



'Peripatetic Practices': a workshop on walking

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Abstracts

Session 1: Urban Walking

Tracking the walker: art, spatial practices and surveillance

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Walking in the city, so Michel de Certeau contends in his influential reflections on the subject, is an elementary form of urban experience 'down below'. In contrasting it with the view from on high that transfigures the subject into a voyeur or Solar Eye and that fixes the city's mobility in a transparent text, he associates walking with ordinary practitioners who live 'below the thresholds at which visibility begins'. These walkers 'make use of spaces that cannot be seen', their paths 'elude legibility'. Constituting networks of 'moving, intersecting writings', they compose 'a manifold story that has neither author nor spectator'. This paper explores the relationship between urban walking and visibility, and asks how it is being reconfigured a time of proliferating surveillance systems when urban space increasingly comes under an electronic gaze, and when demands for transparency in the name of security take hold. The focus is on selected contemporary artists who take to the streets on foot as a means of engaging with the geographies of cities, and who in the process bring into question aspects of both the politics of public space and the spatial practices of walking. By following their paths, the paper considers how they negotiate the

visibilities or otherwise of walking and, in particular, how they compose stories and performances in contemporary cities that are of wider significance, not least for what they suggest about disciplinary scansapes and their associated dreams of transparency.

Walking in the city: Embodied practice, orientation and experience

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The paper will adopt a practice phenomenological approach on urban walking. Drawing on Merleau-Ponty, Lefebvre and de Certeau, urban walking will be approached through the double perspective of embodied experience and the production of urban space. One road followed in this effort is the one followed by de Certeau (1998) when he is considering two 'networks' decisive elements in people's active construction of the city; *gestures* and *narratives*. These two can both be characterised as chains of *operations* done on and with the surroundings. In two distinct modes, one practical and the other linguistic, gestures and narratives manipulate objects, displace them, and modify both their distribution and their uses - in this construing what I have earlier called 'the embodied city' and 'the narrative city' respectively (Simonsen 2004).

In continuation of that the paper will focus on the perspectivism or *orientation* of bodily practices - in this case urban walking. This is basically about the role of the body in perception. Phenomenological analysis on the one hand reveals that perception is always a view from somewhere - a perceived 'thing' always presupposes the point from which it is seen, and the body, given that it extends in and occupies space, is this somewhere. On the other hand, perception is not an inner representation of an outer world. It is opening onto and into that world. Bodies and their objects tend toward each other; they are orientated towards each other, and are shaped by this orientation. The bodies' perceptual openness enjoins them to an interworld - they open out into a shared sensible world or 'intermundane' space (Merleau-Ponty, 1968). The world described by phenomenology is thus an interworld, or an 'open circuit' between the perceiving body and its world.

From this perspective, the imaginations and the place makings coming out of walking the city will depend on the specific practices performed, the orientations of the urban walkers and the way in which they 'produce themselves in space at the same time as they produce that space' to paraphrase Lefebvre. To illustrate this, the paper planned to draw on an analysis conducted in Copenhagen (Simonsen 2005) by including three perspectives on walking the city:

1. Walking as a work practice
2. Meeting the stranger
3. Walking and the build environment

However, due to time limits, the focus will be restricted to the first example, following a 'walking' police officer and exploring the way in which his peripatetic practice is construing a close relationship between work, identity and the city.

Walking and rhythmicity sensing urban space

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As an inescapable part of our everyday lifeworld, walking is an embodied practice with specific lived qualities. It is also a mode of experiencing *place* and the *city*, and in this context is an aesthetic and insightful spatial practice. Through everyday walking we develop a sense of (and for) *place*. The everyday practices of walking vary in their purpose, pace and rhythm, and nurture more or less creative and more or less critical relationships to urban space. *Walkscapes* are rhythmic. Walking practices are constitutive of '*place-ballets*', as defined by David Seamon, choreographed wholes of multiple *place rhythms*. As such, they impact on the rhythmical continuums of urban places, influencing and suggesting their *tempo*.

Through a review of the literature and illustrated by fieldwork, this paper takes a phenomenological stance on walking. It starts by unravelling aspects and attributes of its character and continues by focusing on the *experience of walking* in the city and its relationship to *sense of place*. It explores walking both as purposeful activity and as creative and critical spatial practice. It distinguishes between three modes of walking: the purposive, the discursive and the conceptual. All three are inherent temporal practices of *place*. Lastly, the paper introduces walking as a temporal and rhythmical practice, part of a wider group of place-rhythms that characterise urban places.

The paper concludes by highlighting the implications for the urban design discipline. It explores walking as a temporal practice to be designed for, one that may induce creative and spatially critical responses to urban places, and one that needs closer attention when design is concerned with

placemaking.

Encouraging Walking Through Effective Travel Marketing

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Islington has one of the highest parking densities in London and one of the most congested public transport networks. With very little expansion of the boroughs road and public transport networks planned over the next 10 years, walking and cycling are the only travel modes that will be able to cater for future population growth.

Research by Transport for London identified barriers to walking in urban environments. Lack of knowledge of local environments was found to be a major barrier to walking. Residents are not familiar with their local areas, do not know the best routes and are often afraid for walking for local journeys. The research also highlighted what factors would motivate specific groups to travel more sustainably. It showed that young women were motivated by health and well-being, whereas men were more motivated by time savings and the control it would give them over their speed of travel, their health and their finances.

The council used this market research to identify which social group would respond best to travel information marketing. It was found that young professional women and young mothers aged between 20 and 40 were most likely to swap public transport journeys for those made on foot. A guide was then produced to help promote walking to the group most likely to be influenced to shift their travel habits.

The booklet outlined the benefits of walking including specific facts about weight loss and mental health benefits. It gave six walking routes around the borough, full of interesting facts and tips to help residents get to know their borough, and the calories they would burn along the way. The purpose of the guide was to make Islington appear exciting and unique thereby motivating residents to get out and walk more. The guide exposed Islington's most interesting areas and the walking routes joining them. It highlighted local shops and points of interest targeted especially to young women. Several successful female residents of the borough were interviewed and asked about their favourite places to walk to.

One of the main themes of the guide was the health benefit of walking. The council therefore launched the guide during January, when many people are motivated to lose weight. The guides were distributed through GP surgeries,

gyms and health centres. They were well received by the borough's walking groups and women's groups.

Feedback for the guide has been excellent. The council monitored the success of the guide by placing evaluation postcards in the guide and offering an ipod to one responder. The feedback revealed that 99% of residents found the guide useful, 100% liked the design and 88% felt it motivated them to walk more. Walk Islington has also received critical acclaim; it won Transport for London's Campaign of the Year in 2007 and has been nominated for Best Travel Marketing at the London Transport Awards 2008.

Surrealist Ethnographies of Walking in the Game of Slight Disturbances

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In the practice of walking in the city, members of the Leeds Surrealist Group create ethnographies of shared and individual experiences that are poetic and fostering of the city's forgotten spaces. During their play of the *Game of Slight Disturbances*, four cardinal objects, previously constructed from the debris of everyday life, become an integral part of walking the ordinary landscape of the city. Ordinary landscape is defined by surrealists as the seemingly banal, insignificant and off the beaten track of the cityscape in which narratives unfold through the juxtaposition of chance encounter with intersubjectivities. A surrealist drift in and out of the city's alleyways, derelict sites, churchyards, graveyards, and doorways evolves an ethnography of walking, found objects and the ordinary, revealing of the possibilities for playful activity in the city that contrast with its more prominent flows. Unbeknown to passers-by, as *The Game of Slight Disturbances* is enacted, participants collectively experience a feeling of wellbeing and of *opening* to what might take place within the *moment*.

- Drawing on critical thinking in cultural geography, and Ben Highmore's study of the ethnographies of everyday practices, this paper responds to the idea of developing a surrealist ethnographic approach to walking in the city. *The Game of slight Disturbances* is discussed, firstly, as an unfolding narrative of simultaneous trails - of recycled objects taken on new journeys from the junk shop or roadside to a participant's home, a surrealist group meeting, then to becoming one part of a cardinal object; the spaces encountered during the game are the sites of unexpected contacts and unanticipated coincidences invoking possible new meanings and alternatives for the city's wasteland spaces. Secondly, the numerous ordinary and banal elements of *The Game of Slight Disturbances* - objects, sites, routes repeatedly walked

over, responses of passers-by - uniquely contribute to the idea of spaces in the city becoming inscribed with a sense of what Henri Lefebvre refers to as '[r]epresentational space that is alive; it speaks. It has an affective kernel or centre ... it embraces the loci of passion, of action, of lived situations,' Lefebvre further describes this as qualitative, fluid and dynamic space. (Lefebvre, 1974/1991:69 in Seigworth, 2000:248). Finally, surrealist games that embody walking practices enchant space through an effort and energy to seek out the marvellous, to capture strangeness, and the production of moments during which the Then and Now join in a kind of constellation, like a flash of lightning. While each stage of the game incorporates an enquiry about the object, the practice of walking, and about space, more significantly, the surrealists' game projects a poetics of their everyday life, demonstrating a sensibility that counteracts tendencies to perform life through sheer habit.

Helsinki's Fateful Esplanade - peripatetic experiences in Finnish Literature at the turn of the 20th Century

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Walking the city in literature has traditionally been a male experience. Since Baudelaire's and Poe's earliest descriptions of the modernist urban experience, the city has most commonly been seen through male protagonists following the incessant heartbeat of the city crowd. In my analysis, I aim at incorporating the distinctly modernist discourse on urban *flânerie* with more recent thoughts on the use of urban public space inspired by a.o. de Certeau and Lefebvre, and informed by the fields of cultural geography and gender studies.

I will focus on the pivotal Esplanade, the central walking avenue in Helsinki at the turn of the century. In my analysis of literary texts by Eino Leino and Arvid Järnefelt, I will evaluate different tactics and practices in walking the city. These tactics range from the flâneur's sense of belonging to the city crowd, through the endeavours of the middle class to establish themselves in the city, to the feelings of uneasiness and alienation felt by marginalised groups in society.

In many Finnish novels of the period, walking or moving in the city is described as a cumbersome affair: in Eino Leino's *Jaana Rönnty* (1907), for example, people trying to move freely in the city get stones thrown at them, bayonets pointed at them, their right to walk in the city is challenged, some are even shot to death and the main character Jaana is arrested and raped when she's unable to explain by what right she is walking along the Esplanade. In the case of *Jaana Rönnty*, the

inability to walk the city is taken to extremes: in the gloomy passage at the end of the novel, Jaana is unable to walk independently, but, completely degenerated, she has to be supported by a helpful priest.

Whenever walking the streets of Helsinki acquires a certain air of self-confidence, peripatetic practices are still rigidly regulated and stratified. The Esplanade is a case in point: it is the central walking promenade for the Helsinki bourgeoisie, and the literary characters (e.g. in Leino's *Olli Suurpää* [1908], and Juhani Aho's *The Parson's Wife* [*Papin Rouva*, 1893]) partaking in the daily routine of the walk along the Esplanade are very much aware of the meaning of their movements. One monologue, recited by the dog of civil servant Olli Suurpää ("Olli Bighead") is particularly revealing: the dog proudly tells how he belongs to the kind of dogs strolling the Esplanade at the appropriate time and in the appropriate fashion. Through walking, these characters intend to establish a sense of belonging, but ironically, their endeavours rather reveal how alien the city is to them, and how restricted their movements in the city in reality are. Walking the Esplanade was subject to unwritten rules: the Swedish-speaking walkers would walk along one side of the Esplanade (the sunny side of the street), while the Finnish-speaking middle class would walk along the opposite side, both sides occasionally engaging in shouting obscenities at each other. When night fell, the Esplanade became a hotbed of sin, where every woman might be approached freely, as happens with dramatic consequences in Leino's *Jaana Rönty* and Järnefelt's *Reminiscences from my youth* (*Nuoruuteni muistelmia*, 1919). It is interesting to note that it is often not outward appearances that give away women as not belonging to their environment, but rather the way they walk, the steps they take. The consequences of being unable to read unwritten walking codes are dramatic: Jaana, who comes from the countryside and has been living for a few years in Helsinki, is mistaken for a prostitute, taken into police custody and raped.

Even when literary characters express a vigorous and enterprising attitude towards walking the city, such as in the novel *Veneh'ojalaiset* (1909) by Arvid Järnefelt, they still set out as strangers to their environment. Hannes, one of the main protagonists in *Veneh'ojalaiset*, is even exploring Helsinki with the idea of literally conquering the capital's strategic locations, since he is planning revolution.

The flâneur - in the strict, Baudelairean sense of the word - does not appear in Finnish-written literature of the period, but can be discerned in Finland-Swedish literature, notably in the literature of the so-called *Dagdrivare* - generation (the *idlers*). This can hardly be called a coincidence: as a small urban upper-class, brushed aside by recent political reforms, conspicuously aware of the fact that their influence in their home country was waning and of their position as a crumbling minority, the condition of loneliness in the city, paradoxically enforced by a sense of belonging, came easily to the Finland-

Swedish upper-class. The resulting novels are rich in observation of the urban spectacle, and its characters are prone to strolls through the cityscape, which carry many of the features of flânerie. The central public spaces in Helsinki are the same as in novels written in Finnish: the Esplanade and its famous restaurant Kappeli, in particular. But they acquire a different meaning, not restraining, but encouraging the city walker.

In analysing these different peripatetic experiences I hope to shed some light on how the city was seen and experienced in literature. Not in the least, I aim at revealing who is allowed to walk in Helsinki at the turn of the 20th century, and by what right.

This paper is part of larger research project, my postgraduate studies at the University of Helsinki (Department of Finnish Literature). The working title of my doctoral thesis is *Imagined and Experienced Helsinki in early 20th century Finnish Prose Literature*. In my research, I focus on the way people walked the literary city, on the peripatetic tactics they used and the unwritten codes they encountered when moving through urban public space.

Session 2: Rural Walking

Walking tidal time-spaces of the Bristol Channel shore; video and autoethnographies of memoried place

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I have love and longing for certain spaces of the Bristol Channel coastline which long predate my academic geography career. I have variously lived by, visited, travelled through, collected references about, photographed, and written about these spaces over many years. Latterly this has become part of my academic practice. My concerns, academic *and* deeply personal, are about place, time, memory and self. But I have never felt that this relationship has been required. I have long felt a walk, or walking was the answer - the thing to aim for. Some walk or walks which become(s) the centre of the process of non-representation of my concerns and longings. But how to do this precisely? Somehow it seems important to walk with the tides which are at the heart of my affective(ed) knowledge of these places - walk on the very margin of land/sea in its ceaseless cycle. How to walk with the tides; at high tide, low tide, spring tides, neap tides? This paper will explore aspects (practical and theoretical) of these autoethnographic tidal walks. Photography, archival montage and experimental digital video extracts of 'tide walks' will be used as part of the autoethnographic methodology.

Wylie (2007) urges us to heed the personal in our experience of landscape. I am taking this seriously. Walking - an inevitably person-in-landscape process seems a good way of doing this. Walking 'the rural', in some form or other, has some notable examples: in **performance art**, (see Heddon's 'Autobiography and Performance' (2008) for a great review of artist performances of autotopography based upon walking); **literature** (Sebald, Sinclair) and academic **sociology/geography** (Edensor, Wylie). An These establish the complexity and richness of walking in that it is obviously an affective embodied, performative act, but also act of culture and discipline, and also, importantly, an act of imagination. The very act of bodily rhythm, coupled with the intimate orchestration between body and environment in affective motor and sensitive processes, not only opens up the present for contemplation and savouring (in one form or other), but at the same time opens up the past, and imaginative spaces. This is the remarkable fabric of Sebald's *Rings of Saturn*, where the walk and its spaces are an intermittent thread to a 'narrative' which visits many other places and times. Why this should be so I suspect is a matter of physiological psychology - the process/rhythm of walking in landscape animating the brain and

the self in relation to it - in ways which generate emotive, affective and imaginative opportunities or demands or impulses. (Walking is thus very different from thinking/being when sitting, or moving by other means (car/train). The complex rhythms of walking produce patterning conducive to our sensibilities (like music??).

I am interested in: the way time /space/self are at once centered and decentred through walking; the complex animations (the music) of walking (e.g. change of course and incline, speed variation, stopping to consider, turning/tilting one's head/eyes as one goes), the way our bodies/senses make walking/ed landscapes (e.g. the relationship between the scope of our sight and movement); how walking also creates a sensible parallax (unlike the faster movement of cars and trains). All these create a very rich person-landscape orchestration in which the becomings of walking (self) unfold and which offer affective, imaginative opportunities.

As promised above, I try to work through these ideas with examples of walking the Severn Estuary shore, in relation to the tides, and with video clips of those walks. But the process of videoing walks has not turned out quite as planned, but it does help (I think) to open up some of the questions and issues raised above. The presentation will involve a series of video clips from walks accompanied by voice and text overs.

Performing Journeys: Walking and devotion in the Middle Ages

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Historic Scotland, Edinburgh

This presentation focuses on ways of investigating past walking practices and experiences. My principal case-study is the long-distance route to Santiago de Compostela in north-western Spain. One of the great devotional journeys of the Middle Ages, this pilgrimage involved millions of people walking immense distances through unknown landscapes, drawn by a belief in the spiritual profit of the journey.

Although the route itself is well mapped and documented, the experiential aspect of the pilgrimage remains poorly understood. How potent was the physicality of the pilgrimage as a catalyst for religious transformation? How did pilgrims perceive the diverse topography of the route as they moved along the path?

A season of fieldwork in Spain convinced me of the importance of a phenomenological approach to the landscape and material culture of the route. By factoring in the idea of movement, the sentient participant and the physical process of walking, it became possible to envisage the route as a sequence of unfolding bodily encounters with meaningful places. Walking was not simply a mode of travel, but a performed and choreographed ritual through which the transformative potential of the evocative and symbolic landscapes could be realised.

Using examples from my fieldwork, my talk will address key themes, namely :

- The rhythm of the long-distance journey - moving towards, arriving and leaving
- The perception of the medieval landscape
- Crossing thresholds and ritual transformations
- Phenomenology and mapping experience in the landscape

Walking the borderlands: performing self and landscape in Kilvert's Diary

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Described by John Betjeman as 'the best picture of quiet vicarage life in Victorian England that has yet been given us', the Rev. Francis Kilvert's Diary - set in the Welsh Border Country of the 1870s - tends to be associated with the calm, reassuring stillness of a rural idyll. Yet 'stillness' is probably the least appropriate word to describe Kilvert and his journal. Kilvert was an inveterate walker, securing a reputation for endurance and stamina even by the standards of a time when it was the most common form of transport. Kilvert's Diary was also, by definition, an inherently transient text, recounting a succession of unfolding double moments of writing and [remembered] experience. In this paper, I use the diary to explore some of the connections between the forms of narration and performance of self and landscape made possible by walking through the countryside on the one hand and by compiling a countryside journal on the other. I suggest that Wylie's (2005, 237) description of the countryside walker lying continually "...poised between the country ahead and the country behind, between one step and the next...perpetually caught in an apparitional process of arriving/departing" is equally true of the transitory, momentary narrative of Kilvert's journal. Both forms of narrative are dynamic and uncertain, and both are characterised by the pervading sense of immanent

possibility and betweenness invoked by the idea of the borderland. By walking through the countryside and writing about his experiences in journal form, Kilvert effected an unfolding and interweaving of different narratives of self and landscape, one which repeatedly invokes concerns with movement, performance and embodiment as well as their cultural representation. Two particular examples of this are highlighted in the paper: first a form of 'self-improvement-through-landscape' (in which Kilvert deliberately set out to construct a desired self-image, through the pages of his journal and through his direct experience of the border countryside, in ways that reaffirmed his Christian faith and intensified his romanticism); and second a more spontaneous and occasionally disturbing 'erotics of landscape' (in which the diarist allowed himself to be distracted and consumed by sensuous desire). In this way, some of the tensions and contradictions of Kilvert's 'borderland self' are revealed; contradictions produced and performed through the act of walking and writing and encapsulated in the strange, autobiographical entry he made for 20th June 1871: "An angel-satyr walks these hills".

Claiming rights to rural space through material and discursive practices' of walking

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This paper concerns the material and discursive practices of walking as particular ways of claiming and appropriating rural space, and the combination of legal, institutional and moral geographies that help bound who may walk where, and how they may do it. Walking practices constitute a long established way of enacting rights to rural space, a principal mode of contemporary rural recreation, and a set of culturally proscribed activities with dominant identities, roles, and norms. However, changing social and legal circumstances present both opportunities and threats to established peripatetic practices. The contemporary context in which such claims must be made and defended involves a growing diversity of people, practices and technologies, increasingly as part of commercial endeavours or organised-events. In Scotland, these changes have to a certain extent been codified in access legislation as part of the Land Reform (Scotland) Act 2003. By examining the combination of legislation, codes of conduct and moral norms that shape the appropriation of rural space in Scotland, this paper explores what it is about particular ways of walking, and the particular values, experiences, knowledges and identities associated with them, that allows particular claims to be asserted and legitimated, whilst others are undermined.

A single evening's walking: negotiating capital and geopolitics on the urban section of the South West Coast Path

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Walking a section of England's South West Coastal Path forms the point of departure for a recent paper exploring meanings and experiences of landscape, subjectivity and spatiality. With antecedents in several decades of humanistic geography and immersed in more recent work on performance and subjectivity and the critical rethinking of the essence of being in places John Wylie (2005, 234):

...details various affinities and distanciations of self and landscape which emerge in the course of walking a fairly wild, lonely and demanding stretch of the Path. The paper thus works within a particular narrative and topographic frame: it tells the story of a single day's walking...4th July 2002.

In a lively exchange, Mark Blacksell (2005) admires Wylie's poetics and enthusiasm, whilst pointing out that:

'Had it been rooted more securely in the wider literature on the coastal landscape, particularly relating to the South West Peninsula, and had it made more explicit reference to some of the political realities surrounding access to the countryside, then it would have been far easier to relate to its general case'.

Wyle (2005, 522) responds with a defence of talking about landscape 'in terms of the materialities and sensibilities *with which we see...*'

With this exchange in mind, this paper considers what happens when the walking and writing is done on an urban section of the same path? The existence of a critical literature on strolling in urban space opens up possibilities and politics. Forty plus years of critical urban and economic geography excavating the urbanization of capital reinforce critical possibilities for narrating such a walk. And, whilst none of these were in my rucksack (or rather, plastic bag) as I made it, they were next to my computer as I wrote the notes which form the basis for this paper. Since then, the question of *who* I walked with has become central.

Session 3: Walking as method

Walking as 'a way of life': homeless people picture their day

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This presentation examines walking as a way of collecting data using still photography. Rather than see walking as integral with a kind of method - or ready-made technique - I want to suggest that whatever walking 'is' emerges in the course of producing (not just analysing) the data. This means that not only are data coloured by the approach taken, but that the approach becomes figured in the data.

To make this case I present some photographs made by homeless people in London, who were asked to take pictures of their everyday surroundings. These individuals walked to take their pictures, and they used their photographs to explain the amount of walking that homeless people do. The idea of these respondents providing a 'tour' (de Certeau) is a useful concept to explain the way that many of them 'storied' their lives; completed walks became the threads of stories that wove together past and present. Tales of different modes of walking sustained different kinds of activity, both the pleasurable and the enforced and, in turn, were used to explain the significance of some of the photographs taken (including difficult ones as well as those impossible to capture). Included in the kinds of walking I describe are walking as means, as condition and as occasion.

Life on the streets reveals walking in all its complexity, from being a necessity, a definition of locale, a hazardous encounter with the authorities, to being a 'small adventure torn from life' (Simmel). And in this special context, walking - seen as 'moving on' - is explained as the last resort of the homeless person who wishes to remain marginal and invisible.

Whether walking is actually a method in the usual sense of the word - I am not at all sure. I see walking as more of an approach, in relation to which methods and techniques - like visual ones - can be employed.

What is special about walking as part of research is that it tears at the fabric of symbols and voiced conventions to produce traces and dissonances that invite repair - repair through 'storying' the journeys made. This might be done by an individual or by people together, and equally can involve the researcher in this production. What the researcher then draws upon are traces shared with

respondents, made with them in the small journeys that it takes to frame a picture and to talk about it afterwards.

Mobile interviews: More than walking and talking?

Andrew Clark and Nick Emmel

National Centre for Research Methods: Real Life Methods Node

In *Connected Lives* we are seeking to investigate networks, neighbourhoods, and communities in a putative geographical area with a socially, economically, and culturally diverse population. **Walking interviews** are one of three methods we are using with participants in this research. The other methods are participatory mapping and a day-diary and interview which we link to a range of other quantitative and ethnographic methods.

In the walking interview we pre-arrange with participants to "show us around their neighbourhood". The walk is sound-recorded and transcribed, participants are given disposable cameras, and we map the walk onto a base map of the area ($n=29$, of which 2 were car journeys, and 6 with key-informants). We note that all our participants have planned their walk carefully beforehand. Even so some of participants have got lost. The longest walk took 5 hours, with several stops, the shortest walk was 15 minutes long.

Even with this huge difference of scale similar themes emerge in all the walking interviews. We note that getting lost is not surprising. The walks often comprise a route linking important places like pubs, shops, or friends' houses. Participants show us their intimate geographies. In doing so, they demonstrate how the neighbourhood acts as both backdrop and enabler of every-day practices and extra-ordinary events.

We do not approach the routes we are taken on as being in some way indicative of the spatial capabilities of the participants but rather accept that the neighbourhood(s) we are presented with are, in part, a construct of the method. That said, where we are taken, and just as importantly, where we are not taken, reveal how different individuals, and social groups, construct intimate geographies of the neighbourhood. For example, we are shown familiar places where participants feel 'in place' and we hear about (and are sometimes shown) 'no go' areas for the different social groups in the area: 'No go' areas for student and non-student residents can be quite different for example. We also learn the ways in which different individuals are embedded within local places, and the extent to which individuals' network ties and communities lie outside the confines of the neighbourhood.

The walking interviews provide the stimulus for participants to develop stories about their lives and their places. These spatial biographies draw on history, experience, and stories heard from others in their networks, neighbourhoods, and communities which are directly related to emplaced individuals and landmarks. We also gain insights into embodied practices, including how participants walk through or appear in place; social practices, including bumping into friends and acquaintances; and material practices, including how networks and community groups are maintained through the physical and institutional infrastructures of the neighbourhood.

We have identified a number of important issues relating to method. We are taken on different walks in different weather conditions. Anonymity is an issue for some participants who don't want to be seen in the neighbourhood with a university researcher. And we have considered the participatory nature of our research. We are seeking to give participants the opportunity to control the research encounter, but some do not want this responsibility.

In conclusion, walking interviews have been used to understand space, place, and environment and how these are worked over in the fluidity every-day life. Our experience is of creating data through walking interviews where the accounts relate directly to place. These accounts emphasise the ways in which participants interact materially, socially, and in embodied practices in creating, maintaining, and disassembling networks, neighbourhoods, and communities.

The Phenomenology of Perceived Precarious Places: understanding spaces of risk using a "walk-along" approach

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This presentation proposes an interdisciplinary approach in addressing perceived places of risk, elicited emotions derived from space (particularly that of fear) and the use of walking in urban environments as a mode of social research. A key research goal is to find appropriate amends to successfully bring together an integrative approach of social research drawn from geography, urban sociology, the sociology of emotion and, of primary interest to this presentation, the sociology of deviance/criminology.

Criminological research seldom draws upon empirical practices within geography (Ferrell 2001; Jenk & Neves 2000), particularly that of

cultural and psycho geography, to investigate new approaches to the city through ethnographic methods of knowing spaces of danger and risk. With the city being a dominant space of contention within criminology, the employment of "walk-along" interviews with ethnic minority women in a socio-economically deprived neighbourhood in the southeast United States has yielded rich qualitative data that reaches beyond the scope of conventional spatial knowledge of dangerous places. Reflecting from six months of field research, the chief ambition of studying women in deprived neighbourhoods was to uncover spaces of fear and risk perceived by the female residents. Through the process of walking with respondents, as originally put forth by urban sociologist Kusenbach (2003) as the 'go-along' method, the targeted city space opened up to expose the women's biographical histories and emotional relationships to space. This method proves valuable as the women were able to use symbolic indicators in the environment to recall space-based incidents, proceeded with accounts of their experiences and responses. Moreover, the women's negotiation of space and the navigated routes of their journey contributed to the construction of a cognitive map of risk, developing another stratum to their spatial practices. While this approach assists in constructing a story that is not a romanticised vision of space, it does venture into narrative constructions of victimisation.

This exploratory exercise presents the opportunity to enhance the socio-cultural construction of dangerous spaces far beyond the practices often used in the criminological discipline. In conclusion, the 'walk-along' approach assists the criminological perspective by reintroducing the most fundamental features of human predicaments (Kane 2004) in the problems of crime and control, and in understanding how emotional responses shape the perception of space.

Rescue Geography: developing the walking interview

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Phil Jones and Jane Ricketts Hein (School of Geography, Earth and Environmental Sciences, University of Birmingham)

This paper reports on a research project which seeks to capture people's understandings of the Digbeth & Deritend ('Eastside') district of Birmingham before it is redeveloped. The idea is to

produce something a bit like rescue archaeology, where people go in and record the remains of a landscape before they're destroyed by a major development, except in our case we're recording people's recollections, rather than traces of buildings. In the Eastside district of Birmingham construction work is just beginning on a long-term project which will completely change the face of the area, and we are using it to pilot walking interviews as a research method. Because we're geographers, we're really interested in how being in a particular place affects the way people think about it, so instead of just collecting people's stories whilst sitting in a cafe somewhere, we're asking people to give us guided tours of the area, recording what they say and - using GPS technology - where they say it. The primary research technique being assessed is that of the walked interview. Little work has been undertaken evaluating the effectiveness of being 'in' a particular place with an informant to stimulate their discussion of that area. The informants will be divided into three groups: the first will participate solely in a walked interview; the second solely in a traditional (stationary) interview; and the third group will be interviewed twice in both a traditional and walked context. Content analysis of interview transcripts will be used to examine whether different themes emerge from the stationary and walked interviews. Analysing the interviews from the third group will expose how themes develop through the two different interview forms.

The use of tablet PCs enabled with GPS ('sat nav') technologies during the interviews will record the extent to which comments about particular spaces/buildings are made in/adjacent to them. Combining these tracks with 'contour' maps of ambient noise will permit an examination of whether certain areas are explored in less detail because of the noise from traffic and other sources interfering with the interview process. This precise matching of qualitative data and spatial context is highly innovative and offers an opportunity to give a 'voice' to the otherwise impersonal traces left by GPS tracking. This precise matching of qualitative data and spatial context allows the methodology of walked interview to be rigorously assessed, and offers an opportunity to give a 'voice' to the otherwise impersonal traces left by GPS tracking.

Everyone interviewed for the Rescue Geography project will be offered the opportunity to have their photo taken. The idea is to place the portraits in the landscape of the area, in a location on the walked

interview route identified as important by the interviewee. The photos will try to combine individual and location so as to reflect on the way we construct memories and place. Alongside the interviews, we're collecting together historic images of this area and are hoping to collaborate with the Photographic Archive at Birmingham Central Library to put together some materials for our end of project exhibition. We've also been collecting more personal photos from our interviewees. These materials will complement our own analyses and form as part of an exhibition to coincide with the end of the project in September 2008 that aims to input into the planning process of the areas regeneration.

The paper will look at the theory, technology, and practice of using mobile methods, first outlining the emerging body of work on mobile methods, and then reflecting upon our experiences of piloting this research method in the field. Preliminary outputs from the project will be presented in order to (hopefully) stimulate discussion on potential methods of analysis and future directions for this research.

Learning from children through accompanied walks: mobile ethnographies in sub-Saharan Africa

Gina Porter, Kate Hampshire, Albert Abane, Alister Munthali, Elsbeth Robson and Mac Mashiri (Universities of Durham, Cape Coast and Malawi and CSIR, Pretoria).

This paper draws on findings from an ongoing ESRC/DFID-funded research project on child mobility in three sub-Saharan African countries. Accompanied walks have become one of the key research methods in this child-centred research project, which has both adult researcher and child researcher strands. At the start of the project, adult researchers often found interviews with children rather unsatisfactory. Sometimes the interviews were punctuated by awkward silences; generally the researchers felt interchange was inhibited by the inequalities of the perceived power relationship; frequently the children also had tasks which had to be accomplished and which were delayed by engaging in the interview. In some cases parents who have given permission for the interview hovered, adding to the tension. Mobile interviews, conducted during a regular walk, whether accompanying children from school back home at the end of day, to the water point, to the grinding mill, or to the forest to collect firewood, have provided an opportunity for more companionable conversational exchanges, in which narratives gradually unfold.

The paper draws principally on detailed descriptions of accompanied walks made by adult researchers with 18 teenage children on the journey home from school, conducted during our pilot studies in four locations (i.e. four accompanied walks, mostly over 5 km). The children's narratives illustrate how physical environment, culture, socio-economic context, gender and age help shape the diverse pattern of activities that take place during these walks and how, in turn, such activities may help shape the lives and life chances of the young people concerned.

The latter part of the paper examines the use of the accompanied walk method by the 'child' researchers in our project. The seventy young researchers aged 10-18 years participating in the project have also chosen to use accompanied walks as one component of their methodological repertoire. Child researchers in some cases observed similar limitations with the accompanied walk as their older counterparts: the occasional difficulties of obtaining parental and child permissions, especially where the walk involves cross-gender interaction, and the time involved in undertaking long, exhausting walks, especially where these cross difficult terrain.

Nonetheless, both adult and child researchers have gained valuable material through their accompanied walks. These walks are helping us to penetrate and explore the lived experiences of children's mobile worlds where stationery description is difficult, giving child respondents the space to offer their own interpretation of their journeys, and the opportunity to express feelings and fears on their own terms. Insights into children's daily lives, fears and hopes gained through the accompanied walks will hopefully allow us to build a more robust and realistic framework of understanding of children's experiences of mobility in the everyday. The walks have also become a key training tool for adult Research Assistants employed on the project (many of whom have spent much of their lives in urban or relatively accessible rural settings), sensitising them in particular to the very severe constraints faced by children who live in remote rural areas, not least the lived reality of a 5 km walk every day to and from school.

Session 3: Walking as method (cont)

The practice of soundwalking as a methodological tool

Mags Adams

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Soundwalking is a practice that was devised by R. Murray Schafer, when he established the World Soundscape Project at Simon Fraser University during the late 1960s and early 1970s. It is an empirical method for identifying a soundscape and components of a soundscape in various locations. In the EPSRC-funded Positive Soundscapes Project we have utilised and adapted this concept of soundwalking into a sociological methodology for identifying and understanding people's experiences and perceptions of the acoustic urban environment. Our soundwalk is a walk around an urban area where the senses are directed towards the sounds that are heard rather than the more commonplace sights that are viewed. We focus on everyday practices, as people move around and within the city environment with a view to understanding their professional and/or personal impressions of the relationships between the soundscape and the built infrastructure. This paper addresses the issue of walking in the city as a sensory experience and reflects on the utility of soundwalking as a methodological practice.

(Re)Engaging Space: Exploring everyday practices of tolerance on foot

Helen Wilson

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This paper emerges from a concern with the recent body of work informed by the performative ethos and its concurrent demand for new modes of engagement with how individuals inhabit their worlds through everyday practice and emergent encounters (Latham 2003). More specifically, the paper explores the use of walking as a tool of research within a study concerned with the spatially contingent practices of tolerance as a specific form of relation with difference. In so doing, the paper seeks to respond to the urgent need for a method that can take forward recent concerns with the conceptually problematic concept of

tolerance to attend to the 'more grounded demands of contemporary multiculturalism and its challenge to walk 'in-step' with something notionally known as cosmopolitanism' (Jazeel 2007). In noting the tensions between the abstraction of moral contemplation and the informal politics of living together, the paper prioritises a concern with the lived present, which is necessarily approached as 'an open-ended generative process' (Harrison 2000). In prioritising the 'encounter', the paper takes its departure from recent concerns with the mundane, fleeting and fragmentary composition of everyday multiculturalism, and the instincts, events, auras, rhythms, flows and codes that characterise an ontology of becoming (Lorimer 2007). Through an engagement with such concerns, the paper looks to a series of recent cases of psychogeographical experiments as a means of analysing urban ambiances and the relationships between cities and behaviour. The paper then details the collaborative possibilities of such work through a more sustained engagement with the experimental 'go-along' methods of Kusenbach (2003). The paper will then present a series of empirical moments in which the embodied art of walking became attentive to the mundane, affective and ephemeral dimensions of urban multiculturalism and emergent encounters with difference through a case study of Birmingham, UK. The paper concludes by suggesting that in addition to harnessing place more affectively within empirical research, urban walking and go-along interviews can go some way to trouble the normative assumptions of tolerance as a form of regulation. Here then, urban walking might offer a series of situated perspectives attentive to the micro-socialities of habitual encounters with difference that are entangled with personal biographies and memories, which variously support, disrupt and foster the practice of tolerating difference.

Walking into coincident places

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This paper suggests that walking as a practice can engage with the knowledge of people-in-places that is often the focus of geographical inquiry. Through using walking-and-talking effectively, qualitative methods can be enhanced by engaging with, or calling forth, particular worlds through practice. The paper suggests that such walking can be considered a form of 'dwelling' (following Ingold, 1993), a practice which immerses individuals within a locational context and reveals or discloses a

range of lived worlds. Following the approach of Anderson (forthcoming), these worlds are constituted by imbroglios of traces, both material (for example 'things' such as buildings, signs, statues, graffiti), and non-material (for example, activities, events, performances or emotions). Such worlds can therefore be seen but also sensed in other ways (we can hear them, smell them, even taste them or feel them), as well as being able to think on them, reflect on them, and perhaps - in our more sentimental moments - reminisce about them. Traces are therefore durable in places, both in a material sense (they have longevity due to their solidity and substance as things), but also due to their non-material substance (they may leave indelible marks on our memory or mind). In engaging with these worlds we are, therefore, calling forth imbroglios of the contemporary and historical, real and imagined, material and metaphysical. This creation, discovery, revisiting and remembering of places through the practice of talking-whilst-walking is illustrated in this paper through empirical examples from Phoenix Park, Dublin.

Drawing on data gathered during a three year ethnography in Phoenix Park, Dublin this paper engages with people's embodied practices uncovered through the means and method of walking. Each encounter took the researcher on a different path through the Park, a personal walk that engaged with the events, emotions, memories and artefacts that constitute their places. This paper presents accounts of visitors who walked into discovered Parks, bimbled into revisited Parks, and walked down their own Park Lane of memory.

From this evidence the paper puts forth the argument that places can be understood as coincidences. Places are coincidences of events, emotions, memories and artefacts remarkable for being simultaneous and connected. The practice of walking as a method of embodied knowledge is a key tool that harnessed appropriately can facilitate the production of some of these places of lived experience.

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