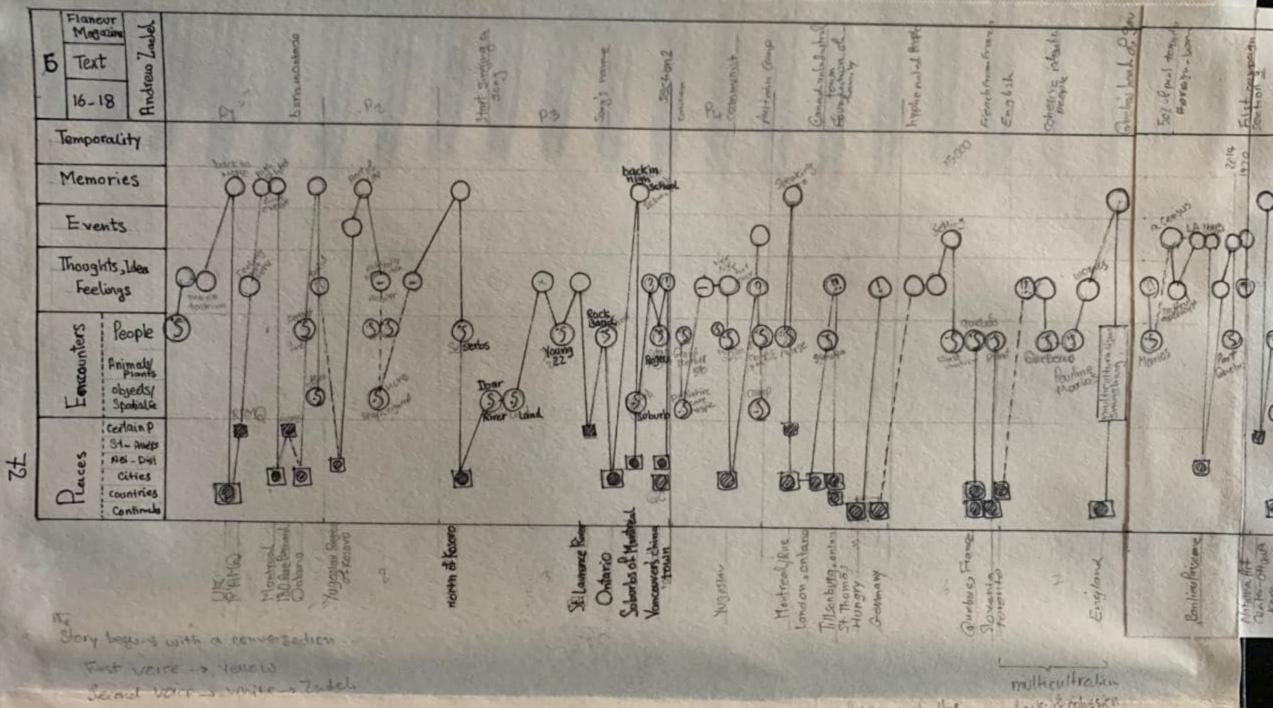
Zadel then jumps to the memory of his grandmother and the days during which she struggled with cancer. After talking about his grandmother, Zadel moves to the story of his grandfather and gives thought to "how the Canadian Pacific came to that Austrian refugee camp and hired my grandfather, [and] how

my father met his father on a Montreal pier at the age of twelve" p.17.

Through this storytelling process, Zadel recalls his conversation with his grandmother's nurse who was talking about Montreal while asking about his grandmother's origin. This conversation becomes an entrance for Zadel to talk about hybrid identities: "We are Portuguese-Canadian, Haitian-Canadian, and Ugandan-Canadian. We are hyphenated people at best, and usually, we just drop the second part" p.17. He then refers to Canada's history of interactions between new settlers from France and other places in Europe and First Nations Peoples. Zadel also gives his opinion about Quebecers as a cohesive and identifiable people who are "sharing blood and DNA and moral values and a language". Naming Pauline Marois as the former head of the separatist Parti Quebecois, Zadel introduces a quote from her and talks about the importance of multiculturalism in Canada involving English-speaking and foreignborn people.

Zadel then jumps to a memory of watching a play about Korean immigrants while thinking about stories of people coming to Canada and sharing a to fit in, surviving the first winter, looking for a better life" p.18. Reviewing challenges that immigrants face in a new place, Zadel refers to the First Nations and Inuit people's story as one of "oppression and devastation". In the context of his discussion of all of the transformations Canada has had, Zadel emplasizes that Canada has "no strong core identity, no well-defined, shared methodology, no tough and tangible boundaries" p.18. Zadel continues his story by mentioning that multiculturism helps people have their perspectives and brings them together. He points out that there is "a simple social contract: you do your thing, and I'll do mine, and between us, we'll make a country".

Eventually, Zadel returns to a discussion of Rue Bernard and describes different stores under his balcony, while thinking about Canadian social contract: "Right there, where the working-class immigrant holds the door for the tattooed hipster, right where the Hasidic Jew walks serenely by the Royal Phoenix". Zadel ends his story by confessing "in this country, we are all aliens", and "nationalism is dead".



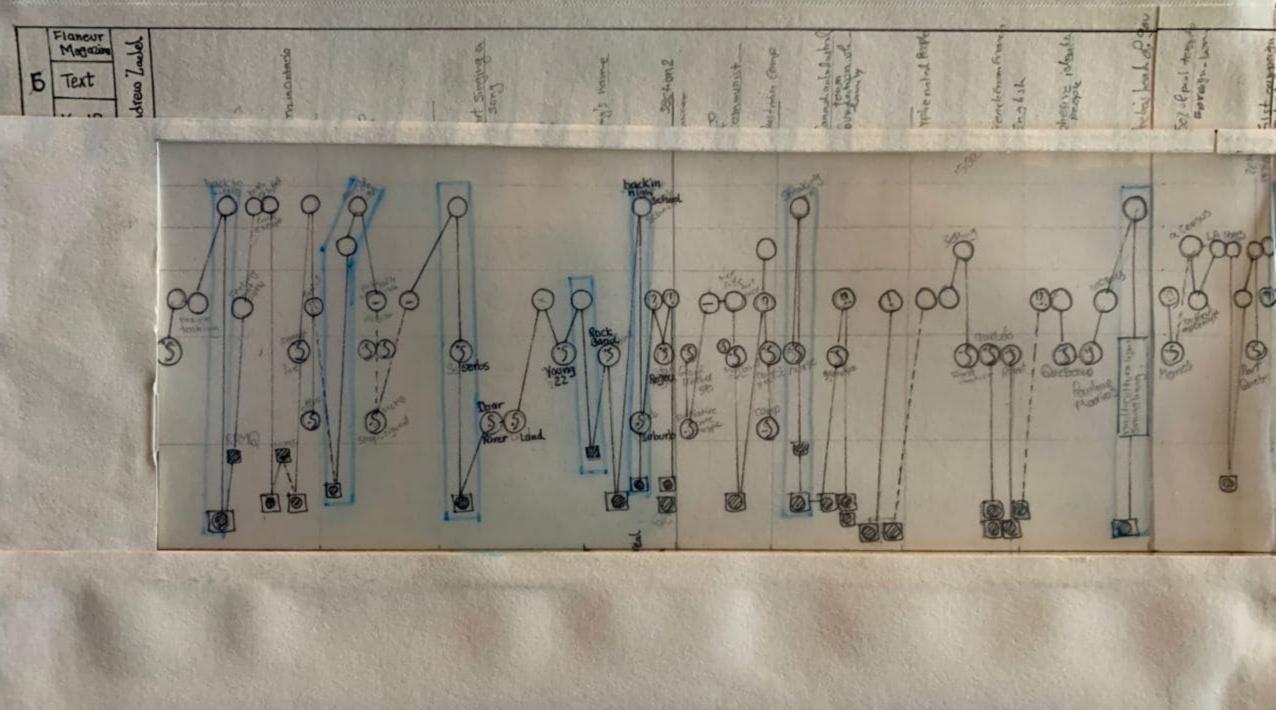
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Lack of cohesien IN CANADA



Outremont Alleys' expert: Homel

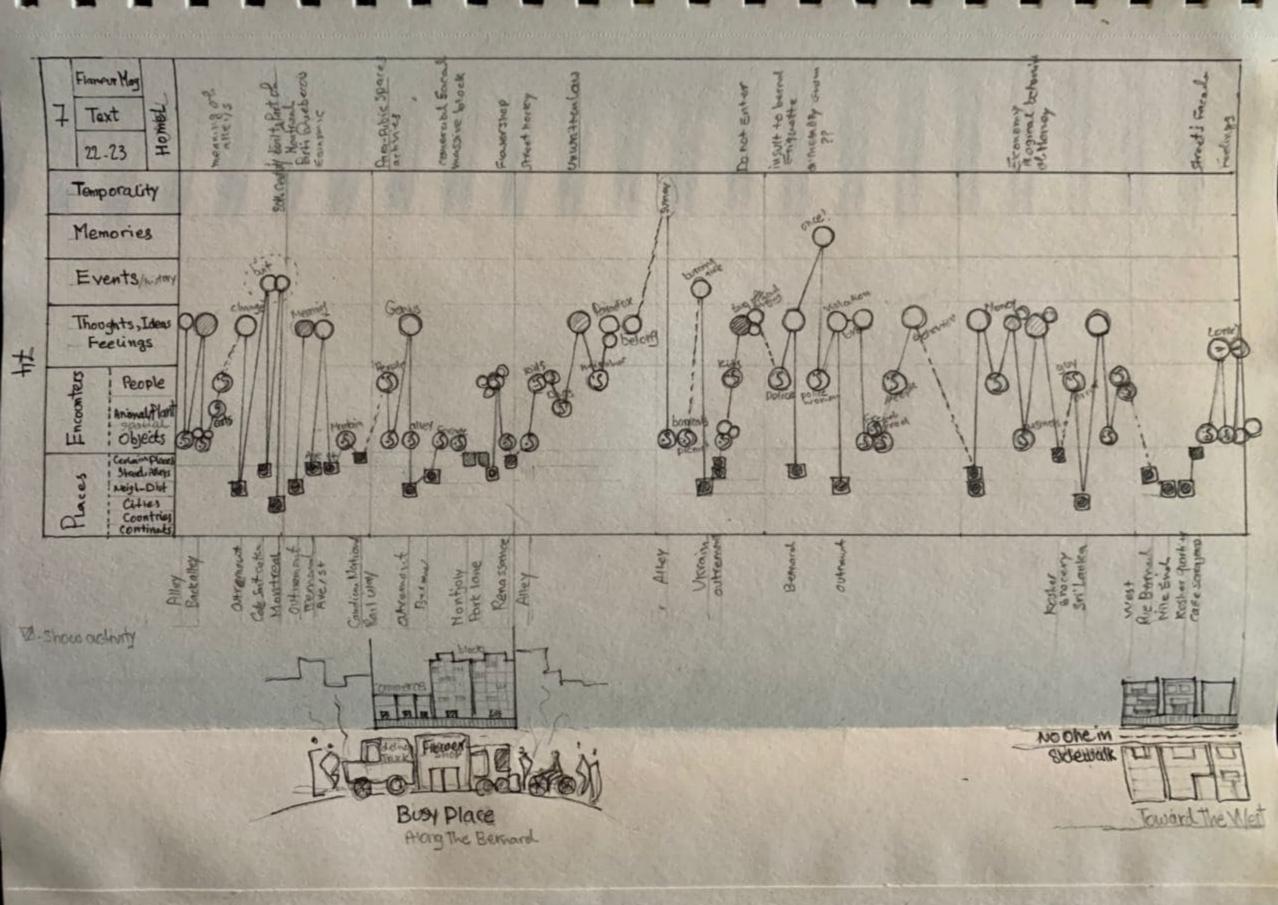
As a wanderer in the alleyways of Outremont, David Homel starts his story by defining the meaning of the word 'alley' as being a shifting one, changing for each person depending on where one lives. Referring to the early twenty-century, as the built time of Outremont, Homel reviews the history of Outremont. Then he describes Rue Bernard as a plain street, whereas in Outremont, it is an avenue. Next, Homel describes the people of Rue Bernard and their economic standing, which is reflected in which side of the street they live on. Going deep into the alleys of Outremont, Homel talks about the kids who are playing in the alleys, and the parents washing their cars or walking their dogs.

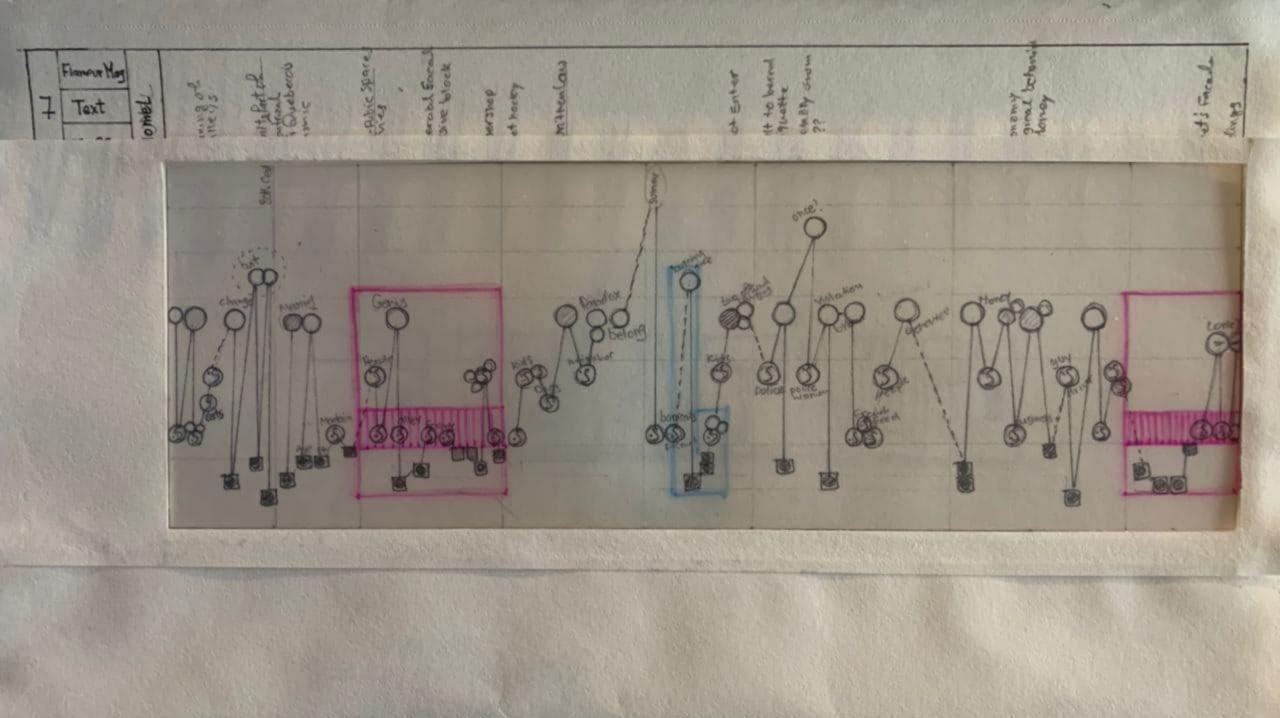
Meanwhile, he points out the paradoxes in the alleys paved for cars, which you are not allowed to enter. Since there is an unwritten law that "you don't drive your car down an alley if you don't have a direct business". Through this, Homel

tells a story of the people who erect barricades made from a picnic table in the summer to prevent strangers from entering the alleys: "DO NOT ENTER, PICNIC IN PROGRESS". People have also convinced the policewoman to let them block the ally and assured her hat they unblock the way in case of any incidents such as the fire.

Homel next tries to describe the "unpredictable and illogical behaviour of money" on the west side of the street. What catches his attention is the frequently changing businesses of the street due to bankruptcy. However, there is one place that Homel believes is protected against hard times: The Kosher grocery. Talking about this place reminds Homel of its employees from Sri Lanka, among many other places.

Homel returns to the façade of the street on the west side and shares his feelings about walking in the street: "There is no place to walk if you are lonely. The street is lined with large, stately apartment blocks with a heavy feeling about them". Homel ends his story by complaining that no one is seen on the sidewalks, and asking and where did the people go?





THE GUTINUES