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(Re)writing with the feet: the *flâneur* as urban cartographer in Alicia Scherson's film *Play* (Chile, 2005)¹

*Yo paseo con calma, con ojos, con zapatos,
con furia, con olvido,
paso, cruzo oficinas y tiendas de ortopedia,
y patios donde hay ropas colgadas de un alambre:
calzoncillos, toallas y camisas que lloran
lentas lágrimas sucias.*

Pablo Neruda, *Walking Around*, circa. 1935.²

*On voit un chiffonnier qui vient, hochant la tête,
Butant, et se cognant aux murs comme un poète,
Et, sans prendre souci des mouchards, ses sujets,
Épanche tout son coeur en glorieux projets.*

Charles Baudelaire, *Le Vin de Chiffonniers*, 1854.³

This article deals with questions of mobility and social cartography in relation to the spatial practices of the main characters in Chilean filmmaker Alicia Scherson's first feature-length production, *Play*. To do this, it proposes a reading of the film via the paradigmatic figure of the urban stroller and observer: the *flâneur*. It also draws, albeit to a lesser extent, on other related approaches to the phenomenon of drifting in the modern city.⁴ Released in 2005, Scherson's film has been screened at festivals across the globe and has won a host of awards.⁵ The critical attention that it received has established her as one of the key figures in an exciting recent wave of film production in Chile, which critics have labelled in very general terms, 'Novísimo Cine Chileno'.⁶

Like any critical label that pretends to define a group of filmmakers according to a set of shared attributes, the category 'Novísimo Cine Chileno' must be assigned with care. The most comprehensive map of Novísimo Cine Chileno to date has been put together by Ascanio Cavallo and Gonzalo Maza, who invite 21 film critics each to author a chapter introducing one of 21 contemporary young filmmakers.⁷ Whilst broad in scope in terms of the number of filmmakers (and critics) included, the catalogue format of this edited volume incorporates a range of approaches, as each critic deals with one filmmaker individually, thus impeding any substantial dialogue between them that might make a stronger case for a shared set of thematic and aesthetic attributes. A short introduction does, however, suggest some of the commonalities: the group of filmmakers is characterised by its young age (most are in their 20s and 30s); they have, in general, received formal

training at film schools; they have benefited from more institutional support than previous generations; technological advance has meant significantly lower filmmaking costs; thematically, they focus predominantly on the present and are described as moving away from politics and issues of memory that preoccupied the generation that came before them. Cavallo and Maza also establish a very precise moment for the emergence of this category –the 2005 edition of the Film Festival in Valdivia- making *Play* one of the seminal examples of Novísimo Cine Chileno. Whilst a thorough exploration of this category lies beyond the scope of this particular article, the analysis of *Play* offered here will help gauge Scherson’s particular relationship to the generation conforming this category, particularly with regards to what seems to be the most contentious aspect of its definition: the suggestion that this particular group of filmmakers is characterised by a shying away from issues of memory that preoccupied those making films in the immediate aftermath of the dictatorship; a move away from politics in favour of the intimate -‘un espacio íntimo como territorio de conflicto’- often emerging from narratives of fragmented families.⁸ Yet, analyses of *Play* thus far seem to focus quite clearly on the political meaning that can be read in the transgressive movement of the film’s main characters through public space.⁹

Set in contemporary Santiago de Chile, *Play* is composed of two principal narrative threads that follow the fate of Tristán Greenberg, an architect from the glossy well-to-do neighbourhood of Las Condes, and Cristina Llancaleo, a rather less affluent migrant from the rural south and of Mapuche origins, residing as a live-in carer in the rather more folksy downtown *barrio Brasil*. Their paths cross, although do not initially meet, when Cristina by chance happens upon Tristán’s briefcase in a skip. The briefcase is discarded there after he is mugged the night before as he ambles aimlessly –out of love and out of luck- through the backstreets of Cristina’s neighbourhood, having been cast off by his girlfriend Irene. Fascinated by her discovery, Cristina meticulously sifts through the contents of the briefcase like an amateur detective and resolves to follow Tristán (and on occasions Irene) to find out more about him. Like the *objet trouvé*, Cristina removes the defunct briefcase from its location of obsolescence, recycling its contents and reinvesting it with a new ludic function, the streets of Santiago becoming the space of the game.¹⁰ For the duration of the film, Cristina pursues her self-invented game, as she playfully enters into co-existence with Tristán, without him ever noticing her. She finally encounters him in hospital after he falls, whereupon she returns his briefcase to him, thus signalling ‘game over’ and a return to normality. Meanwhile, released from the specific patterns of movement marked out by both his daily routine and social class, Tristán begins to transit though the city in an increasingly relaxed and aleatory fashion, enabling him to overcome his melancholy and experience Santiago from a different point of view.

The film’s narrative is thus propelled along by a series of walks –some errant, others with a definite end- through the streets of Santiago. Both Tristán and Cristina replicate many of the

characteristics readily associated with the paradigmatic urban stroller: the *flâneur*. Indeed, previous readings of *Play* have likened its main characters to the figure of the *flâneur*, albeit in a very general way and without necessarily delving into the potential ambiguities of the category itself and the different ways it has been reiterated in contemporary Chilean cinema.¹¹ An archetypal reader –or ‘painter’- of the (post)modern city, the *flâneurs’* act of walking in the film conflates with the act of narrating the city; a synonymy which will be unravelled in reference to Michel de Certeau’s contention that ‘[t]he act of walking is to the urban system what the speech act is to language or to the statements uttered’.¹² De Certeau draws an important distinction between the city as planned – from above- and the city as lived -from below- a distinction that Scherson makes, as she alludes to the changing face of large areas of Santiago under the sign of neoliberalism.¹³ Valeria de los Ríos’ insightful comparison of *Play* with Ignacio Agüero’s documentary, *Aquí se construye (O ya no existe el lugar donde nació)* (2000) is most useful in bringing to the fore Scherson’s subtle allusion to the destruction and redevelopment of parts of Santiago. Agüero deals with the displacement of residents, whose houses are demolished in front of their very eyes as they are displaced to make way for the new face of Santiago –the condominiums that architect Tristán designs in *Play*- much more explicitly. Hinging her analysis on a similar dichotomy of destruction/reconstruction, Carolina Urrutia frames her introduction to Scherson’s filmmaking in Cavallo and Maza’s volume in terms of a ‘cine en construcción’, arguing that she parts from a ‘zona cero’ and builds an alternative perspective.¹⁴ The psychocartographic dimension of the Situationist *dérive* –another derivative of the phenomenon of urban roaming- will also be instrumental in better understanding the affective dimension of the paths traced across the city. Devised as an alternative form of urban exploration, the *dérive* -as set out by Guy Debord- proposes a theory of urban movement that is driven by affect. Its aim is at once analytical, therapeutic and transformative in the sense that it frees movement from the restrictive banality of everyday space, as marked out by routine. It privileges play over productivity.¹⁵

This article will thus explore the representative function of both the characters’ and the camera’s itineraries across the city, as they subtly perform a peripatetic cartography of present-day Santiago. The diegetic threads that are spun by the characters progressively interlace to weave an urban text which lays bare -as they are transgressed- a series of frontiers that cut across the cityscape: the rural migrates into the metropolis; the well-heeled young man swops neighbourhood with the working class young lady; the global (or transnational) interlays with the local (or national); the synthetic world of the videogame (read: virtual experience) increasingly transects the organic world on the street (read: embodied or grounded experience). Scherson’s roaming camera collaborates to frame Santiago de Chile’s kaleidoscopic urban textuality. She turns the cine-camera’s intrinsically mobile gaze into another agent of drifting. Hence, the *flânerie* transfers from characters to camera and, as the spectator shares the camera’s gaze, from camera to spectator, who also becomes a vicarious

drifter in Santiago.¹⁶ The film's anachronic, thread structure enables the narrative space to be created and relived from varying points of view that accentuate the heterogeneous, subjective composition of the cityscape, progressively combining to piece together a cinematic collage of the lived urban landscape of the Chilean capital.¹⁷

The category of '*flâneur*' is as contested and 'elusive' as it is popular and must nevertheless be assigned with care.¹⁸ Its dislocation from nineteenth-century Paris and reassignment to the postmodern metropolis have been a source of lively debate. Keith Tester's edited volume, *The Flâneur*, provides an excellent, wide-ranging overview of contemporary debates evaluating the relevance of the category in representations of the contemporary city. Within this volume, Zygmunt Bauman's discussion of the *flâneur* as part of his exposé on the problematic of identity throughout modernity via a series of errant figures will be the most useful point of reference in this case.¹⁹ Indeed, his analysis insists upon tracing the evolution of the *flâneur* in terms of his/her relationship to consumer capitalism, building very much on Walter Benjamin's analysis of the *flâneur* within his broader exploration of Baudelaire as the writer of modernity.²⁰ The category's pertinence to a contemporary Latin American urban scenario does, however, need even more carefully working through. For, what will be argued here is that, in contrast to what Bauman posits in his appraisal of the postmodern *flâneur* -that s/he has now been completely subsumed into the dominant regime of consumer capitalism, having previously occupied *avant la lettre* a marginal position- *Play* offers a counterpoint to this position.²¹ It suggests that the *flâneur's* implication in such a regime is rather more ambivalent: the film shows a deep fascination with modernity, as well as critically appraising it. The act of walking itself can be interpreted phenomenologically as a means of reviving a mode of urban experience that is both grounded in a local geography and embodied via all five senses. In other words, one that counteracts the disembedding forces at play in the sedentary virtualisation of human experience, or, at the very least, one that learns to navigate more adeptly between the two worlds. The act of walking enters into a new critical dialogue with digital ways of experiencing the street (namely computer games). Indeed, if the act of walking is to be interpreted as a poetic enterprise, as Baudelaire's original portrayal of the artist-*flâneur* evoked, then it could be argued that Scherson engages in what Jacques Rancière would term a '[re]distribution of the sensible', whereby 'aesthetic acts' (in this case drifting) serve 'as configurations of experience that create new modes of sense perception and induce novel forms of political subjectivity'.²² The film's ambivalent ending arguably puts paid to the crystallisation of specifically new forms of political subjectivity, which brings the discussion back to the extent Scherson –and by association the *novísimos*- shun politics. However, in what will be termed a sort of cinematic Gestalt, this article argues that the politics of *Play* lie in the aesthetic. Scherson challenges the spectator's sensibility with her camera-*flâneur*, inviting him or her to look differently: to invert the normal regimes of visibility at play in

contemporary Chilean society; to look at the parts that make up the sum, rather than see the city as a cohesive whole (the sum of its parts).

To this effect, the analysis below will be structured as follows: part one sets out to define the figure of the *flâneur* within the context of this film, taking into account a series of additions and subtractions that take place when relocated both temporally and geographically to contemporary Santiago. Close attention will be paid to the ways in which the concept enables a socio-political reading of the main characters' wanderings throughout the film. Part two will then attempt to articulate the relationship between *flânerie* and recounting the city, in relation to de Certeau's exposé on spatial practices and the significance of walking in the city.²³ With the relationship between walking and storytelling mapped out, the article will then move on to how the wandering diegetic threads in the film together sketch out a social cartography of contemporary Santiago. It will suggest that the conflation of two very different human geographies in the film spins a tale of two Chiles: on the one hand, drawing attention to a lived urban space that bears the marks of the stark social divide propping up the nation's neoliberal economic structure; on the other, the crossing over of these two geographies suggests the possibility of upsetting this divide.²⁴ The conclusion will offer a final reflection upon how the analysis of *flânerie* in this particular film, supported by other related approaches to the notion of drifting in the city, contributes to broader socio-cultural readings of the contemporary Latin American metropolis in relation to the paradigm of mobility.²⁵

Flâneur/flâner/flânerie: origins and definition

The act –or perhaps one should say, rather the art- of *flânerie* (remembering that the *flâneur's* walk is a poetic exploit) is, in its most basic of definitions, composed of two concurrent actions: that of movement (without aim and on foot) and that of spectatorship.²⁶ To this one might add that these activities should take place in a specifically urban setting.²⁷ Most readily associated with the work of Charles Baudelaire, who portrayed him (*him*, for at the time the *flâneur* was only ever conceived of as being male) as a 'painter' of nineteenth century Paris, the *flâneur*, as Keith Tester asserts, has since 'walked into the pages of the commonplace'.²⁸ One of the symptoms of this popularity is, however, that the figure of the *flâneur* eludes easy categorisation. For critics, such as Rob Shields, the idea of *flânerie* is nothing more than 'essentially a literary gloss: [...] uneasily tied to any sociological reality'.²⁹ But for others, *flânerie* has an intrinsically sociological tie and is historically symptomatic of the emergence of capitalism; a position that the analysis in this article supports.³⁰ It is Walter Benjamin's account of Baudelaire's figure that cemented its intrinsic relationship to capitalism and emergent consumerism. If the *flâneur* is bound to a sociological context then s/he necessarily becomes its barometer, 'looking for the quality which you must allow me [Baudelaire] to call "modernity" [...]. By "modernity" I mean the ephemeral, the fugitive, the contingent, the half of art

whose other half is the eternal and the immutable'.³¹ 'Times were hard, but modern', reads the epigraph at the opening of the film, firmly contextualising what will ensue under the umbrella of 'modernity'. This article offers a reading of Tristán and Cristina as such barometers of their own context and its particular relationship to modernity.

It is important to note at this point that the purpose here is not to work with a static, constative description of the *flâneur*, but a literary category that is performative; one that has repeatedly been destabilised and transformed by its (some might say excessive) reiteration within different temporal and geographical contexts. Indeed, if to *flâner* boils down to these two rather basic human activities - walking and spectatorship- then its polysemous quality is inevitable. Underlining the performativity of this literary category –not least its capacity to migrate into film- in turn enables the description and transformation of the concept in this article with reference to the characters in *Play*. For, whilst Cristina and Tristán bear certain characteristics of the original *flâneur* –indeed what will be argued here is that they even resuscitate certain sensible attributes of the 'original' *flânerie* that the postmodern derivative is deemed to have lost- their wanderings through the city are inevitably shaped by the specific cartography of present-day Santiago. This turns them into representatives of a new kind of *flâneur*, one who in order to navigate the lived environment of Santiago, as represented in the film, must navigate chronologically between the 19th century seminal version of the figure, and Bauman's postmodern reinterpretation of it, as well as spatially between the local, the national, the transnational and the virtual in order to make sense of the city in all its complexity and apparent anachronisms.

Now immortalised as an iconic literary figure, the Parisian *flâneur* was 'a man of the crowd', rapt with pleasure as he gazed at the multitude. This idea of taking delight in 'mingling [...] in the heart of the multitude, amid the ebb and flow of movement'³² very much aligns with Cristina's initial promenade in downtown Santiago. The spectator sees her sauntering somewhat nonchalantly, ice cream in hand (a symbol which signals the leisurely nature of this activity), along a pedestrianised commercial street. The camera observes at a distance as Cristina's head bobs up and down, merging intermittently with the crowd on this bustling street. Cristina's later excursions do, however, perhaps bear more resemblance to Edgar Allan Poe's errant 'man of the crowd', generally considered to be the precursor to the Baudelairean *flâneur*.³³ The narrator of *The Man in the Crowd* develops a fascination with one particular wayfarer whom he follows tenaciously, definitely reminiscent of Cristina as she pertinaciously, albeit rather less fretfully, follows Tristán and Irene through the streets of Santiago in order to discover more about their lives. It is important to note that the figure of the *flâneur* has always been multi-faceted. Poe's man in the crowd was an obsessive detective, who scrutinised the crowd in terms of social type, whereas his French counterpart was painted as much more of a dandy observing at leisure. It is important to highlight the fact that Cristina takes on

attributes from different iterations of the figure of the urban drifter to underline how each iteration of the *flâneur* creates a specific dialogue with the urban contours of his or her context.

Tristán's gait is more one of a despondent, emotionally driven *dérive*, as he meanders aimlessly across the city. His journey thus functions more as an expression of dejection, as he inwardly wallows in self-pity, rather than a means of scrutinising the crowd; more so, as much of the time he drifts through the streets alone. Dumped by his girlfriend Irene with scant explanation as to why, save the stagnation in their relationship, Tristán is a victim of a programmed obsolescence, which governs not only liquid modern society's capricious relationship to material objects, but also its increasingly fickle attachments between human beings. This is the world of 'liquid love',³⁴ a world in which the romantic bonds that unite one human being to another are born with their expiry date already stamped upon them. Expiry is assured, in Tristán's case, when boredom sets in and a more attractive (in this case imported Russian) suitor takes Irene's fancy.

Whilst the above may not immediately seem to adhere to the principal tenets of *flâneurisme*, neither does Tristán's drifting begin with a conscious decision to 'drop' everything as suggested by Guy Debord's exposé on the Situationist rendition of urban drifting. However, the beginning of Tristán's drifting through the backstreets of Santiago is marked by a curious and hostile encounter with a vagrant character. Little is known of this elusive character except that he considers himself to be 'the poet'. For Tester, the terms 'poet' and '*flâneur*' are interchangeable and his account of the *flâneur* fixates upon his office as a poet. Even if the poet does not appear for long enough to gauge his *flânerie*, the fact that he is a poet, apparently marginal and inhabiting the street are strong signs that he could represent an older, decadent version of *flânerie*.³⁵ The elusive character pounces on Tristán, aggressively pinning him against the wall. The encounter is fleeting and unexplained, but its importance as a narrative junction is asserted by the emphatic way in which it is represented cinematographically. A series of jump cuts follow in swift succession, overtly rupturing the spatial and temporal continuity of the encounter, as the camera reappears each time gazing at the pair from a different angle. The narrative then folds back on itself, as the camera stutters, thus causing the confrontation to be represented twice. The significance of this encounter is threefold: first, it serves to throw Tristán's identity into question, releasing him from the confines of his everyday routine (a precondition of the *dérive*; second, and with the figure of the *flâneur* in mind, this encounter appears as a staged meeting between the old *flâneur* and his (or her) contemporary counterpart; third, the poet's declaration 'soy el poeta [...]. El poeta ve más allá' [I am The Poet [...]. The Poet can see beyond] seems to encourage Tristán to look with greater scrutiny. It also introduces what will become the recurring motif of perception into the film's narrative, as Scherson also challenges the spectator to think about what s/he can see. Filmically, the disruptive montage breaks up the holistic diegetic space of fiction, rather symbolically drawing attention to the absences implicit in this map of

the subjective city and, therefore, to what remains (literally and metaphorically) out of sight. This is another example of how Scherson cinematography disorders the hierarchies of visibility normally at play in the city.

To this observation it is also important to add that Chile proudly considers itself to be the 'Country of Poets'. A piece of graffiti celebrating the 100th anniversary of Pablo Neruda's birth holds centre stage in Scherson's frame as Tristán heads across the screen towards the colourful *barrio Brasil* where he will encounter the poet. Scherson plants a further, specifically Chilean, allusion to the relationship between poetry, walking, (re)mapping and urban architecture when Irene lays her head upon a book she has been reading in the latter stages of the film. Positioned upside down, it is unlikely that many spectators even notice the title on the book, but once again it acts as a subtle key that unlocks the symbolic dimension of Scherson's film. The book is authored by Chilean poet and architect, Godofredo Iommi, a founding member of the utopian group of poets who undertook a series of 'travesías' [voyages or long journeys] in the 1960s under the title, *Amereida*. A fusion of 'América' and 'Eneida' (the Spanish title for Virgil's epic poem about Aeneas' wanderings), *Amereida* is a collectively written epic poem –a collage of maps, sketches, poems- that aims to create a poetic vision of America, from south to north (the map is inverted to reflect this). This collective piece shuns all sense of hierarchy by shunning grammatical norms, such as the use of capital letters, or the naming of authors. It also evokes the journey as a means for reviving an originary collective identity: 'entre simulacros y fantasmas las gentes de américa solo imitamos [...] ¿tiene signo nuestro origen? ¿qué origen?'³⁶

'The Poet' also mistakes Tristán for a certain Walter (he will later be confused for Walter once again in a bar) further questioning his identity. Previous reference to Tristán's sadness –in Spanish *tristeza*- now adds to this doubt over his identity. His mien matches the etymological root of his name, thus turning him into a fictitious personification of his state of mind. This is also the moment, whilst trying to escape the poet, that he falls and is relieved of his briefcase containing his identity cards (Cristina is later seen running her thumb over these cards). Hence, his existential *dérive* commences. Drifting as a symptom of a crisis of identity is an addition to the original profile of the *flâneur*. Sarah Wright relates this to the specific context of Chile's post-dictatorial search for identity: both Tristán -whose identity is confused- and Cristina -who engages in a voyeuristic 'game of identity' by following Tristán- indicate that 'if memory is not an obvious theme [...], questions of identity politics in post-Pinochet Chile pervade it [*Play*]'.³⁷ Wright cites the gendered aspect of the *flâneuse*, along with Cristina's Mapuche origins, as key to this identity politics. To this might be added the recurrent tropes of a generation 'orphaned' by the State (neither Tristán or Cristina appear to have a father and Cristina's initial walk in downtown Santiago is along the avenue named 'Huérfanos' [Orphans]).

The question as to whether the *flâneur* can be extricated from the context of modern nineteenth-century Paris and successfully reassigned to the contemporary metropolis has been the source of significant discussion. How does the *flâneur* stroll from his birth with modern capitalism into his (and it is now permitted to say *her*) current status within the domain of late or postmodernity? How does s/he find her/his way from the majestic arcades of nineteenth-century Paris to the video arcades in present-day Santiago? One immediate analogy might be that both of these spaces, frequented by the *flâneur*, represent typical centric urban zones of leisure in their respective epochs - spaces in which entertainment is consumed. In this sense, Walter Benjamin's enduring analysis of Baudelaire as the 'writer of modernity' is fundamental, as he first associated the *flâneur* with modernity's emerging consumerism and portrayed him most at home whilst perusing (fetishising) the commodities showcased in the windows of the Parisian arcades.³⁸ It is certainly the *flâneur's* continuing affair with consumerism that Bauman draws on in his contemporary version, initially suggesting the possibility to be a *flâneur* in contemporary Santiago de Chile (or any other Latin American metropolis for that matter) and also accounts for the appearance of a female version of it: the *flâneuse*.³⁹

Both Cristina and Tristán are, on the one hand, without doubt consumers of a sort. On a superficial level, Cristina seems to fit perfectly into this order in two scenes in which she walks through the streets wearing a dress made of a printed fabric peppered with product labels. Whilst not all the labels are decipherable, the well-known 'Quaker man' logo for the Quaker Oats Company is clearly recognisable, carrying with it the symbolic weight of a huge North American multi-national conglomerate, perhaps rather ironically with its headquarters in Chicago.⁴⁰ Likewise, her habit of playing Street Fighter II is an obvious example of virtual displacement –a game that is a cultural reference across the globe, one that is consumed periodically and returned to later on.⁴¹ Indeed, virtual *flânerie* of the couch potato tele-addict is part and parcel of Bauman's postmodern rendition of the *flâneur*. Bauman refuses the possibility of postmodern *flânerie* being invested with any political meaning whatsoever: 'Baudelaire's *flâneur*, the carrier of the bacillus of modernism, was a hero', he announces. 'In the post-modern world –that *flâneurisme* writ large, *flâneurisme* commercially triumphant in its political defeat– it takes a heroic constitution to refuse being a *flâneur*'.⁴² On the other hand, the peripatetic trajectories of the main characters take them outside the confines of their familiar, everyday territories. Dorde Cuvardic García pays heed to the contemporary *flâneur's* ambivalence: '[t]he *flâneur* does not only consume public space from an aesthetic pleasure. S/he is also able to criticize it', she affirms. '[R]educing the activity of the *flâneur* to consumerism (of whatever sort, whether it be visual or commercial) suggests looking down upon the functions that he has exercised over the past 150 years and the rich array of activities that can unfold therefrom'.⁴³ It is in this sense that *Play* qualifies and revises Bauman's definition of the postmodern consumer/*flâneur* by offering a more nuanced characterisation.

First of all, compared to Bauman's *flâneur*, who no longer demonstrates an extraordinary aesthetic sensibility to his or her surroundings, *Play* revives the older, Baudelairian version of *flânerie* by accentuating the fact that her characters' experiences of the street are mediated via the entire sensorium. Cristina is shown, for example, rather primitively to be smelling Tristán and Irene's scent behind their backs as she follows them. Scherson's use of extreme close-ups –several of the characters' hands stretching, cracking knuckles (in the very first shot of the film), running their finger tips over surfaces- gives the film's visual narrative a haptic texture, much in the way that Laura Marks describes in her theory of 'haptic visuality'.⁴⁴ Bright colours bursting across the screen give it a vivacious quality that the grainy, two-dimensional and flickering image of the videogame, awash with a yellow hue, does not boast. Scherson seems to advocate a corporeal interaction with the local surroundings. It is also as if this aesthetic divergence were a subtle attempt to distance film from other virtual media and reinforce its intermediary position between an organic encounter which takes place at the original moment of filming and its displacement in a proliferation of subsequent virtual reproductions. In a society characterised by this generic kind of virtual (read: static, audiovisual) *flânerie*, the act of walking –of smelling, touching and tasting the city, 'rapturously breathing in all the odours and essences of life'⁴⁵- resuscitates an older style of *flânerie* and takes on a subversive function in itself. It acquires a further transgressive dimension in *Play*, as it implies the crossing of internal borders in the city linked to social segregation. Though the authors of this article do not believe that the characters' walks ultimately suggest the possibility of social cohesion –Cristina and Tristán parting again after a brief encounter in the final sequence of the film- it is crucial to take into account that they walk across a fragmented city that has been categorised as both postmodern and postdictatorial at once.⁴⁶

Cartographers of Santiago

In *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Michel de Certeau carefully articulates the relationship between strolling and storytelling. 'Every story is a travel story – a spatial practice', he argues. The actions of walking and writing are, he suggests, equivalent in effect: 'every day, they [stories] traverse and organize places; they select and link them together; they make sentences and itineraries out of them. They are spatial trajectories'.⁴⁷ His conflation of movement and storytelling is helpful in defining Tristán and Cristina's walks through the streets of Santiago in relation to the city as a whole. If the city –'the most immoderate of human texts'- represents *langue*, suggests de Certeau, then the expression of each individual trajectory at street level takes on the role of the *parole*. 'The panorama-city [the city of the "space planner urbanist, city planner or cartographer"] is a "theoretical" (that is, visual) simulacrum, in short a picture, whose condition of possibility is an oblivion and a misunderstanding of practices'. As an architect and urban planner of the new Santiago, he is more

used to authoring the city from this rather more 'theoretical' point of view. Here, in contrast, forced into his *dérive*, he narrates from 'down below'. Again, de Certeau proves instructive:

[T]he ordinary practitioners of the city live "down below," below the thresholds at which visibility begins. [...] they are walkers [...] whose bodies follow the thicks and thins of an urban "text" they write without being able to read it. These practitioners make use of spaces that cannot be seen [...]. The paths that correspond in this intertwining, unrecognized poems in which each body is an element signed by many others, elude legibility. It is as though the practices organizing a bustling city were characterized by their blindness.⁴⁸

Tristán and Cristina's trajectories not only author the city 'from below', but the fact that they wander through neighbourhoods that are unfamiliar to them means that their walks take on a subversive dimension. It is upon this aspect that the analyses thus far of *Play* have insisted, with a view to pinpointing the film's politics. As Wright argues, they are 'the only characters who traverse different places and spaces in Santiago: the rest are firmly corralled according to their socio-economic grouping'.⁴⁹ In this way, as well as ambulant storytellers, Tristán and Cristina also become –albeit ostensibly unintentional– social cartographers of the city and their position therein.

Indeed, Tristán's estrangement, as he meanders through the working class neighbourhood, alongside Cristina's voyeuristic fascination, as she follows Tristán and Irene around their *barrio*, subtly foregrounds the discrepancies in Chile's experience of neoliberalism.⁵⁰ Scherson by no means intends to film a treatise on the negative impact of neoliberal globalisation on Santiago. Casual, fleeting references to Chile's neoliberal predicament do, however, abound drawing attention to the '[g]ross inequality in the distribution of income' leaving Chile amongst the top seven countries in terms of most unevenly distributed wealth (according to World Bank statistics).⁵¹ Cristina furthermore accentuates this divide when she refers to her relative affluence in Santiago compared to her life in the south. Persistence of a labour code introduced during the dictatorship restricting workers' rights is reflected in the lacklustre, and ultimately useless, attempt by the construction workers on Tristán's building site to claim better wages.⁵² A comment by one of Laura (Tristán's mother)'s friends to Spanish multinationals taking over local firms makes oblique reference to the fact that in 2003 two thirds of the largest companies in Chile were multinationals.⁵³

But to dwell on these rather obvious references would be to the detriment of a more powerful politics of perception at work within the symbolic dimension of the film's narrative and aesthetic. This is not simply a cinematic rendition of Santiago as McOndo, described by one of its creators - Chilean author and fellow 'novísimo' Alberto Fuguet- as 'overpopulated and full of contamination, with highways, metro, cable TV and shanty towns. In McOndo there are McDonald's, Mac computers and condominiums, in addition to 5-star hotels built with laundered money and gigantic malls'.⁵⁴ Indeed, the *flâneur* in Fuguet's cinema has been read specifically within the context of McOndo, as part of an 'aesthetic of detachment and disaffection in the contemporary urban space'; an apolitical figure much like Bauman describes, albeit with a greater sense of alienation.⁵⁵ This is certainly not

the case for the drifters in *Play*, as this article hopes to demonstrate. McOndo is omnipresent in *Play* –continuously implied, that is- yet at once curiously absent during much of the film. Save Cristina’s brief excursion on the metro as she follows Irene, the odd shot of traffic-filled avenues and a lone final shot of the golden ‘M’ of McDonald’s, these elements are notable in their absence from *Play*. For, what is brought to the fore is the underbelly of the capital: the waste disposal sites in which children play; the backstreets; the local markets; the dirty bars; the cemetery. Laura’s young Argentine partner, Ricardo, acts as a spokesperson for the neoliberal discourse. His overbearing self-confidence epitomises what Chileans might generally perceive to be the stereotypical *argentino canchero*. This cheeky displacement of neoliberal values onto the stereotyped Argentine neighbour serves to ridicule the neoliberal rhetoric. Argentina’s rampant affair with the free-market neoliberal model –the so-called *fiesta menemista* of the 1990s, under President Carlos Menem- came to a disastrous end with the 2001 *corralito*, which plunged the country into a severe economic, social and political crisis. His passionate Darwinist survival-of-the-fittest (read: richest) sentiments, which advocate relentlessly moving forward, are further undermined as it becomes clear in the paradox that he is galloping unremittingly towards an unspecified goal. The fact that Ricardo is a magician –a profession based on illusion, the sleight of hand deceiving the eye- is a further wink at the illusive nature of free-market prosperity. As he lectures Tristán, he bears his tattoo of Wittgenstein’s duck-rabbit before the camera. The spectator is likely to see the rabbit first, as s/he will already associate Ricardo with his pet rabbit, which he uses for his magic tricks. The sequence then cuts immediately to a shot of a raft of ducks. In a slick Kuleshov-type composition, the spectator might think twice as to whether the tattoo is a rabbit or a duck. The sequence then cuts to a shot of Laura, who is clinically blind, walking around her garden taking delight in her garden via her other senses.⁵⁶ Laura’s clinical blindness hence becomes a metaphor for society’s blindness to the detrimental effects of neoliberalism. She lives in ignorant bliss, oblivious to her partner’s infidelity, thus representing the superficial discursive marriage of neoliberalism with happiness. This sequence epitomises the film’s Gestalt aesthetic, which this article argues is where the politics of *Play* is located.

As Tristán drifts through this other side to the city, the camera replicates his lack of familiarity with the neighbourhood by using slow-motion and moving the shot in and out of focus. The blurring engages the film spectator’s gaze, which becomes anthropological, as s/he must actively interrogate what Tristán is seeing. The importance in authoring a critique of neoliberal Santiago is underlined by the fact that Scherson’s camera does not always dutifully follow the subjects of its gaze. In one particular shot a fixed camera observes. Its gaze is perpendicular to the pavement along which a forlorn Tristán traipses, suggesting already that his trajectory and that of the film spectator are not always in alignment. For a moment, the camera pans gently round to follow Tristán as he passes by. The camera, however, then stops in the middle of the scene and gazes as a *flâneur* in its own right.

Tristán continues on his way and the camera remains staring at the graffiti in support of the Communist Party and a large billboard advertising Chile's education system. Far from exalting Chilean education, the shot seems composed rather tongue-in-cheek as yet another reference embedded in the film's *mise-en-scène* that hint at the inequalities in Chilean society, just a year before the student protests –or *Revolución Pingüina*- began in 2006.

Playing on the phonetic similitude of the terms 'route' and 'root', David Macauley emphasises that the act of walking necessarily establishes a reciprocity between body and place: '[w]alking locates the body in place', he argues. 'In the repetitious act of turning over our legs – of falling forward, then rising and collecting ourselves into a corporeal rhythm – we are as it were like large knitting (or perhaps sewing machine) needles stitching ourselves into the local fabric of the environs, grounding and rooting ourselves even if momentarily'.⁵⁷ He implicates the figure of the *flâneur* in his analysis: '[t]he aesthetically inclined *flâneur* and the politically-informed drifter on a *dérive* are several kinds of itinerant wayfarers who establish a critical relation to the urban environment'.⁵⁸ In a society which moves between the virtual world of the videogame and the organic space of the street, the act of walking re-establishes a corporeal continuum between time and space; an experience of the city that is embodied.

This idea of 'rooting' –of the feet imprinting themselves onto *terra firma*- is replicated (emphatically) in several instances in the film in which characters impact with the ground: on the night on which he is mugged, Tristán collides with a lamppost whilst on the run, hence falling and knocking himself out as he hits the ground; a boy is then shown (twice, for the circular structure of the narrative means that the spectator witnesses this event twofold) tripping over Tristán's leg as he sits slouched on a park bench, prompting him also to strike the ground; a girl who appears on three occasions picking at a scab on her knee has clearly been scarred by a fall; Tristán finally plummets from the building he is constructing - whether on purpose or by accident (the spectator is never to know which)- thus landing him in hospital. This last tumble is loaded allegorically: the narrative threads spun by Tristán and Cristina's promenades progressively unravel the utopian grand narrative of urbanism, causing it to collapse. In its place, they recast an urban fabric of mixed weave; one that divulges the city's socio-cultural hybridity. Returning to de Certeau, this dialectic between *langue* and *parole* is enabled cinematographically by periodically interspersed high-angle shots, which provide an overhead view of the cityscape. The vista provided by such shots shows the city from the rooftops. In the street-level shots that dominate the film, the totality of the scene always exceeds the limits of the frame. The alternation of the overhead vistas brings to the fore the *décalage* between the urban promise of harmony and family bliss advertised in the glossy brochures in Tristán's briefcase –of an ideal geometrically conceptualised urban plan- and the rhetoric of Santiago's hybridity as played out daily on the streets.

Cristina, in contrast, never falls. She is sure on her feet (save for one brief instant in which she is nearly hit by a car) in a way that a woozy Tristán -weaving unsteadily, his legs stumbling clumsily in front of one another- is not. Adhering once again to Bauman's profile of the contemporary *flâneur*, Cristina decides when the game of *flânerie* is over leaving Tristán's bedside in the hospital after embracing him. Her office as a *flâneur* is voluntary, whereas Tristán's is, at least to begin with, imposed. He later seems to enjoy the sensation of anonymously roaming the streets. In the final sequence of the film, she is the one who walks up the stairs and out onto the rooftop acquiring a position of visual (and emotional) control. The unmistakable golden M of McDonald's reaches for the sky, as if it were the symbolic axis around which the city rotates. The panning shot across the rooftops unifies the hybrid spaces that have been delimited down below. Although falling significantly lower than the 1370-foot skyscraper from which de Certeau cites the scopophilic 'exaltation' of being able to read the Manhattan cityscape as 'a transparent text',⁵⁹ Cristina's lust for the city is evident. The relationship between discourse and power is restored, and her relationship to the giant urban text remains as ambivalent as ever. Cristina may live a precarious existence, yet for her the discourses of urban modernity are still invested with a redemptive tone: the instability is worth the promise. Whilst she craves the metropolis, she also acts as a nurse to those who can no longer keep up with modernity's stride. The fact that she speaks Mapudungun on the phone to her mother is a reminder about her indigenous origins in rural southern Chile. She acts in certain ways as a revival of rural, indigenous Macondo and succeeds in turning her socio-economic invisibility, as a Mapuche immigrant in Santiago, into an advantage by becoming the 'unseen seer who manipulates the controls'.⁶⁰ In this way, she simultaneously revises the original link between the 19th century *flâneur* and the upper middle class, by turning the 'bourgeoisie' (in this case Tristán) from the subject of the gaze into its object.⁶¹ Scherson's reiteration of the *flâneur* in *Play* should then be approached as an ambiguous and complex figure adept at navigating between chronologically distinct versions of the *flâneur*, as well as between the various local, national and transnational spaces that together – albeit by no means always in harmony- constitute the contemporary Latin American city.

Conclusion

If the specific profile of the *flâneur* is symptomatic of a particular sociological context, then s/he is enabled as its weatherglass, 'looking for the quality which you must allow' us now to call a distinctly Latin American urban textual alloy.⁶² In the case of *Play*, this Latin American quality consists of restoring to the *flâneur* its original 19th century quality, endowing her with the ability to make use of the entire sensorium to make sense of the city. If this 'political' dimension of the walkers in *Play* distinguishes them from Bauman's apolitical version of the figure, it is not evidence enough to state that *flânerie* in the Latin American context amounts to a complete opposite of his model. Walking

remains connected to a playful quality in this film, and although 'times are hard' -as several shots and the epigraph itself suggest- they are also still 'modern' (the epigraph 'Times were hard, but modern' hinges upon an adversative conjunction) and therefore fascinating. The inner dividedness of postdictatorial Santiago de Chile, which Wright believes to be mended by the 'performative linking' of the walks evoked,⁶³ and the typically fragmented and heterogeneous quality of the postmodern megalopolis, which according to Ríos becomes intelligible thanks to the 'cognitive maps' traced by the steps of the *flâneurs* in it,⁶⁴ are not presented by Scherson as 'problems to be overcome'. They are precisely the ingredients of an enduring fascination with the city, suggested by Cristina's final gaze of the city from a high vantage point. As José Maurício Domingues emphasises in his study of Latin American modernity, the current phase of modernity is marked by the 'contradiction between democratizing modernizing moves, which aim at the core elements of modernity's imaginary, and the neoliberal sort of project that has been thus far predominant in this third phase of modernity in the subcontinent'. He goes on: 'Too often it is only one aspect of this twofold development that is indicated'.⁶⁵ In light of this statement, *Play* is perhaps advocating an ingenuous return to modernity as something much broader than its neoliberal variant; a modernity that fascinates and resuscitates the possibility of it being constructive.

The *flâneur* is, however, just one category of errant city dweller, which is symptomatic of a broader urgency in certain recent Latin American cinema to author the metropolis and attempt to capture its kaleidoscopic landscape, not from above, but often from the margins and on foot. But, the recurring motifs (the intercalated shot of a giraffe, Ricardo's tattoo, the discussion as to the worth of adjectives) that challenge the way in which both spectator and characters perceive their surroundings, the point-of-view cinematography which is employed to underline the discrepancy in what different characters can (and cannot) see –the subject of one gaze becomes the invisible object of the counter gaze in cleverly manipulated shot-reverse-shot cinematography- along with the sense-tickling, haptic quality of Scherson's *mise-en-scène*, do in many ways disorder the hierarchies of visibility and invisibility in which these characters might usually (co)exist. For the spectator-*flâneur*, this opens up the possibility of seeing beyond: making the invisible visible and bring the background to the fore.

Filmography:

Aquí se construye (o Ya no existe el lugar donde nací). 2000. Directed by Ignacio Agüero (Chile: Ignacio Agüero & Asociados), 35mm/colour, 77 mins.

Manos libres. 2009. Directed by Alicia Scherson (Chile: CNCA), 35mm/colour, 1 min.

Play. 2005. Directed by Alicia Scherson (Chile-Argentina-France: Macondo), 35mm/colour, 105 mins.

Turistas. 2009. Directed by Alicia Scherson (Chile: La Ventura), 35mm/colour, 104 mins.

No. 2012. Directed by Pablo Larraín (France/USA/Chile: Golem Distribución), 35mm/colour, 118 mins.

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² I walk around with calm, with eyes, with shoes, / with fury, with forgetfulness, / I pass, I cross by offices and orthopedic *shoestores*, / and courtyards where clothes are hanging from a wire: / underdrawers, towels and shirts that weep / slow, dirty tears. Translated by Donald D. Walsh. In Neruda, *Residence on Earth*: 121.

³ One comes upon a shaking ragman, who / staggers against the walls, as poets do, / And disregardful of policemen's spies, / Pours from his heart some glorious enterprise. Translated by James McGowan. In Baudelaire, *The Flowers of Evil*: 217.

⁴ See Hollevoet, *Wandering in the City*: 25.

⁵ Without wishing to provide an exhaustive list of festival appearances and prizes, we can cite amongst the most prestigious awards: for 'Best Emerging Director' at the Tribeca Film Festival (2005); selected as the Chilean entrant from the Oscars (2006); prize for 'Best New Director' at the Skip City Festival in Japan (2006); awarded the 'Public's Prize' at the Santiago International Film Festival (2005) and the Festival of World Cinema in Montreal (2005); prize for 'Best First Feature Film' at the La Habana Film Festival in Cuba (2005).

⁶ Like all critical labels, the term 'Novísimo Cine Chileno' [Very New Chilean Cinema] should not be taken as a cohesive movement, in either thematic or aesthetic terms, or in terms of any consensus among those associated with its emergence. It represents an exciting new wave of film production by young directors in Chile, who are benefitting from a more conducive production context in terms of training and funding support. See Ascanio Cavallo and Gonzalo Maza, eds. (2011) for a catalogue of the most prominent filmmakers in this wave. Scherson has since made two other feature length films: *Turistas* (2009), which very much continues with the theme of mobility and identity, taking them out of Santiago and into the countryside, and *Il futuro* (2013), which is a film adaptation of Roberto Bolaño's novella *Una novelita lumpen* (2002).

⁷ See Cavallo and Maza, *Novísimo Cine Chileno*: 9-16.

⁸ Ibid: 15.

⁹ See Barraza Toledo (2012 and 2015), Ríos (2010) and Wright (2013).

¹⁰ See Ríos, *Mapas cognitivos de Santiago del nuevo siglo*: 13.

¹¹ See Barraza Toledo (2012 and 2015), Ríos (2010) and Wright (2013). In particular, Barraza Toledo has used the figure of the *flâneur* as a frame of reference in her analysis of Alberto Fuguet's cinema (another of the directors included in Cavallo and Maza's catalogue of 'novísimo' Chilean filmmakers), although as a symbol of what she terms 'detachment'; a depoliticisation resulting from the 'disaffection' felt amongst Santiago's affluent youth (2015: 442), as opposed to the *flâneur* –or *flâneuse*, rather- as a figure of resistance, as read by Ríos and Wright.

¹² De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*: 97.

¹³ In the closing credits of the film, Scherson includes the iconic Hotel Carrera in her thanks, along with the acronym 'QEPD' (Que en paz descansa [R.I.P. or Rest In Peace]) in brackets. Located in the Plaza de la Constitución, with a privileged vantage point over the Presidential Moneda Palace, this luxury 5-star hotel was an iconic building in Santiago. This subtle reference in the credits demonstrates Scherson's engagement with

the issue of Santiago's changing urban landscape under neoliberalism. It was auctioned off and closed its doors in 2004, becoming the main headquarters of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

¹⁴ This is something that Scherson continues in her second feature, *Turistas* (2009), with a vibrant almost zoological aesthetic that privileges extreme close-ups of insects, which contrasts to references in the background to the construction of a motorway that will desecrate part of the Siete Tazas National Park.

¹⁵ See Debord, *Theory of the Dérive*, for the original theoretical proposition. The concept of play, as defined by Dutch historian, Johan Huizinga, in his book *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (1949) inspired the Situationist architect and urbanist, Constant Nieuwenhuys' utopic, anti-capitalist and nomadic city of New Babylon. The concept of play further inspired Nieuwenhuys' contemporary Aldo van Eyck's urban plans to revitalise post-war Amsterdam with a grass-roots approach to urban planning by creating lots of playgrounds. Scherson seems to base her portrayal of Santiago on a similar premise. The playground in the Plaza Brasil is an important setting in the film *Play*, the narrative is configured somewhat like a videogame at times, with several characters reappearing quite randomly in different places dressed identically and performing the same action: the girl picking at a scab on her knee and the man in a Hawaiian style shirt cleaning his ear with a cotton bud reappear like characters would reappear in completely different contexts in a video game.

¹⁶ The authors would like to thank the reviewers for their invaluable advice on a previous draft of this article, in which they suggested that this aspect of the analysis be emphasised.

¹⁷ The synergy between urban space and cinematic space is established in the opening credits, whereby the credits themselves are integrated into the urban space, appearing and disappearing amidst the passers-by. The 3D graphic perspective that is created aligns the credits along the walls of the street, or lays them on the road surface for Cristina to walk over them, thus cementing the relationship that Mark Shiel refers to as the 'telling correlation between the mobility and visual and aural sensations of the city and the mobility and visual and aural sensations of the cinema' (2001: 1).

¹⁸ Tester, *The Flâneur*: 1. Tester's edited volume provides a wide range of approaches to the figure of the *flâneur*, providing a comprehensive overview of the contemporary debates surrounding this literary figure within the field of literature and beyond. This includes sociologist Zygmunt Bauman's use of the *flâneur* in his discussion of modern and postmodern identity politics, which is a key point of reference in this piece. The concept of '*flâneur*' has previously been applied to *Play* by Rios (2010), Barraza Toledo (2012) and Wright (2013). However, none of these articles discusses the notion of the *flâneur* in detail.

¹⁹ see Tester 1994, Bruce Mazlish 1994, Kathryn Kramer and John Rennie Short 2011, Zygmunt Bauman 1994 and Mike Featherstone 1998.

²⁰ See Benjamin, *The Writer of Modern Life: Essays on Charles Baudelaire*.

²¹ Bauman, *Desert spectacular*: 138-157.

²² Rancière, *The Politics of Aesthetics*: 3.

²³ De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*.

²⁴ Despite the fact that official reports painted a rose-tinted picture of general prosperity and continued growth following the so-called 'golden decade' of the 1990s, the former Minister of Economics under Allende, José Cademartori, argued in 2003 (just two years prior to the release of *Play*): 'the benefits of "modernity" have been concentrated in a small minority who enjoys First World standards of living while the population remains firmly ensconced in the Third World'. It is also important to reiterate here that Chile was the neoliberal guinea pig and first nation to experiment with the neoliberal economic model. For a more detailed statistical analysis of the nature of the inequalities undermining the neoliberal, see Cademartori, *The Chilean Neoliberal Model Enters into Crisis*: 79.

²⁵ The 'mobile turn' is defined as follows in the Editorial of the founding issue of the journal, *Mobilities*: 'Mobility has become an evocative keyword for the twenty-first century and a powerful discourse that creates its own effects and contexts. The concept of mobilities encompasses both the large-scale movements of people, objects, capital and information across the world, as well as the more local processes of daily transportation, movement through public space and the travel of material things within everyday life'. See Hannam, Sheller and Urry, *Editorial: Mobilities, Immobilities and Moorings*: 1. An emerging paradigm in the social sciences, the concept of mobility is ripe for further exploration in relation to representations of movement in contemporary Chilean cinema.

²⁶ Bauman, *Desert spectacular*: 138. In this chapter on the postmodern *flâneur*, Bauman begins with the Larousse definition of the verb 'flâner': 'Errer sans bout, en s'arrêtant pour regarder' (1994: 138) [to wander without aim, whilst stopping to watch].

²⁷ It is in this sense that the *flâneur* differs from the tourist. The tourist is an avid walker and spectator, but his or her activity can take place in both an urban and a rural context. It can also be aimless or with a definite destination. Scherson's second feature length film, *Turistas* (Chile, 2009), for example, portrays the journey of two city-dwellers from Santiago who embark on what turns out to be a kind of existential tourism in the Parque Nacional Siete Tazas some 250km south of the capital.

²⁸ Tester, *The Flâneur*: 1.

²⁹ Shields, Fancy footwork: Walter Benjamin's notes on *flânerie*: 62.

³⁰ Mazlish, *The flâneur: from spectator to representation*: 46.

³¹ Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*: 12.

³² *Ibid*: 7-9.

³³ Mazlish, *The flâneur: from spectator to representation*: 50. The two writers were not only contemporaries, but Baudelaire's translations of Poe (including *The Man in the Crowd*) into French were amongst the first and most highly reputed.

³⁴ See Bauman, *Liquid Love*.

³⁵ Tester, *The Flâneur*: 5.

³⁶ See *Ameréida* (no author): 11-12. *Ameréida* found expression architecturally in the creative project, 'Ciudad Abierta' [Open City, citing Roberto Rossellini's 1945 neorealist film, *Roma città aperta*] in Ritoque. The city is conceived on the basis 'that architecture should be born out of poetry' (see Giancarlo De Carlo's Foreword to Pendleton-Jullian, *The Road that Is not a Road and the Open City, Ritoque, Chile*: x)

³⁷ Wright, *Everything to play for*: 230.

³⁸ Benjamin, *Illuminations*: 166-172.

³⁹ Wright, *Everything to play for*: 231.

⁴⁰ See Quaker Oats Company website: <http://www.quakeroats.com/about-quaker-oats/content/quaker-history.aspx>. Chicago is of course the birthplace of the neoliberal model.

⁴¹ Whilst beyond the bounds of this particular investigation, the significance of *Street Fighter II* and the conflation of the streets of Santiago and the videogame space serve as an interesting point for discussion as to how the crisis of identity in *Play* may also be attributed to the increasingly hybrid lives that the younger generation now lead, navigating continuously between organic and virtual spaces. *Street Fighter II* acts as a strong symbol of the infiltration of the global in the local context of Santiago de Chile, invariably associated with the free market economic structure as prescribed by the neoliberal regime.

⁴² *Ibid*: 155-6.

⁴³ Cuvardic García, *El flâneur en las prácticas culturales, el costumbrismo y el modernismo*, 30, our translation.

⁴⁴ Marks, *The Skin of the Film*, 164-170.

⁴⁵ Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*: 7.

⁴⁶ Ríos, *Mapas cognitivos de Santiago del nuevo siglo*: 9; Wright, 'Everything to play for': 236.

⁴⁷ De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*: 115.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*: 92-3.

⁴⁹ Wright, *Everything to play for*: 234.

⁵⁰ The Chilean state and economy were the first to undergo restructuring into a neoliberal configuration. This process, in many ways, served as a test bed for subsequent neoliberalisation elsewhere (not least in the United States themselves). Chile's 'neoliberal turn' was engineered by a group of local economists –nicknamed the 'Chicago Boys' due to their training at the University of Chicago– who General Pinochet drafted into his government shortly after the coup in September 1973 which ousted President Salvador Allende. The installation of the neoliberal state is, as David Harvey argues (2005: 7-9), in the case of Chile inextricably linked to authoritarianism and the violent repression of labour and social movements. The key tenets of neoliberalism were, however, to outlive the Pinochet regime. This discourse of neoliberal continuity underpins Pablo Larraín's recent film *No* (2012) which demonstrates how the success of the 'No' campaign in the 1988 plebiscite to decide on the future of the Pinochet regime hinged on its ideologically questionable, yet highly effective, appropriation of the discourses of advertising more readily associated with the political position of the incumbent dictatorship.

⁵¹ Cadematori, *The Chilean Neoliberal Model Enters into Crisis*: 79.

⁵² *Ibid*.

⁵³ *Ibid*.

⁵⁴ Fuguet and Gómez, *McOndo*, 17, our translation.

⁵⁵ See Barraza Toledo, *From Sanhattan to Nashvegas*: 442.

⁵⁶ Lev Kuleshov was part of the Soviet Montagist group, who believed that montage was the single most important aspect of film language. Kuleshov devised an experiment in film montage in order to demonstrate that meaning in film, as opposed to single-shot still photography, can only be created in the dialectic between juxtaposed images.

⁵⁷ Macauley, *Walking in the city: An essay on peripatetic practices and politics*: 7.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*: 4, original emphasis.

⁵⁹ De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*: 92.

⁶⁰ Wright, 'Everything to play for': 233.

⁶¹ Barraza Toledo, *Play*, de Alicia Scherson: la flâneuse, la ciudad y los otros: 123.

⁶² Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*: 12.

⁶³ Wright, 'Everything to play for': 236.

⁶⁴ Ríos, *Mapas cognitivos de Santiago del nuevo siglo*: 13.

⁶⁵ Domingues, *Latin America and Contemporary Modernity*: 129-30.