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A study of walking and walkability through a spatial justice/spatial practice framework, in Maylands, Western Australia

Tina Askam

Edith Cowan University

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A study of walking and walkability through a spatial justice/spatial practice framework, in Maylands, Western Australia

This thesis is presented for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Tina Askam

Edith Cowan University
School of Arts and Humanities

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ABSTRACT

Recent studies have focused on the benefits of walking to health, wellbeing, creativity and social capital. However, apart from select ethnographic observations on walking as a distinct spatial practice (J. Lee & Ingold, 2006), there is a paucity of studies that investigate the ways in which walkers and space interact. Most importantly, there has been a distinct lack of attention to pedestrian perspectives and experiences in theory and in policy on walkability (Middleton, 2011, 2016).

Notable theorists have demonstrated the benefits of participatory walking practices as a conversive and convivial methodology for performance research (Myers, 2009), for intergenerational urban pedagogy (L. G. Phillips & Hickey, 2013), and for investigations into everyday experience (Bendiner-Viani, 2009). This study builds on this research by employing walking as a participatory research method to investigate walking as a distinct spatial practice.

There has been a recent call for the development of methods to interrogate mobility inequities (Sheller, 2016). The need for a critical approach to the production of walkable neighbourhoods has also been identified (Zavestoski & Agyeman, 2015). This thesis contributes knowledge to both of these problems by investigating walking and walkability through a spatial justice/spatial practice approach. This work also problematises the commodification of walkability and, as a result, highlights participants’ values of everyday walking practices.

This investigation used participatory walking research methods, employing walking interviews and walking workshops. Data was collected from inhabitants, aged 5 – 80, from Maylands, an inner urban suburb of Perth, Western Australia.

A theoretical model for spatial justice in spatial practice is developed from the research data. The model integrates three identified core values of spatial practice: accessibility, interactions and belonging. The knowledge contributed by this thesis can inform a holistic approach to walking and walkability that achieves the outcome of greater spatial resilience for inhabitants.
DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not, to the best of my knowledge and belief:

i. incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any institution of higher education;

ii. contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text of this thesis; or

iii. contain any defamatory material

7/05/2017

The referencing style of this thesis is
American Psychological Association (APA) 6th Edition
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1.1 Establishing a context

Since the beginning of the 21st century, there has been an increased focus on walking and walkability. The health and social benefits of walking (Dobson, 2011; Leyden, 2003; Turrell, Haynes, L. Wilson, & Giles-Corti, 2013; Van Dyck et al., 2010; Van Holle et al., 2014) and the environmental and economic benefits of walkable cities (Boyle, Barrilleaux, & Scheller, 2014; Lowe et al., 2015; Matan, 2011; Speck, 2012) have been promoted in research and policy. This has coincided with increased demand for walkable city and suburban neighbourhoods (Speck, 2012). Recently, researchers have argued that much walkability theory and policy positions walking as “a largely self-evident phenomenon” (Middleton, 2016, p. 9). Other researchers have argued that the possible negative implications of an uncritical approach to walking and walkability have not been given due attention (Talen & Koschinsky, 2013; Zavestoski & Agyeman, 2015). Moreover, there has been a lack of empirical research undertaken to garner the perspectives of pedestrians (Middleton, 2016, p. 9).

As walkable neighbourhoods have become more attractive real estate, critics have warned of their “potential to stimulate unintended consequences such as gentrification and displacement” (Talen & Koschinsky, 2013, p. 53). Inner urban suburbs in Australian cities are undergoing significant change due to ongoing urban renewal, gentrification, and decades of public housing restructure (Iotti, Steele, Sipe, & Dodson, 2015). It is within these shifting conditions, that this interdisciplinary thesis explores walking and walkability through a spatial justice/spatial practice framework. Maylands, an inner urban suburb in Perth, Western Australia, is used as a case study.
1.2 Stating the problem

Without an appreciation of how the production of space privileges some inhabitants\(^1\) and disadvantages others, and without greater understanding of the ways people engage with the city by walking, the movement to create walkable urban spaces could reproduce mobility inequities (D. J. Lee, 2015, p. 78; Norton, 2015). Processes of urban spatial production that commodify walkability can lead to gentrification and thus, expose vulnerable inhabitants to exclusion and displacement (Talen & Koschinsky, 2013). Gentrification is complex, but can be briefly defined as a process whereby local and global forces of spatial production result in an influx of more affluent inhabitants into a neighbourhood, which further contributes to increases in both residential and commercial property values (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2010, pp. 3-6). This can result in the displacement of long-term inhabitants on lower to moderate incomes (Lees et al., 2010, pp. 3-6). Urban renewal projects in inner city and middle suburban areas of Australian cities have been linked to gentrification. It has been argued that this has contributed to a shortfall in affordable housing (Iotti et al., 2015).

A purported link between walkability and increasing house prices has been reported widely (Gilderbloom, Riggs, & Meares, 2015; Talen & Koschinsky, 2013), and often discussed as a key benefit of walkable neighbourhoods (Speck, 2012; Tolley, 2011). However, the relationship between walkability and increasing house prices, gentrification, and the potential displacement of inhabitants from inner city and suburban walkable neighbourhoods has received little attention (Talen & Koschinsky, 2013; Zavestoski & Agyeman, 2015). Notable studies have investigated precedents and processes of maintaining affordable housing in inner urban, walkable, transport connected areas within competitive neoliberal urban economies (Martel et al., 2013; Pollack, Bluestone, & Billingham, 2010; Whitzman, 2015a). Nonetheless, in the Australian context, with limited federal government funded social housing, and a homeowner’s culture, “essential conflicts about shelter as a right, versus shelter as a source of profit” continue (Whitzman, 2015, Conclusion section, para. 4).

\(^1\) In this thesis I have chosen to use the term inhabitants over residents to include those who spend time in a space but do not reside there, as well as those who may not have a place to reside.
Recently, it has been argued that it is necessary to adopt “a Foucauldian approach” (Sheller, 2016, p. 27) to the investigation of the microcosmic power apparatus behind the production of current “unequal mobility systems and uneven spatialities” (2016, p. 28). This approach supports the recent argument of Zavestoski and Agyeman (2015) that the application of abstract objectives, including walkability, without critical engagement with extant inequities and marginalised inhabitants, can lead to a reinforcement of spatial injustice.

The topic of walking crosses many academic disciplines. Importantly, however, there has been little interdisciplinary research of walking and walkability. Instead, a disjuncture between research studies that approach “walking as a subject” and those that employ “walking as a method” has abided (Middleton, 2011, p. 100). Moreover, there is untapped potential in investigating the walking practices employed in artistic and performative research to aid greater understanding of walking and walkability (Middleton, 2011, p. 101). In addition, policies and research undertaken to promote walking and walkability have, in the main, been design focused and paid scant attention to pedestrians’ everyday walking practices (Middleton, 2011, p. 92).

Therefore, in this thesis, an interdisciplinary, participatory and constructivist approach is adopted with the intention to promote a deeper awareness of inhabitants’ understanding and experiences of walking. By employing walking as the principal method of data collection as well as the research topic, it is an intention of this study to establish a holistic approach to walkability that has been lacking in current research.

1.3 Aim and scope of the study

The aim of this thesis is to investigate walking and walkability through a spatial justice/spatial practice framework. Spatial justice is a term applied to a consideration of justice from a spatial context (Soja, 2009, para. 4) with particular consideration given to the “geography of injustice” (Bromberg, Morrow, & Pfieffer, 2007, p. 2). Spatial practice, according to Lefebvre (1991), consists of the bodily actions that ensure a “continuity”, “cohesion”, and “competence” within social and physical space (p. 33). It is the “lived” constituent of the production of space: what
inhabitants perceive or interpret as “urban reality” (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 33-38). For the purpose of this thesis, walking is considered a spatial practice.

The concepts of spatial justice and spatial practice are central to this thesis. In his seminal text, Soja (2010) argued that a comprehensive study of spatial justice needs to advance from theorising to “actual practice” (p. 68). This prompts further investigation into the links between spatial justice and spatial practice. Theorists have considered walking as a spatial practice that connects inhabitants to space and facilitates knowledge and understanding of space (de Certeau, 1984; Demerath & Levinger, 2003). While a variety of definitions of walkability have been suggested, usually concerning elements of urban design (Matan, 2011; Talen & Koschinsky, 2013), this thesis will use a definition of walkability informed by a spatial practice approach. Walkability is, in its broadest sense, how conducive a space is to walking. It is the interaction between space and walking that is of interest in this thesis. Because of this, walking is approached as a distinct spatial practice, both as an investigative tool and the subject under analysis.

The study is situated in Maylands, an inner urban established suburb of Perth, Western Australia. Perth has been reported as the one of the lowest density cities on the planet (P. Newman, 2014) and recent plans to counteract this sprawl have necessitated urban consolidation with higher infill targets for inner urban suburbs such as Maylands (Department of Planning & Western Australian Planning Commission, 2010, p. 27). Although Maylands has developed as a suburb with diversity in housing choice and affordability, its proximity to the city and public transport, and recent urban renewal projects (Finbar Apartments, 2016; Thomson, 2009) have put upward pressure on commercial and residential property prices. Maylands is currently in a process of gentrification.

Inhabitants who do not own a car, those who use mobility aids, the young and old, and women can have inequitable access to mobility, hence, representatives from each of these marginalised groups were recruited into this study. A multi-aged sample was recruited but children, age 8 – 11, and seniors, aged 60 – 80, were specifically targeted for their reported reliance on walkable neighbourhoods for independent mobility, health and wellbeing (Babb, 2014; Garrard, 2013; Hillman, Adams, & Whitelegg, 1990; Nathan, Wood, & Giles-Corti, 2013; O'Brien, Jones, Sloan, & Rustin, 2000; Ottoni, Sims-Gould, Winters, Heijnen, & McKay, 2016;
Further inequities play out in space and mobility, as is discussed in Chapter 2, however, it was beyond the scope and resources of this study to recruit representatives from all marginalised groups within the area.

Although this thesis engages practically with space and inhabitants at the street level, global and digital space cannot be excluded from discussions of spatial justice. Space, as lived daily, does not distinguish between local/global and face-to-face/mediated relations (Massey, 2005, pp. 184-185). To compound this point, recent debates on spatial justice have focused on information technology, including the impact of the application of algorithmic technologies, such as Smart Cities (Rodrigues, 2016). Social space is now both digital and physical. However, as this study focuses on physical spatial practice, digital space is considered only in relation to its impact on physical space and spatial practices.

1.4 Research questions

The central research question of this study addresses the methodology, as walking is both the method employed, and the topic of investigation. This question also engages the spatial justice/spatial practice approach:

Research Question 1: How can a participatory walking methodology engage inhabitants in issues of spatial justice?

The secondary research questions also address the spatial practice of walking but focus on the qualitative data to be collected through the walking practices, within the contexts of gentrification and the commodification of walkability:

Research Question 2: How can walking be investigated as a tool to decommodify everyday spatial practices?

Research Question 3: How can walking be investigated as a spatial practice to cultivate spatial resilience?

1.5 Significance of the study

Middleton argued “there remains a disconnect between different bodies of research addressing different dimensions associated with walking” (2011, p. 90). It is an objective of this thesis to address this gap by synthesising theories on walking and
walkability from a spatial justice perspective, with literature that approaches walking as a distinct spatial practice. Problem focused research can benefit from an interdisciplinary approach because a range of theory and methods can be applied to investigating the problem without being tied to discipline related outcomes. Bendiner-Viani (2009) suggested that disciplines could “use each other’s tools” in order to generate new knowledge (p. 3). It is the intention of this study to apply this interdisciplinary approach to develop a research methodology that can contribute knowledge from a pedestrian’s perspective.

The knowledge derived from this thesis is intended to contribute to theory, practice, method, and policy considerations in four ways. First, the extant literature on spatial justice, spatial practice, and walking from multiple disciplines will be compared and considered so as to inform a research practice with a spatial justice framework. Second, the commodification of walkability will be re-evaluated from this perspective. Third, a spatial practice approach is applied to bring to light the complexity and potency of everyday walking. Fourth, this spatial justice/spatial practice approach to data collection and analysis will incorporate Constructivist Grounded Theory methods to acknowledge the subjectivities of participants.

The intention of this four-staged approach is to investigate how walking practices can contribute to spatial resilience. Resilience can be described as competence in the face of risk and adversity (Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000), and spatial resilience\(^2\) includes the capacity to resist displacement, “to stay put” (K. Newman & Wyly, 2006, p. 23) in the face of gentrification. It is an intended outcome of this study to contribute knowledge on walking and spatial resilience to address shortcomings in the promotion of walkability.

1.5.1 Spatialising theory: Taking theory to the streets

Although many studies have commendably approached research with a view to addressing spatial and mobility inequities (Cresswell, 2010, 2012; Hillman et al., 1990; Miciukiewicz & Vigar, 2012; O’Brien et al., 2000; Shaw et al., 2015; Sheller, 2016; Whitzman, 2007, 2013), only a small number of published studies have overtly investigated how mobile research methodologies can generate new

\(^2\) The definition of spatial resilience in this study is elaborated further in Chapter 3.
knowledge in this area (Cook, Whitzman, & Tranter, 2015; Myers, 2006, 2009; L. G. Phillips & Hickey, 2013; Sobers, 2015; Whitzman, James, & Poweseu, 2013). By applying a spatial justice framework to investigating walking and walkability, this study intends to gain greater spatialised understanding of how walking and walkability can be promoted without reinforcing injustice and inequities.

For close to half a century, theorists have stated that participation in the production of urban space is fundamental in exercising the right to the city (Harvey, 2012; Harvey & Wachsmuth, 2012; Lefebvre, 1968/1996; Marcuse, 2010; Mayer, 2012; Mitchell, 2003, 2012; Pugalis & Giddings, 2011; Purcell, 2002, 2008; Schmid, 2012; Whitzman, 2012). There has been sustained interest in the power relations immanent in the production of urban space (Foucault, 1991) and a number of investigations into a spatialised understanding of justice and democracy (Harvey, 1996, 2009; Massey, 2005; Purcell, 2008; Soja, 2010). However, the past decade has seen a surge of interest in the visible and invisible barriers that deny equitable enjoyment of, not only static space, but also mobility within and between cities (Cresswell, 2010; Hannam, Sheller, & Urry, 2006; Sheller & Urry, 2006). The right to freely enjoy and engage in the production of urban space, and mobility through urban space, is not equitably shared. Additionally, pedestrian mobility can be impacted through various oppressions, which can be expressed overtly through: segregation, practices of verbal and physical abuse, structural practices of colonialism, racism, sexism, homophobia, and more (Young, 1990). It has been argued a plurality of voices and consciousness of differences are necessary to counter such oppressions (Young, 1990).

Walking has been discussed as part of a network of everyday “political” spatial practices which form an “antidiscipline” for reappropriating spaces of consumption (de Certeau, 1984, pp. xv-xvii). Walking positions inhabitants as storytellers within, or between, the lines of the text, or dominant story of the city (de Certeau, 1984, pp. 107-108), thus walking is a “tactic” that has the potential to expose and challenge the panoptic\textsuperscript{3} view of the city plan in favour of the street-level view of the pedestrian (de Certeau, 1984, p. xiv). Furthermore, Lugones’ (2003) positioning of the theorist at the “street level” (p. 222) augments the field of the

\textsuperscript{3} Panoptic means to take in “all parts [and] aspects” in a “single….all-embracing” view ("Collins English dictionary and thesaurus (6th ed.)," 2006, p. 858).
walker from “short sighted” (p. 214) to an engagement with multiple “active subjectivities” (p. 226). At the street level there is “no theorizing apart from practice” (Lugones, 2003, p. 232).

In order to gain a comprehensive understanding of spatial justice, a movement is required “from theory building through empirical application to actual practice [italics added] and social action” (Soja, 2010, p. 68). Most recently, Sheller (2016, p. 27) called for a return to Foucauldian methods (1991) as a framework for future studies of commodified spaces and mobilities on a global scale. A comprehensive investigation of systemic inequitable mobilities and “spatialities” could uncover not only strategies of oppression but also “sites of potential resistance and critical leverage” (Sheller, 2016, p. 26). However, there is a relative paucity of empirical research that seeks to identify the ways in which inhabitants negotiate spatial justice issues on a daily basis. It is an intention of this thesis to establish greater understanding of the connections between everyday walking practices and spatial justice.

1.5.2 Walkability for sale

This thesis also investigates the lack of discussions in theory and practice about the commodification of walkability, which has the potential to impact spatial resilience through gentrification and displacement. The city is composed, not just of physical space, but also social space and the spatial practices of inhabitants. Theorists have discussed how space, social space, and spatial practice can be readily commodified (Brenner, Marcuse, & Mayer, 2012; Marcuse, 2010; Slater, 2012; Uitermark, 2012) through the construction of spaces and situations that designate inhabitants as consumers (Brawley, 2009). Creativity and walkability have also been commodified in this vein (Peck, 2005; Talen & Koschinsky, 2013; D. Wilson & Keil, 2008; Zavestoski & Agyeman, 2015).

Existing research has recognised this can exacerbate the vulnerability of inhabitants who do not possess the economic capital to benefit from the commodification. These inhabitants are then displaced or excluded by the associated aestheticised spaces and practices (Degen, 2008; Deutsche, 1996; Glass, 1964; Iveson, 2007; Ley, 2003; Slater, 2012; Smith, 1979, 1996; Zukin, 2010). Little
attention has been paid to the potential for inhabitants to reappropriate and re-evaluate everyday spatial practices, like walking, as non-commodified entities.

1.5.3 A spatial practice approach

Although numerous studies have focused on the importance of walking for health and sociability, a significantly smaller number have appreciated that walking is a multidimensional spatial practice that is fundamental to inhabitants’ experience of, and connection to, the spaces around them (E. Brown & Shortell, 2015; Demerath & Levinger, 2003; Ingold & Vergunst, 2008; J. Lee & Ingold, 2006; Wunderlich, 2008). A central concern of this thesis is how a participatory walking methodology can be fundamental to informing decisions that shape space, thus treating walking, “as a design method in its own right” (Wunderlich, 2008, p. 138). Theorists have established that walking makes the city and produces space through social encounters (Knudsen & Clark, 2013; Leyden, 2003; Roger, Halstead, Gardner, & Carlson, 2011), creative engagement (Debord, 1956; Demerath & Levinger, 2003; Wunderlich, 2008) and reappropriation (de Certeau, 1984), but few have applied practical research of walking as a distinct spatial practice to investigate how this happens.

Walking changes space through spatial practice and space conditions inhabitants’ everyday practices, including walking. This iterative interaction between walkers and space has not been thoroughly investigated through empirical research. Thus, there is “a much needed engagement with the actual experience of walking” in walkability research (Middleton, 2011, p. 90).

Anthropology and arts researchers (Edensor, 2000, 2010; Ingold, 2004, 2007; Ingold & Vergunst, 2008; J. Lee & Ingold, 2006; Myers, 2009, 2010, 2011; Vergunst, 2008) have established walking as a spatial practice that is creative, social, conducive to thinking, learning and knowing, and thus a method of producing space and meaning. Although artists have been prominent in employing the creative power of the walk, it has been recognised that non-artists also engage in walking as a creative practice (Bendiner-Viani, 2009; Edensor, Leslie, Millington, & Rantisi, 2010) and cultivate creative ideas through walking (Oppezzo & Schwartz, 2014). Walking methods have frequently been used to research the built environment (see Chapter 4). However, these studies have not considered walking as a distinct spatial
practice, in the focused way certain anthropologists and artists have. It is an intention of this study to investigate how applying a spatial practice approach to walking can inform the spatial production of walkability.

1.5.4 Walking to spatial justice

This study investigates the capacity for participatory walking practices to be applied to research walking and walkability. This is undertaken with a process of Constructivist Grounded Theory data analysis applied through a spatial justice/spatial practice framework.

Walking has been discussed as an exercise in democracy, an undertaking of embodied engagement with the streets and a resistance to sequestration to private space (Solnit, 2006, para. 3). Spaces for walking, like other “urban public transport networks are political sites of the everyday” (Miciukiewicz & Vigar, 2013, p. 171) where practices of both resistance and oppression take place and reshape space through a constant succession of interactions. To date, however, there has been a lack of attention paid to the role of walking as a creative physical engagement with space to develop spatial competence and engender consciousness of spatial (in)justice.

Walking has been investigated as a site of “spatialized pedagogy” (N. Brown, Griffis, Hamilton, Irish, & Kanouse, 2007, p. 23), which has been demonstrated in practice in the form of “convivial walking events” (Myers, 2009, p. 39) and guided tours which challenge the norms of spatial production (Bendiner-Viani, 2009; L. G. Phillips & Hickey, 2013). What is less clear is how walking engenders spatial competence, and whether walking can be a foundational practice towards spatial resilience. It is an intended outcome of this study to ascertain whether inhabitant led, participatory practices of walking could be a first step in initiating a path via spatial competence to spatial resilience.

This doctoral research builds on embodied participatory walking methods employed in previous studies that have engaged refugees in participatory walking practices (Myers, 2009), engendered awareness of disabled persons experiences of inaccessibility to natural spaces (Sobers, 2015), and investigated contested spaces of everyday life (Hammad, 2014). A significant power and allure of walking lies in its mundanity (Pinder, 2011, p. 675): its pedestrianism. Everyday walking practices are
also the main concern of theory and policy approaches to walkability (Middleton, 2016). However there is very little published research that employs walking to investigate nuanced (sub)urban contestations. It is the intention of this study to address this gap by applying a constructivist, comprehensive, responsive and participatory framework for analysing qualitative data collected through participatory walking methods, in order to better understand walking as site for conversations about spatial justice.

1.6 Overview of the study

Chapter 2 begins to tackle the complexities of a spatial justice approach with a review of the literature relevant to space, justice, pedestrian mobility inequities, planning for justice and equity, and the commodification of walkability. De Certeau’s (1984) explication of walking as a resistant everyday spatial practice is woven through recent theoretical discussions and research on spatial justice, mobility, and commodifying practices of spatial production. Through this process a spatial justice approach toward walking and walkability is developed to serve as a foundation for the rest of the thesis.

Chapter 3 continues the review of the literature, turning attention to a spatial practice approach to walking and walkability. Research on walking as a social and creative practice, from various disciplines, is synthesised. The relationship between movement and spatial competence is discussed, and the potential for walking to developing inhabitants’ spatial competence is contemplated. The links between walking and knowledge creation are discussed with particular emphasis on anthropological fieldwork on walking. Walking practices of remembering and resistance are then discussed. Finally, literature on the pedagogy of walking as a spatial practice is considered in terms of the potential to be engaged in as a practice to facilitate spatial resilience. Lugones’ (2003) positioning of the researcher at the street level augments the limitations of de Certeau’s (1984) conceptualisation of walking introduced Chapter 2.

Chapter 4 presents the research methodology, which is informed by the review of the literature on spatial justice and spatial practice in the previous two chapters. This chapter begins with an explanation of the participatory and constructivist research approach of this study. Walking data collection
methodologies applied in previous studies are then discussed and rationales for their use in this study are presented in relation to the research approach. The case study site and approach is briefly explained. Then a detailed description of the data collection and data analysis methods is provided.

The next four chapters present the findings of the research. Chapter 5 explicates what happened during the data collection, what the data consisted of and how it was analysed. The Constructivist Grounded Theory methodology applied to the analysis of the data is detailed with specific attention to the coding process. Examples are drawn from the findings to demonstrate the work undertaken to applying a constructivist approach and spatial justice framework to the handling of the data. This chapter explains how the emergent and convergent coding process brought to light three core values of spatial practice: accessibility, interactions and belonging.

The following three chapters elaborate on the findings that support these three core values. Chapter 6 collates the findings related to accessibility. The chapter is divided into sections focusing on community and public space, equity and mobility. Chapter 7 reports the findings supporting the value of interactions. This chapter focuses on: the sharing of stories and conversations with space; the development of spatial competence through reappropriation, wayfinding and walking; the importance of the natural environment and the textural and temporal layers of space; personal and emotional engagement; and conflicts in space. The first part of Chapter 8 presents the findings related to the value of belonging followed by a discussion of how the three core values that emerged from the data are interrelated. The second part of Chapter 8 details the walking event held to communicate the research findings back to the wider public, and discusses the importance of conversations in this process.

Chapter 9 draws together the research strands in a general discussion and presents a theoretical model of spatial justice in spatial practice. The chapter then addresses the research questions, and highlights possible implications and applications of the findings before concluding the thesis.
Recent debates have problematised abstract goals of walkability that do not acknowledge extant mobility inequities (Talen & Koschinsky, 2013; Zavestoski & Agyeman, 2015). Noteworthy is Sheller’s (2016) argument for closer attention to the “history of uneven mobilities” in future research (p. 16). The concept of spatial justice is useful as it for this task is it impels practical engagement with inequities of spatial production.

The purpose of this chapter is to apply a spatial justice framework to investigate walking and walkability by reviewing literature on spatial justice and inequities of mobility. This chapter begins with a broad theoretical discussion of the concept of spatial justice, and its connection to other theories that have attempted to unfold the complexity of power relations in the production of space. Spatial justice theory is discussed in relation to abstractions and signs employed in hegemonic spatial production, through the imposition of a singular story that disavows the plurality of urban inhabitation. De Certeau’s explication of walking as a resistant reappropriation of urban space and his juxtaposition of the panoramic view of the map or plan with the street level perspective (1984, pp. xiv-xv) are considered as theoretical links between walking and spatial justice.

The focus of this chapter is then narrowed to engage theory on inequitable mobilities, with a specific consideration of pedestrian inequities. Key theories on justice and equity in urban planning are then discussed, followed by a consideration of strategies designed to engage multiple perspectives on problems, such as partnerships and pedagogical urbanism. Finally, the commodification of both housing and creativity are discussed to demonstrate that, despite engaging abstractions that communicate economic growth, these projects have expedited economic and spatial inequity. Finally, this argument is related to the commodification of walkability.

The literature covered in this chapter stems from multiple disciplines including: law, political theory, feminist social theory, mobility studies, urban
planning, cultural studies, and human, cultural and transport geography. The intention of this multidisciplinary undertaking is to engage a breadth of theory and research to inform a methodological approach to studying walking and walkability, through a spatial justice framework. However, before a methodology can be formed, a comprehensive literature review of walking as a distinct spatial practice will be undertaken in the next chapter. The readings on spatial justice, spatial practice, walking and walkability will then be incorporated into a spatial justice/spatial practice approach in this study.

2.1 Spatial justice and walking

Spatial justice invokes a “critical spatial perspective” to theories of justice (Soja, 2009, para. 4) but it is also an approach to spatial theory that recognises the right to inhabit and create the city, and the power relations behind the production of space and mobilities. The term spatial justice appeared in literature on space and social justice in the 1980s (Dikeç, 2001; Pirie, 1983). However, there was a notable paradigm shift to the spatialisation of theory in the 1990s (Bromberg et al., 2007; Harvey, 2009; Soja, 2009, 2010). Arguments made by Lefebvre and Foucault, in the late 1960s to early 1970s, that space was more than material form, but constructed through perceptions, and social power relations (Foucault, 1991; Foucault & Miskowiec, 1986; Lefebvre, 1991, 1996) were revisited (Soja, 2010, p. 101). Thus the concept of spatial justice has been embraced by theorists who posit that both space and justice: are products of the social systems at play; are in a constant state of flux; and are dependent on the relational perceptions, perspectives and circumstances experienced by myriad social groups (Bromberg et al., 2007, p. 2). Spatial justice was informed by a conceptualisation of justice based on a consciousness of difference (Young, 1995), and the appreciation that structural processes and behavioural norms privilege certain inhabitants and disadvantage others (Soja, 2010, pp. 78-79; Young, 2003). A critical approach to space calls for the coordination of theory and practice, a “praxis” approach, with an emphasis on practical application and social action (Soja, 2010, p. 101).

Lefebvre argued, if space, including social space, is a product: it must be produced (, 1991, p. 37). Moreover, with space the product and its production are “two inseparable aspects” that constitute the whole (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 37). The
social forces that produce space are naturalised by “abstraction” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 49). “Abstract space” is constituted by a token outward appearance that hides the real subject and political mechanisms within (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 230-231). The concept of abstraction refers to Marx’s (1844) theory of the alienation of man from his labour (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 49). The city is removed and abstracted from the labour of its production (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 49). Abstract space appears homogeneous, but is inherently complex (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 288). Moreover, because of its representational power, abstract space is apt for its principal use: for the political (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 287).

Lefebvre admitted the complexity of space meant that critical practices that attempted to make space coherent, “to reduce the dialectical to the logical”, would “reduce reality in the interests of power” (1991, p. 367). An analytical approach, which aimed to expose “the social relationships embedded in” space, would challenge the dominant view of space as a “passive receptacle” (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 89-90). Gramsci’s theory of “hegemony” is valuable when investigating the production of abstract space as it demonstrates how dominant forces maintain power through material space via “institutions and ideas” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 10). Material space takes its form from the hegemonic culture and values engaged in its production (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 10).

Abstraction in urban space is facilitated by “non-verbal signs” (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 133-135), which can be “streets, squares, buildings and facades” but also “codes of property ownership, written texts of planning, … and real estate advertising” (Gottdiener & Lagopoulos, 1986, p. 2). Such signs are interpreted and understood not only by their surface meaning but also by their symbolic meaning according to the values, perceptions, cultural codes and ideologies within that social space (Gottdiener & Lagopoulos, 1986). Signs function as codes that “construct” and communicate new realities, but also, particularly in built form, influence human behaviour (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 135-139). Vaneigem (1961) lamented that within the surfeit of signs that make up the city, only a few words of graffiti were recognisable as having been created by, and therefore, belonging to, its inhabitants (para. 110). However, because abstraction is representational, social space can also become a sign in the service of the hegemony, such that: “The city itself, urban life, becomes a commodity” (Schmid, 2012, p. 55). Creativity, walkability and graffiti have been co-
opted into a commodifying project to promote the economic and symbolic capital of
the city (Lees et al., 2010; Mayer, 2012; Peck, 2005). Such universal abstraction is
antithetical to a pluralistic appreciation of urban life, which is inherent to the concept
of spatial justice.

Iris Marion Young’s *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (1990) was a
major influence on the spatial approach to justice because it problematised previous
models that promoted justice on the basis of equal distribution (see Rawls, 2003).
Young highlighted “the disadvantage and injustice some people suffer not because a
tyrrannical power coerces them, but because of the everyday practices of a well-
intentioned liberal society” (1990, p. 41). Directly related to the concept of
hegemony, injustice can operate through “unquestioned norms, habits, and symbols,
in the assumptions underlying institutional rules and the collective consequences of
following those rules” (Young, 1990, p. 41). Young categorised five types of
oppression: “exploitation, marginalisation, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and
violence” (1990, p. 64). Key to this discussion of spatial justice and walking is
“cultural imperialism”, which occurs “partly through the ability of a dominant group
to assert its perspective as universal or neutral” or normal (Young, 1990, p. 60). This
imposition of universality is supported by institutional processes and the
proliferation of signs that impart the dominant culture (Young, 1990, p. 60).
Members of the dominant group, therefore, do not perceive their mental view as only
a “perspective” (Young, 1990, p. 60). Young also identified a “paradox” for those
oppressed through cultural imperialism, who experience being both “different” and
“invisible” at the same time (1990, p. 60). Young (1990) related this to Foucault’s
(1991) theories of discipline, which he positioned as both structural and spatial.

Central to Foucault’s discussion of discipline was the panoptic mechanism,
an architectural design whose function can facilitate understanding of how cultural
imperialism and hegemony maintain both authority and invisibility (Foucault, 1991,
p. 202). The Panopticon is a building, designed by Jeremy Bentham, in which every
prisoner, patient, worker or student can be supervised from a central tower, however
the subject, although aware of being watched, cannot, in turn, see the person(s)
surveilling them (Foucault, 1991, p. 202). Foucault discussed the Panopticon as an
produces a relation of power that is artificial, as the surveillance tower may in fact be
empty, yet the “subjection” is absolute (Foucault, 1991, p. 202). The disciplinary mechanism functions within the mind of the subject. Beyond the Panopticon, there has been a diffusion of discipline supported by a generalised surveillance of society, which maintains the panoptic mechanisms of invisibility and pervasion (Foucault, 1991, p. 209). Discipline has therefore moved from the institutions of correction, education, and health to the family and the individual (Foucault, 1991, pp. 209-216). Although panoptic architecture is not necessary for this “discipline-mechanism” to function through “subtle coercion” of society (Foucault, 1991, p. 209), material forms embody the power relations that produced them (Lefebvre, 1991). This demonstrates how normative behaviour is spatialised. As will be discussed in Section 2.3, there are various disciplinary structures impacting pedestrian mobility.

Lefebvre was perhaps the first to speak of a right to the city, which he declared is not “a simple visiting right” but a “transformed and renewed right to urban life” (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 158). Lefebvre presented a pluralistic view of urban rights which would encompass all those who “inhabit” the city (Lefebvre, 1996, pp. 157-159). These rights are demanded within a city that has become “an object of cultural consumption for tourists” based on aesthetics and spectacle (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 148). However, such abstracted spaces can be appropriated by inhabitants and become spaces that communicate plurality and difference.

Providing the example of shanty towns on the edge of the homogenised city, Lefebvre declared these spaces of difference either emerge through “resistances” or through the production of those deemed invisible to the hegemony (1991, p. 373). However, Lefebvre described these spaces as demonstrating “appropriation of a remarkably high order” (1991, p. 374). Appropriation, or “reappropriation” (de Certeau, 1984, p. 96) of abstracted space can expose the power relations behind spatial production and reveal practices of inhabitation that challenge injustice. Moreover, just as the “abstraction” of space is produced through a denial of

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4 The scope of “disciplinary” surveilled social space (see Foucault, 1991) has extended significantly since Foucault’s discussion in 1975 with smartphone technology, and the surveillance and retention of metadata, which includes Global Positioning System (GPS) spatial information (Branch, 2014). The escalation of Closed Circuit Television (CCTV) networks, private security patrols, and the privatisation of public spaces (Low & Smith, 2006) in cities, towns and suburbia provide conspicuous examples of encroaching surveillance and discipline of everyday spatial practices.
difference, a new type of space, which Lefebvre called “differential space” can be produced by foregrounding difference and plurality (1991, p. 52). As a “critical spatial perspective” (Soja, 2010, para. 4) encourages investigation of practices as well as theory, these resistant and heterogeneous spatial practices deserve attention.

De Certeau’s (1984) investigation of “everyday practices” (p. xi) shines a light on the resistant practices of inhabitants that shape the city. Including walking in this canon of resistant spatial practices, which he related directly to story telling (1984, pp. 91-115), de Certeau discussed the origin of the map as a pictorial accompaniment to a wanderer’s tale. He lamented the “erasure of the itineraries” and the “tour describers” from cartography, leaving the map alone as “the tableau of a ‘state’ of geographical knowledge, [which] pushes away into its prehistory...the operations of which it is the result” (1984, p. 121). The spatial production of the map is hidden by temporal abstractions. Of particular use to a spatial justice approach to walking and walkability, is de Certeau’s (1984, pp. 96-97) application of Foucault’s panoptic mechanism. De Certeau (1984) juxtaposed the panoramic, abstracted, panoptic view of the city evinced by the map or the urban plan, to the lived experience of the pedestrian on the street.

Inhabitants’ everyday spatial practices challenge the superficiality of panoramic spatial representation by bringing back the storyteller to the scene (de Certeau, 1984). Stories of the streets are more often “tours” than “maps”, whereby the action of moving through a space is described in favour of cataloguing of places (de Certeau, 1984, p. 119). Thus, stories are “spatial trajectories” in which action is innate (de Certeau, 1984, p. 115). This adds intricacy to the street level perspective, as it encompasses the mobile, generative practice of walking as a form of spatial story telling. If the inhabitants’ spatial story manages to exist “not on the margins” but by infiltrating the abstractions and norms that it challenges, and reappropriates, then the story can be called “delinquent” (de Certeau, 1984, p. 130). Inhabitants can engage in “social delinquency” by taking the story “literally” (1984, p. 130).

Therefore, delinquency begins with spatial practice as storytelling: “the inscription of the body in the order’s text” (1984, p. 130). Furthermore, to take the story literally includes the story behind abstracted space, which can be exposed for what it is, like the panopticon, a construct: a story that can be challenged by spatial practice.
2.2 The spatial turn: Space, time, stories and walking

Shifting attention to a *spatial* perspective presupposes a contrasting approach has been employed. For many, space has been overlooked in favour of time. Although space and time are “mutual” (Massey, 2005, p. 56) the relationship is complex. It has been suggested that the rejection of a spatial approach has aided cultural imperialism (de Certeau, 1984, p. 95). Under consideration in this thesis, therefore, is how this denial of a critical spatial awareness affects users of space.

The concept of the “spatial turn” refers to a state of attention being paid to the spatial across all disciplines (Soja, 2010, p. 13). Foucault articulated, “if one started to talk in terms of space that meant one was hostile to time. It meant...that one ‘denied history’,” however, a spatial approach could expose the modus operandi of powers by delineating the composition of space and the processes by which it is declared, classified, apportioned and documented (1976, pp. 70-71). De Certeau considered this from the point of view of the dominant powers, suggesting that it may be advantageous to avoid scrutiny of spatial practices: “the functionalist organization, by privileging progress (i.e., time), causes the condition of its own possibility - space itself - to be forgotten; space thus becomes the blind spot in a scientific and political technology” (1984, p. 95). By focusing on time over space, the power relations behind spatial production could be hidden within urban forms and processes that are naturalised in the guise of *progress* or *growth*.

Massey argued, however, it is not a deprioritisation of space over time but the way space has been conceived that is the issue (2005, p. 18). Because space “is the dimension of the social: it presents us with the existence of others” (Massey, 2010, para.11) including others’ cultures, claims, priorities and perspectives. Massey (2005) discussed Fabian’s theory that the objectifying use of “anthropology’s gaze” by colonial and modernist politics has excluded spaces of difference, or otherness, from the Western European model, by relegating them to “the (‘our’) past” (p. 69). Framing space within a singular narrative of progression towards civilisation and/or modernity denies spatial “coevalness”: or belonging to the same era or temporal duration (Massey, 2005, p. 69).

A consciousness of the *coevalness* of space means more than just recognition of the plurality of experiences over specific time periods or eras; it is an attempt to
appreciate the myriad histories, stories and journeys projected through space up until, and including the present (Massey, 2005). Massey’s (2005) argument that modernist spatial production attempts to tame the complexity of space can be applied to more recent urban processes. *Urban renewal, regeneration* and *redevelopment*, are interchangeable terms for the state controlled, or sponsored, process of refurbishing or rebuilding residential and commercial areas considered “deprived” or “disadvantaged” to attract more prosperous inhabitants (Iotti, 2015, para. 5). Urban renewal and gentrification apply abstractions of “growth” (Brawley, 2009, para. 2) and aesthetic narratives (Deutsche, 1996) to processes that can in effect, evict plurality and commodify space.

De Certeau’s (1984) discussion of spatial practices, including walking and storytelling, presents a refocus on the plurality of inhabitants’ everyday “tactics” of resistance (p. xv11). De Certeau explained the revelatory quality of such practices: “a tactic boldly juxtaposes diverse elements in order suddenly to produce a flash shedding a different light on the language of a place” (1984, pp. 37-38). Such tactics including discourse at the street level, or “local authorities”, hold the potential to challenge the dominant hegemony “because they compromise the univocity [italics added] of the system” (1984, p. 106).

“Univocity” (de Certeau, 1984, p. 106) or the “single universal” (Massey, 2005, p. 71) is employed in the production of space to support cultural imperialism: to normalise specific spatial practices, and invisibilise others. The “stories and legends” of urban space are subjected to “a witch-hunt” by the technocratic structuralist powers (de Certeau, 1984, p. 106), just as the spatial practices of colonialism’s, or modernism’s, *other* are consigned to the past (Massey, 2005, p. 71), or displaced on aesthetic grounds (Degen, 2008; Deutsche, 1996; Iveson, 2007). As discussed further in Sections 2.7 and 2.8, projects that prioritise aestheticised constructions of diversity, such as New Urbanism, and the Creative Class, can also produce an abstracted space that obfuscates exclusion. This argument can also be applied to walkability, if it too becomes a commodifying spatial practice. Thus, the complexity of the spatial production of walkability is an important consideration.

Walking, like all forms of mobility, is a “spatiotemporal practice” (Middleton, 2009, p. 1943). Therefore it is not just speed and proximity that is important to walkers’ choices of routes (Middleton, 2009, pp. 1955-1959). The
spatial practice of the walk is always a negotiation of the physical, social, mental, emotional and/or political landscape. Each inhabitant will have different terrains to negotiate depending on the social space they inhabit, the stories told about that space, and their previous experiences of mobility within that space.

2.3 Mobilities and inequities

The past decade has seen an increased interest in more than physical and social space. This interest has focused on the “networked” movement of flows between, within, and around space (Hannam et al., 2006, p. 2). This mobilisation of the spatial turn has been, in part, a reaction to the “sedentarist” approach to space in the social sciences, which positioned the stationary as usual and the itinerant as unusual (Sheller & Urry, 2006, pp. 209-216). The “new mobilities paradigm” (p. 208), as coined by Sheller and Urry (2006) encompassed such under examined phenomena as the local and global impact of the automobile, the diaspora of asylum seekers and refugees, tourist economies and commuting practices. This stemmed from an awareness of the increasing mobility of not only people, but goods and information, which had augmented the spatial fluidity of daily life, and in turn, reshaped urban static space (Hannam et al., 2006, p. 2).

From the “new mobilities paradigm” (p. 208) an understanding has emerged that the power relations behind mobility production create uneven mobilities (Hannam et al., 2006; Sheller & Urry, 2006). A holistic understanding of mobility could be reached through approaching it as “the entanglement of movement, representation, and practice” (Cresswell, 2010, p. 19). Although representations and narratives have often “romanticised” (Jensen, 2009, p. 147) mobility and promoted it as universally desirable, there are specific “politics of mobility” in every context (Cresswell, 2010, p. 19). For example, the practice of undertaking the school run by car may increase mobility for parents, but decrease the independent mobility of children (Cresswell, 2010, p. 21).

Crises can highlight inequitable mobilities with devastating outcomes. Hannam et al. (2006, pp. 7-8) cited the impact of Hurricane Katrina on the city of New Orleans, USA, in 2005, as an example of the complexity of “interlocking” unequal mobility systems. The disaster evacuation plan for New Orleans was based on an assumption of private car ownership, although 77,000 households, the majority
of which were African American, had no form of private transportation (Cresswell, 2012, p. 135). Inhabitants without private automobile access, including the old, hospital patients, and the very young were left at greater risk (Cresswell, 2012, p. 135; Hannam et al., 2006, p. 8). Structural, economic and political processes magnified the impact of the hurricane (Campanella, 2015) resulting in dispersal of the resident population, which, ten years on, was only 80% of the total prior to the disaster (Stein, 2015). Historical inequities were evident in mobility inequities, as the majority displaced were African Americans (Stein, 2015). While many inhabitants were rendered immobile during the storm, many more suffered enforced mobility through displacement in the years to follow.

The practice of building automobile expressways and high speed rail over, under and through, areas inhabited by persons of lower socio-economic status and minority groups, sometimes called the “tunnelling effect” (Graham and Marvin cited in Cresswell, 2010, p. 24), has increased the mobility of inhabitants in the connected areas, while negating the mobility of those in between, displacing inhabitants, and dismantling social and cultural networks (Bendiner-Viani, 2009, p. 60; Nagel & Bailey, 2008, p. 21). The 1996 legal case won by the Bus Riders Union of Los Angeles, USA, successfully challenged this process by halting a multi-billion dollar suburban fixed rail system planned by the city’s transport authority (Soja, 2010). The Bus Riders Union argued the rail project presented racial and spatial discrimination against the mainly immigrant, low-income earning inner-city dwellers, who had a much greater need for an improved city bus system (Soja, 2010). The landmark case highlighted the potential for the spatial production of public transport to reinforce, rather than alleviate mobility inequities, and Soja (2010) argued the Bus Riders Union’s success exemplified spatial justice in action.

In 2016, Sheller called for a renewed impetus to mobilities research, to investigate the powers and structures behind “postcolonial, biopolitical and ge-ecological aspects” of the unequal production of mobilities (Sheller, 2016, p. 17). She suggested an approach, in the vein of Foucault, which would pay critical attention to the histories and spatialities of mobilities, from mineral extraction to viral contamination (2016, pp. 15-28). Sheller noted patterns of depopulation, “exclusion”, and settlement in the name of “development” and included “gentrification” (Sheller, 2016, p. 28) within this framework. As mobility inequities
function through “formal and informal” structures and rules (Sheller, 2016, p. 15) “a focus on [the] everyday micro-politics” (Middleton, 2016, p. 16) of mobilities would be appropriate. In 2006, Sheller and Urry proposed, “walking with” people to gain understanding of their world-view (p. 217). Walking is as political and influenced by unequal power relations as any other form of mobility.

2.4 Pedestrian inequities

Critics of pedestrian transport policies and walkability theory have argued that walking is generally discussed as an axiomatic practice (Middleton, 2016, pp. 2-9). A spatial justice approach to walking and walkability acknowledges that while competing mobilities negatively impact pedestrians, within the sphere of inhabitants who walk, or desire to walk, there are multiple inequities. Returning to her discussion of justice and the city, Young (1990) problematised the “ideal of community” (p. 227). She argued: “If city politics is to be democratic…it must be a politics that takes account of and provides a voice for the different groups that dwell together in the city without forming a community” (1990, p. 227).

Therefore, if pedestrians are considered oppressed within a car-centric environment, then “a plural explication of the concept of oppression” is necessary (Young, 1990, p. 42). Although mobility inequity is multi-scalar, even walkability “exists in relation to class, racial, sexual, gendered, and disabling exclusions from public space” (Sheller, 2016, p. 15). As Meagher (2007, p. 16) questioned: “What of those who cannot walk the streets at all?” An equitable approach to justice goes beyond equal distribution of walkability to all inhabitants but takes the uneven starting points into account. Public space is the product of power relations and hence, it is the space where the right to the city is contended, where political ideologies are staged and struggles for justice are contested (Mitchell, 2003, p. 235). Pedestrian mobilities are conflicting and context dependant, and struggles for mobility shape the city streetscape through the built environment, representations, and social norms.

The mobility technology that has had the most significant impact on walking, and the shape of cities since the start of the twentieth century has been the private motorcar (Lutz, 2014; McShane, 1994; Thrift, 2004; Urry, 2004). Prior to the dominance of cars, several forms of mobility shared streets: trolley cars, horse drawn vehicles, bicycles and pedestrians (McShane, 1994). In residential areas of cities, the
streets were also spaces for young children to play. In New York city alone, over a thousand children were killed by motorists between 1899 and 1914, making up a high proportion of pedestrian deaths in the formative years of automobility (McShane, 1994, p. 176). Children in New York protested the automobile’s domination of their space, and retaliated by throwing stones at drivers (McShane, 1994, p. 177). The power of motoring groups was such that the educational campaigns they financed to abnormalise children playing in the streets, eventually spread to the public schools (McShane, 1994, p. 189). The campaigns focused on instilling a sense of “shame” in, mostly immigrant, parents who let their children play in the street, and for a time, children were arrested for violating the “anti-play” laws (McShane, 1994, p. 189). To use Foucauldian terminology, the institutions of education, criminal justice, and family were employed to discipline children in the service of automobility.

More recently, research studies in England, Germany and Sweden found significant decreases in children’s independent mobility had occurred from 1971 to 2010, and this trend was reflected internationally (Hillman et al., 1990; Shaw et al., 2015). Parents surveyed in a range of international research studies indicated traffic danger as a key rationale for restricting their children’s independent travel (Shaw et al., 2015, p. 49). The responsibility for childhood safety has fallen to parents, rather than to public policy to find solutions to address the increasing volumes of traffic (Shaw et al., 2015, p. 1). A lack of political focus on walking and cycling, which are children’s main options for complete travel independence, has also had a negative impact (Shaw et al., 2015, p. 1). Internationally, car owners’ right to enjoy greater mobility through higher road speed limits, are privileged over children’s right to enjoy a safe environment (B. Shaw et al., 2015, p. 1).

Beside the street, the footpath\textsuperscript{5} has been considered an important social space (Jacobs, 1984; Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009). As streets and footpaths have been reframed as spaces not suitable for children in certain contexts, these spaces have also been considered as not suitable for women in other contexts (Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009, pp. 93-94). Social norms, supported by signs and representations, can impose an “aesthetics of correct mobility” (Cresswell,

\textsuperscript{5} Or sidewalk.
designating, who can walk, and how, and even what clothing is acceptable. Returning to her discussion of oppressions, Young argued that cultural imperialism “intersects with violence” (1990, p. 63). When inhabitants “attempt to assert their own subjectivity” and “difference” on the street, they can expose “the dominant culture’s implicit claim to universality” as a fiction (Young, 1990, p. 63). This challenge to cultural imperialism may then be oppressed through “irrational violence” (Young, 1990, p. 63).

Recent studies have considered the social impact of street harassment positing that “indirect victimisation” affects the freedom of mobility of all members of the targeted group, not solely those who have been directly attacked (Logan, 2015, p. 206). In addition, women, to provide an example, may face cultural restrictions against pedestrian movement, or cultural attitudes regarding “correct” mobility (Cresswell, 2010, p. 24) which can result in the blame for street harassment or violence to be directed at their own spatial practices (Whitzman, Legacy, et al., 2013). The right to mobility includes the right to safety in public space where inhabitants can “explore” (Whitzman, 2013, p. 50), have “meaningful encounters” (2013, p. 49) and “create and recreate identities” (2013, p. 50). However, fear of physical or verbal abuse on the street or public transport may force inhabitants to choose private means of travel, if they can afford it, or retreat to private space (Miciukiewicz & Vigar, 2013, pp. 173-180). Social norms take physical form when inhabitants remove their presence from the street due to fears for their personal safety. Everyday practices and spaces of transport are therefore “political sites” in which “events, encounters and processes” (Miciukiewicz & Vigar, 2013, p. 171) reinforce and challenge narratives, but also socially and physically shape the city (Jensen, 2009, p. 140).

Examples of diminished pedestrian mobility rights in Australia due to “irrational violence” fuelled by “cultural imperialism” (Young, 1990, p. 63) have been highlighted in recent research. These examples only provide a brief snapshot of mobility inequities in an Australian context and are by no means extensive. There have been reports that racist harassment and attacks have increased in recent years in Australia (Marriner, 2014) including reports of racist abuse on public transport (Dyett, 2013). Muslim women who wear the hijab in Australia have reported verbal (Hebbani & Wills, 2012, p. 94) and physical attacks on the street (Aston, 2014).
Violence against transgendered people in Australia has reported to have negatively impacted their mobility and their physical expression of identity, including the way they walk (Moran & Sharpe, 2004, p. 408). Move on Notices issued by police in Western Australia⁶ as anti-social and crime prevention measures, requiring the recipient to stay away from a specified area for 24 hours or risk arrest, were found to have been issued to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in disproportionately higher numbers than any other groups (Eggington & Allingham, 2006). This has subsequently limited people’s mobility and access to family and social networks, and education and health services (Eggington & Allingham, 2006).

Young stated: “To the degree that institutions and social practices encourage, tolerate, or enable the perpetration of violence against members of specific groups, those institutions and practices are unjust and should be reformed” (Young, 1990, p. 63). One question for this thesis is how planning practices can produce walkability that facilitates participation, positive interactions, and safety for those that are vulnerable in public space.

2.5 Planning for justice and equity

Urban planners and planning researchers have worked to promote equity and justice in urban space. Planning theory has built on discussions of justice to propose how planning can work to achieve just outcomes (Fainstein, 2010; Fincher & Iveson, 2008). Fainstein (2010) argued that what constitutes a process towards a “just city” is context dependent: therefore outcomes are interrelated with “democratic processes” in which both “the criterion of equity” and “the criterion of recognition” should be determined (p. 23). In addition, the outcomes of “democracy, equity, and diversity” can be conflicting (Fainstein, 2010, p. 23). Under a neoliberal doctrine that favours free-market capitalism, “market processes” can be relied upon for the realisation of just outcomes (Fainstein, 2010, pp. 179-180). As a result, justice and equity may be neglected in favour of tourism, “gentrification and commodification of urban space” (Fainstein, 2010, pp. 179-180). Prioritising justice as an evaluation tool for planning is particularly crucial in this context as: “It is way too easy to follow the lead of

developers and politicians who make economic competitiveness the highest priority” (2010, p. 181).

Fincher & Iveson proposed a model developed around the “social logics” of “redistribution”, “recognition” and “encounter” (2008, p. 20) to focus on a right to the city approach to planning for justice for diverse groups within the city. They investigated such spaces as public libraries, drop-in centres, children’s spaces, and “gay spaces” as sites that foster redistribution, recognition and/or encounter for groups and individuals that suffer marginalised rights to urban space (2008, p. 20). They focused on substantive action and outcomes that are situated at the local level of government, as they acknowledged that this is the scale within which most planners work (2008, p. 20).

Iveson proposed that the concept of planning as a “visual design process” abstracted the conflicts inherent in space and suggested “planning informed by a critical politics of difference could more productively be conceived of as a kind of dialogue” (2007, p. 233). He provided the example of the Perth City Council (PCC) in the 1990s, which engaged a plan to increase vibrancy in the city centre by encouraging an a narrow definition of diversity consisting of consumers, workers and tourists (Iveson, 2007, p. 233). Young people from the suburbs travelling in to the city on the new train line did not fit this definition and were subsequently subjected to “a form of cultural imperialism” through oppressive strategies to remove them from the space (Iveson, 2007, p. 231). Iveson related this attempt at fashioning urban space through an aestheticised “objective position” (2007, p. 231) to de Certeau’s concept of the “scopic drive” (1984, p. 93) which he argued was employed by planners to fashion the impenetrable activities of the city into a legible document (Iveson, 2007, p. 231). Viewing the city objectively can lead to a disavowal of the conflicts and complexities of space (Massey, 2005), therefore: “Attempts to vacate public space of this conflict inevitably translate into attempts to vacate public space of particular people and the values they bring with them” (Iveson, 2007, p. 234).

The “communicative turn” (Healey, 1992) in planning has led to recognition that planning is a “discursive practice” (MacCallum, 2009, p. 11). Sandercock proposed a redefinition of “planning” to include “counterplanning traditions” and the organisation of groups who had been ignored or disadvantaged by official planning
processes (1998, p. 10). Forester (1999) argued that undertaking planning as a “deliberative” process, which actively recognises conflict, politics and values, and encourages the sharing of information, and promotes public participation, is a process of both “learning” and “action” (p. 1).

The importance of stories and storytelling in planning, and understanding space and place, was discussed by Throgmorton (2003, pp. 136-138). He proposed multiple dimensions of place and space, which included: the stories of people and things arriving and leaving, “an unseen layer of usage, memory, and significance” built up over time, and connections to imaginary or fictitious places. This complexity could be grasped by engaging in the city through de Certeau’s “street level perspective” (Throgmorton, 2003, p. 138). Throgmorton (2003, pp. 146-147) argued that every inhabitants’ story of a city would be different, and each incidence of retelling of the same story would incorporate a new perspective.

Some urban decision makers have come to value *storied spaces*. The term storied space has been employed to describe indigenous spatial knowledge making processes (Schorcht, 2003; Turnbull & Chambers, 2014) and the means by which humans use stories to find understanding in a complex world (Baskin, 2008). In an urban context, storied spaces have been acknowledged for the cultural and social value inherent in the stories they are connected to. Storied spaces are charged with multiple layers of narrative. These spaces challenge abstraction, and are akin to “differential spaces” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 52), “polysemic spaces” (D. C. Harvey, 2008, p. 133) imbued with the plurality of memory (Nora, 1989, pp. 8-9), and “historied places…layered with dynamics” (Bendiner-Viani, 2009, p. 77). In 2014, *VIVA Vancouver* undertook a project to enhance the pedestrian experience of Davie Village, the LGBTQ centre of the city, whereby they facilitated a series of walkshops where inhabitants and urban designers worked as co-researchers to locate the “most storied and culturally significant areas” (Project for Public Spaces, 2014, para. 4). They enlisted local drag queen Joan–E to guide the community planners on a nighttime walking tour, so as to experience the significant spaces, and hear the stories first hand and on location (Project for Public Spaces, 2014). Storied spaces, by their material nature, or through the possibility of interactions, embody “multiplicity” (Massey, 2005, p. 71).
Iveson argued, “planning conceived of in communicative terms has the potential to ease the tension confronting oppressed groups who seek to have their values and needs included in public space” but warned that “planning which seeks only to render oppressed cultures visible [italic added] fails to come to grips with the paradoxical experience of cultural imperialism” (2007, p. 234). As participatory planning, and community consultation practices have become more popular the importance of a critical appreciation of power structures and ideologies that exist in processes, conversations, and texts has been recognised (MacCallum, 2008, pp. 326-327). If planning is to include the actions and proposals of groups working outside the various levels of government, then communicating the needs and desires of these groups through the bureaucratic framework within which professional planners work can be problematic (MacCallum, 2009). Opening up the communicative planning conversation to a plurality of: ages, including children, youth and elders (Cook, Whitzman, & Tranter, 2013; Cook et al., 2015); genders, including transgenders (Whitzman, Legacy, et al., 2013); cultures and ethnicities (Fincher & Iveson, 2008; Low, Taplin, & Scheld, 2005); abilities and mobilities (Whitzman, 2015b; Whitzman, James, et al., 2013); might exercise “translation” skills (MacCallum, 2008, pp. 326-327). Miller and Lubitow (2015, p. 268) found that broadening the scale of participation, and the scope of discussion in transport planning to include historical spatial inequities had resulted in “new politics” as well as improved infrastructure.

2.6 Problems, partnerships and pedagogical urbanism

Urban space is constructed in part through identities and ideas of ownership, and therefore presents a “multiplicity of possibilities and problems” (Cox, 2012, p. 19). Cox argued that power relations were reflected through an inhabitants’ capacity to “create and influence the public definition of a problem” (2012, p. 40). He added: “the construction of a problem…as a means of proposing a solution has been documented as a powerful method employed by hegemonic groups to legitimise the social and economic transformation occurring as something which is ‘self-evident’” (Cox, 2012, p. 131). This interpretation aligns with discussions of the plurality of perspectives in space and the recognition of the power gained from asserting one’s own story as universal (de Certeau, 1984; Massey, 2005). An approach to uncover
inequities in spatial practice may include engaging in partnerships with marginalised inhabitants so as to foreground *problems* defined from multiple perspectives.

Hence, spatial justice for women is exemplified by equitable participation by women in decisions about the built environment, as well as “gender mainstreaming”, or the inclusion of priorities for all genders in planning decisions, ensuring male citizens are included in the discussion so as to “challenge the cultural acceptance of violence” (Whitzman, 2013, p. 6). Built form can also communicate safety and promote equity. Whitzman also proposed spatial practices for safety, which included “discursive safe spaces”: making public spaces, including public transport, sites of pedagogy for gender safety and rights (2013, p. 49).

Whitzman (2013) and Berney (2011) discussed planning practices for mobility and public space in Bogota, Columbia since 1995, as an example of “pedagogical urbanism” (p. 17) whereby space, including signage, and practices, such as community activities, were designed to educate inhabitants about spatial equity. Although achieving significant improvements to public safety and reclaiming space for pedestrians and cyclists from cars, Berney argued, in practice the maintenance of Bogota’s public spaces as spaces of education has been, to an extent, restrictive and exclusionary (2011, pp. 16-34). Berney concluded, in order to realise its goal of facilitating public spaces as sites of “encounter” the city of Bogota should allow inhabitants “to take strong symbolic ownership over the spaces” and allow these spaces to become sites of “conflict and contested meanings” (2011, pp. 29-30). Another way of considering *pedagogical urbanism*, therefore, is the degree to which city leaders are able to learn from inhabitants.

Practice focused projects have been initiated to become sites of pedagogy for planners and others, with key examples being intergenerational projects. As Cook, Whitzman and Tranter argued:

> it is not enough to say ‘cities for children are good’. It must be learned through deliberation with children and through intellectual and practical experimentation with approaches that uncover unseen problems, …as understood by different people with different perspectives. (Cook et al., 2013, p. 9)

Recent practices have prioritised the perspectives and perceptions of children, which have been overlooked when designing walkable neighbourhoods (S. Foster et
al., 2015). Adults’ perceptions of children’s spatial ability and safety have been challenged by pedagogical child-led walking tours in urban spaces that are not considered suitable for children (L. G. Phillips & Hickey, 2013). In addition, recent projects in India (2014; Sturgis, 2015) and in Melbourne, Australia (Cook et al., 2013) have engaged children as current, rather than future citizens, and through participatory planning, have provided them with the tools and agency to communicate their ideas, designs and solutions for the spaces they inhabit. Some urban theorists and practitioners have also embraced the “8 - 80 rule” (8 80 Cities, n.d.), which states that urban spaces cannot be considered safe and accessible for anyone, if they are not designed to be safe and accessible for 8 year olds and 80 year olds.

Studies have also found that more work can be done to include the perspectives of disabled persons in the production of walkability. One in twelve respondents to a survey of inhabitants living with blindness or low vision in Australia reported they had been hit by a motor vehicle or cyclist while walking (Oxley, Liu, Langford, Bleechmore, & Guaglio, 2012). A research study undertaken in the USA on instruments employed to measure walkability, bikeability and recreation found that only a third of these instruments included measurements for accessibility for persons with disabilities and very few contained universal design elements (Gray, Zimmerman, & Rimmer, 2012). However, participatory research projects undertaken recently in Papua New Guinea (Whitzman, James, et al., 2013) and England (Sobers, 2015) have set precedents for engaging disabled persons as partners, and key members of the research team.

Partnering with inhabitants, who have different experiences of mobility, and perspectives of walkability, may create opportunities to question the norms of spatial practice. Reframing and questioning spatial practices from different perspectives can initiate a pedagogical urbanism. In this case, the research practitioner might learn from inhabitants. De Certeau’s (1991) treatise on perspective is useful to this approach. The street level perspective foregrounds the “everyday practices” of inhabitants, and by diffusing their “obscurity”, promotes their comprehension (de Certeau, 1984, p. xi). However, as others (Meagher, 2007; Middleton, 2011; Morris, 2004; Thrift, 2004) have contested, and discussed above, power relations at the street level obscure the practices and voices of some inhabitants more than others. To
address this, perspective sharing through partnership and participation could promote consciousness of the ways spatial oppressions are experienced.

Some walking and cycling advocate groups have adopted organisational pedagogy in an attempt to understand the impact of their cultural and structural behaviours on those affected by spatial and racial oppression (Noor, 2015). This also applies to research and practice. Zavestoski and Agyeman (2015) presented a series of case studies to “problematis” the Complete Streets and associated Liveable Cities movements, by asking the question: “Complete for whom?” (p. 4). They argued that, without critical investigation into structures and historical inequities that promote the voices of some inhabitants and marginalise others, processes of spatial production that treat all inhabitants as equal “users” of space, could reinforce spatial injustice (2015, p. 7).

Not all inhabitants have equitable access to enjoy public space and to expect positive interactions and personal safety within that space. What may seem a simple everyday activity as walking down the street to some, may involve a series of difficult, taxing and potentially dangerous physical, social and emotional obstacles for others. Viewing walking, spatial practice and public space through a spatial justice lens may foreground the acknowledgement of inequities produced by bias, and promote processes and partnerships that work towards pedestrian equity. However, processes that abstract space and spatial practice in the service of commodification deserve critical attention.

2.7 The commodification of housing

Some urban theorists have positioned critical analysis of the commodification of housing as imperative (Brenner et al., 2012; Marcuse, 2010; Slater, 2012; Uitermark, 2012). Slater (2012) argued for the consideration of “adequate and affordable housing as a human right and a basic human need” in support of David Harvey’s view that the notion of housing as a “financial asset” is a pure fiction (p. 189). The impact of approaching housing as a commodity has exacerbated inequality, encouraged gentrification-fuelled displacement and fundamentally changed the shape of many cities (R. Moore, 2015; Pogash, 2015).

The term gentrification was first employed by Ruth Glass in 1964 to describe the influx of upper and lower middle class residents into traditionally working class
areas of North London. Varied definitions of gentrification have developed in the following years (Lees et al., 2010) and the process has been discussed in both favourable and unfavourable terms. Displacement caused by gentrification fuelled increases in rents and property prices have, however, continued to negatively affect low-income residents. Increasing property values in a neighbourhood can lead to displacement, as the “rent gap”, the difference between the “actual” land value of the property in its current use, and the “potential” value that may be achieved after changing that use, is capitalised by landlords and developers (Smith, 1987, pp. 463-464). The “rent gap” emerges through a history of “investment and disinvestment” in a neighbourhood, which can be “closed through gentrification” (Smith, 1987, p. 463). Gentrification, therefore, provides impetus for landlords to increase rents or sell the property, thus displacing tenants who cannot afford the increase (Smith, 1979, 1987).

Zukin articulated that examples of gentrification spanning the dawn of the 21st century are assertions not just of economic power but “cultural power” (2009, p. 4) as bit by bit, spaces essential to long term inhabitants’ everyday lives become replaced by spaces that provide “life supports for a different cultural community” (2009, p. 4). Zukin argued the popularity of urban living was a drive for “authenticity” which has become a concept of “style” (2009, p.3). Gentrifiers have been accused of valuing the urban aesthetic of: warehouses, alleyways, old buildings, and graffiti, rather than the people who created the city through inhabitance (Zukin, 2009). Specific aesthetics are often given added commercial value, creating an abstracted city that exists for a desired affluent public.

Commodification can also be applied to New Urbanism and other abstracted projects that have been aligned with walkability. New Urbanism is an urban design project initiated in the USA in the 1980s (Cabrera & Najarian, 2013), based on the principles of: “walkability”, “connectivity”, “mixed-use and diversity”, “mixed housing”, “quality architecture and urban design”, “traditional neighbourhood structure”, “increased density”, “green transportation”, “sustainability”, and “quality of life” (“New Urbanism Principles,” n.d.). New Urbanism has been adopted in urban renewal projects with the goal, among others, to redress segregation and poverty concentration by designing housing for economic, social and cultural diversity (Cabrera & Najarian, 2013; Talen, 2010).
Critics have argued that although such a “design-based approach” to solving affordability issues is appealing within a market economy, the “paradoxical nature” of New Urbanism’s outcomes has meant that the sustainability of affordable housing within these projects has been limited (Talen, 2010, p. 507). Aesthetic based projects can be intentionally, or unintentionally, exclusionary (Deutsche, 1996; Iveson, 2007), and more contextual and holistic approaches to maintaining housing affordability, combined with programs that support vulnerable inhabitants have been recommended (Talen, 2010, p. 508). Integrated partnership approaches to deliberative planning for affordable housing have been highlighted as possible solutions within an economic climate where commodified housing is firmly established (Whitzman, 2015a). If projects promoting walkability, in practice, promote gentrification and displacement then it can be argued that they have achieved growth for developers, property owners and the competitive symbolic capital of the city, at the expense of justice.

Criticism of the normalisation of gentrification and spatial commodification, however, is not new. Deutsche (1996) argued that critics of architecture, art, design, urban and social theory have generally disregarded the exclusionary strategies employed by developers and authorities against undesirables in the city, which are made on aesthetic grounds. Called alternately, redevelopment, regeneration, urban renewal or gentrification, these processes attack the basic needs of inhabitants (Deutsche, 1996, p. xiv). Notions of aesthetics can mask social, political, cultural and economic spatial oppressions. Abstract competitive constructs of creativity can also expedite the commodification of social and physical space.

2.8 The commodification of creativity

The role of artists and creative industries in the commodification of space is complex. Caulfield (1989, p. 162) discussed theorists’ views of the role played by artists and “bohemians” in gentrification and displacement: from those that hold the “structuralist” view of creatives as “Trojan Horse” early gentrifiers who open up areas for developers by increasing a neighbourhood’s fashionable status (Deutsche & Ryan, 1984; Zukin, 2010); to those who view these groups as merely “marginal gentrifiers” and not part of a “gentrification process” as such (Beauregard, 2010; D. Rose, 2010). Undeveloped inner city neighbourhoods may be attractive to
subcultural groups hoping to eschew hegemonic space (Caulfield, 1989, p. 167). What can follow, however, is the “entrepreneurial appropriation of [these] marginal cultural practice[s]” resulting in the displacement of both the original residents and the artists (Caulfield, 1989, p. 167).

Some urban cultural movements have received harsh criticism from theorists for their propensity to further enhance spatial inequities. One such movement is the Creative Class enterprise (Krätke, 2012; Mayer, 2012; Peck, 2005; Slater, 2012; D. Wilson & Keil, 2008), which has been championed by many city-governing bodies since Richard Florida’s book *The Rise of the Creative Class*, was published in 2002. Florida (2012) argued a new “Creative Class”, consisting of a varied list of vocations, from “artists”, “entrepreneurs” and “engineers” to “computer scientists”, was the linchpin of economic development in the *new* society, or Creative Economy (pp. 8-9). He encouraged cities to compete to attract the Creative Class who sought cities with “tolerance… and openness to diversity” (2012, p. 232) by investing in “pedestrian friendly scale…mixed use and mid-rise structures… [and] an active streetlife” (2012, p. 328) and walkable, “mixed use” suburbs (2012, p. 331). Florida (2012), argued that urban diversity, reflected in the built environment, promoted creativity, which in turn fuelled growth.

One criticism of this movement is the argument that this emphasis results in “public subsidies” (Peck, 2005, p. 749) for people who already have an advantageous “right to the city” (Krätke, 2012, p. 138). As one of the measures of success attributed to the Creative Class venture is an increase in house prices (Peck, 2005), the process could also be encouraging social inequality (Peck, 2005), and “third-wave” gentrification via large scale “urban regeneration” (Smith, 2002, p. 443). Florida himself stated that, in the USA, “it appears that the Creative Economy does little to ameliorate the traditional divide between the white and nonwhite segments of the population. It may even make it worse” (Florida, 2002, p. 263).

Lees et al. (2010, p. 448) suggested that the appeal of Florida’s theory is that it allowed for a new language of *creativity* to be used by those seeking to gentrify urban space. This encouraged the commodification of “the arts and cultural resources, even social tolerance itself” (Peck, 2005, p. 763) and the subsidisation of squats and communal art centres to attract the Creative Class (Mayer, 2012).
There was also a general misconception that the Creative Class concept of diversity on the street also promoted equity (Fainstein, 2010, p. 71). Florida conceded that the Creative Class is a “diversity of elites,” which has done little to alleviate inequity (2002, p. 80). Fainstein (2010, p. 71) argued that it appears to have intensified economic disparity. In contrast to the Creative Class concept, E. Wilson and Keil argued that the urban poor “(the homeless, the unemployed, the underemployed)” are the real “creative class”, often keeping down two or three jobs, with no security, in the face of decreasing government investment in their means of survival (2008, p. 842).

In 2012, Florida published The Rise of the Creative Class: Revisited, partly to address such criticisms, where he articulated “the huge rise in inequality” in the USA has impacted the formation of a “just and Creative Society” (2012, pp. xiv-xv) He proposed a “new social compact – a Creative Compact” which would promote “the creatification of everyone” while redressing inequities (Florida, 2012, pp. 384-385). Focusing on creativity as an outcome can be problematic, unless questions addressing “whose creativity?” and “for what purpose?” are discussed. The same questions have recently been asked of the spatial production of walkability.

2.9 The commodification of walkability

Along with Creative City and New Urbanist ideals comes the drive to create more walkable cities, towns and suburbs. Walkability has been credited with contributing to the creation of more sociable, safer, prosperous urban spaces. However, Talen and Koschinsky stated, “to critics the problem with the walkable neighbourhood as a policy goal is that it is a physical, deterministic solution that ignores people, institutions and political processes” (2013, pp. 47-48). The commodification of walkability, by promoting it as a driver of increasing property values, creates an abstracted vision of a walkable neighbourhood as a prosperous neighbourhood. This abstraction hides the impact that increasing house and land prices may have on rental tenants and small businesses.

The conflation of walkability with commodified space is evident in the algorithmic web application Walk Score. Walk Score (https://www.walkscore.com) measures the walkability of any address in the USA, Canada and Australia by analysing walking routes based on data from Google, Open Street Map, and user
contributions, then calculates a *Walk Score* out of 100, whereby anything above 90 is deemed a “walker’s paradise” (“Walk Score Methodology,” n.d.). *Walk Score* is a key tool for the real estate industry, as *Walk Score* itself advertises properties for rent on its website. There has been much deliberation (Boyle et al., 2014; Gilderbloom et al., 2015) and celebration (Speck, 2012, p. 27) of the claims that walkability, and particularly a high *Walk Score*, can significantly increase property values. These discussions validate the trend for walkable urban spaces, and also act as impetus for developers and planners to create such spaces.

Problematising the abstracted physical goal of a walkable neighbourhood, Talen and Koschinsky (2013) highlighted studies that found increased walkability was likely to coincide with increased gentrification and displacement (p. 53). Prioritising walkability also risked obfuscating urgent issues such as “poverty concentration” and inequitable access to resources and services (2013, p. 53). Although walkable neighbourhoods can alleviate resource access inequities by mitigating reliance on private transport, if this coincides with increased risk of displacement for vulnerable inhabitants, the outcomes could mean decreasing access to resources, services, and social networks for those who need them most.

If walkability is commodified through the promotion of its propensity to increase property values, inhabitants of lower socio-economic status could be excluded from the benefits of walkable neighbourhoods. Martel (2013) highlighted reports on Melbourne which demonstrated the development of two cities within the one: a “choice rich” walkable inner area offering more employment, higher wages, transport, cultural and physical activity options, but more expensive housing; and a “choice poor” outer ring with less expensive lower density housing (Martel, 2013, p. 4). Talen and Koschinsky found a disconnect between the promotion of affordable housing and walkable neighbourhoods (2013, p. 54). They concluded:

> Walkable neighborhood proponents need to continue to make the case that affordability is directly impacted by the physical design of neighborhoods, but at the same time, they need to be prepared to address the very real problem that walkable neighborhoods, in imperfect form, exclude low-income people. Ideally, affordable housing advocates and walkable neighborhood proponents would be

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7 Which, however, was still unaffordable to those on low to moderate incomes (Martel, 2013, p. 4).
able to see the natural overlap of their objectives and work toward common goals. (Talen & Koschinsky, 2013, p. 54)

As walkable neighbourhoods are most often aligned with mixed-income housing, “a different line of criticism positions the walkable neighborhood as a complicit part of unjust neoliberal policies aimed at displacing the poor”; policies that prioritise developers’ needs and “neglect the needs of low-income groups” (Talen & Koschinsky, 2013, p. 49). Additionally, prioritising environmental sustainability by designing high-density walkable neighbourhoods has been questioned if the resulting increasing housing costs negatively impact social sustainability (Agyeman, 2013; Ancell & Thompson-Fawcett, 2008; Talen & Koschinsky, 2013).

The commodification of personal safety has also been employed within the conflation of walkability with real estate values. Pugalis and Giddings (2011, p. 286) discussed how increased surveillance has accompanied the project to attract the Creative Class to urban space. The Walk Score website has added a “crime grade” feature to its service (“Walk Score Methodology,” n.d.). Researchers have also credited increased walkability with crime reduction, which also has a positive effect on real estate values (Gilderbloom et al., 2015, p. 14). Rather than addressing personal safety issues by promoting conversations about violence prevention at both the policy and street level (Whitzman, 2013), commodifying public safety, by fuelling gentrification, can increase risk for those on low to moderate incomes. “Urban renewal” or regeneration can also impact “socio-spatial equity” by encouraging displacement (Iotti et al., 2015, p. 1), however investments in public safety often occur through urban renewal processes. Disinvestment then reinvestment in public safety infrastructure can be employed as a strategy by those who will benefit from the resulting increased real estate values (Kellogg, 2015).

“Absolute definitions of walkability” (Talen & Koschinsky, 2013, p. 48), such as Walk Score, do not allow for the significant impact of perceptions on the way inhabitants relate to, and move through urban space. Nor do they address the extant inequities that could be augmented through the commodification of the spatial practice of walking (Zavestoski & Agyeman, 2015). This demonstrates the importance of inhabitants’ agency in exercising their right to the city, not just the
right to have access to affordable housing and walkable areas, but the right to speak out and be heard when these rights are being diminished.

2.10 Conclusion

In this chapter I have synthesised literature from multiple disciplines in a discussion of spatial justice and considered these in relation to de Certeau’s (1984) theories on walking in the city. I have considered what a spatialised approach to research might entail, and what injustices in spatial production may be brought to light through this process. Mobility inequities, and the impact of cultural imperialism and associated irrational violence on vulnerable pedestrians have been investigated, with examples provided from the Australian context. I have discussed key theories on justice, equity and story telling in planning and theory, and highlighted research on discursive space, which has uncovered the potential for partnership and pedagogy in spatial production. Finally I considered walkability through a spatial justice perspective to consider how the commodification of space, creativity and walkability has impacted inhabitants’ right to the city.

This chapter has established a spatial justice framework for walking and walkability, which will inform the data collection and analysis of this study. However, what has not yet been established is how a research study can apply a spatial justice framework to investigate walking as a distinct spatial practice. In the following chapter I will discuss theories on walking and spatial practice, adding literature from the disciplines of anthropology, ethnography, art, environmental psychology, child development psychology, and gender studies to envisage a spatial justice/spatial practice approach to walking research.
CHAPTER THREE:
A SPATIAL PRACTICE APPROACH
– LITERATURE REVIEW PART II

In this second part of the literature review, I synthesise the research of ethnographers, anthropologists, geographers, sociologists and philosophers, and the creative walking practices of artists and activists, in order to tease out the potency of walking as a distinct spatial practice. This chapter also begins to unpack the ways in which walking relates to the development of spatial competence, and how this may position walking as a potential practice for initiating spatial resilience.

De Certeau (1984) argued, “spatial practices in fact secretly structure the determining conditions of social life” (p. 96). His theoretical discourse, focused not on the power structures of spatial production but *how* space was received, not passively, but made use of by inhabitants (1984, p. 30). The forces that produce a “disciplinary space” are challenged by “reappropriation” (de Certeau, 1984, p. 96). Inhabitants “use” and “re-use” the hegemonic culture to establish “a degree of *plurality*” as artists, creators and producers in the practice of their everyday lives (de Certeau, 1984, p. 30). Through spatial practice, heterogeneity inserts itself into the homogenous universal story (de Certeau, 1984, p. 107). Hence, de Certeau claimed:

> One thus has the very relationship between spatial practices and the constructed order. The surface of this order is everywhere punched and torn open by ellipses, drifts, and leaks of meaning: it is a sieve-order. (1984, p. 107)

Because the practice of walking is a practice of engaging in “exile” within the city boundaries, walking opens up the possibility for the creation of “the body of legends that is currently lacking” in the dominant story (de Certeau, 1984, p. 107). Walking becomes a “signifying” or “meaning making” (Demerath & Levinger, 2003) practice whereby the walker engages in the process of creating and enunciating stories and therefore it is one of the “practices that invent spaces” (de Certeau, 1984, p. 107). Walking can be creative, social, and pedagogic and walkers shape the city through everyday practice, such that walkers and the city are one and the same entity (de Certeau, 1984).
A spatial practice approach can be useful when investigating walking. Lorimer discussed the need for researchers of pedestrianism to focus less on “why” inhabitants walked, but on “what” a walk is, and “how” a walk is undertaken (2010, p. 27). This reorientation of research questions:

open[s] up action and experience, …[and] make[s] greater sense of the spaciousness of walking, allowing room for forms of meaning that are lived, and mobile, and to remain sensitive to the particulars of geography that a walker might still demand. (Lorimer, 2010, p. 27)

In this chapter I approach walking as a distinct spatial practice, as artists and anthropologists have done previously, so as to better understand how everyday practices of walking can inform walkability theory and practice. The literature on spatial justice, discussed in the previous chapter, has augmented this spatial practice approach. This investigation into both exceptional and everyday walking practices is undertaken with appreciation of the diversity of pedestrian experience, and the spatial inequities inhabitants negotiate on a daily basis.

3.1 Walking as a social practice

Much public policy on walkable neighbourhoods, including New Urbanism, has promoted their sociability as a key benefit (Middleton, 2016). However, these discourses have not engaged with “the complexities of the social dimensions of walking” nor the “micro politics of pedestrian urban encounters” (Middleton, 2016, p. 15). How everyday walking is engaged with and promoted, both academically and within policy discussions, as a social practice (Middleton, 2016), will continue to impact spatial justice on the street.

In an extensive review of the literature on the “walkable neighborhood” which they broadly defined as possessing features that make walking a “positive experience”, Talen and Koschinsky (2013, p. 43) established that three major assumptions had been tested: first, that the walkable neighbourhood increased walking and physical activity in general; second, that the walkable neighbourhood increased property prices; and third, that the walkable neighbourhood increased social interactions. Talen and Koschinsky found that the link between walkability and social interactions was the most unreliable of the three arguments due to the self-selection bias of a walkable neighbourhood, which can result in homogeneity of residents, and the difficulty in proving causality between built form and sociability
(2013, p. 54). To follow, I discuss the specific features of walkability and walking that are claimed to promote social interactions, and consider three diverse research methodologies undertaken between 2003 and 2013, two of which are empirical, and one theoretical, though based on observations.

After a multiple case study undertaken to survey social capital and travel behaviours, Roger et al. (2011) found a correlation between the walkable neighbourhood and social capital (p. 201). They argued “communities are more resilient if they have the capacity to utilize social capital and access to physical infrastructure that supports the interaction of residents” (2011, p. 2013). Social capital is a measurement of an individual’s network of social connections they can call upon when needed, and relates to the capital, or agency, these connections hold economically, culturally or symbolically (Bourdieu, 1986). Roger et al. (2011) argued an increase in the number of “destinations” that are comfortable to walk to in a neighbourhood increases the range of “informal gathering places” where “chance encounters” can occur (p. 204). These pedestrian encounters can augment social networks and increase social capital (Roger et al., 2011, p. 204).

After analysing census and business data in the USA, Knudsen and Clark (2013) proposed that the higher incidence of involvement in social movement organisations (SMOs) in walkable neighbourhoods (higher density, mixed use, mixed building age and smaller blocks) was mainly due to greater opportunity for face-to-face contact and “encounters with a wide variety of social influences, ideas, and people” (p. 631). The variable, “walked to work” produced the highest consistent results of SMO membership and all forms of active transport showed higher membership in SMOs, suggesting that walking, cycling and public transport are “complementary” (Knudsen & Clark, 2013, p. 641). The researchers stated the key contributions of the study were the findings “that walking effects are larger than income, local rent, or racial diversity [on social movement organisation engagement] and that walking builds sociophysical capital” (Knudsen & Clark, 2013, p. 641).

Through a “constructivist” analysis of pedestrian movement, Demerath and Levinger (2003) presented a theoretical framework of what they considered a unique quality of pedestrian experience. They argued “meaning making”, and importantly “shared meaning” is developed through “casual conversations” and “interactions” (2003, p. 219). These interactions hold the potential to give agency to the
“oppressed, marginalized and excluded” for they allow for the sharing of knowledge, “mutual interests and potential resources” (Demerath & Levinger, 2003, p. 219). They argued that pedestrians are not mere “navigators or spectators” but actively create the cultural space through “breadth of experience, identity expression, pausability, and collaborative creativity” (2003, p. 225). Walking engenders interactions because pedestrian friendly spaces generate “experiences” through “sensory [and] social contact” (Demerath & Levinger, 2003, p. 228). They cited Habermas’ theory on “communicative action” to support the concept of pedestrian interactions as sites for “meaning-making” (2003, p. 226).

The pausability of walking increases its capacity as a social practice, however, lingering and loitering have long been contentious uses of public space. Considered unproductive and thus a “threat to the desired visibility of capitalist consumption” loitering challenges the ordered lines of urban spatial movement and introduces fuzzy lines formed in the pursuit of pleasure and reflection (Phadke, Khan, & Ranade, 2011, p. 186). Although Gehl contended that “staying” in public space contributes to both a “lively” and “safe” city (Gehl, 2006; 2010, p. 6), Phadke et al. argued there is an implicit assumption that urban space is a commodity only to be enjoyed by those with the means to afford it (2011, p. 186). Loitering, or staying without consuming, acts in defiance of this assumption (Phadke et al., 2011, p. 186).

Phadke et al. (2011) presented Mumbai as a case study to demonstrate that there are additional gendered restrictions to the permissibility of loitering. Women have “conditional access” to public space whereby safety is a “reward” for not engaging in “risky” practices, including loitering (Phadke et al., 2011). Even when loitering has been considered an enigmatic yet productive practice of creative observation, in the case of the flâneur, this deviation has also been gendered (E. Wilson, 2001, pp. 90-91). Restricted by the male gaze, the loitering woman could not be interpreted as “working” unless her employment is as a sex worker, working girl or streetwalker (E. Wilson, 2001, pp. 90-91). In order to loiter freely like the flâneur, E. Wilson argued, the woman must become “invisible”, through age or camouflage,

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8 A romanticised urban stroller and connoisseur with origins in nineteenth century French literature, and popularised in the twentieth century. See The Painter of Modern Life (Baudelaire, 1995), originally published in 1863, and The Arcades Project (Benjamin, 2003), unfinished, 1927 to 1940, among others.
thus gaining “a kind of negative freedom” through social “annihilation” (2001, p. 94).

In an attempt to limit “undesirable” interactions city authorities modify spaces that foster lingering (Demerath & Levinger, 2003, p. 224), and remove inhabitants through anti-social behaviour policies. They have also engaged “defensive [also called hostile or disciplinary] architecture” (Omidi, 2014, para. 1; Andreou, 2015, para. 2), such as sloping park benches and spiked ledges, to restrict loitering or sleeping. Disciplinary architecture also makes a semiotic statement about the city, that practices of urban inhabitation are restricted, and inhabitants not considered consumers, such as homeless people or young people, are not permitted (Dee, 2015).

Mitchell (2012) tracked the evolution of the People’s Park in Berkeley, USA, to demonstrate how conflicting values of social space can be enacted in public space. The park was hand built in 1969 by up to 3,000 university students and local residents who brought shovels, turf and flowers to create “an open community-controlled political space” (Mitchell, 2012, p. 184). The fight to retain the park began weeks later when park supporters were challenged by fencing, police, teargas, the National Guard, and rifle fire, resulting in one death and several injuries (Mitchell, 2012, p. 184).

Although the park survived, its purpose as an “open” space was challenged, through the 1990s, and again in 2011, by the local Business Improvement District, which voiced concerns that the consistent use of the park by the homeless excluded other users from the space (Mitchell, 2016, pp. 9-10). As Mitchell (2012) articulated, the park “had to be reclaimed [from the homeless] so that it could be made available to an appropriate public” (p. 203).

The argument over who should have access to the People’s Park, and all public space, is one of perspectives (Mitchell, 2012, p. 379); whose rights are being secured, and whose are being denied (Mitchell, 2012, p. 379). Freire maintained, “oppressors...genuinely consider themselves to be oppressed” by others who subjugate their own “right to live in peace” (1972, p. 34). Securitising public space may increase appearances of safe sociality for some pedestrians, but negate access to safety and social networks for others.
Mitchell (2016) noted the changes in public space in American cities since the 1970s, spurred by the Civil Rights Movement, Gay Pride parades and Take Back the Night marches, by which being “present and visible” challenged the violence, and exclusive right to the street, of the heteronormative white male (p. 5). The securitisation and privatisation of public space, that began in the 1990s, thus promoted diverse social encounters of certain kinds but restricted others (Mitchell, 2016, pp. 4-5).

Middleton (2016) argued that “romanticised” approaches to walking in both theory and policy have ignored the social complexities of everyday pedestrian experience (p. 16), and much of these discussions have been unsupported by empirical data (p. 2). Links between walking and creativity have fostered a romantic view of the pedestrian (Middleton, 2010, p. 578). However, the connections between walking and creativity are also complex and deserve further attention.

3.2 Walking as a creative practice

The reframing of walking as a romantic or “elite leisure” practice rather than a mode of transport, was encouraged by the poetry and practices of Wordsworth and Coleridge in the nineteenth century (Middleton, 2010, p. 578). This sentimentalisation of walking has continued in much theoretical discourse, which has focused on the walking practices of artists (Heddon & Turner, 2010; A. Phillips, 2005; Pinder, 2011; Pink, Hubbard, O’Neill, & Radley, 2010; Solnit, 2002; Wunderlich, 2008). Well-known examples of walking artists are Richard Long (1967) and Hamish Fulton (1980). However, many creatives consider walking as central to their practice and The Walking Artists Network webpage (Walking Artists Network, n.d.) displays a comprehensive list of walking artists. The attraction of walking to artists raises questions about the links between walking and creativity; however, everyday walking as a creative practice engaged by non-artists has only recently been credited with attention in research.

Wunderlich proposed three different categories of walking: “purposive”, “discursive” and “conceptual” (2008, p. 132). She described a “purposive” walk as one where the destination held priority over the journey: a walk to get from “A to B to C” (2008, p. 131). Conversely, on a “discursive” walk the journey is pre-eminent as the walker responds bodily to their environment (2008, p. 132). The discursive
category takes inspiration from de Certeau’s comparison of walking to speaking (2008, p. 132). A “conceptual walk” is “reflective”, “creative” and focused on the walking practice itself and other related spatial practices, rather than the journey (Wunderlich, 2008, p. 132). A “conceptual walk” can be an “intervention”, whereby the walker attempts to make the familiar location of the walk unfamiliar (Wunderlich, 2008, p. 132). In this category she included the Situationist dérive, or drift (see Section 3.3) and the practices of walking artists (2008, p. 132). Wunderlich argued only the last two categories of walking practices engage the walker in a co-creation of social space (2008, p. 133). More recently, however, researchers in the discipline of psychology have investigated the creative potential of everyday walking practices.

In 2014, Oppezzo and Schwartz undertook a psychological study which found “that walking boosts creative ideation in real time and shortly after” (2014, p. 1). Study participants either: sat indoors; walked on a treadmill indoors; walked outdoors; or were pushed in a wheelchair outdoors; and were then asked to complete tasks that measured their ability to come up with creative “novel” ideas (Oppezzo & Schwartz, 2014). The researchers found, “of those who walked, 95% generated at least one novel high-quality analogy compared with 50% of those who sat” (2014, p. 6) and “walking, rather than being outdoors, was the driver of novel, high quality analogies” (2014, p. 6). While previous studies had shown that being outdoors, particularly in natural, green spaces, produced cognitive benefits, this study demonstrated the effect walking had on improving creativity was distinct (Oppezzo & Schwartz, 2014, pp. 6-7). Also of interest was the finding that, “walking also exhibited a residual effect on creativity. After people walked, their subsequent seated creativity was much higher than those who had not walked” (Oppezzo & Schwartz, 2014, p. 4).

Oppezzo and Schwartz considered “the increased talkativeness that comes with walking” (2014, p. 7) may have augmented analogical thinking. However, a review of noted writers’ and philosophers’ solo outdoor walking practices, including Rousseau, Kierkegaard, Dickens, Woolf and Darwin (Solnit, 2002) may suggest talkativeness is not necessary for a conversation to take place that induces creative ideation. The physical, embodied, and ambulant practice of the walk itself could be considered the creative process. It could also be the phenomenological process that
accompanies the body on the journey, connecting the haptic, or tactile, sensations to the non-haptic, emotions, thoughts, connections and ideas.

Wunderlich (2008) suggested the artistic, political walking practice is different from everyday walking. However, it could be argued the *purposive* walk can also be creative, as when a walker takes a shortcut, or as children often do, plays a game with cracks in the footpath. Creativity is not switched off when we walk, as walking allows for multiple engagements at once (J. Lee & Ingold, 2006). The concept of “pausability” (Demerath & Levinger, 2003, p. 225), the ease in which the walker can momentarily interrupt the walk to undertake another activity, allows for reflection, reorientation, changes in speed, movement, focus, and multitasking.

Ethnographers and anthropologists have considered everyday walking as a practice for creative ideation for some time. O’Neill and Hubbard (2010, p. 49) considered walking as a practice that is “doing as well as being” and cited Solnit’s suggestion that walking is among the “phenomenological processes of coming-into-being.” Ingold and Vergunst (2008) discussed walking as a way of “thinking and feeling” and as a “narrative” of the “whole body in motion,” (p. 2) which relates also to de Certeau’s (1984) discussion of walking as a speech act.

Although Oppezzo and Schwartz (2014) presented empirical evidence of the relationship between walking and creativity, the connections between their findings and anthropological research on the ways that everyday walkers shape urban space, and the attraction to walking for artists and storytellers have not yet been made. This is an important point because, as Middleton (2011, p. 96) argued, most theoretical discussions of walking focus on singular walking practices. Urban transport policy, however, is concerned with everyday walking practices (Middleton, 2016). Research presented in this section supports the creative potential of everyday walking practices, however, the impact this has on how inhabitants engage with space has not been sufficiently investigated.

### 3.3 Walking and spatial competence

Of interest to this study is how spatial competence can be developed through creative physical engagement with space. Spatial competence is a term originally applied to children’s cognitive ability to describe or reproduce their spatial environment (Biel, 1982; Piaget & Inhelder, 1967). Developing spatial competence
could also apply to gaining a critical awareness of the various uses of space, and the ways in which such uses can have social, economic, political and physical effects on inhabitants (Bailey, Lobenstein & Nagel, 2012). Lefebvre argued, “spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion” and “this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of competence” (1991, p. 33). Therefore, spatial competence could also be a continuing and iterative process of becoming familiar with space, through spatial practice. This could provide a foundation for spatial resilience.

Developing spatial competence includes critical awareness of the functions of Cartesian methods of describing space, such as maps, plans and surveys (Lefebvre, 1991). Conversely, the practices of wayfinding, route making, (Bendiner-Viani, 2009; J. Lee & Ingold, 2006; Myers, 2009) and “homing” (Myers, 2009, p. 79) through which inhabitants determine their own routes and relationships with space, can develop spatial competence through an embodied discursive process. The pedestrian, through the collaborative creation of the social space of the street, and through “path-making”, or wayfinding, can create identity and meaning through spatial practice (Demerath & Levinger, 2003, p. 232). They can develop spatial competence through cohesion as “the [walker’s] path reflects their routines, their priorities, and their world” and thus connects them to the space through the “meaning making” practice (Demerath & Levinger, 2003, p. 233).

Discussing the differences between design for car drivers and design for pedestrians, Demerath and Levinger (2003, p. 223) argued the speed of car travel necessitates visual simplicity in the built environment. In addition, the extensive space required by vehicle mobility and storage (parking) imposes a functional austerity (Demerath & Levinger, 2003, p. 223). Both of these aspects lack the complexity needed to facilitate pedestrian engagement (Demerath & Levinger, 2003, p. 223). Degen articulated the ascendancy of automobility had resulted in space being considered as a medium for mobility in which the visual was prioritised over the other senses (Degen, 2008, p.11). This approach assimilates urban multiplicity whereby “sensuous difference is neutralized through visual uniformity” (Degen, 2008, p. 37).

Pedestrians are actively engaged in the process of creating culture and making, or designing, space through their actions, and “to treat pedestrians as rule-followers or rule-breakers—as many planners and engineers do—is to treat them as
drivers on foot” (Demerath & Levinger, 2003, p. 231). Pedestrians are also adept at “playfulness” (Demerath & Levinger, 2003, p. 223). This is an important characteristic of the creative practice of walking which allows inhabitants to enhance their understanding of space and their own spatial competence (Demerath & Levinger, 2003, p. 223).

De Certeau’s (1984) consideration of the walk as an “antidiscipline” in the face of strategies of oppression, positions walking as a tactical and resistant practice. Debord and the Situationists performed a similar task with their dérives, or drifts. These “playful-constructive” walking practices promoted a re-awakened urban space by becoming aware of the mental image of the city, its abstractions, signs and symbols, which formed a “psychogeography” of invisible openings and restrictions (Debord, 1956, para.1). A key factor in this process was the idea of détournement, an artistic reappropriation, or hijacking, of the signs of the dominant culture, which disrupted “the ownership of the sign” (Wark, 2011, p. 38). Related closely to de Certeau’s discussion of everyday “tactical” spatial practices of reappropriation (1984, p. xiv), détournement can open up a dialogue between the dominant culture’s occupation of physical space, its signs and structures, and those disenfranchised from it.

Street Training, developed by the artist Lottie Child (2007), follows in this tradition of playful and creative reappropriation of public space. Through everyday practices of creative physicality, Street Training challenges the norms of street behaviour imposed by the “hyper-consumption agenda” (Child, 2010, p. 86). Child argued this was a practice at which children are the experts, but at which all inhabitants engage to varying degrees while walking (2010, p. 86). Demerath and Levinger (2003, p. 232) suggested “puddle jumping” as an example of the how the freedoms afforded by walking can allow inhabitants to playfully negotiate a path between the unwritten rules of conventional behaviour.

Lefebvre argued: “The city historically constructed is no longer lived and no longer understood practically” (1996, p. 148). The human being has a need to experience the world spatially through all the senses, to engage in playful, imaginative and creative activities, and Lefebvre has suggested these needs are not sufficiently taken account of by planners (1991, p. 147). Thus he questioned:
Would not specific urban needs be those of qualified places, places of simultaneity and encounters, places where exchange would not go through exchange value, commerce or profit? Would there not also be the need for these encounters, these exchanges? (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 148)

The complexity of pedestrian experience may also be challenging for the walker (Demerath & Levinger, 2003), and the pedestrian can be exposed to risk of unwanted confrontations, such as crime, violence, or verbal harassment. “Pedestrian dexterity” or “street wisdom” can be developed in response to such risk (Demerath & Levinger, 2003, p. 224). As I discussed in Section 2.3.1, some inhabitants experience more unwanted interactions in public space than others, and the risk of such interactions are context dependent.

Becoming streetwise could be considered a communal practice, as “interpersonal safety threats are not easily addressed by design only. Instead, it has been the case that users themselves collaboratively participate in making public spaces safe” (Demerath & Levinger, 2003, p. 233). It could also be argued that unsafe spaces should not be left for those most at risk to negotiate, thus conversations about safety within public space should be inclusive, but also offer a safe space for discourse (Whitzman, Legacy, et al., 2013). Because of this, understanding how knowledge is created through the everyday practice of walking and negotiating urban space is critical.

3.4 Walking and knowledge creation

If spatial competence can be developed through engagement with the street as a pedestrian, applying a spatial practice approach to walking could aid understanding of the ways in which inhabitants learn and develop knowledge in this way. Middleton argued that little attention has been paid to the importance of travel-time as thinking time, and how this relates specifically to the “rhythmicity of walking” (2009, pp. 1946-1947). If walking promotes engagement with both the internal terrain of the mind and the external physical and social landscape then walking could be considered a multidimensional learning practice. Both theoretical and empirical studies have investigated these aspects of walking, however, the way that people engage mentally and emotionally with the city as they walk has not been considered in policies promoting walkability (Middleton, 2009).
Through their ethnographic research on walking and walkers in Aberdeen, Scotland, J. Lee and Ingold found participants employed the practice of walking for thinking, or “escape”, and walks to, or from, work could become “liminal” or transitional processes (2006). They considered the unique mobility of walking was key to it being conducive to thinking because “it offers the possibility of thinking in a different way, more freely and without distraction, or need of distraction from boredom” (2006, p. 71). Pink, Hubbard, O’Neill and Radley (2010) argued that walking is, “in itself, a form of engagement integral to our perception of an environment. We cannot but learn and come to know in new ways as we walk” (p. 3).

J. Lee and Ingold (2006) conceptualised three modes of walking. In the first, “the walker may look (or sense) around” discerning “details” and “changes” in space (2006, p. 73). The second mode is distinguished by a turning to the interior world of “thoughts, memories and stories in the mind,” although still engaged with their environment (2006, p. 74). The third mode becomes manifest in situations where the senses overtake thoughts, and the walk embodies the feelings of the walker, such as in a sudden deluge of rain (2006, p. 74). Thus, the city is replete with lines made by walkers that are “rich in the memories and experiences that are formed by moving, by the encounters that occur and the changes in the environment” (J. Lee & Ingold, 2006, pp. 76-77).

Regular walks, such as a daily walk to a bus stop, through repetition, become “thick lines” important to the creation of space, by which “pedestrian crossings” and “shops” may follow (2006, pp. 77-78). Through their influence on the built environment in this manner, “walkers inscribe their own lives into the city” (J. Lee & Ingold, 2006, p. 77). This holistic and embodied engagement with urban space can be considered as important to citizenship, through inscribing their life and identity in the city, the inhabitant is contributing to the creation of space, in the process of coming to know it.

The plurality of pedestrian perspectives that form the city might be compared to the pedestrian act of creating a desire line with footsteps on unpaved land. A desire line (Lorimer, 2010, p. 28; Luckert, 2012, p. 318) or desire path is a visible trace or mark left on the ground, created by pedestrian traffic. It earns the label desire as it evinces the preferred route of walkers through earth, grass, sand or snow.
A desire line occurs either where a footpath is needed, or one has been placed in a way that does not reflect the actual walking route. It is created by many different footsteps forging a path in space over time, by one person or many. Desire lines are not static or staid, and they develop through iteration.

The “lines” (Ingold, 2007, p. 2) that are created through walkers’ steps and interactions through physical and social space become a process of knowledge creation. Ingold (2007) questioned whether spatial knowledge is formed by connecting visual images from several locations into a whole, in the way that a surveyor forms a map, or whether it is formed by wayfaring “along a line of travel” (pp. 88-90). In the former process, “occupant knowledge” is built “up” in the colonialist practice of “index(ing)” and “collect(ing)” objects and spaces (Ingold, 2007, p. 90). In contrast, Ingold (2007) related knowledge formed by wayfaring, which he called “inhabitant knowledge”, to the process of storytelling, and also to a thread of yarn (p. 90). Significant spaces and events can be compared to knots in the yarn (Ingold, 2007, p. 90) that never ends, but becomes enmeshed with other knots and other yarns (p. 100). These yarns make up a “meshwork”, a term previously employed by Escobar and Lefebvre (Myers, 2009, p. 28), which contrasts to a “network”, in that the network “join[s] the dots” (Ingold, 2007, p. 80) while the meshwork consists of the “interwoven…trails along which life is lived” (2007, p. 90).

Learning through spatial practice has been discussed in the previous section, as developing spatial competence, but socio-spatial practices, such as walking, have been examined, not only as sites for cultivating spatial dexterity, but for learning about others, and challenging assumptions. L.G. Phillips and Hickey discussed the child-led walking tours they facilitated in Brisbane, Australia, and other sites, as “embodied public pedagogy” for both adult participants and child walk leaders (2013, p. 251). Titled, The Walking Neighbourhood: Hosted by Children, the tours engendered spatial and relational learning, engaging “both child tour curator and adult participant in a negotiation with the multiple meanings the space invokes and the convergence of understandings child and adult carry with them into the space” (p. 245). Aligned with Wunderlich’s (2008) “conceptual walk” as a performative challenge to the norms of spatial practice (p. 132), L.G. Phillips and Hickey’s “pedagogical endeavour seeks to uncover the ‘logics’ … invested into the space in
the act of making sense of it” (2013, p. 245). Key logics challenged through these walks were “most Western” societies’ relegation of children from public to private spaces of home, school and play, and the delineation of separate spaces for adults and children (L. G. Phillips & Hickey, 2013, pp. 245-251).

The Walking Neighbourhood tours (2013) provided the opportunity for the adult participants to learn from the child tour leaders, and discover children’s spatial competence in adult space, thus acknowledging their own, and their culture’s, misconceptions about how children should, and do, engage in space. Pedestrian relational “meaning making” (Demerath & Levinger, 2003), in this sense, is both social and spatial. Restricting inhabitants’ capacity to create space through physical engagement with it, limits not only their potential for learning and developing spatial competence, but also others’ aptitude for learning about, and from, them. Walking can be a practice of engaging with and opening up such spaces.

3.5 Rewalking forgotten spatial stories

Abstracting practices of spatial production can have an unsettling effect on the memories and stories of a space, displacing and overwriting them in service of the abstraction. As previously discussed, de Certeau posited that the map has become disconnected from the practice of the walk or journey that was its origin thus having “the effect of making invisible the operation that made it possible” (1984, p. 97). He stated: “The trace left behind is substituted for the practice...but in doing so it causes a way of being in the world to be forgotten” (1984, p. 97). The trace can also be likened to the urban landscape itself, the material form that presides, obfuscating the spatial practices of its production.

Byrne and Houston related Marx’s theory of man’s alienation from the production of the commodity to alienation from the production of the “highly abstracted” landscape (2005, p. 7). Just as a commodity holds the many hidden stories of its production for anyone interested in uncovering them, the many layers of physical space in the city hold, in the practice of hiding, many of the stories told in the production of that space. Nora (1989) described memory and history as being in “fundamental opposition” (p. 8). History is a “representation” and an “intellectual production” and therefore requires critical analysis (Nora, 1989, p. 8). Influenced by Halbwachs, Nora described history as temporal, relational and tied to “progressions”,

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a forward momentum also discussed by Massey (2005) regarding the “singular universal” (p. 71). Memory, on the other hand, is “multiple” and “plural”, is constantly changing, and, like space, connects us to the “eternal present” (Nora, 1989, pp. 8-9). Memory “takes root in the concrete, in spaces, gestures, images and objects” (Nora, 1989, p. 8). The selection of particular memories over others has a marginalising effect:

In part the crisis of memory is represented not only by the surfeit of memory, but also by its abeyance. That is, spaces in the city tend to reflect the dominant mnemonic community while allowing us to forget or marginalize others. (D. C. Harvey, 2008, p. 129)

D.C. Harvey called for discourse on the right to the city to include “who has rights to the memory of the city” (2008, p. 129). Steinberg and Shields considered the importance of storytelling, stating it “reintegrates and rebalances the relationship between self and society, private and public...and allows performative enactments that actualize a given memory of trauma” (2008, p.128). D.C. Harvey broadened this discussion to include the trauma of the displacement of people and memories by regeneration and gentrification:

An integral component to the story of urban renewal, which unfortunately has been seriously neglected, is the ability to destroy or replace memory. The processes of forgetting and remembering in the city, or investing in certain memories and de-investing in others, has been overlooked in urban analysis. (2008, pp. 130-131)

D.C. Harvey focused attention to “polysemic” spaces steeped with “multiple memories” and meaning, and “asemiotic” spaces which consist of the “sounds, smells [and], nonhaptic sensations” that constitute the intangible yet palpable character of a neighbourhood or city (D. C. Harvey, 2008, p. 133). A question to be asked is whether “asemiotic spaces” hold potential for practices to subvert abstractions (Lefebvre, 1991) by challenging the visual aestheticisation of urban space. De Certeau did not say that this was impossible, but it would not be easy: “what constitutes the implantation of memory in a place that already forms an ensemble? That implantation is the moment which calls for a tightrope-walker’s talent and a set of tactics: it is the instant of art” (1984, p. 86). Walking a tightrope between the singular narrative of abstracted space and space that allows for complexity, conflict, and resistance is a spatial practice of which many have taken up the challenge. It is often the space where art and activism merge.
A key question for discussions on colonialism and Indigenous Peoples’ relationships to the land is whether the act of walking in public, and its attendant claim of visibility, can insert obscured stories into the dominant text. Waziyatawin Angela Wilson explained the reasons behind the Dakota Com­memorative March, a 150 mile biennial walk retracing the steps of the enforced march of around 1700 of the Dakota people’s ancestors in 1862, in which they were subjected to horrific acts of violence and humiliation: “truth-telling, in this context, then, becomes a major act of decolonization. Consequently, part of the key to our future liberation ironically rests inherently in [retelling and re-enacting] our stories of suffering” (cited in Brown, Griffis, Hamilton, Irish, & Kanouse, 2007, p. 20). Walking in this regard is clearly a “tactic”, but could also be named a “strategy” (de Certeau, 1984, p. 96) to enunciate survival.

A critical spatial approach must consider who is telling the spatial stories, and what memories are being recalled. As D.C. Harvey stated, “mnemonic battles can easily become cognitive battles as conflicts over memory give way to conflicts over perception and focus” (2008, p. 137). A plurality of perceptions is to be expected within space, and such perceptions can be subject to change through spatial practice, yet initiating dialogue on conflicting perceptions and memories can be a step toward spatial justice.

### 3.6 Walking practices of resistance

There has been much criticism of the use, and subsequent interpretation, of de Certeau’s framing of walking as an everyday spatial practice of resistance. These criticisms apply to de Certeau’s apparent romanticisation of walking (Middleton, 2011; Morris, 2004; Pinder, 2011; Thrift, 2004) and blindness to “difference” and the “invisible boundaries” that reinforce inequitable access to the street (Meagher, 2007, p. 15). It is not the purpose of this thesis to debate the validity of de Certeau’s discussion. However, as the central concerns here are the relationships between walking and spatial justice, de Certeau’s treatise of walking as an everyday resistant practice deserves attention.

De Certeau’s use of a binary model of spatial production/spatial practice represented through the “strategies” of the oppressor and the “tactics” (1984, pp. xiv-xv), of the resistor is undoubtedly a simplification. De Certeau argued, within a
consumer-oriented society “marginality is becoming universal”, however, the marginalised majority is not homogenous and inhabitants’ capacity to employ “tactics” is dependent on social and power relations (1984, p. xvii). Although critics of de Certeau have problematised his neglect to elaborate on the heterogeneity of urban experience (Meagher, 2007; Middleton, 2011; Morris, 2004; Thrift, 2004), the universalisation of his model may be deemed appropriate. One way of considering de Certeau’s tactics are as everyday practices of survival within an increasingly oppressive and pervasive sociocultural sphere, in which the strategies of consumption saturate public, private and personal space. If a walker is able to build their own connections with urban space, and tell their own story of the city, by forming their own paths, then this may still be called resistance.

As previously discussed, what is useful to this study is de Certeau’s insistence on shifting the perspective of spatial theory toward the everyday practices of inhabitants rather than the administrations of oppression, which had been already extensively investigated by Foucault (de Certeau, 1984, p. 96). This prompts further investigation of the street level and the potential for engaging in spatial theory from this perspective. Key to this approach is the work of Lugones, who challenged de Certeau’s description of walkers’ practices as “an urban ‘text’ they write without being able to read it” (de Certeau, 1984, p. 93). Lugones interpreted de Certeau’s inhabitants’ resistant “tactics” as “short sighted creations” (2003, p. 214) and the oppressors’ “strategy” as “distance mastered through sight and abstraction” (2003, p. 214). Lugones questioned the efficacy of the theorist if, as de Certeau claimed, they also operate from the abstracted panoramic perspective of the city, which reduces urban complexity by transforming it into a digestible text (de Certeau, 1984, p. 92).

Thus, Lugones presented the concept of the “streetwalker theorist” whose street level perspective is not short sighted, but in contrast, is aware that the panoptic view of the city is a “powerful fiction” (2003, pp. 222-226). She “complicated” de Certeau’s dichotomy of “tactical” spatial resistance and “strategic” oppression (de Certeau, 1984, pp. xiv-xv) by arguing the “streetwalker theorist” engages in “tactical strategies” (Lugones, 2003, pp. 222-226).

Lugones’ perspective is grounded in the street level “tactical strategies” of “streetwalkers”, of which she included women who have suffered violence in public and private space, the institution and the home, and find “more expressive and ‘freer’
motility, and meaning in the street” (2003, p. 209). From this perspective the “streetwalker theorist” can perceive both the “univocity” (Lugones, 2003, p. 222) of the “singular universal” (Massey, 2005, p. 71) and the multiple voices suppressed by it. Lugones conceded that not all inhabitants could move beyond “tactical” practices, but it is only by engaging in “tactical strategies” that the inhabitant could transcend mere “survival” (2003, p. 226).

Although a powerful augmentation to de Certeau’s discussion of the urban walker that addresses both his scant consideration of difference and the limitations of tactical resistance, few theorists have engaged Lugones’ streetwalker theorist concept in discussions of walking in the city. Meagher (2007) alluded to Lugones “streetwalker theorist’s” perspective in her discussion of walking, philosophy, de Certeau and Engels. C. T. Fisher (2008) presented a detailed discussion of the “streetwalker theorist” functioning at the ground level in a post Hurricane Katrina New Orleans. Aoki and Yoshimizu (2015) discussed Lugones’ concept as a significant development for walking research practices, and an apt approach for their own research into the spatial histories of sex workers. As a result, little attention has been paid to the “tactical-strategic” (Lugones, 2003, p. 224) walking practices that have been employed in the name of resistance against oppressions.

Resistant walking practices have included protest marches, and mobile occupations of space, and have often intersected with demands for mobility equity and walking rights, such as the Mass Trespass of Kinder Scout, England, in 1932 (n.d.), and the Reclaim The Streets movement (n.d.). Recalling Wunderlich’s conceptualisation of walks as “purposive”, “discursive” or “conceptual” (2008, p. 126), protest marches can be all three, and can also employ “tactical strategies” (Lugones, 2003, p. 226). Protest marches are generally purposive through the dual aims of reaching a set destination and communicating a message, and they are discursive both in the conversations engaged by march participants en route, and also the conversation the marchers engage in, en masse, politically, and with spectators, the wider public and the media. This conversation includes not just the message but also the bodies occupying space. Mitchell described the protesters of Tiananmen Square in 1989, as undertaking an act of “incomprehensibility” through which they gained their communicative power (2003, pp. 152-153).
Protest marches are also conceptual and their facilitators have demonstrated creativity and strategy in the reappropriation of oppressive spatial practices. For example, Martin Luther King Jr and the leaders of the 1963 civil rights marches in Birmingham, USA, knew the marchers would be arrested so they organised a rotation of volunteer recruits to replace arrested marchers until the police cells were full (King Jr, 2010). The tactic of nonviolence was employed strategically on the marches to communicate the violence sanctioned by the system (King Jr, 2000, p. 32).

The walking protests conducted by Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo in Buenos Aires began during the Argentine dictatorship of 1976-1983, in response to the government denial of detention disappearances of their family members. The protest emerged as a way of making visible the issue after legal avenues of seeking information were denied to families. Walking and visibility were inextricably tied in Las Madres’ (The Mothers) practice. They repeatedly walked, in pairs, around the perimeter of the Plaza de Mayo, which is located facing the Casa Rosada, the government building in central Buenos Aires, each Thursday, a strategic decision to attract maximum public exposure (Mother Maria Del Rosario in Fisher, 1989, pp. 28-29). Walking operated as a tactic to avoid arrest for loitering, and was also undertaken strategically in the context of the laws passed to prohibit the “illicit association” of political organisations (Fisher, 1989, p. 52; Navarro, 2001, p. 251; Bosco, 2006, p. 348).

The tactics of everyday walking were engaged strategically, in iterative, impromptu walks undertaken by resistant movements in the city of Belgrade in the 1990s (Pugalis & Giddings, 2011, p. 290). Avoiding the confrontation of the protest march, “the seemingly haphazard nature” and “repetition” of the walks utilised the “ordinariness and modesty of walking” (Pinder, 2011, p. 675) to open a discourse with the oppressions of spatial production. However, as Lugones argued, the practice of “hanging out” in the street can be itself a “tactical strategic” practice, as it promotes participation in pedagogic and deliberative communication (2003, p. 209). As discussed, certain inhabitants can be exposed to greater fear of violence in public space. This highlights the importance of perspectives and subjectivity. “Hanging out” as “a pedestrian”, Lugones (2003) argued, exposed the “street walker theorist” to “multiple meanings elaborated interactively” (pp. 222-224).
Hence, the “streetwalker theorist’s” engagement “in the midst of the concrete” affords them with a “deep spatio-temporal insight into the [resistant] social” which they engage with “active subjectivity” (Lugones, 2003, pp. 224-226). Fisher, elaborated on the nature of resistant spatial practices within this context:

Spaces do not resist, only active people do. Therefore...spatial theory must enable, rather than obliterate, the active subjectivity of the people...and it must include the relations among the people in the space and between those people and people in other spaces. Such a representation will be concrete, multiple, dynamic, and textured, and, therefore, less clean and comprehensive than abstract representations; but this kind of spatial thinking is needed to enable resistance. (2008, pp. 161-162)

“Active subjectivity” (Lugones, 2003, p. 226) can also be useful in addressing the criticisms of de Certeau’s discussion of walking and subsequent interpretations. De Certeau described the footsteps of urban walkers in the following way: “their swarming mass is an innumerable collection of singularities” (1984, p. 96). Scant academic studies or artists in practice have dealt with the multiple subjectivities within this mass of singularities and have instead engaged an “individualistic perspectivalism” (Lugones, 2003, p. 208). This has reinforced a privileged subjectivity in much walking theory.

Middleton questioned how “artistic and performative walking practices have relevance beyond the audiences they were initially created for and how might that relevance practically and productively extend beyond such boundaries of self-reflection” to inform policies that shape everyday pedestrian practices (2011, p. 101). Noteworthy examples of artists who have engaged walks that moved beyond self-reflection are L. G. Phillips and Hickey (2013), discussed earlier in this chapter, and Myers (2009), whose work is detailed in Chapter 4. These artists have actively interrogated the multiple subjectivities of everyday walking practices by inviting marginalised inhabitants (children and refugees respectively) to lead the walks. It is an intention of this thesis to investigate whether such shared walking practices can bring to light the connections between walking and spatial resilience.

3.7 Walking and spatial resilience: Moving and staying put

The concept of resilience, most often associated with adaptation and recovery after a crisis or shock, and usually employed in ecological, economic and
Engineering practices (Modica & Reggiani, 2015) has more recently been applied in an urban context (Eraydin & Tasan-Kok, 2013; Goldstein, Wessells, Lejano, & Butler, 2015). Urban inhabitants can face environmental crises (C. T. Fisher, 2008), and gentrification through globalised forces (Smith, 2002). These forces further reinforce inequities and oppressions, thus impacting inhabitants’ spatial resilience. I use the term *spatial resilience* in this thesis to interrogate the capacity for spatial practices to influence inhabitants’ ability to resist displacement in the face of gentrification, urban renewal and housing crises evident in many cities.

Resilience is a term that has been prevalent in recent academic and policy discourse, and is a construct that warrants critical and theoretical examination (Luthar et al., 2000). The term resilience could be used to describe “the process or phenomenon of competence despite adversity” however sloganeering should be avoided by accepting that this process is embedded with all the complexities of society (Luthar et al., 2000, p. 554). The term resilience has been disparaged for its adoption by neoliberal doctrines that promote individualised self-care over governmental assistance (B. Evans & Reid, 2013; Joseph, 2013). Within this framework resilience has been positioned as an ability to adapt and survive within an increasingly changeable and chaotic urban society that provides little support for those in need (B. Evans & Reid, 2013; Joseph, 2013). In contrast, others have argued that focusing on resilience “enables us to highlight the critical impact and dependence of cities on ecosystem processes” (Goldstein et al., 2015, p. 1299). It also provokes critical investigation into the processes of spatial production that can contribute to environmental crises, and the practices that may reinforce inequities at times of crisis.

Reflecting on Hurricane Katrina, Hannam et al. (2006) argued it was “more urgent than ever that social science develop a coherent programme for mobilities research in order to see how to develop ‘resilience’ of interlocking systems” (p. 9). As discussed, regeneration processes in New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina reinforced inequities through the displacement of African American inhabitants. Davis, Cook, and Cohen (2005) acknowledged that resilience outcomes can be influenced by structural oppressions and racism (p. 2169).

The resilience of inhabitants can also be impacted by projects that directly, or indirectly cause displacement through gentrification. Zavestovski and Agyeman
argued that the Complete Streets movement, which promotes pedestrian and cycling friendly streets:

...seems to be rooted in a neoliberal conception of the city that sees streets in terms of their potential to attract economic activity either through provision of amenities and services appealing to the Creative Class or by enhancing mobility, and that as currently conceived many Complete Streets projects seem to carry the potential for inequality exacerbating environmental gentrification. (Zavestoski & Agyeman, 2015, p. 312)

Even when walkability project leaders are aware of the gentrifying potential of their actions, without the maintenance of affordable housing (Cadji & Hope Alkon, 2015, p. 173) there is a risk of displacing the inhabitants who most need improved access to mobility.

In response to these concerns, planners advocating a Complete Streets approach in low-income, gentrifying neighbourhoods could engage in participatory planning with long-term residents to ensure that their voices are heard and represented (Cadji & Hope Alkon, 2015, p. 173). Goldstein et al. (2015) suggested a “plurivocal narrative” approach to planning could aid resilience by giving participants an opportunity to share their stories and perspectives (pp. 1298-1299). This process could “reconfigure individual and collective identity by revising their relationships with each other and reshaping their knowledge and assumptions” (Goldstein et al., 2015, pp. 1298-1299).

Walking and storytelling have been employed to engage inhabitants in sharing their spatial narratives and perspectives. As part of a series of “performance research” projects, Myers co-developed way from home, a participatory and conversive practice which used mapping and walking to open up a space for refugees and asylum seekers in Plymouth, England (Myers, 2006, 2008, 2009; Myers & Harris, 2004). The walkers were asked to express and communicate perceptions of home and inhabitation, in between the places from which they were displaced and the one in which they now resided (Myers, 2006, 2008, 2009; Myers & Harris, 2004). This process enabled the communication of skills developed to deal with the trauma of dispossession, but also focused on the everyday spatial practices evoked to enable life in a new and unfamiliar place. The shared walks engendered understanding of processes for developing spatial competence and resilience.
Lugones’ “street walker theorist” (2003, p. 231) approach to engaging in “possibilities” emerging through “active subjectivity” (Lugones, 2003, p. 219) is useful for investigating spatial resilience. Miller (2015, p. 288) attested that “possibilities emerge from processes that include diverse values and perspectives” that can impact both the physical space of the street, and greater understanding of what the street represents to inhabitants (p. 288). This invokes a pluralistic conception of knowledge formed at the street level. The relationships between de Certeau’s discussion of a “tactical” walking practice (1984, p. 96) and developing spatial competence, and Lugones’ concept of “tactical strategies” (2003, p. 96) and spatial resilience, are key concerns of this thesis. For example, if children have been removed from the streetscape, they are also removed from opportunities to practice spatial tactics in order to develop tactical strategies for resilience. Activists could be considered as engaging in tactical strategies in the context of the protest march, but everyday walking practices might also be strategic. There is scope to consider these issues further by investigating pedestrian perspectives through a spatial practice approach.

### 3.8 Conclusion

I began this chapter with a detailed discussion of research on the connections between walking and sociality, creativity, spatial competence and knowledge creation. I then applied this information to theories and examples of walking practices of remembering and resistance with the aim of establishing how walking can become a practice of spatial resilience. I returned to de Certeau’s (1984) discussion of walking as a tactical spatial practice and considered Lugones’ (2003) placement of the theorist at the street level, as a tactical-strategist who can engage in the multiple perspectives that space presents us with. It is from this point that I consider how a research methodology can employ the potency and pedagogy of walking as a spatial practice to engage pedestrian practices of creativity, knowledge creation, and resistance at the street level.

Building on Lugones’ concept of the “street walker theorist” (2003, p. 231), C.T. Fisher asserted that spatial theory and social space are produced interactively:

> There is, thus, an ethical responsibility to consider not only whether what we claim as knowledge is true in relation to (at the time) existing reality, but also whether what we put out as knowledge is just
in relation to a reality that it projects. Given that different spatial knowledges are possible from a strategist’s proper or from a streetwalking theorist’s hang-out, the question becomes: from what space will we generate our spatial theories? (C. T. Fisher, 2008, pp. 165-166)

This question could also be applied to spatial production for spatial practice, such as walkability. The spatial production of walkability can reinforce inequities within a competitive, commodified urban social space, or provide an opportunity to promote inhabitants’ spatial resilience. C.T. Fisher’s question interrogates the spatial justice of research practices, and is therefore critical to the methodological approach of this study.
CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

The methodology applied in this study is informed by the spatial justice/spatial practice approach to walking discussed in the previous two chapters. The methodology is an attempt to represent, in practice, the concept of the “streetwalker tactical strategist” who walks among “embodied subjects” to appreciate and understand socio-spatial practices from the street level (Lugones, 2003, p. 209). Participatory walking practices have been employed to foreground the perspectives and everyday spatial practices of the participants through a Constructivist Grounded Theory process.

I start this chapter with a discussion of the methodological approach. I use the second section to provide details of the data collection methods employed and justify their use in this study in relation to other similar studies. In the third section I describe the study location and design, and provide justification for the choices made. I then detail the data collection processes. In the final section, I describe and justify the Constructivist Grounded Theory data analysis methods and demonstrate the steps taken to extract substantive findings from the data.

4.1 Methodological approach

The most important consideration in the methodological approach was that the collection of data was to be centred on walking as a distinct spatial practice, and that this should be undertaken within a spatial justice framework. This study was designed to critically engage with the fluid, conflict ridden, and political nature of space that evokes “flaky mille-feuille pastry” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 86). In order to negotiate these layers of space, a constructivist approach to spatial tensions, perceptions and relations has been undertaken.

Engaging inhabitants in decisions on the spatial practices that impact their daily lives, including research on those spatial practices, is synonymous with theorists’ calls to exercise the right to the city (N. Brown et al., 2007; D. Harvey, 2008; Harvey, 2012; Mitchell, 2003; Schmid, 2012; Soja, 2010, p. 19; Whitzman, 2010, 2012). I chose to frame the data collection around inhabitant-led walks through
everyday spaces, to provide opportunity for inhabitants to share their values and perspectives related to the suburb in which they live. It is these “ordinary spaces” (Milbourne, 2010) and spatial practices that “define our lives” (Mitchell, 2003, p. 63), and therefore deserve critical attention.

Participants were encouraged to lead the creative data collection methods of storytelling, photography, mapping and brainstorming while taking part in group walkshops and individual walking interviews. These methods are not inherently more democratic or just than other methods of data collection. However, research undertaken at the pedestrian level, which, aims to encompass the holistic experience of quotidian walking practices by allowing for participant creative expression, may produce a richer conceptualisation of the socio-spatial terrain under investigation.

4.1.1 Participatory research

The participatory walking practices undertaken in this study attempt to capture the subtleties and complexities of being in space. In this methodology the researcher moves alongside the inhabitants and attempts to capture their practices, ideas, perceptions and emotions through embodied, mobile, spatial storytelling. A participatory qualitative study into the subtle and often overlooked details of walking as an everyday spatial practice has the potential to provide valuable new knowledge of the ways in which inhabitants interact with space.

Participatory research seeks to include the participants in decision-making processes that take place during a study. This framework incorporates the potential for participatory walking practices to articulate and affirm inhabitants’ sense of ownership over the spatial practices they engage in. Participatory research methodologies also respect inhabitants’ knowledge, perspectives, values and expertise within the spaces visited and discussed, and promote critical consciousness of power relations that impact everyday life (B.L. Hall, 1992, p. 20-21).

Each participatory project is unique to the particular group of participants involved in the study (B.L. Hall, 1992, p. 20) and the research processes undertaken are often influenced by the dispositions of the participants. Hence, participatory methodologies are advantageous for developing the spatial competence of both the participant and researcher. This process is not an observation of participants’ everyday lives, but instead a co-creation of a new, shared practice (Bendiner-Viani,
2009, p. 19). Acknowledging that the research is a constructed process, and that both the participants’ and researchers’ values are constructed is key to the approach to data collection and analysis undertaken in this study.

4.1.2 Constructivist Grounded Theory

Constructivist Grounded Theory applies a constructivist approach to a Grounded Theory methodology, which is a “systematic”, “inductive” and “iterative” process of establishing theories from qualitative data collection and analysis rather than from prior assumptions (Charmaz, 2014, p. 1). Constructivism is one approach in the pursuit of a more conscious, or reflexive, perspective towards research and discussions around knowledge. Constructivism is the idea that all human knowledge, including individual cognisance and academic theory, is formed through personal experience and reflection (D. C. Phillips, 1995, p. 5). Research into the psychological and cognitive development of the child has had a significant influence on constructivist theories, particularly in relation to spatial knowledge (Piaget, 1968; Piaget & Inhelder, 1967). The child constructs their understanding of space through “motor activity” (Piaget & Inhelder, 1967, p. 13). Each new movement encourages new perceptions on the meaning and value of a space (Piaget & Inhelder, 1967). In relating these ideas to this study, walking across a space such as a suburb, could engender different perceptions and critical understandings of that space. The practical interaction between space and its inhabitants, and how this practice affects inhabitants’ construction of understandings of space, are critical concerns of the spatial justice framework applied to this study.

Grounded Theory is a method for theory generation rather than hypothesis testing (Charmaz, 2014, p. 6), which requires “simultaneous involvement in data collection and analysis” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 5). A constructivist approach to Grounded Theory recognises the influence of ideologies and theoretical frameworks on both the data and the analysis process. The constructivist approach acknowledges, “that what we see – and do not see – depends on values” (Charmaz, 2014, p. 240). The constructivist and participatory approaches to research have an affinity through Freire’s concept of “conscientization” (conscientização) or critical consciousness (1972, p. 81).
Conscientisation is an emancipatory method of (adult) education in which both a critical consciousness of “temporal-spatial conditions” (Freire, 1972, pp. 81-82; 1976, p. 42), and an interrogation of the status quo, are embedded in the dialogical learning process. By applying Freire’s “problem posing” education method to a critical spatial approach both researcher and participants acknowledge that inhabitants and space are relational (Freire, 1972, p. 54). Conscientisation is encouraged through the “thematic investigation” of problems important to the participants, rather than the participants themselves being the object of investigation (Freire, 1972, p. 79). Freire’s thematic work was a key concept in the development of participatory research (B. L. Hall, 1992, p. 18). One goal in designing a participatory process of data collection for this study was to investigate participants’ conscientisation of spatial justice issues through spatial practice.

The methodology used in this study can be summarised as participatory data collection, undertaken at the street level, with a Constructivist Grounded Theory process, informed by a spatial justice/spatial practice approach to walking and walkability. To follow, I detail the specifics of the data collection methods, which fulfilled this methodological approach.

4.2 Research methods

Recent debates on mobile methods of research have included arguments that methods should embrace the “relationality” of mobility (Manderscheid, 2014, p. 189), and should be “multiscalar” (D'Andrea, Ciolfi, & Gray, 2011, p. 158). The chosen methods should be considered critically (Merriman, 2014, p. 172) as should political and personal negotiations of “ordinary” (Jensen, 2009, p. 154) everyday mobility itself (D'Andrea et al., 2011; Manderscheid, 2014). The paucity of research studies that employ walking as a method to investigate walking has been highlighted by Middleton (2011; 2016): “Despite a rich range of theoretically sophisticated work drawing upon walking as a method, there is little that adopts walking as a method to explore the practice of walking itself (2011, p. 100).

However, participatory walking research practices could engender “deep engagement” in inhabitants perceptions of an increasingly mobile and fluid world (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 217).
Four key walking research methods were adapted for this study: the go-along (or walk-along), the shared walk, the walking interview, and the guided tour. Ancillary narrative and “arts-based research practices” (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011, p. 348), including storytelling, photography, and sketch mapping were also employed. The methods were chosen for their suitability for the participant demographics based on their reported success when employed by practitioners and researchers working in various fields. Table 4.1 summarises the relationship of these methods to the methodological approach of this study and references examples of their use in previous research.

Table 4.1
Research Methods Utilised, Their Relationship to the Methodology, and Examples of Previous Use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Relationship to Methodology</th>
<th>Previous Use</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Go-along (Walk-along)</td>
<td>• Opportunity for a street level perspective.</td>
<td>Carpiano (2009); Hammad (2014); Kusenbach (2003); Lynch (1960)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• An understanding of everyday spatial practice in its natural setting.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shared Walks</td>
<td>• Participatory, shared perspectives, movements and negotiations.</td>
<td>Anderson (2004); Degen (2008); Degen and Rose (2012); J. Lee and Ingold (2006); Myers (2006, 2009); O’Neill and Hubbard (2010); Sobers (2015)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Can be undertaken in a location that is apart from daily spatial practice.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Creation of a new shared experience</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Space elicitation.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Investigation of the walk as a unique spatial practice.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Sensual elicitation, physical and emotional responses.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Reflection and recognition.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walking Interviews</td>
<td>• Space elicitation of conversation, thus an understanding of how inhabitants create knowledge and meaning through spatial practice.</td>
<td>Clark and Emmel (2010); T. Hall (2009); P. Jones, Bunce, Evans, Gibbs, and Ricketts Hein (2008); Ricketts Hein, Evans, and Jones (2008); Strang (2010); Whitzman, James, et al. (2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Conversations are audio-recorded and capture subtleties of narrative, speech and sound.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Usually open-ended or semi-structured.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Allows for serendipity.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Participants can lead other co-participants.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Inhabitant knowledge privileged and shared.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Walking & Photographing
- Engenders creative reflection.
- Investigates the construction of values in space.


Walking & Mapping
- Power of documentation of space handed to participants.
- Promotes creative expression and reflection.

Cook et al. (2015); Design Studio for Social Intervention et al. (2012); Myers (2006, 2009); Powell (2010)

The walking methods allow the interaction between participants and space to generate the conversation. This concurs with the Constructivist Grounded Theory (CGT) approach adopted. The creative methods of data collection engender participant generated representations of space and spatial practice.

In the following sections, I detail the four walking methods that have influenced this study, and discuss their use in previous studies, in order to create a rationale for their application here. These walking methods are not mutually exclusive, and have been amalgamated in the walkshops and walking interviews engaged in this study. However, they are discussed separately here so that their distinct benefits can be comprehended. Sections detailing the use and rationale for walking and photography, and walking and mapping, are also provided, as these methods have been key to the data collection.

4.2.1 The go-along or walk-along

The “go-along” method is an amalgam of interviewing and participant observation, and can address limitations of both of these methods (Carpiano, 2009, p. 265; Kusenbach, 2003, p. 459). Participants can carry out their “natural” spatial practices, which is not possible with “sit-down” interviews (Kusenbach, 2003, p. 459) and observation of these practices can be augmented with participant commentary (Kusenbach, 2003, p. 459). Therefore, the “go-along” provides greater opportunity for participation (Carpiano, 2009, p. 267).
A “go-along” can be a “walk-along” or a “ride-along” in a car, or a combination of transportation methods (Kusenbach, 2003, p. 464). The “walk-along” method has been applied to multiple disciplines and research problems including: recording inhabitants waymaking practices (Lynch, 1960, p. 142), ethnographic fieldwork (Kusenbach, 2003), neighbourhood health issues and social capital (Carpiano, 2009), and resistant practices in contested spaces (Hammad, 2014). It has proved a useful method for investigating “environmental perception, spatial practices, biographies, social architecture and social realms” (Kusenbach, 2003, p. 455).

The walk-along can unveil spatial injustices to the researcher through direct experience of barriers, conflicted spaces and oppressive practices (Hammad, 2014, p. 9). It has been credited as an immersive, “interactive, participant-led and multi-sensory” method of investigating understandings of space, relationships between space, place and meaning, and the ways in which these are demonstrated through practice (Hammad, 2014, pp. 1-5). In addition, it has been found to be a productive and discursive method for eliciting rich data on gentrification (Holgersson, 2014).

There is acknowledgement, as with research practices generally, that the go-along is never an entirely natural spatial practice as the researcher’s presence impacts the situation (Kusenbach, 2003, p. 464). A disadvantage of utilising the go-along method to research walkability within a car-centric neighbourhood may be that some participants do not walk as part of their daily routine. However, alternative walking research methods may be employed so that participants who do not regularly walk are given the opportunity to reflect on why this is the case.

4.2.2 The shared walk

The shared walk is a term I have applied to describe various collaborative and conversational research methods in which the walk is appreciated as more than just a data collection tool, but a distinct practice. A shared walk can involve two or many participants, can be undertaken on, or away from, the site of everyday inhabitation, can be a process of gaining consciousness of others’ direct experiences and perceptions, and can invoke flows and networks of memories, other times and other spaces. Because it occurs apart from everyday routine, the shared walk may produce insights, which may not have been realised with the go-along.
“Talking whilst walking” was a label used by Anderson (2004, pp. 254-257) for the “bimbles”, or informal walks, he undertook with environmental activists in England. For Anderson, these walks were shared practices of reflection, spatially removed from the everyday activities of the protest camp under study (2004, p. 257). Conversational shared walks can therefore provide a site for the “socio-spatial” co-production of knowledge (Anderson, 2004, p. 254; 2004, p. 260).

The experience of the walk has come to be understood as “just as valid a source of field material – as the record of the ‘discourse’ that might have accompanied it” (J. Lee & Ingold, 2006, p.83). While employing the “shared walk” as a tool for collecting anthropological data on walking in Aberdeen, Scotland, J. Lee and Ingold (2006, p. 80) found it offered distinct benefits to anthropologic research practice, as the researcher and participant walkers shared almost the same “visual field” and were participating in a shared movement through space. Thus, the shared walk can be considered less confrontational than the static interview where researcher and participant sit face-to-face and the conversation goes back and forth (J. Lee & Ingold, 2006, p. 80). The walkers were also observed adjusting their bodily movements to each other: providing a foundation for “shared understanding” that incorporates the whole body rather than just the visual (J. Lee & Ingold, 2006, p. 82).

The shared walk has also been employed as a practice of “conversive wayfinding” with refugees and asylum seekers, to unveil how the fluidity of mobility and migration, including forced migration, can impact notions of home (Myers, 2009, p. 116). The shared walk has been undertaken in the form of a “roving focus group” where African-American students shared practices of wayfinding through the “racialized landscape” of a university campus (Inwood & Martin, 2010, pp. 5-6). The method does not have to include only walking participants as demonstrated by Whitzman, James, et al. (2013, p. 68), who employed persons with disabilities as co-researchers to collect data while on “moveabouts” to audit road accessibility in Papua New Guinea. Shared walks have also incorporated arts-based research methods to facilitate conversations between disabled people and environmental activists to better inform sustainability policies (Sobers, 2015; “Walking Interconnetions,” n.d.).

Overall, these previous research studies highlight a key benefit of the shared walk: its potential, as a participatory, relational and mobile processes of creating
knowledge, to augment the spatial competence of those who hold the power to influence urban spatial production. Walking the streets with inhabitants and experiencing the space, first hand, and conversationally, increases the potential for empathetic understanding of inhabitants’ perceptions of space and spatial practices.

4.2.3 The walking interview

Walking interviews are mobile versions of the traditional static interview, in which the researcher asks questions of the participant while walking. Participants of walking interviews in Birmingham, England, were found to speak about place more often than participants of static interviews, and 70% of these discussions were elicited by the place coming into view (J. Evans & Jones, 2011, p. 856). The walking interviewees’ discussions centred on “urban form”, while in contrast, the sedentary interviewees spoke mostly about “people” (J. Evans & Jones, 2011, p. 856). The significant difference, in Evans and Jones’ words, is that: “walking interviews produce a decidedly spatial and locational discourse of place which is structured geographically rather than historically” (2011, p. 856). This highlights a major advantage of utilising walking interviews on a study investigating walking and walkability.

The walking interview narrative is spatially charged and spatially embedded. Conversation can be prompted by the spaces traversed, as “walking probes” (De Leon & Cohen, 2005, p. 202), and responses can be elicited by the experience of the walk, such as physical restrictions to mobility (Hammad, 2014), or emotional and sensual reactions (J. Lee & Ingold, 2006, p. 6). If walking interviews are audio-recorded, the conversations can be spatially located on a map. Logistical issues such as traffic noise and weather have raised concerns as to the practicality of walking interviews (J. Evans & Jones, 2011, pp. 852-853), however, in a study investigating walking and walkability, the impacts of traffic noise and weather are integral to the data collection.

As walking is a physical action of mobility its practice is influenced by sensory perceptions. Through their ethnographic studies, J. Lee and Ingold became aware of the fluidity of the boundaries between space and body through “the skin as a sensory organ” (2006, p. 74). Weather, physical ability, perceptions of safety and degrees of difficulty all have considerable effect on a walk. The senses can also be a
framework for connections between the social and physical in space: inhabitants perceptions of the city’s “character” or “mood” (Degen, 2008, p. 10). “Participant pedestrians” were thus recruited to a research project in Manchester, England and Barcelona, Spain, to “determine the interview agenda, [by] giving priority to their ‘sensing’ of the regeneration” occurring in both cities at the time (Degen, 2008, p. 12). The embodied experience of a walk can influence personal interpretations of a space, demonstrating the importance of paying attention to the senses of pedestrian experience, particularly in spaces undergoing significant change.

Walking interviews have also been observed to elicit superior data than static interviews because spaces have a “mnemonic value” which opens up the elicitation to flows of time, and other layers of space (Strang, 2010, pp. 151-152). While investigating “spatial practices of belonging” in a multi-ethnic neighbourhood in Sydney, Australia, Williamson (2015) “incorporate[d] a stroll” during some interviews and found that “mnemonic devices” in the spaces under investigation facilitated the collection of rich spatial data (p. 68). To justify the use of walking interviews in two Wales based case studies, T. Hall (2009) cited Sheller and Urry, Ingold, and Massey’s concepts of fluid and changing mobilities, landscape, place, and space to argue that the walking interview is a necessary method of “moving with”, rather than simply “moving across” space (p. 576). Walking interviews can investigate how changing spaces and changing inhabitants interact, and interrogate the fluidity of local social space.

Unstructured “walking interviews” were utilised in Leeds, England, as an embodied exploration of participants’ local everyday socio-spatial networks (Clark & Emmel, 2010, p. 2). The “spatial context” of the walking interviews was found to facilitate both participants’ expression and researchers’ comprehension (Clark & Emmel, 2010, p. 2). Compared to sedentary interviews, walking interviews also allowed for “serendipity” and the “unanticipated” (Clark & Emmel, 2010, p. 2). The potential for space to interrupt the walking interview (T. Hall, 2009, p. 582), and change its course, is a major benefit of the method.

4.2.4 The guided tour

A guided tour is a walk that is led by the participant(s). Guided tours differ from shared walks because the routes are not negotiated between the walkers, and
participants may lead other participants. Guided tours can be go-alongs, but as it is not an everyday practice for inhabitants to act as tour guides of their neighbourhood, a “guided tour” is understood as a co-production between the “tour guide” and the researcher (Bendiner-Viani, 2009, pp. 14-18).

“Guided tours” were utilised by Bendiner-Viani in London, Buenos Aires, and Brooklyn and Oakland, USA (2005; 2009, p. 10) as walks or car drives, guided by participants, through their “personal geographies” (2009, p. 16). The guided tour was extended from the personal to the collective, in Mold, Wales, when nine local residents led ethnographer Pink on a progressive day-long tour through the town (2008, p. 183). Walking participants’ routes, sensing what they sense and experiencing their rhythms can bring the researcher closer to the participant’s experience of space (Pink, 2008, p. 193). Both Bendiner-Viani, (2009, p. 17) and Pink (2008, p. 188) ate and drank with their tour-guides to experience the tastes of their neighbourhoods, as well as its sights, sounds, smells and textures.

A guided tour hands a degree of power over the research process to the participants. Although the researcher/participant power dynamic can never be completely overcome, giving the participant full agency to lead the walk as well as the conversation, gives them a unique platform, and acknowledges them as experts of their own space and spatial practice. In some cases, this subversion of expectations can foster knowledge creation.

Fully cognisant of this, L.G. Phillips and Hickey proposed the child-led walking tours they facilitated were concrete expressions of “pedagogy” (2013, p. 251). By encouraging children to curate and lead tours through spaces not generally considered child friendly, both the child walk leaders and the adult tour participants were required to negotiate and challenge preconceived ideas of appropriate spatial practice (L.G. Phillips & Hickey, 2013, p. 245-249). The walking practice encouraged this, as “by walking together, learning was relational” (L.G. Phillips & Hickey, 2013, p. 252).

“Child-led tours” were also utilised as part of the ‘Citizen Kid’ Planning Group, a multi-method intergenerational co-planning project for the redevelopment of two public plazas in Melbourne, Australia (Cook et al., 2013, p. 1). The child-led tours, or “site assessments”, were considered the most successful by adult and child
participants over map making, model making, visualisation and other methods (Cook et al., 2013, p. 5). The researchers concluded the “sensory experience” and immediacy of being on site most suited the way that children build knowledge (Cook et al., 2013, p. 5). Engaging in discussion with children as they experienced the site also led to practical and conceptual insights for the researchers (Cook et al., 2013, p. 6). An additional benefit of child-led tours is that they endorse and foster children’s physical expression, creativity, freedom and empowerment within public space.

4.2.5 Walking and photographing

Participant photography methods have been employed in social science research since the 1970s and have been credited with handing a degree of autonomy to the participant, and providing an opportunity for non-verbal expression (Balomenou & Garrod, 2015, p. 1). “Photovoice” is the most widely adopted method of participant-generated photography, and stems from Friere’s conscientisation practices of using images to prompt critical discussion (Balomenou & Garrod, 2015, p. 4). The photovoice method generally requires that participants be given cameras for a period of time, after which they reconvene with the researcher to discuss and interpret the photographs they have taken (Balomenou & Garrod, 2015, p. 4). Researchers utilising walking methods have also employed photo-elicitation practices. However, some researchers have acknowledged that, like walking, the action of photographing itself can unveil significant data about how inhabitants interact with space (Balomenou & Garrod, 2015; Pyyry, 2013).

“Photo-walks”, have been argued to be useful in creating “reflexive situations” as the combined actions of walking and choosing what, and when, to photograph, engender a relational, “embodied” and “multisensory” engagement with space (Pyyry, 2013, pp. 150-153). This can allow a deeper insight into the everyday spatial realities of individual participants (Pyyry, 2013). If the walk includes participants as “co-researchers” with different physical mobilities, the photographs can document knowledge of inequities in spatial production, and facilitate the communication of diverse ways of experiencing the world (Sobers, 2014, pp. 1-2). Participant annotation of photographs can also facilitate communication from inhabitants who are less willing to speak in a group setting, or have hearing and/or speech impairments (Whitzman, James, et al., 2013, p. 69).
The audience of the photographs is an important consideration. Researchers in Milton Keynes, England, engaged a professional photographer on an inhabitant-led “photography walking tour” (Fink, 2012, p. 37). As the photographs were to be used in a series of exhibitions, the researchers’ concern was to capture photographs that were directed by the inhabitant guides but of professional quality (Fink, 2012, p. 47). In other studies, the key audience of the photographs is the researcher. As a photographer, Bendiner-Viani employed photographs as a conduit for shared data analysis between the tour guides and herself (2009, p. 26). The photographs’ “peculiar relationship to the real” (Bendiner-Viani, 2013, p. 712) was harnessed to elicit conversations about perceptions of space, as some photographs clearly represented participants’ spatial experience and others did not (Bendiner-Viani, 2009, pp. 121-127).

In this study, I was interested less in the photograph as a phenomenon, than what people photographed, and why. I was also interested in how walking and taking photographs engaged the participants in the spaces they inhabited in a reflective and creative way. Of inspiration to this research approach was the “Space Bingo” activity employed by the Design Studio for Social Intervention (ds4si) in spatial justice workshops they have held in schools and with communities in the USA (2012, p. 17). Space Bingo is a game that uses photography to elicit questions, perceptions, and categorisations of space (Design Studio for Social Intervention et al., 2012, p. 17). Ds4si designed the activity around large Bingo cards with 25 squares, each one featuring a different “descriptor” of space (2012, p. 17). They asked groups of participants to take photographs to fit the descriptors, arrange the printed photographs on to the Space Bingo card, and share in a discussion about the spaces photographed (Design Studio for Social Intervention et al., 2012, p. 17). As ds4si (2012) demonstrated, the Space Bingo game facilitates a process for mapping the plurality of perceptions of space.

4.2.6 Walking and sketch mapping

Maps are both visual representations of space and tools in the production of space. They are discursive texts in an iterative conversation between the producer of the map, the space itself, and anyone who reads the map. Therefore, the map itself is a social space. The map’s power exists in its abstraction and simplification of space.
as the producers of the map decide what to include and exclude: what to emphasise and hide. When the map functions as a technical document, it is framed as scientific and objective, yet as de Certeau suggested, this objectivity hides the storyteller behind the map (1984, p. 121). Every map is a story and every inhabitant has the capacity to create their own maps, to tell their own stories, and to frame their space within their own contexts and conversations.

Theorists and practitioners, aware of the agency of maps, have reappropriated, reused and repositioned received maps to reframe their representation and to control and open up the visual/textual/spatial discourse. They have also asked research participants to create their own maps to bring new pluralities of perceptions and values into this representational space. Participatory mapping has been used to aid understanding of the “public image” of the city, notably by Lynch (1960, pp. 144-154), who proposed a composite methodology of sketch mapping, interviews, and field visits to inform urban design with inhabitants’ visual conceptualisations. However, as I have discussed, there is more to urban experience than the visual, and an inhabitant’s perception is dependent on their mobility and access to urban space.

Walking data collection methods have been considered to be a process of “cultural mapping” (Strang, 2010, p. 151), as they engage simultaneously in physical, verbal and representational practice. In response to privatisation and preservation strategies in large urban parks in the USA that threatened the resilience of the diverse groups of park users, Low et al. (2005, pp. 4-5) employed Transect Walks, a Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Procedure (REAP) mapping method, that generates a cross-section of environmental conditions in a space by walking that space with inhabitants (n.d.; Keller, n.d.; Low et al., 2005, pp. 183-185). Low et al. (2005) used the method to map out the significance and “local meaning” (p. 192) of the parks from the different perspectives of the cultural groups that use them.

Researchers and planners have also employed embodied and performative mapping to engage inhabitants’ creativity and communication skills within multi-method participatory practices. The research practice way from home (Myers & Harris, 2004) was developed through sketch mapping and walking. Refugee and asylum seeker participants were asked to make a mark to represent a place they could “call home” alongside other significant places, then create a composite
between this map and the streetscape of Plymouth, England, through which they walked (Myers, 2009, p. 143). Myers described this process as conversational: “the conversation became a drawing of a sketch map, which then became the stimulus for another conversation which took to the streets and wandered” (2009, p. 143). Sketch maps can be both gestural and symbolic, enacting and representing spatial practice. It may be their function as “by-products” of spatial production that make them animate spatial objects (Myers, 2009, p. 76). Sketch maps are not intended to be finished products of spatial representation (Myers, 2009) so, like walks, they are stories in the process of being told.

4.3 Study design

In this section I describe the study location and recruitment of participants. Then I describe the specific data collection phases based on the research methods already introduced. Finally, data analysis utilising a Constructivist Grounded Theory approach is explained and the limitations of the study are discussed.

4.3.1 The case study site: Maylands

The research took place between 2012 and 2015, within the suburb of Maylands, home to over 12,300 residents\(^9\) and approximately five kilometres from the centre of the city of Perth, the state capital of Western Australia (see Figure 4.1 on the next page). From its origins in the 1890s to 2017, it has been a mixed use, mixed housing, mixed income, mostly walkable\(^10\) suburb with good access to public transport. These attributes make up four of the ten listed “principles” of New Urbanism (“Principles of Urbanism,” n.d.) discussed in Chapter 2. However, Maylands’ diversity and walkability was not master planned but formed through years of planning policies and inhabitation.

Maylands has been noted for its “uniqueness” in Western Australia, due to its heterogeneity (Cooper & McDonald, 1999, p. 127). Maylands is, however, comparable to other heterogeneous “in-between” (Williamson, 2015, p. 21; Bendiner-Viani, 2009, p. 266) neighbourhoods globally.

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\(^9\) The population of Maylands was recorded as 12,353 in the 2011 census (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013).

\(^10\) Walk Score rates Maylands as “somewhat walkable” with a Walk Score of 65 out of 100 (“Walk Score,” n.d.).
These spaces are often located in “migrant gateway cities” (Williamson, 2015, p. 129), have old buildings, affordable rental accommodation, are neither distinctly
urban nor suburban, industrial nor residential, nor defined by inhabitants of a particular ethnicity or class. The heterogeneity of such spaces has been achieved “inadvertently” (Bendiner-Viani, 2009, p. 10) through changes in zoning and planning practices over time, and global mobility patterns.

Labeled periodically as suburbs, slums and “urban villages” such heterogeneous neighbourhoods include Parkdale in Toronto, St. Kilda in Melbourne (Whitzman, 2009, p. 5), Prospect Heights in Brooklyn, Oakland in California (Bendiner-Viani, 2009), Campsie in Sydney (Williamson, 2015), and historically, Greenwich Village in New York (Jacobs, 1984), and Islington in London (Glass, 1964). With both transitory and long-term residents, these neighbourhoods are in various states of transition and various stages of gentrification. Their heterogeneity can be evident in the cultural and economic diversity of their inhabitants, and their built form (Williamson, 2015, p. 98), both of which challenge normative notions of (sub)urban uniformity.

National ideals of the typical house, the typical family and the typical suburb can contribute powerfully to both external and internal perceptions of a neighbourhood (Whitzman, 2009, p. 36). Atypical heterogeneous neighbourhoods have been, in various cases, overlooked (Williamson, 2015, p. 21; Bendiner-Viani, 2009, p. 266), castigated or romanticised. Cross-nationally, there has been disagreement as to whether culturally diverse neighbourhoods promote or hinder “social cohesion” (Gijsberts, van der Meer, & Dagevos, 2012, p. 527), and negative perceptions of housing type, such as high-rise flats, have contributed to psychosocial processes found to have adverse effects on the health of residents (Warr, Tacticos, Kelaher, & Klein, 2007). In Australia, suburban home ownership has historically been equated with desirable cultural values, such as “maturity,” “social status” and “commitment to place” (Stevenson, 1999, p. 224). Consequently, even within a neighbourhood of housing type and tenure diversity, social networks can be determined by “ideological boundaries” that exclude renters (Stevenson, 1999, p. 225). However, case studies of heterogeneous neighbourhoods have found evidence of sustained community activism and the formation of strong, yet diverse, neighbourhood identities (Whitzman, 2009, pp. 152-153).

In 1961, Jacobs (1984) argued that studying heterogeneous neighbourhoods promotes understanding of the ways diverse inhabitants collectively shape urban
environments through everyday spatial practices. With the universalisation of urbanisation (UN-HABITAT, 2011) and the adoption of mixed use planning in the promotion of walkability (Hooper, Knulman, Bull, Jones, & Giles-Corti, 2015, p. 9; Matan, 2011, pp. 178-184), knowledge gained from studying heterogeneous transitioning neighbourhoods is inordinately valuable. The nexus between Maylands’ walkability, diversity and its gentrification provides rationale for a unique case study that can contribute knowledge on the relationships between walking and the built, natural, social and cultural environment, and aid understanding of other heterogeneous transitioning neighbourhoods globally.

It is difficult to describe the diverse nature of the suburb of Maylands without engaging a history of the practices through which it was formed, thus I will attempt to do this in the remainder of this section. Maylands was established in 1896 with affordable housing for “blue collar” workers within walking distance from their place of employment, a large pipe factory. Small sized lots were advertised for sale, calling for buyers to stop paying “exorbitant rents”, and improve their family’s health by moving out of the overcrowded city (Cooper & McDonald, 1999, p. 122). Prior to 1918, building regulations were not enforced, so many workers built their own timber and corrugated iron cottages, while others made do with “hessian-clad lean-tos” (Cooper & McDonald, 1999, p. 127). In 1900, there were only two brick dwellings in the suburb (Cooper & McDonald, 1999, p. 125).

A central train station connected the suburb to the city, in one direction, and another large industrial employer, the Midland Railway Workshops in another direction. By 1920 there were 25 commercial businesses within 300 metres of the Maylands railway station. New inhabitants arriving in the early 1900s established some of these businesses, including Chinese laundries and a German bakery (Cooper & McDonald, 1999, p. 149). Others came seeking work from England and Ireland, and well as internal migrants escaping economic crisis in the eastern states of Australia (Cooper & McDonald, 1999, pp. 125-126). Maylands also had a tram service, which opened in 1924, and ran directly to the centre of Perth. This service was discontinued in 1951 (Perth Electric Tramway Society, n.d.).
Apart from the pipe factory, there was a range of heavy and light industry. Farming, which had been established in the Peninsula area in 1830, continued with dairies and Chinese market gardens. Clay on the peninsula area encouraged the establishment of pottery and brick kilns, with the Maylands Brickworks in operation from 1927-1982 (City of Bayswater & Palassis Architects, 2013, p. 21). From 1914 to 1920, Albany Bell established a “model factory” to produce cakes and pastries to supply his successful chain of tearooms (Cooper & McDonald, 1999, p. 143). The Royal WA Institute for the Blind, established in Maylands in 1895, became an industrial school in 1920, where the employees made basketwork and seagrass furniture. From 1924 to 1963, the Maylands Aerodrome, situated on the peninsula, ran as the official city airport for Perth (Cooper & McDonald, 1999, p. 256).

With the increase in automobility in Perth from the second half of the twentieth century, a more “car-oriented” commercial area was established in Maylands along Guildford Road, a few blocks from the train station (Cooper & McDonald, 1999, p. 416). Simultaneously, “multi-storey” multi-occupancy residential developments funded by both the State Housing Commission and private industry were established across the suburb (Cooper & McDonald, 1999, p. 416). In 1993, a public golf course opened at the site of the former airport (Cooper & McDonald, 1999, p. 416). Real estate advertising in 1993 emphasised the variety of housing available in Maylands (Cooper & McDonald, 1999, p. 416). In the late 1990s an infill subdivision consisting of 300 single occupancy private residences was established on the peninsula next to the closed Maylands Brickworks.

At the 2011 census, Maylands had a high level of housing diversity, with a higher proportion of renters compared with other suburbs in Western Australia. 51% of residents rented in Maylands compared to 29% for the state as a whole (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013). There was also a high proportion of residents living in multi-dwelling residences, with only 30% of the Maylands population living in separate detached houses, compared to 80% in detached houses state wide (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013).

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11 See Appendix A.
12 The Royal WA Institute for the Blind (now Senses Australia) left Maylands in 2003, however, some of the pedestrian infrastructure existing in the suburb today was originally designed for vision impaired inhabitants.
Maylands’ cultural diversity has continued to be prevalent. In 2015, Maylands had fourteen places of worship, including a Buddhist Temple, an Ethiopian Orthodox Church, a Mosque, and a Polish Catholic Church. In 2011, two or more languages were spoken in 30% of Maylands households, and 52% of the suburb’s population were born outside of Australia. For the state of Western Australia in the same year, 21% of households had two or more languages spoken, and 37% of the population were born outside of Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013). Migration patterns have changed recently. The percentage of people in Maylands born in India increased from 1.6% in 2006, to 6.6% in 2011 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013). Other prominent places of birth for Maylands residents in 2011 were England, New Zealand, China and Ireland (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013).

In 2009, commercial premises that had been built in the early 1900s were listed on the State Heritage Register (Thomson, 2009). This occurred after a mixed-use development consisting of 42 new residential units was constructed behind refurbished original commercial facades directly opposite the train station (Thomson, 2009). A resurgence of retail activity around the train station resulted, spurred by adjacent residential developments and the designation of the area as an “activity centre” (TPG Town Planning and Urban Design, 2009). Maylands became one of the few suburbs of Perth to have a train station in a thriving central commercial area, with affordable rental accommodation nearby. This is notable as research in the USA has found that transit-rich neighbourhoods with a greater proportion of renters are more susceptible to gentrification (Pollack et al., 2010, p. 3). Western Australian government infill targets designed to reduce urban sprawl (Department of Planning & Western Australian Planning Commission, 2010) have supported more recent high-density private, transport oriented apartment developments in Maylands (Finbar Apartments, 2016). In 2016 the range of properties available for a mix of incomes remained high. The lowest advertised price for a residential property sold was $159,000 for a one-bedroom apartment, and the highest advertised price was $1,850,000\(^{13}\) for a three-bedroom house (Real Estate Institute of Australia, 2016). However signifiers of gentrification in the suburb have proliferated. In 2016

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\(^{13}\) A three-bedroom house was sold for $2,500,000 in 2016, however the house was on a 2171m\(^2\) sized block of land.
developers promoted Maylands as “Perth’s trendiest place to be” (Finbar Apartments, 2016).

There is not room within this thesis to engage in the many stories that have combined to make Maylands the place it is today. However, one story, which was uncovered through background research for this study, has particular resonance with the issues of commodification of space discussed in previous chapters. The following story is about the naming of the suburb.

4.3.1.1 The naming of Maylands

Not long after the discovery of alluvial gold in Western Australia in the early 1890s, a new subdivision on the Perth city boundaries, by the name of Maylands, appeared. 110 blocks averaging a quarter acre each went up for sale in September 1896, and in October of the same year Gold Estates of Australia Ltd, advertised “Maylands Estate, Beautiful Views of the City and River” ("Classified Advertising: Maylands Estate," 1896) (see Figure 4.2). At that time the area was known as Falkirk, and had established around Mephan Ferguson’s ‘foundry’ after he had won a tender to build pipes stretching 560 km from Perth to Kalgoorlie to supply water for the booming gold fields. The demand for labour for the five-year project encouraged workers to move to the area, and names of the streets around the foundry came from Ferguson’s place of birth, Falkirk in Scotland. There was no train station, but a branch off the railway line to service the foundry, was known as Falkirk Siding.

![Figure 4.2 Maylands Estate For Sale](image)

In 1899, a letter to the editor of the West Australian newspaper lamented the decision of the Railway Department to change the name of the proposed Falkirk
station to “Maylands.” The letter writer, ‘Ajax’, claimed the name change was not desired by local residents and “a direct insult to Mr Mephan Ferguson who, by establishing his iron works there, giving employment to hundreds of men, has called the station into existence” (1899). The writer claimed the station name change would only benefit Gold Estates, “a company of London ‘fat men’” who owned the “Maylands” estate (Ajax, 1899). The letter goes on to suggest that “Departmental heads” had bought the best blocks of land on both sides of the proposed station (Ajax, 1899). ‘Ajax’ concluded, “However, I trust the local residents will take immediate action and interview the Hon. The Commissioner of Railways with the result that the station will retain its present name until some desire is shown by them to have it altered” (1899).

Local legend has told that Maylands was named after Mephan Ferguson’s daughter, May, or because the Maylands subdivision developer had surveyed the land in the month of May, though neither of these theories were considered credible (City of Bayswater, 2014; Cooper & McDonald, 1999, p. 116). This alternative story of the naming of Maylands speaks of the conflicts embedded in everyday Australian (sub)urban spaces: decisions on local infrastructure that benefited foreign investors; a boom and bust economy centred on mineral extraction; accusations of conflict of interest; and the call for local residents to assert their authority over spaces in their neighbourhood.

4.3.2 Participants

The target population for this research study was the whole suburb of Maylands. However particular ages were separated into specific phases of the data collection. Both adults and children, from age 5 – 70, took part in the Walking Interviews, but there were separate Adult Walkshops and Child Walkshops. The child walkshops involved 21 children, aged 8 – 11 years old, and included an intergenerational element, with research participation by three senior community members, aged 60 – 80 years, alongside the children. Because of the focus on these age groups, the sample contained a higher percentage of participants aged 5 – 14 (53.5%), than compared with the suburb demographics (6%), as shown in Table 4.2. In contrast, the 60 plus age group in the sample (14%) represented the case study area reasonably accurately (14.9%). The findings of this study, however, cannot be
generalised to represent the sample by these percentages as the three distinct phases of data collection involved different age groups and different methods of data collection.

Table 4.2
Percentage of age groups represented in the study (N=43) compared to the 2011 Census for Maylands

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>0-4</th>
<th>5-14</th>
<th>15-19</th>
<th>20-29</th>
<th>30-39</th>
<th>40-49</th>
<th>50-59</th>
<th>60+</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maylands</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study Sample</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>53.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013)

Children aged 11 and under, and adults over 60 were targeted due to extensive literature arguing the importance of independent mobility for the health and spatial competence of both age groups (Christensen & O'Brien, 2003; Gardner, 2014; Garrard, 2013; Hillman et al., 1990; S. Jones et al., 2016; Nathan, Wood, & Giles-Corti, 2014; O'Brien et al., 2000; Ottoni et al., 2016; Shaw et al., 2015; Van Holle et al., 2014; Villanueva et al., 2014), as well as the importance of including these demographics in decisions that impact their own mobility (Cook, 2015; Cook et al., 2015; Lui, Everingham, Warburton, Cuthill, & Bartlett, 2009).

Recent research involving sixteen countries, including Australia, found that by the age of eleven, the majority of children were allowed to cross main roads alone, signifying this age as an important milestone for children’s independent mobility (Shaw et al., 2015, p. 20). However, of the sixteen countries involved in the study, Australia ranked thirteenth for children’s independent mobility overall (Shaw et al., 2015, p. 14), and by the age of fifteen one in ten of the Australian children surveyed were still not allowed to travel independently to school or other places in their local area (Shaw et al., 2015, p. 21).

Research with inhabitants of 60 years and older in Victoria, Australia found that walking was highly valued among seniors, but the car-oriented design of Australian cities placed restrictions on their mobility (Garrard, 2013, p. 9). In particular, risks of falling due to non-existent or poorly maintained footpaths,
cyclists on footpaths and uncontrolled dogs were perceived as key barriers to walkability (Garrard, 2013, p. 10).

In the present study, it was not my intention to investigate the spatial practices of children and senior inhabitants exclusively, but instead to present a sample that prioritised the inclusion of these specific groups. As a result, the data collected by these participant groups was analysed separately and comparatively, but also as a significant part of the whole.

### 4.3.3 Benefits and limitations of a single case study

There are both advantages and disadvantages of undertaking a single case study. A key benefit of a single case study is that resources can be applied to collect extensive data using multiple methods within a “natural setting” (Yin, 2012, p. 5). Hence, in this study I was able to prepare for the participatory data collection processes by focusing resources on: analysing archival and colonial records; following current affairs and issues; consulting Indigenous Elders; volunteering for community events; and attending community meetings. A major advantage of the single case study method when applied to research on the connections between walking and spatial justice, is that such a detailed “embedded” investigation of the socio-spatial terrain is enabled (Yin, 2012, pp. 7-8). The detailed and layered focus of a single case study engenders “experiential understanding” (Stake, 1978, p. 7), thick descriptions and insight into “everyday life” (Yin, 2012, p. 5).

A common criticism of the single case study approach is that generalisations cannot be made from the data. In contrast, case studies can produce “analytical generalisations” whereby a “logic” is constructed from data analysis, informed by theoretical underpinnings, that might be transferable to other cases (Yin, 2012, p. 18). This fits with the Constructivist Grounded Theory approach adopted in this study, which also produces substantive propositional theories for further investigation rather than generalisations (Charmaz, 2014). Single case study findings can also be considered through “naturalistic generalisation” as it is clear to the reader that the data is specific to the case study. The reader can then generalise in comparison to other known cases (Stake, 1978, p. 6).

Some studies employing walking methods of data collection have adopted a single case study approach (Carpiano, 2009; Hammad, 2014), while others have
engaged a small number of cases, but have considered each case separately, comparatively and holistically (Bendiner-Viani, 2009; Emmel & Clark, 2009). A key advantage of studying multiple cases is that “diversity across contexts” (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011, p. 274) can be investigated, as well as commonalities, “complexity” and “context” between the cases (Stake, 2005, p. 23). A single case study approach, however, is suited to “problem-centric” studies, (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011, p. 275) because resources can be focused on applying the research methods to fit the specific problem. A single case study, therefore, may be beneficial to studies investigating abstracted approaches to the spatial production of walkability, and the specific issues encountered by inhabitants whose mobility is negatively impacted by this problem.

4.3.4 Preparation for the research

I took part in several activities in the suburb in order to promote the research study and introduce myself to inhabitants. I also used this introductory period to collect secondary background data on the area to greater understand the context. I walked the suburb, while posting three hundred flyers about the research in residential letterboxes. I visited local shops and cafes, including Indian groceries and restaurants, and asked if I could promote participation in the study by leaving posters and flyers on the premises. I also set up a simple website and Facebook page (https://www.facebook.com/WhatMakesMaylands), to provide background information in order to contextualise the flyers. I read local newspapers, and followed Maylands based community groups, organisations, and local businesses via social media. I contacted local businesses, and spoke about the research study at meetings and networking sessions of several Maylands volunteer associations and community groups.

In May 2013, I led a Jane’s Walk walking tour through Maylands to promote the research and share stories I had uncovered of connections between past and present in the suburb. The Jane’s Walk movement promotes volunteer-led, free neighbourhood walking tours, which take place over the first weekend in May every year (“Jane’s Walk,” n.d.). The walk was titled What Makes Maylands? and was attended by 32 people from Maylands and surrounding suburbs. I also contacted the local newspaper, which published an article on the walk and the research study (Bell,
Further recruitment processes for each of the three phases of data collection are detailed in the sections below.

4.3.5 Ethics processes

The Edith Cowan University Human Research Ethics Committee granted ethics approval for this research project in November 2012, and determined that the project met the requirements of the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (National Health and Research Medical Council, 2007). Research conducted within schools in Western Australia also requires approval from the school’s governing body. This approval was granted in March 2013, subject to the researcher, and all other persons involved in data collection signing a declaration of confidentiality and providing current Working with Children Check documentation on arrival at the school.

All participants were provided with Consent Forms and accompanying Information Letters, which provided details of research participation, outlined their right to not participate or withdraw from the research, and explained measures to ensure confidentiality of data and protection of anonymity (see Appendix B). Pseudonyms have been used when discussing participants, however some participants have chosen to be identified by their real names. Any identifying marks on maps, drawings or photographs have been blurred or removed before inclusion in this thesis. The adult participants also had the option to give consent for the creative works they produced during the data collection to be displayed as part of an exhibit to disseminate the findings of the research study.

Information Letters and Consent Forms (see Appendix B) were provided to the student participants, as well as to parents/guardians, so the students could understand what was involved in participation and decide themselves if they would like to take part. A separate section of the Consent Form was provided for parents to give consent for any photographs, or art works, created by their children to be published in this thesis and subsequent academic articles. The student participants

14 Under the Working with Children (Criminal Record Checking) Act 2004, people undertaking work in Western Australia that involves contact with children must undergo a Working with Children Check. The Working With Children Check is a national search of criminal records.

15 Half of the parents/guardians declined publication approval.
were asked to avoid taking photographs of each other. The school principal, as per the guidelines of the school’s governing body, retrospectively approved all student photographs and creative works that had publication consent.

The safety and duty of care of the students were the main concerns of the Child Walkshops and after consultation with the school’s governing body, the research design was adapted to ensure these concerns were prioritised. Originally, I had intended to hold the walkshops outside of the school area. However, to ensure duty of care of the students this would have required the recruitment of additional safety supervisors. Due to the resource limitations of this single researcher study, I decided to limit the location of the Child Walkshops to within the school area.

Maylands is a place of importance to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people who live and work there, as well as the wider Aboriginal population who have ancestral, traditional, cultural and familial ties to the area. It was my intention to conduct the study by the values of “spirit and integrity, reciprocity, respect, equality, survival and protection, [and] responsibility” as per the Guidelines for Ethical Conduct in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Research (National Health and Research Medical Council, 2003, p. 8). I consulted Kurongkurl Katitjin (n.d.), Edith Cowan University’s Centre for Indigenous Australian Education and Research, to seek guidance regarding general research procedures, and specifically if any Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people did volunteer as participants in this study. I was advised to undertake research into Nyoongar,16 and other Aboriginal, heritage, culture and resistance in the Maylands area. I did this by consulting a Nyoongar Elder, accessing colonial records, and reading Nyoongar publications on the surrounding area. I also contacted Maylands based Nyoongar organisations to promote the research study to staff.

4.3.6 Data collection phases

As discussed in the Literature Review, walking has been considered an epistemological and creative social practice and a site for concomitant creative

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16 Noongar (Nyungar, Nyoongar, Nyoongah, Nyungah) people are First Nations Peoples who live in the southwest corner of Western Australia. Geographically, this group inhabit the region just south of Geraldton in the north, to Esperance in the south. The Noongar nations consist of 14 groups who are connected through a shared language, culture and beliefs.
practices. In this study, as I have articulated, I used walking as a participatory tool for the data collection while simultaneously investigating the walking practice itself. Hence, it was my aim to gain understanding of the ways walking connects people to the spaces they inhabit, and potentially builds spatial competence and resilience. The data collection was separated into three phases of participatory spatial practice research, centred on walking: Adult Walkshops, Walking Interviews and Child Walkshops. In all three phases of data collection, the practice of walking was the facilitator for the conversation, and the spaces visited inspired the discussion (see Figure 4.3).

The three phases of data collection were planned to each investigate different methods of participatory spatial practice framed around the central practice of walking, with different groups of participants. The data collected from all three phases was analysed and synthesised iteratively, comparatively and holistically. The findings would then be communicated back to the inhabitants of Maylands and the wider public, through walking tours and an interactive exhibit, discussed in detail in Chapter 8.

*Figure 4.3 Summary of research design including three phases of data collection, data analysis, and communication of findings event. Source: author*
Timescales of participation were an important consideration in this research design. The walkshops and walking interviews were designed to take no longer than 90 minutes of active walking participation at a time. The group walkshops also enabled the collection of a large amount of rich and diverse data within a short timeframe. The walkshops in both Phase One and Phase Three consisted of two parts, so the adult participants were required to partake in three hours of activities at the most in one day, and the child participants were required to take part in 90 minutes of activities on each day.

For this study, I chose not to utilise additional technology, such as a video camera or GPS devices, due to my concern that the technical logistics may distract from the natural flow of the walking conversations. I chose to let the participants track their routes through their sketch maps and photographs. I also wanted the participants to feel relaxed, and for the focus to remain out toward the space rather than on the technological apparatus. Participant distraction has been reported as a disadvantage of using emerging technologies when tracking socio-spatial networks (Harris & Lane, 2007). A key intention of the design of the walkshops and walking interviews was to provide time for participants to consider their neighbourhood spaces and everyday spatial practices, and communicate their passions, concerns, and ideas. With consideration of the time constraints, I designed specific activities to elicit thinking and conversations about space, which are detailed in the sections below.

4.3.7 Phase One: Adult Walkshops

The Adult Walkshops (see Figure 4.4) took place over two sessions, both held on Sunday afternoons in May 2013, each for the duration of 3.5 hours. Eleven adults (seven female and four male) participated in the first walkshop. Two of these participants brought their young child with them, who was not a participant. Nine participants (six female and three male) attended the second walkshop. Six participants had heard me speak about the research study at various events throughout the suburb. Four participants had found out about the study through the What Makes Maylands? walking tour and three participants volunteered after seeing the flyers I had posted.
The Adult Walkshops were based at The RISE, in central Maylands: a City of Bayswater building that incorporates the local public library, a gymnasium, sports hall, a community centre, offices for non-profit organisations, a council “one-stop-shop,” a crèche, a child health clinic, an outdoor amphitheatre, a playground, and a café. The RISE is an acronym for Recreation, Information, Socialising and Entertainment (City of Bayswater, 2015). All walkshop activities and discussions either took place within The RISE or outside on the streets of Maylands. An undergraduate planning student from Curtin University attended both walkshops as an assistant, helping to set up the various exercises and to take photographs.
4.3.7.1 Adult Walkshop One

After a brief introduction and explanation of the research study, I asked participants to undertake the first exercise: ‘You Are Here’ Sketch Maps. I gave the participants a blank piece of paper and marker pens. Next, I asked them to mark on the blank paper, the place of their birth, and their current home, then draw a line to mark the journey from their place of birth to this moment, as well as their journey from home to The RISE that day. I also asked them to include significant spaces in Maylands, including a favourite space.

The participants were then given time to talk through their maps with the person sitting next to them. Following these conversations, I presented the participants with a large aerial photograph of Maylands on which I asked them to place post-it notes to mark their favourite spaces, and discuss the reasons for choosing each space.

I then gave the participants basic digital cameras and a Photo Bingo card which I had created and adapted from the Space Bingo activity designed by the Design Studio for Social Intervention (ds4si) (2012, p. 17). The participants had the choice of whether to work alone or in pairs and I asked them to take photos that related to the nine squares on the Photo Bingo card. Each square was labelled with a descriptor of space: ‘problem space’; ‘possibility space’; ‘my space’; ‘sacred space’; ‘our space’; ‘community space’; ‘conflict space’; ‘typical Maylands space’; and a ‘free space’ in the centre square, which is a common inclusion on a bingo card. In line with the Constructivist Grounded Theory methodology, I left it to the participants to interpret the words. I acknowledge, however, that using different word prompts would have generated different data. With understanding that the participants may not be able to photograph representations of all categories within the 45-minute timeframe, I asked them to at least nominate a ‘problem space’ and a ‘possibility space’. I also gave participants the option to mark out the location of the spaces they nominated on an aerial photograph of Maylands on the reverse of the bingo card.

After the Photo Bingo activity, I drew the participant’s attention back to the large aerial map of the suburb, on which I asked them to place a pop-stick to mark the one ‘problem’ or ‘possibility’ space they would like to focus on for the rest of the walkshop as shown in Figure 4.5.
Figure 4.5 Planning the walking route with pop sticks placed by the participants based on a ‘problem space’ or ‘possibility space’ they wanted to visit and discuss (Adult Walkshop One). Photograph: Gareth Glanville

A walking route was then planned around these spaces, so that all nominated ‘problem’ and ‘possibility’ spaces could be visited during the walk. We went out into the streets of Maylands as a group and discussed the issues around each space as we visited them. The walk, and accompanying discussion, continued until the end of the walkshop. I did not record the conversations held on the walk as it was deemed too difficult and distracting to attempt to record the conversations of such a large walking group. However, I made written notes on the conversations that took place.

4.3.7.2 Adult Walkshop Two

To begin the second Adult Walkshop, I asked the participants to share their first memories of Maylands with the group. The next activity was titled What We All Share in which I asked the participants to work in small groups and brainstorm what they felt everyone in Maylands held in common.

Next, we recalled the ‘possibility’ and ‘problem’ spaces that were discussed in the previous walkshop and I asked the two new participants who had not attended the first walkshop, to add any ‘possibility’ or ‘problem’ spaces they wished to
discuss. It was then left to the group to decide by consensus a walking route in Maylands. A walk to the river that included the ‘possibility spaces’ chosen by the new participants was decided upon. For the duration of the walkshop, I audio recorded all group conversations around the table. However, I did not record the conversations on the walk, but took notes on the topics discussed.

After the walk, I asked the participants to form small groups and recalling all that we had discussed on the walk, brainstorm what specific things they would like to change about Maylands. Finally, I asked the participants to individually write down what the next steps should be for the suburb, and to try to reach a consensus on the most important next step if they could do so. The walkshop concluded with a discussion about how the findings of the research should be communicated back to the people of Maylands.

4.3.8 Phase two: Walking Interviews

Phase Two of the data collection, Walking Interviews (see Figure 4.6), took place between June 2013 and February 2015, and involved ten participants: eight adults and two children who walked with their participant parent. The youngest participant was five years old, and the oldest had recently turned seventy. One adult participant was a wheelchair user. Two Walking Interview participants had heard about the study via the What Makes Maylands? walking tour. One participant had seen a flyer advertising the study, another had been in attendance when I spoke about the research at a community meeting, and one was recruited via another participant, referred to as “snowballing” (Emmel & Clark, 2009, p. 6). All other Walking Interview participants had read an article about the research study published in a local newspaper.

Each Walking Interview was a conversational walk, whereby individual participants led me on a tour in the suburb of Maylands. The location, day, time and duration of each of the eight walks were determined by each participant and ranged from 1 hour to 2.5 hours in length. To follow the Constructivist Grounded Theory methodology, the interviews were designed to be open-ended (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011, p. 102). All interviews began with the same open question: *Why have you chosen this particular route to walk today?* The spaces along the route provided the elicitation for the stories, conversations and photographs collected as data for the
research. All Walking Interviews were audio recorded using a handheld digital recording device.

**Figure 4.6 Phase Two: Walking Interviews. Source: author. Photographs: author and participants**

I gave participants the option to prepare for the walk by creating a personal map of the walking route. Participants also had the option to record their walk in the form of photographs and I supplied a digital camera for this purpose. The transcripts from the walking interviews, the participants’ maps and the photographs, either taken by the participants, or myself, made up the entirety of data collected.
4.3.9 Phase three: Child Walkshops

The Child Walkshops of Phase Three (see Figure 4.7) were conducted with 21 children, aged 8-11 years old.

Figure 4.7 Phase Three: Child Walkshops. Source: author. Photographs: participants

The children were recruited from a primary school in Maylands, and the walkshops took place during April and May 2014. The two walkshops, each 1.5 hours long, were held within the school area as part of the school day. After the school principal and the education authority had granted approval for the study, the principal nominated a teacher who was interested in the research. I negotiated the schedule for each of the walkshops with the teacher, who recruited the 21 school children from their class. For the second walkshop, I invited three seniors from the community to visit the school and join in the activities, as both guests of the students.
and participants in the research. The senior participants either currently lived in
Maylands, or had spent a significant part of their childhood in the suburb. One senior
participant was recruited through a local community association, and the other two
participants were approached via a volunteer group that facilitates intergenerational
storytelling in primary schools.

4.3.9.1 Child Walkshop One

The first walkshop started with a mapping activity in the classroom, which I
called One Minute Maps. I asked the students to individually hand-draw a map of
their school and gave them a minute to do so. I suggested they could mark on the
map: their classroom, their play areas, and their favourite space.

Next, I grouped the students into pairs and gave them basic digital cameras
and Photo Bingo cards, designed specifically for the students. I asked the students to
take photographs of spaces that represented the following: ‘fun space’; ‘possibility space’; ‘hang-out space’; ‘learning space’; ‘no-go
space’; ‘friendly space’; ‘favourite space’; ‘quiet space’; and a blank space in the
centre which they could make any space they wished. The students were left to
interpret the categorisation of spaces for themselves, however a few students asked
me to explain the meaning of ‘possibility space’. I used different word prompts for
the adult and children’s Photo Bingo activities. There were two reasons for this. The
first being discussions held with the school’s governing body during the ethical
approval process. The second being my own assumptions on what word prompts
would be most engaging and relevant to each group of participants. The students also
had the option to mark the spaces on the map of the school on the reverse of the
bingo card.

On returning to the classroom, I instructed the students to gather in groups of
4-5 around maps showing a basic outline of the school grounds, which I had printed
from Google Maps. I asked the students to mark the spaces on the map that they had
photographed with post-it-notes, as well as any other important features that they felt
that Google Maps had missed out.

I then asked the students what important things a new visitor to the school,
particularly a new student from another school or another country, would need to
know. The students discussed spaces they thought would be important to include,
such as water fountains, toilets, and where to eat. I then placed the students in different groups, of 7-8, where I asked them to use craft materials to create a three dimensional (3D) map for a visitor to the school, which they would use at the next walkshop to lead their own walking tours.

4.3.9.2 Child Walkshop Two

At the start of the second walkshop, I introduced the three visiting Maylands seniors. The students then re-formed into the final groups of the previous walkshop and were given copies of the 3D school maps they had made. Acting as tour guides, the students led the visitors on group tours of the school grounds. To prompt conversation, I gave the students some questions to ask the visitors: How did they travel to school every day when they were younger?; What games did they play at school?; and Is there anything that they think is very different at this school compared to where they went to school? I also asked the senior participants to find out the favourite spaces of all of the children in their group, and the reasons the children favoured these spaces.

On returning to the classroom the senior visitors were given the opportunity to speak to the children about the differences between school and play when they were children compared to today, and what changes they had seen in Maylands over their lifetime. I then gave all participants a card, on which they were asked to write their favourite space in Maylands and describe why they had chosen that space. They were also asked to write one change, or new thing, they would like to see in Maylands in the future. I then asked all participants to write the name of their favourite space on a post-it note and place it on the large aerial photograph of Maylands.

Finally, in groups of 4-5, the students worked with one senior visitor participant, or myself, to draw a large map of what they thought, and hoped, Maylands will be like in the future. I asked one group to draw Maylands in 5 years time, one to draw future Maylands in 10 years time, another to draw Maylands in 20 years time, and a final group to draw Maylands in 50 years time. I asked the participants to consider their favourite spaces that they wanted to keep, add any new spaces and things that they would like to see in the suburb. I also asked them to include how they thought people would get around in the future, and anything they
thought should be changed to make Maylands better. As our walks did not leave the school area, this mapping exercise was important to understand the children’s priorities for Maylands and urban space in general.

4.4 Data analysis

I analysed the data using a Constructivist Grounded Theory methodology. I coded incidents and concepts that emerged during the iterative practice of data collection and analysis (see Figure 4.8). Although the research questions undeniably provided a framework for the research, they did not inform the initial analysis of the data. In contrast, the codes emerged directly from the data.

*Figure 4.8 Data analysis schema. Source: author*

I uploaded the transcribed interviews, photographs, sketch maps and brainstorming data, into the qualitative data analysis software program, MAXQDA. I then coded the transcribed data, “incident by incident” (Charmaz, 2014, p. 128), or by each separate event or new topic discussed, to find concepts apparent in the data, but also systems and structures around the data. I analysed and coded the visual and textual data for content as well as context and “connotations” (Van Leeuwen &
Jewitt, 2004, para. 4) using a “critical semiological” process (G. Rose, 2012, p. 105). The “initial coding” (Charmaz, 2014, p. 114) could be called “emergent” (Charmaz, 2014, p. 115), because the codes emerged directly from the data, and were not applied from the research questions. I categorised these elementary codes hierarchically, and it was from these categories that key themes emerged.

I applied a socio-semiotic analysis to deduce contextual frameworks for the visual data and considered participants’ subjective processes of constructing meaning through spatial practice. In a Grounded Theory study, the participants should be able to recognise themselves in the discussion of the data (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). This does not mean that data should be presented without interpretation. What is important is to attempt to conceptualise the data from the participant’s perspective within the context of their socio-spatial environment. This can never be wholly accomplished, however, as the researcher’s own biases and perspectives are implicated.

Space can be a vessel for the communication of ideologies (Gottdiener, 1995, p. 56). Gottdiener proposed a “socio-semiotic” interrogation of ideologies, interactions and subjectivities in the built environment, and the ways in which people negotiate space (1995, p. 57). A socio-semiotic approach to analysis recognises that cultural objects constitute systems of social production as well as systems of signification (Gottdiener, 1995, p. 29). To use Gottdiener’s example, the design of a fast food restaurant dictates the spatial practices of those who come in contact with it, and is a “social force” (1995, p. 72) that expresses ideology, just as much as the signifying elements of the logos, menus and staff uniforms. Inhabitants develop spatial competence by everyday negotiation with these loaded spaces (Gottdiener, 1995, p. 73). To account for this in the data, I applied a socio-semiotic analysis to the photographs and sketch maps. I interrogated the ways in which spaces impacted the practices of the participants, and also how the participants interpreted the ideologies of the spaces. This process was informed by an acknowledgement that inhabitants might choose to subvert or resist the explicit and implicit messages produced within these spaces (Gottdiener, 1995, p. 64).

I combined a socio-semiotic analysis of images with content analysis to alert myself to incidents within the photographic frame or sketch map that my eye may not have been drawn to. Content analysis is the categorisation, or coding, of every
distinct part that makes up an image then quantifying these parts numerically (G. Rose, 2012, pp. 81-82). Even when applying the methodological and quantitative categorisation of content analysis, qualitative analysis skills are still required to interpret the meaning of that image within the wider “cultural context” (G. Rose, 2012, p. 86). Content analysis does not aid in understanding the significance of what is omitted from the frame of an image, how the different parts of an image interconnect, or how the “mood” of an image is interpreted (G. Rose, 2012, p. 74).

By applying a socio-semiotic analysis to the images and maps, I could also focus on: the size and centrality of the incident; any textual denotations; any drawings of the self, including emotional expressions; any emotive symbols and signs; whether people were represented alone or as part of a social situation; representations of activity and mobility; the perspective of the viewer or audience; elaborations of a specific part of the image; perspective; and framing.

As codes are “constructed” by the researcher (Charmaz, 2014, p. 115) through the “memo writing” process undertaken during data collection, and throughout analysis (2014, p. 162) “constant comparative methods” are important (Charmaz, 2014, p. 132; Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 102). Initial theories, concepts, categories and themes are compared with raw data to check consistencies and inconsistencies (Charmaz, 2014, p. 323) as shown in Figure 4.9.

I also employed “active coding”, meaning the researcher “acts” on initial theories and emerging concepts by re-engaging in data collection to investigate these ideas further (Charmaz, 2014, p. 115). As Grounded Theory is an iterative process it allows the researcher to re-enter the field and undertake “theoretical sampling” based on substantive theories that have been proposed (Charmaz, 2014, pp. 192-193; Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 45). To follow this process, the data I collected in the later stages was informed by the categories and concepts that emerged from the data collected to that time.
Figure 4.9 The Constructivist Grounded Theory coding process applied in this study. Source: author

A Grounded Theory analysis may generate conditions, consequences, dimensions, types, processes, and causes, however “no attempt is made by the constant comparative method to ascertain either the universality or the proof of suggested causes or other properties” (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 104). Therefore, the theories I propose are not generalisations, as they emerged from the specific data collected from the specific participants in the specific context of this study.

4.4.1 Limitations of the methodology

Participatory research in the form of walking methods can hand power of the data collection in some way to the participants and embed the researcher physically in the socio-spatial case study site, avoiding the potential shortcomings of what has been referred to as “drive-by research” (Carpiano, 2009, p. 267). However, there are some limitations to the research design employed in this study.

Adult participation in the research was promoted across the suburb, and the adult sample was volunteer, or self-selecting. Despite recruitment efforts, the sample did not represent, by percentage, two important inhabitant groups: rental tenants, and
recent migrants. As discussed earlier, the 2011 Census recorded 51% of Maylands residents were renting their accommodation, shown in Table 4.3.

Of the twenty adult participants, only two rented their accommodation. Some rental tenants approached for participation declined, stating they were “just renting” in the suburb. A representative sample of dwelling types was recruited, however, with 65% of adult participants living in an apartment, unit or townhouse, compared to 69.7% in these types of dwellings in the suburb.

Table 4.3
Percentage Dwelling and Tenure of Adult Participants (N=20) in the Study Compared to 2011 Census in Maylands

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tenure &amp; Dwelling</th>
<th>Rented</th>
<th>Mortgage/Owned</th>
<th>House</th>
<th>Apartment/Townhouse</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maylands</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>69.7</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult Sample</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013)

Three adult participants who were born outside of Australia: in England, New Zealand and Ireland (see Table 4.4.) were recruited. Other recent migrants from the missing place of birth categories, and Maylands residents of Nyoongar heritage, were contacted as potential participants, either directly or through the snowball method. Several of these potential participants expressed interest but were unable to participate due to other commitments. One participant declined giving the reason they had only recently moved to the suburb.

Table 4.4
Percentage Place of Birth of Adult Participants (N=20) in the study compared to 2011 Census of Maylands

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
<th>Australia</th>
<th>India</th>
<th>England</th>
<th>New Zealand</th>
<th>China</th>
<th>Ireland</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maylands</td>
<td>48.3</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult Sample</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander residents: 1.3%
(Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013)
Recruiting representative participant cohorts to walking studies has been found to be difficult (C. E. Foster et al., 2011). After recruiting participants to contribute reflective data on walking practices, Middleton (2016) noted her sample did not reflect the ethnic and economic diversity of the targeted area, although she undertook an extensive mail out within an area chosen for its economic and social diversity. Recruiting marginalised participants is “a time and resource intensive activity” (C. E. Foster et al., 2011, p. 10) which requires active methods, and constant evaluation so as to change these methods if necessary (2011, p. 20). Resources need to be dedicated initially to understand how and where recruitment should be undertaken before proceeding (Miller & Lubitow, 2015). Partnerships can counteract these recruitment limitations as this process allows for the research design to focus on outcomes that coincide with the partners’ priorities and concerns (Miller & Lubitow, 2015). Focusing resources on establishing partnerships with adult participant groups so as to negotiate research processes, as had been done with the participant school’s governing body, might have resolved these limitations regarding the recruitment of adult participants.

A limitation of undertaking a single case study in a suburb with transient populations of rental tenants and recent migrants could be problematic for recruitment due to difficulties locating community groups and “gatekeepers” (Emmel & Clark, 2009, p. 7) through which to build trust with marginalised inhabitants. Some target populations may not have representative groups. For example, Western Australia does not currently have a representative organisation for rental tenants, although the Australian states of New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria, Tasmania, and the Australian Capital Territory all have tenants unions.

The walking methodology also imposed some limitations on participation. Some potential participants stated they had injuries that prevented them from walking, even for a short distance. The school children were not permitted to walk outside of the school area without safety supervisors, thus the walks were limited to the school grounds so that they could walk freely. It is also possible that some potential adult participants may have considered walking with a researcher.

17 However, the freedom of movement, and spatial competence, the students demonstrated within their own school area, was a highlight of this phase of the research.
undesirable (Emmel & Clark, 2009), particularly if they already feel vulnerable walking in public space.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed the methodological approach to the research and explained how this supported the decision to undertake participatory methods of data collection and a Constructivist Grounded Theory analysis process. I then presented a rationale for the particular walking methods applied, in relation to studies where they have been employed previously. I also briefly discussed the suburb of Maylands as a case study site, as well as the benefits and limitations of a single case study.

The multi-method research design was applied to amass rich data to explore the value of walking as a spatial practice, not just for transport, leisure, or exercise, but also for community consultation and research. Walking, storytelling, brainstorming, photography, and sketch mapping were all employed as methods within three phases of data collection designed as walkshops and walking interviews. In conclusion to this chapter I detailed the data analysis process and discussed limitations of the recruitment design. The following four chapters detail the findings of this research. The next chapter focuses on what happened during the phases of data collection and the data analysis process.
CHAPTER FIVE:
FINDINGS – SHARING WALKS, STORIES AND VALUES

As spatial practices were under investigation in this study it was important to note what happened during the data collection. Of particular importance was how the participants engaged with space as they walked, and how they shared their stories, perspectives and values with the researcher and other participants.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section provides an overview of the data collected, categorised by maps, photographs and words. The second section outlines what happened during the data collection, and how the participants engaged with the walkshops and walking interviews by sharing their stories and values. The third section details the coding process approached through a Constructivist Grounded Theory methodology and a spatial justice framework. Finally it is explained how, through this process, three core values of spatial practice emerged. The chapter ends with a discussion of how the three core values of spatial practice apply to the research questions of this study.

5.1 The data: Maps, photographs, words

The data can be understood as a representation of walking-related-spatial practice in the suburb of Maylands. This data was created through an embodied physical process of walking the spaces of the suburb, through sharing stories, conversations, viewpoints, sensations, situations and experience. This process was an action of bringing back the “tour describers” (de Certeau, 1984, p. 130) to the production of space.

In the following subsections I present an overview of the data collected in this study, grouped into the categories: maps, photographs and words. Within each of these three sections, the data is contextualised by the three phases: Adult Walkshops, Walking Interviews and Child Walkshops. In these sections I also highlight specific examples that demonstrate issues encountered and solutions applied during the analysis process.
5.1.1 Maps

The sketch maps were important pieces of data in all phases of the study as they provided information on the different ways the participants conceptualised their neighbourhood spaces while highlighting significant spaces and practices. The individual sketch mapping exercises undertaken at the start of each of the walkshops allowed the participants to start thinking spatially, and to express visually their personal experience of space, which was distinct from that of other participants. In all phases of research, we walked the majority of these significant spaces that had been individually mapped by participants.

5.1.1.1 Maps - Phase one: Adult Walkshops

The individual maps created at the start of the first Adult Walkshop were predominantly symbolic in their representation. The participants’ choice of symbols provided rich data for analysis. For example, some represented their home with a love heart (see Figure 5.1) and several drew coffee cups (see Figure 5.1 and Figure 5.2), which could symbolise a café, or a sensual and/or social experience. All but one participant included a representation of the river in their individual map. Greater contextual depth was provided in the group discussion about these. For example, participant Natasha explained that the drawing on the right of her map with a paw print symbol was a representation of the dog park by the river, which was a significant space for her family (see Figure 5.1).

![Natasha’s ‘You Are Here’ Sketch Map (Adult Walkshop 1) showing symbolic representation of spaces important to her including her home (love heart), a café (coffee cup), and a dog park by the river (paw print next to waves and grass). The RISE (large shape) and the place she was born (circle) are also depicted.](image)
Participant Paul explained the drawing he made at the bottom of his map was a representation of the area by the river where his marriage ceremony was held (see Figure 5.2).

![Figure 5.2 Paul’s ‘You Are Here’ Sketch Map (Adult Walkshop 1) showing symbolic representation of places important to him, including a café (top), his house, The RISE, and the place he was born (middle) and the location by the river where his wedding ceremony was held (bottom)](image)

When asked to create the Maylands Favourites Group Map, by locating favourite spaces on a large aerial photograph of Maylands, prior to walking, the participants placed ten markers on the river, or riverside areas such as parks, gardens, reserves and a jetty (Figure 5.3).
Eight markers were placed within the traditional main street (high street) commercial area of Maylands, with one nomination for the street itself: “Eighth Avenue.” Other spaces within this area included one bar, one “tea house”, one “coffee place”, but also the “railway station” and the “cycle track.” The two other markers were placed on a “garden” to the immediate right of the commercial area, and further right, “Gibney Reserve” (a local park). The majority of these spaces were subsequently nominated as significant spaces in the Photo Bingo exercise.

5.1.1.2 Maps - Phase two: Walking Interviews

I asked the Walking Interview participants to plan their walking route and gave them the option to map this route before we set out. These maps provided important data on how the participants interacted with space by walking. For most walking interviewees, the route was flexible, as detours were taken and locations were added, and for some the walk was more of a wander while ensuring significant spaces were included. Participant Kelly chose to draw her map after returning home from participating in the Walking Interview. She regularly walked with her newborn.
baby and did not follow a prescribed route, but instead made sure she kept a specific temporal distance from her home in case she needed to get back there quickly to tend to the baby’s needs. So we walked, as she called it, “going where the wind takes you.” She labelled her map ‘Walking route (approx)’ (Figure 5.4). The map shows how we doubled back on ourselves, and also does not exactly represent the route we took.

![Walking route (approx) map](image)

**Figure 5.4 Kelly’s Walking Interview Route (approximate) showing how the walk doubled back on itself. This map was drawn after the walk and does not accurately represent the route taken**

Participant Colette’s map shows a group of connected shapes that outline her walking route (see Figure 5.5) with important landmarks annotated, including the river and a “River walk.”
Participant Bella used her map like a to-do list on which she vigorously crossed out each location as we passed through it (Figure 5.6).
I asked Bella if she regularly planned her journeys in this way, and she handed me her actual ‘to-do list’ which included, at number six, “Maylands PhD”: her meeting with me.

5.1.1.3 Maps - Phase three: Child Walkshops

In the first walkshop, the students created 20 individual sketch maps, and 8 group maps of the school. In the second workshop, the students and seniors created four group maps of Future Maylands. The students’ maps were not analysed for accuracy of representation, although the students recently had lessons on mapping and mapping concepts. One student asked if the map needed to be bird’s-eye view. I replied that it was up to each individual student to decide what perspective they would use. I explained that maps came in many formats, from many different perspectives, and included many different forms of pictorial and textual representation.

Of the 20 individual maps created by the children, five were not drawn from a bird’s-eye view perspective, and three of these were figurative representations of specific spaces. During analysis, consideration was given to my suggestion to the students to include their favourite space in their map.

Harry’s bird’s-eye view map (Figure 5.7) clearly marks out his classroom (S3) and key landmarks in the school including playgrounds, and the soccer oval. In the centre is the walking path from his classroom, which leads to his “favourite place.” From other photographs and maps in the data, the foursquare symbol marking his favourite place can be interpreted as a handball court. The fence indicates the barrier to his space, separating his own play and learning areas from that of the kindergarten children.

Jasmine drew a pictorial map of the school, taking on a more oblique perspective, with a 3D aspect to the building, figures and grass (Figure 5.8). Jasmine’s map included mobile and active human figures in the school both inside and outside the building, and a detailed “grass area” next to a fence.
Figure 5.7 Child Walkshop 1: Harry’s ‘One Minute Map’: a bird’s-eye-view of the school showing the path between his classroom (S3) and his favourite space, the handball court.

Figure 5.8 Child Walkshop 1: Jasmine’s ‘One Minute Map’ of the school with pictorial representation from an oblique perspective, showing human figures, annotated as “My School” which could demonstrate a sense of ownership. The annotation “grass area” could signify the importance of that area.
Jasmine’s wish for future Maylands was “more parks and small areas to relax and do something” demonstrating some consistency with the significance of the “grass area” on her map. She also annotated the map “My School” which could demonstrate a sense of ownership and identity with the school space.

Some students only drew one space to represent their school. I interpreted this decision to mean that that space held great significance to them. Consistencies became apparent when compared with other data produced by the student. For example, Julie drew only the basketball courts on her individual map of the school (Figure 5.9) and also chose the basketball courts as a ‘fun space’ in the Photo Bingo exercise.

![Map of the school showing only the basketball courts](image)

**Figure 5.9 Child Walkshop 1: Julie’s ‘One Minute Map’ of the school showing only her favourite space, the basketball court. She explained that this was where she and her friends played “chasey” (Julie’s real name has been blurred on this image to protect anonymity)**
The basketball courts featured on both group maps she participated in making. On the 3D group map of the school (not shown) she annotated, “Basket ballcourts (CHASEY).” She explained to me that the basketball courts were important because that was where the children of her age played chasey.\(^{18}\) She also explained to the senior visitor that the basketball courts were her favourite place because of “play.” In comparison, Julie chose “the school and my house and the scout hall” as her favourite spaces in Maylands, because they are “fun and enjoying [sic]” and chose “more public parks” as the one thing she would change in the suburb. The data demonstrated a consistency in her choices, with “fun” as a priority for her, and open spaces sanctioned for “play” as more important than specific play infrastructure.

Sam drew only the soccer pitch for his individual map, complete with a soccer ball heading for a goal, and “SOCCER PITCH” written in large text. Sam chose “the soccer pitch in school” as his favourite Maylands space, because “soccer is my favourite sport.” The one thing Sam wanted to change was “that Maylands would have a stadium,” and on the group map of Future Maylands 2064, he drew a large stadium and wrote his name in capital letters across the middle of it. These consistencies demonstrated the importance of sporting spaces to him, as both a player and spectator. Malcolm also drew the soccer pitch for his individual map of the school. Both his favourite place (The RISE) and dream for future Maylands were also related to soccer (see Figure 5.10). However, it is important also to note his interest in books and a theatre.

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**My favourite space in Maylands is:** The rise because: I play soccer and sometimes
Plays soccer with my brother
One change or new thing I would like to see in Maylands in the future is: Maybe they can build a stadium

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**Figure 5.10 Child Walkshop 2: Malcolm’s favourite space and wish for Maylands confirming his interest in soccer, but also books and a theatre**

\(^{18}\) “Chasey” is vernacular word for the game of tag or tig.
Freeman and Vass (2010, p. 85) found during a study of 163 New Zealand children, aged 9-11, that “quality” and “spatially accurate representation” in child participant drawn maps did not correlate to the spatial competence of the children as expressed in interviews. Despite this, Freeman and Vass (2010) articulated that planners should still use child-produced maps as data, but they should be employed alongside other data collection methods, and are best used to elicit further conversations between the researchers and participants. As I did not have the time or resources to question all of the students on their maps, employing multiple data collection instruments was critical. This allowed for a triangulation of methods to verify and validate the data collected. I noted the consistencies and inconsistencies in the data, discussed above. I also considered children’s mutual decision-making and negotiations when working in pairs or small groups, as well as the possibility that they may influence each other’s decisions when working individually.

The Maylands Favourites Group Map (see Figure 5.11 next page) created by the students and three seniors indicates a wider spread of favourites across the suburb than the map created in the same activity during the Adult Walkshop (Figure 5.3). The mapping exercise to plan a future Maylands was valuable for the collection of data on children’s priorities and dreams for their suburb. Both groups that portrayed Maylands in 20 years, or 50 years time, included “hover boards” and “hover cars.” However these futuristic transport modes were envisioned among “vegetable gardens”, and “solar powered buses.” The map of Maylands in five years time provided useful data because of the subtle differences between what was portrayed in the map and the suburb at present. In this map there were no roads but the railway line and train station featured prominently. There were rows of houses surrounded by green, various play, sports and entertainment infrastructure, in addition to the existing RISE centre and the school. The map also featured a great deal of activity on and around the river, including the addition of a bridge over it. As the student participants did not leave the school area during the walkshops, the future mapping exercise also provided important data on their knowledge of, and relationship with, the spaces and spatial practices of the suburb.
5.1.2 Photographs

As with the other creative methods of data collection utilised in this study, the photography activities were designed to interact with walking and space. Therefore, it was the practice of walking through space to take the photographs that provided the elicitation of stories, ideas and conversations. In the Photo Bingo activities, the photographing process directed the walking route, and acted as a conversation starter. The photographs also provided a visual representation of a specific moment of engaging with space.
5.1.2.1 Photographs - Phase one: Adult Walkshops

During the Photo Bingo exercise of the first Adult Walkshops, the participants took 74 photographs between them, and most participants provided detailed annotations. One participant, Gordon, only took two photographs, and explained he preferred to write out the details of his nominated spaces on the Photo Bingo card instead, shown in Figure 5.12.

The exercise was useful for capturing different perspectives of the same space. For example, Gordon nominated the “Maylands War Memorial and Lone Pine Tree” as a ‘sacred space’, while John nominated the “War Memorial - street drinking” as a ‘problem space’. The photographs Gordon and John had taken of this space are very similar, so the context of data collection was important for analysis (Figure 5.13).
The way that participants’ perceived the same space differently was also evident in other photographs taken. An example of this is provided in Figure 5.14, which shows the commercial section of Whatley Crescent, nominated by participant Ruby as a ‘typical’ Maylands space.

Figure 5.14 Adult Walkshop 1 Photo Bingo Exercise: Whatley Crescent photographed by Ruby as a ‘typical space’ (left) and photographed by Paul and Lisa as a ‘problem space’ with the annotation “expensive boutiques unsustainable” (right)
Two other participants also nominated this area as a ‘typical space’, with an added notation by one: “celebrating old buildings with new businesses.” However, Paul and Lisa introduced a different perspective of this space by nominating it as a ‘problem space’ with the annotation: “expensive boutiques unsustainable.” The participants’ perspectives demonstrated an engagement with space on various levels. For example, this commercial area may communicate a dominant story about Maylands at the symbolic level, such that it may be considered typical of the area. This symbolism may be strengthened by connections at an emotional level if inhabitants identify personally with spaces there. However, Paul and Lisa’s concerns at an economic level raise a different perspective about how such a space endures within a suburb of socio-economic diversity. Thus, the Photo Bingo activity functioned as a productive exercise for engaging in the complexity of space, and the plurality of spatial experience.

5.1.2.2 Photographs - Phase two: Walking Interviews

Taking photographs during the Walking Interviews was optional for the participants. Four participants took photographs themselves, and the other six participants preferred to let me take the photographs, but pointed out significant spaces for me to capture along the walk. Kelly took photos on her Iphone, as this was a practice she had made an integral part of her regular walks. Penny took 36 photographs with my camera, and asked me to email the photos to her, as she wanted to use some of them herself for her volunteer group’s newsletter. Chris’ two sons, Peter (age 8) and Oliver (age 5), took 96 photographs between them over the duration of the hour-long walk, and also drew pictures of their favourite spaces in Maylands.

I contextualised the photographs I had taken on behalf of the participants by the transcribed conversation that took place at the time the photograph was taken. The “click” sound of the camera on the audio recording was useful for this process. The transcribed text was key to affirming participant perspective, as attempting to interpret photographs outside of context can be problematic.

19 Kelly also applied filters to her photographs through an application on her Iphone. As this was her usual practice, the photographs Kelly took during her Walking Interview, and shown in this thesis, have also had filters applied by her in the same way.
It was also important to consider the subjectivity of the participant who had taken the photographs. Some of the photographs taken by five-year-old Oliver were blurred and featured his feet, which I interpreted not as a lack of technical expertise, as his other photographs were framed conventionally, but instead, as signifying the energetic, playful and creative way he engaged with space (see Figure 5.15 and Figure 5.16).

*Figure 5.15 Photograph taken by Walking Interview participant Oliver, aged 5, showing physical engagement with space*

*Figure 5.16 Photograph taken by Walking Interview participant Oliver, aged 5, showing creative engagement with space*
The transcribed text was also important for connecting emotive responses to the spaces photographed, and highlighting the subjective spatial values of the participants. What some people may interpret as a photograph of a muddy swamp, Penny described as a “gorgeous pool” (Figure 5.17).

Figure 5.17 Photograph taken by Walking Interview participant, Penny, of a space she described as “a gorgeous pool”

A rusty cottage (see Figure 5.18 next page) from Lisa’s perspective was “gorgeous”, “beautiful” and highly valued, as she asked: “wouldn’t you pay money to have a place like that?” I considered both of these images within the context of Penny and Lisa’s personal relationships with the spaces photographed but also the context of what was occurring in the suburb at the time. Penny photographed trees, plants and pools in the wetlands area she volunteered to conserve and commented on the health of these spaces compared to previous walks. Penny observed the residential development visible on the edge of the wetlands and made note of the impact this had on the space.

Lisa’s relationship to the rusty cottage was personal, as she recalled her friend had once lived there. I coded this image with the concepts: *longevity, textural and temporal layers, signs of age*, and *personal connections*. The cottage also linked Lisa to stories of spatial practices in the suburb, as she added: “How well was that built?” This was a space within which Lisa could insert her own story, but also to
consider the creative spatial practices of others, including those who inhabited the space in times past. Within the context of the “trendification”\textsuperscript{20} of the suburb and the push for higher density infill development these were the kind of spaces at risk of being lost.

![Image of a cottage]

Figure 5.18 Photograph taken of a cottage pointed out by Walking Interview participant, Lisa, and described as “gorgeous” and “beautiful”

For Penny and Lisa, images that may represent decay to some audiences, instead represented life and perseverance on the part of both nature and humans. These interpretations were based on perspective, and are important because they challenged the signs that usually represent value in (sub)urban space, often dominated in terms of real estate property values. A real estate value applied to the development by the wetlands might communicate the view of the river as \textit{premium} without consideration of the development’s impact on Penny’s “gorgeous pool.” A real estate value placed on Lisa’s cottage, in this context, might instead focus on the exchange value of the land. The values that Penny and Lisa placed on the subjects of these photographs also challenged the “singular universal” (Massey, 2005, p. 71) of the suburb as a sanitised, one-dimensional space.

\textsuperscript{20} Participant Bella’s term: “the trendification or the gentrification or whatever you want to call it.”
5.1.2.3 Photographs - Phase three: Child Walkshops

The Photo Bingo was an effective activity in the Child Walkshops for gathering valuable data about significant spaces and spatial practices within a short timeframe. The exercise took 40 minutes and the twenty student participants, working in pairs, produced 94 photographs. Most students also had time to annotate the Photo Bingo cards with brief descriptions (see Figure 5.19), and mark the locations where the photographs were taken.

Figure 5.19 Danni and Julie’s completed Photo Bingo Card (Child Walkshop 1) showing their annotations

The annotated Photo Bingo cards were useful for understanding context, such as both “the little kids playground” (Figure 5.19) and the car park being nominated as ‘no-go spaces’ because of school rules. The annotations were also helpful to capture the student participants’ language and perspective such as the nomination of “behind [the] kindy demountable” (Figure 5.19) as a ‘hang out space’.

21 “Kindy” is an abbreviation of kindergarten, and “demountable” is a building that can be easily dismantled, moved and reassembled.
The spatial competence the students displayed within the school grounds, as exemplified by their speed in understanding and completing this exercise, was a key point to emerge from the data collection. The students also negotiated working in pairs well, with some pairs choosing two spaces for each category, while others worked together to choose spaces to photograph. There were some consistencies in the spaces photographed across the student sample. For example, grassed open shady spaces were most often chosen as ‘possibility spaces’, shown in Figure 5.20.

**Figure 5.20 Child Walkshop 1 Photo Bingo Exercise showing Malcolm & Michael’s ‘possibility space’ (left) and Danni & Julie’s ‘possibility space’ (right), which was, annotated “grass near class”**

For other categories, a variety of spaces were chosen. Both a corner of the schoolyard and inside the school library where nominated as ‘quiet spaces’. The *Photo Bingo* exercise was also useful to engage the students, by walking and photographing, in conversations about the school spaces, which they then continued in their group mapping activities.

### 5.1.3 Words

In this section I discuss the analysis of the words in the data. Words took the form of transcribed audio recordings, participants’ written notes and contributions to brainstorming sessions, as well as field notes made by myself during the shared walks that were not audio recorded. The transcribed texts relayed the stories, ideas and perspectives of the participants, in their own words. They also documented live reactions to incidents occurring within the data collection, such as participants saying “hello” to passers by, responding to seeing something new, engaging in a group
discussion, explaining a spatial practice, or changing a walking route. The brainstorming and note making exercises also undertaken in both walkshop phases, provided data on significant spaces and spatial practices in the suburb.

5.1.3.1 Words - Phase one: Adult Walkshops

The walking methods employed in the Adult Walkshops proved effective for engendering discussion of neighbourhood issues. This was the case with the Photo Bingo activity and the subsequent shared walk to visit the participants ‘problem’ and ‘possibility’ spaces. As the participants produced the shared walk route collaboratively, with equal focus on each space they had chosen, the walk allowed for a discussion of different perspectives towards problems. In addition, there was acknowledgement that some inhabitants found certain situations to be a problem while others did not. Framing the walk by problems and possibilities allowed for inhabitant generated solutions to be included in the discussion. Finally, by walking the streets as a group, additional spatial justice issues emerged as we experienced them. One example of this was the difficulty of holding a conversation on a street dominated by heavy vehicle traffic.

The storytelling exercise to elicit participants’ first memories of Maylands at the start of the second Adult Walkshop contributed data on significant spaces and attributes of the suburb. The shared walk undertaken after this exercise was relaxed and convivial. Though this walk did not inspire detailed conversation of spatial justice issues, as the shared walk focusing on problems and possibilities had, this walk inspired open discussion of personal and shared values which continued until the end of the walkshop. Reflecting on the walk, the participants worked in small groups to brainstorm what they thought all of Maylands shared as a suburb. Apart from aspects of the built and natural environment, participants listed less quantifiable phenomena, such as “air”, “community”, and “views”, as shown in Figure 5.21. Other participants noted that all of Maylands also shared: “history”, “quality lifestyle [sic]”, “scenery”, “desire”, “a story”, “ownership”, “responsibility” and “rights.”
Figure 5.21 Adult Walkshop 2 ‘What We All Share’ brainstorming activity showing participants listed “air”, “community”, and “views” as well as physical spaces like “river”, “streets” and “parks.” Photograph: author

After this exercise, I asked the participants to individually list what they thought were the most important “next steps” for Maylands. The issues listed were:

- “connections between Guildford Rd/Maylands Railway”
- “Difficulty crossing Guildford Rd and wetland protection”
- “better use of poorly used spaces/disused buildings”
- “tavern”
- “use of old school facilities”
- “protecting wetlands”
- “save the 7th Avenue Railway Bridge (100 years old)”
- “community garden – cyclists and pedestrian prioritised over cars”
- “community space for local artists and community gardens”
The participants decided that they could only “agree to disagree” on which issue should be a priority, although there was a consensus that all issues were important.

5.1.3.2 Words - Phase two: Walking Interviews

Due to the relative simplicity of walking with one participant, the Walking Interviews were the least structured of the three phases, and allowed greater flexibility. They also provided the greatest opportunity to become embedded in the spaces and spatial practices of the participants, as I walked, looked, listened, drank and ate alongside them. This method also allowed for the most candid and personal conversations. A broader variety of topics were covered because of this.

I met the participants at a place of their choosing: with Kelly it was a local café; while Colette, Sarah and Lisa arranged for me to meet them at their homes; Bella asked me to meet her on the train station platform; Chris asked me to meet him at the end of a cul-de-sac adjacent to public open space; and James asked me to meet him outside his parents’ house, which was the place he grew up. On some walks, we crossed the official boundaries of the suburb, demonstrating the spatial idea of Maylands was something more social, emotional or cultural, than cartographical. Kelly pushed her baby in a pram, Chris brought his two sons who were also participants, and the others walked with me only. Bella guided me through her everyday space in her motorised wheelchair. For Kelly and Chris, who walked with their children, different concerns were noted than when the adults walked by themselves, such as a greater awareness of safety from traffic and the hot sun, and a preparedness to change plans quickly in response to the children’s needs. The recordings of the Walking Interviews provided rich and thick data. As I transcribed the recordings myself, I could also hear birdcalls, dog barks, and traffic.

The Walking Interview with Penny was undertaken, in part, as a “theoretical sample” (Charmaz, 2014, p. 192) to investigate emergent theory on the significance of the river to the inhabitants of Maylands. The walk with Penny introduced a scientific perspective to understanding inhabitants’ relationship with the river environment. However, the extensive knowledge of the river and wetlands Penny shared could still be called “inhabitant knowledge” (Ingold, 2007, p. 90) as it was formed through her engagement with the space. Adding Penny’s data as a theoretical
sample gave weight to theory on the significance of the river to the shape of the suburb: physically, ecologically, culturally, socially and spiritually.

5.1.3.3 Words - Phase three: Child Walkshops

The Child Walkshops were the only phase of data collection where no audio recordings were made. Even though there were no transcripts for data analysis, the participants’ words were still key to the data, and important for interpreting the visual data. The Child Walkshops proved effective for a single researcher to facilitate the production of a large amount of data, and were also a positive and pedagogical experience for the participants. The student-led guided tours were also a site for the students to demonstrate their expertise of the spaces they inhabit, to tell stories about these spaces, and initiate conversations with the senior participants. I had intended for the 3D maps created at the end of the first walkshop to be used as guide maps for the student-led walking tours of the second walkshop. However, the students did not need the maps in order to lead the guided tours. The tours were, in fact, more of a conversational process, between the students, the seniors, and the spaces they traversed.

The children took on their role as tour guides for the three senior visitors: Harriet, Colette, and Colin, with propriety and proficiency. One group guided their visitor on an extended tour of the new school office building. Another group demonstrated a game of handball. The students asked Harriet about her life as a child in the outback, where, after school, she “made mudpies and fed them to the kangaroos”, they listened attentively to Colette describe spending afternoons playing in the forest as a young girl, and they were impressed by Colin’s stories of building canoes when he was a young boy in Maylands.

I had designed the second walkshop so that the senior visitors to the school could become co-researchers. They were able to elicit additional detail regarding the students’ favourite spaces in the school, as shown in Figure 5.22.
Visitors: Find out the favourite space of each of the students in your group and ask them why they like it.

1. Favourite Space: **The Whole School**
   Why? **Very Clean Yards**

2. Favourite Space: **Big Painting**
   Why? **Because whole school did it**

3. Favourite Space: **Big Ear Pipes**
   Why? **Lovely way to hear**

4. Favourite Space: **Alternate use of Playground**
   Why? **Sharing**

5. Favourite Space: **Sports Interest**
   Why? ****

6. Favourite Space: **Bird of This School**
   Why? **Unicorn Wonderful**

7. Favourite Space: **Library**
   Why? **Interesting in all**

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**Figure 5.22 Child Walkshop 2 ‘Child Led Tour’: Senior visitors activity sheet for collecting data on favourite spaces of the students**

For example, Jenny and Millie chose the “Aboriginal painting place” as their favourite in the *Photo Bingo* exercise, and the visitor, Harriet, discovered that this was because the “whole school did it.” There were also some new favourites added during the tour, one was “the bird of this school”, an ibis, which frequently visited the school grounds, which Harriet noted as “wonderful” as well as the “big ear pipes”, an interactive sculpture in the school yard, which was “a lovely way to learn.” Another student had chosen the “library” as a favourite space and added
emotional and sensory perspectives to the reason: “lots of books, lots of info, nice to be quiet - feels good.” The convivial nature of the child-led tours seemed to promote a positive and open space for sharing personal stories and detailed information.

Written notes were used to elicit data on the participants’ favourite spaces in Maylands, and any changes they would like to see in the suburb. This exercise proved useful for comparing the spatial practices of the participants, such as student Maria’s and senior visitor Colin’s spatial practices on the river (see Figure 5.23 and Figure 5.24).

At the end of the walkshop, Colin read a poem to the children about the differences between childhood now and when he was young. As previous research has noted, participatory walking methods may discourage participation from older inhabitants (J. Evans & Jones, 2011, p. 851). However, the child-led guided tours...
employed in this study addressed this issue, as they were an engaging activity for both the students and the senior inhabitants. The child-led tours also engendered the intergenerational sharing of knowledge and cultural geographies, and the discussion of changing spaces and spatial practices over time.

5.2 What happened on the walks: Stories and values

It became apparent on the walks that the participants were reaffirming and describing the ways in which they already used walking as a creative spatial tool in their daily lives. The participants reinforced their connection with space by telling stories: or engaging in an embodied, often non-verbal, conversation with the spaces they walked through. The stories that were told and acted out during the walks were charged with the participants’ values of spatial practice.

The stories and spaces the participants engaged in, and what they chose to photograph, draw, or write about, also demonstrated their values. During the walkshops, participants discussed and acknowledged differing perceptions and values. The Walking Interviews gave the participants full opportunity to share their priorities and values. However, even in this context participants demonstrated an awareness that their own spatial values and spatial practices may differ from others.

5.2.1 Story sharing

Walking connected the participants to the people they passed in the street, and to the neighbourhood as a whole. It struck me as a willing act of engagement with the world. The walkers became part of the story of the space, as they too were able to create and tell their own stories of the space they inhabited as they walked. I have called this process story sharing, because it was not simply a telling of stories, as there needed not be an audience. Instead, it was a process whereby the participants contributed their spatial practice to the multiple layers of storied space. This was a reciprocal practice. The participants engaged in the layers of stories already evident in the space and the plurality of stories shared by other inhabitants. However, if participants did not know the stories of a space, they would imagine or

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22 The term story sharing has previously been applied by nursing theorists researching communication practices in long-term care (Heliker, 2007, 2009; Heliker & Nguyen, 2010) and by others to promote discourse with marginalised groups (Hayman, Wilkes, Jackson, & Halcomb, 2012a, 2012b).
create new stories. The concept of *story sharing* helps explain how spaces shaped the walkers' spatial practices, and how these practices in turn, shaped the space.

### 5.2.2 Sharing values

Throughout the walking practices undertaken in this study, participants engaged in conversations about the ways in which spaces and spatial practices were valued in their suburb. Some participants articulated a gap between the values they placed on space and spatial practices, and what they understood to be the values of others. Walking Interview participant Lisa, who foraged for food while she walked, expressed that something had been lost when the value applied to “the hunt”, foraging, growing things, and self-sufficiency had diminished:

> Yeah, because somewhere along the way money in the bank became more important than time and food in the garden, how other people contributed; …the knowledge of how to grow food, …and how to forage, you know, what plants are and what weeds are, most of our weeds are edible, …You know, we could be so much more self-sufficient, all of us. It’s not valued. (Lisa)

Another Walking Interview participant, Penny, recalled a conversation with someone who told her that most people only considered the environment from the perspective of “what value is it for me?” Penny said she “thought that was astounding” and asked: “But what about ecological values?” Penny expressed that nature had “its intrinsic value.” She also described a disconnect, for the most part, between local government elected members’ values and ecological values:

> they’re mostly people who just, …don’t think that way. They could be quite decent people in their own personal lives and everything. … At least local government people live there, but very frequently they’re mainly interested in property usually. A lot of them are involved in property. (Penny)

There was also an awareness of the monetary value of infrastructure that could benefit walkability, as well as a reluctance to commit resources to this type of spatial production. Walking Interview participant Sarah had canvassed the local council for parking improvements on her street, “at the moment when they're saying, ‘70,000 [dollars] is what it would cost, and we're not prepared to do that’.” Lisa discussed a busy road that many participants said was in need of improved pedestrian infrastructure: “Yeah, I’ve often thought that Guildford Road could do with a bit of an underpass but I think that would be horribly expensive.” Walking
Interview participant Chris discussed a campaign he had undertaken to call attention to the value of trees, particularly those at risk through residential development:

As far as I’m concerned, no, it’s too bad. You know? Design your house differently because that tree is a ratepayer asset worth a considerable amount of money. May I say, like, in the tens of thousands of dollars. It’s not going. (Chris)

Walking Interview participant James articulated his opinion that the “Perth Culture”, which put a high value on automobility, had shaped the built environment, which, in turn, had a negative affect on walkability, and promoted further car dependence. Several participants in the Adult Walkshop discussed the value they placed on affordability in the area, and expressed unhappiness with commercial gentrification, whereby one shop that had sold eco friendly goods, and another that sold discount items, had closed down due to increases in rents. Through these discussions, participants demonstrated an awareness of the infrastructure and affordability needed to fit the economically diverse inhabitants and spatial practices of the suburb, and the different values applied to them.

5.3 Constructive Grounded Theory analysis process

In this section I provide details of the Constructive Grounded Theory analysis process I applied to the data and explain how the codes, concepts and key themes emerged. I explain my decisions made during the coding process and demonstrate how core values of spatial practice were prominent in the data. I then relate these core values to the research questions applied to this study.

The data collected from the Maylands participants related directly to the experience of walking. It highlighted the spatial practices walking facilitated, and unveiled the conversations the shared walk engendered. The “multiple realities” (Charmaz, 2014, p. 236) woven through data were unpicked, interrogated, and categorised through an iterative coding process. Throughout the coding process I acknowledged that my own values, such as my interest in spatial justice, would impact the categorisation of data (Charmaz, 2014, p. 236) and employed Constructive Grounded Theory analysis to challenge my assumptions.

Each piece of data was coded incident by incident, and most incidents were allocated multiple codes. Overall, 8,186 separate coding incidents were applied to
the data. The initial codes applied emerged from each specific incident, based on the content and context of the participant’s discussion, photograph or map.

The Constructive Grounded Theory coding process advocates the coding of actions and processes, rather than topics or themes\(^{23}\) (Charmaz, 2014, p. 121). In this study I coded by spatial practices by denoting how a participant engaged with, or discussed space. The emergent codes were applied directly to spatial practices and concepts described or represented by participants, such as: *play*, *under a tree*, or *unused space.*

As spaces were also under investigation in this study, emergent spatial codes were also applied directly to spaces that were discussed or depicted by participants, such as *The RISE*, *trees*, or *liquor store*. This helped to identify the significance of spaces to individual participants or across the sample.

*In vivo* codes, which use a participant’s term directly from the transcribed data (Charmaz, 2014, p. 134), were also applied. The *in vivo* codes highlighted participants’ perspectives of spaces, such as “McMansions”, “old houses”, “hidden gem”, or “rough.” It was also important to note whether different terms were used for similar spaces, such as: “wetlands” or “swamp”, and “road” or “street.” New concepts or ideas introduced by a participant were also represented as *in vivo* codes, such as “lifestyle economics”, or “secret garden concept.” The word prompts that I had introduced in the *Photo Bingo* exercise, such as ‘possibility space’ and ‘problem space’ were distinguished from the emergent codes so that I would not confuse these terms with those that had originated from the participants.

Although the central aim of this research is to investigate walking through a spatial justice/spatial practice framework, as consistent with an emergent coding process, the codes *spatial justice* and *spatial practice* were not predetermined prior to data analysis. In contrast, the code *spatial justice* was only applied to 15 incidents within the data. Being an academic term, it is not one that participants would be expected to use. However, the data held many incidents that could be coded within a spatial justice context, such as: “affordable”, “gentrification”, “dispossession” and “rights.” Rather than applying the term *spatial justice* to these emergent codes, I assigned them *concepts* based on the context of the data, such as *equity* and

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\(^{23}\) However, I have used the term *theme* for the top-level categories of the coding process.
conflicted space. The term spatial practice was not used as a code at all. Conversely, the spatial justice/spatial practice approach informed the research design. The literature on spatial justice and spatial practice has been incorporated into the Constructivist Grounded Theory methodology through principles and processes, rather than applied as codes or nodes to the data.

In Figure 5.25 I have reproduced a snapshot of transcribed text from Collete’s Walking Interview, to demonstrate the coding process from emergent codes to key themes. As shown in the example, the transcribed text: “There wasn’t any grass, there wasn’t anything, and little saplings, and I’ll show you where I used to put my bag and now it’s a huge big tree” was given the emergent codes: reminiscing, connections between past and present, and trees (Figure 5.25). These emergent codes were then further categorised into the focused codes: walking through a world of stories, textural and temporal layers, and natural framework. These focused code categories were constructed through the memo-writing practice by noting theories and concepts that surfaced during emergent coding. A memo applied to this particular incident: “people measuring time and hanging memories on the growth of trees” developed into the focused code: natural framework, after I found similar incidents of this phenomena in other data.

A further layer of categorisation, which I termed concepts, was then added after each coded piece of data was compared to other data within the study. The concepts applicable to this particular incident of Colette's transcribed text were: story sharing, and conversations with space. By grouping all emergent codes into focused codes, and further distinguishing them into concepts, a funnelling process was undertaken through which overarching themes could then be identified. Finally, a top-level coding layer was applied, by which the concepts were grouped into one of three key themes. To return to the incident of Colette’s transcribed text about trees, both concepts: story sharing and conversations with space sat under the theme: interactions.
As discussed, spatial codes, such as trees and Waterland were categorised independently from the spatial practice codes.

By using the MAXQDA software I was also able to investigate code relations. To provide an example, there were several incidents where the emergent spatial code of trees aligned with specific focused codes and concepts: natural framework, conversations with space, and story sharing. Through content analysis, I discovered that the trees spatial code had been applied to numerous data collected by both adult and child participants. Trees played a significant part in how the Maylands participants related to space, but not just in terms of shade or visual aesthetics, but through a myriad of interactions, and also contributed to belonging through a sense of ownership, and identity with particular trees, and by caring for and preserving trees.

All 362 emergent spatial practice codes applied to the interview and walkshop transcripts, photographs, maps, and drawings were grouped through the
same categorisation process. The data from all phases was categorised together to funnel into key themes of spatial practice. The process is represented in diagram form in Figure 5.26.

Figure 5.26 Representation of the coding process applied in data analysis showing the categorisation of emergent codes to focused codes, concepts and key themes (left to right) to arrive at the three core values of spatial practice. Source: author
These themes could also be conceptualised as the three key values the participants placed on the spatial practices undertaken in the study and applied to spaces in Maylands.

The three core values of spatial practice that emerged through data analysis are:

- Accessibility,
- Interactions, and
- Belonging.

### 5.3.1 Core values of spatial practice and the data collection phases

A key advantage of using the MAXQDA software was that I was able to analyse the data in its entirety, and create separate data sets for each of the three phases of data collection. Table 5.1 shows the spread of coded incidents between the three values of spatial practice: accessibility, interactions and belonging, by data collection phase. However, it is important to note the spread between the phases of data collection cannot be compared directly because the data collection methods were different in each phase.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Theme</th>
<th>Accessibility</th>
<th>Interactions</th>
<th>Belonging</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adult Walkshops</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walking Interviews</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Walkshops</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Overall</strong></td>
<td><strong>39</strong></td>
<td><strong>45</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: Percentage totals have been rounded to the nearest whole number*

I acknowledge that the different data collection methods may have influenced the core values discussed in each phase. For example, specific exercises in the Adult Walkshops may have elicited discussions of accessibility, such as the focus on ‘problem’ and ‘possibility’ spaces in the *Photo Bingo* and shared walk. The *Photo Bingo* exercise also elicited data on identity, as spaces classified as ‘my space’, ‘our space’ and ‘typical space’ were nominated. The code: *identity* was classified under
the value of belonging. Participants’ discussions of their first memories of Maylands focused on interactions but were also related to identity and belonging. Notions of shared ownership were also discussed in the What We All Share activity, which were also categorised under the value belonging.

In the Walking Interviews, the value of accessibility was discussed in terms of walkability, universal accessibility and planning and design of streets and public spaces. The key value that dominated the Walking Interviews, however, was interactions. Interactions were expressed in the form of story sharing, waymaking, engaging with people, the natural and built environment, and textural and temporal layers. The adults engaged in, or discussed, stewardship of space and resident action, which were categorised under the value belonging.

The data from the Child Walkshops was dominated by the values of accessibility and interactions. Accessibility was demonstrated by the spaces they favoured for spatial practice, which were public open space, The RISE, and the school. As the walkshops took place at the school, this may however have influenced the prominence of this space in the data. Interactions were integral to the children’s data. The children interacted with space through creative play, the physicality of sport and games, and through learning. The value of belonging was present in the data by the way the children formed an identity with space. However, in contrast with the adults’ data there was little data on stewardship, agency and action.

5.3.2 Core values of spatial practice and the research questions

In this section, I explain my focus on the three core values of spatial practice: accessibility, interactions, and belonging, in relation to the research questions of this study. This section does not serve as an answer to the research questions, but instead demonstrates the relationship of these key findings to the questions. Figure 5.27 begins to demonstrate how the core values of spatial practice identified in the Maylands participants’ data fit between the research questions, by providing evidence of how the participants connected to the spaces in which they inhabit through the practice of walking.

The central research question concerns the process and methodology of this study: How can a participatory walking methodology engage inhabitants in issues of spatial justice? This question is addressed in the next chapter where I
discuss conversations about spatial justice, under the heading of the core value: accessibility. Data that supports a conceptualisation of accessibility that includes equity and affordability is presented. Participants discussed how affordability of goods and services promotes equitable access to space and can build community.

Figure 5.27 Representation of how the core values of spatial practice: accessibility, interactions and belonging relate to the research questions. Source: author

The second research question is **How can walking be investigated as a tool to decommodify everyday practices?** This question is about the role of walking as an everyday spatial practice and whether, by employing walking as a data collection tool within this study, everyday spatial practices could be acknowledged as holding values that transcend commercial value. An important factor of walking in public, demonstrated by the data, seems to be the connections between walking and *story sharing*, whereby the walker engages in *interactions* with space. The second research
question can be partly answered by evidence in the data that the participants applied values to, and received value from, space and spatial practices, which could not be commodified.

The data showed that participants engaged with space and spatial practices emotionally, sensually, creatively, by relating to memories of other times and other spaces, and by learning and developing knowledge. Participants also discussed and demonstrated how they developed spatial competence through both positive and negative interactions. Practices of walking cannot occur without accessibility to community spaces, including streets and footpaths, in which inhabitants can interact, and develop spatial competence, which may, in turn, build and support spatial resilience.

Next I suggest how the data may address the third question: How can walking be investigated as a spatial practice to cultivate spatial resilience? Participants demonstrated how interactions they engaged with while walking developed their connection with space and promoted their agency, by observing changes, forming ideas, and building networks in the suburb. Several participants engaged in actions to preserve or care for space as a result of these interactions. The motivations demonstrated by participants for these actions were based on emotional and personal connections to space formed through interactions with it. Identities were formed with spaces. These spaces were integral to their sense of belonging.

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed what happened during the three phases of data collection, and how the stories and values the participants shared through the data led to the identification of three core values of spatial practice: accessibility, interactions, and belonging. The data, in the form of photographs, maps and words, rendered the multiple perspectives and values of the participants. The data was coded using an iterative and comparative Constructive Grounded Theory process. The three core values of spatial practice identified: accessibility, interactions and belonging, are tentative, substantive, and specific to the context of this research study and participants. The three core values do not directly answer the research questions but sit between the research questions, as an initial step to establishing a framework toward a spatial justice approach to walking and other spatial practices.
The participants were not artists, anthropologists or ethnographers but they demonstrated a consciousness of how they engaged in spatial practice, the values they applied to it, and how these values compared to hegemonic suburban values. Participants as young as 8 years old were aware of conflict and change in space and were keen to voice and demonstrate their own values and perspectives. Stories were integral to this process.

I developed the concept of story sharing to explain the reciprocal and creative engagement between inhabitants and space, which can be non-verbal, and adds to the layers of stories that exist in the spaces we inhabit. Moreover, the value placed on story sharing is key to interacting and developing identification with, and a sense of belonging to, space. I started to understand that the participants were writing new stories with their walks, and accompanying interactions: saying hello, taking photographs, picking up rubbish, with which they inserted themselves into the meshwork of stories of the space as a whole.

Accessibility, interactions, and belonging are key issues of spatial justice, and are linked to the participatory model of spatial practice under investigation in this study: walking. The following three chapters will discuss the findings in relation to each of the three core values, and present greater detail of how the Maylands’ participants’ data underwrite these three values of spatial practice.
CHAPTER SIX:
FINDINGS – ACCESSIBILITY

Accessibility is fundamental for spatial practice. If an inhabitant’s ability to access a space is hindered, their opportunities for interaction with the space and other inhabitants are limited. Universal design to improve accessibility for people with disabilities has been widely promoted yet it has been acknowledged that work still needs to be done in this area (Gray et al., 2012; Sobers, 2015; Whitzman, 2015b). Accessibility, however, can be considered within a wider framework than physical access. The Maylands participants’ data demonstrated that accessibility can include equity, affordability and mobility. Inhabitants’ personal perceptions of accessibility were also critical. Fincher and Iveson (2008) included inhabitants’ perceptions within a broader understanding of accessibility:

Adequate access to services and facilities in a place requires perceived closeness to the services being provided, perception of a welcoming attitude in the services offered in a place, or a sense of belonging or entitlement to them. (p. 35)

In this chapter, I present examples from the Maylands participants’ data that demonstrated processes, as well as design, can affect accessibility.

This chapter is divided into four sections based on the key concepts of the value of accessibility, which emerged from the data: community spaces, equity, and mobility. The section on community spaces includes a key space sometimes overlooked in urban theory: the public toilet. In this section I also discuss the limits of community spaces, whereby constructions of community set up dichotomies of inclusion and exclusion. The second section extends this discussion by presenting ruminations on equity in the data. Within this section are subsections on the commodification of space, and affordability, both of which relate to the commercial and residential gentrification occurring in the suburb. The third section focuses on mobility, and is divided further into subsections on: walkability and wheelability; traffic, parking and road safety; cycling; and future mobilities.
6.1 Public spaces and community spaces

Public spaces for community use were an important element of the suburb of Maylands for both adult and child participants. Spaces such as public libraries, community centres, recreation facilities and parks, are usually free to use, or offer facilities at a reduced cost. In theory these spaces provide unrestricted access. The public spaces most significant to the participants were The RISE, parks, and playgrounds. The river was also considered a public space, however, the values placed on the river were multiple. I address the data on the river in the next chapter, Findings - Interactions. Footpaths and streets were only discussed occasionally as public spaces but they were mentioned frequently in terms of mobility, and the critical importance of making these spaces more accessible, safer and more walkable for inhabitants of all ages and mobilities.

6.1.1 The RISE

Walking Interview participant, James, summed up the multifaceted features that an accessible designated community space, such as The RISE offered:

Yeah I bring the kids here for a play actually, …it’s an easy walk, even for the two year old. And we can bring them to the library as well …they love coming here to the library so that’s great we’ve got this community centre. (James)

When we walked by the old primary school, which was no longer operating as a school but still used as a facility for music education, James expressed his concern that the space was being deliberately neglected so it could be sold to a private developer. His concern was not for the heritage school buildings but that the space should remain a community space like The RISE:

I think the more important heritage value to me is that it is a community space and it should stay as a community use thing, not just be turned into more of the same. I mean it wouldn’t upset me if they knocked it down and built an extension of The RISE or just made it a big park or something or a playground…because I’m more attached to it being community use, community space. (James)

James noted that although he often took his children to The RISE and the old primary school oval, he did not often take them to the main commercial street. Perceptions of a community space may be age specific. Some adult participants
nominated cafes or streets as ‘community spaces’, while the children favoured playgrounds, parks, the school and The RISE.

Walking Interview participant Bella had many positive things to say about The RISE: “Like the complex is on the whole fantastic and really accessible.” She praised aspects that enhanced its function as a public space, “one of the things that's great is that they’ve got three large couches in the foyer for people who are waiting for someone who is at the gym or the library or whatever, which is really nice that they’ve got that kind of public space.” Her description of the accessibility of the library was multifaceted:

Yeah, well the library is really well designed and it’s really welcoming, and often if I come in to…borrow something, the wall of computers is almost always chock-a-block with people using it any time of day, so you've got international students, people looking for work, retirees, there's almost always people at all the terminals any time of day that you come in, and it always feels really welcoming and friendly. (Bella)

Bella’s praise of the library’s “welcoming and friendly” feeling and the diversity of its users reflects Fincher and Iveson (2008) discussion of public libraries as important places for “encounter” partly because of the common identity of “library users” that strangers share within that space (p. 187). Bella expressed that the Maylands library also promoted age and mobility diversity:

It's quite a spacious roomy library, its very accessible for prams or wheelchairs or whatever. … Yeah they've got this really cute special area for kids which is nice and also they do a lot of like reading, story time, …like tons of programmed kids activities, yeah, so that’s really well designed, and they've also got a special young adult lounge as well. (Bella)

Several of the student participants chose The RISE as their favourite space in the suburb. “It has all of everyone’s favourite area to go and I love going there and hang-out,” said Millie. And Jenny chose it because “it has so many different activities, it huge and there’s a playground for kids [sic].” The RISE was Janelle’s favourite because, “it is big. It has a library and a court where me and my friends muck around and get in trouble some times.” The scale of The RISE and the diversity of activities offered were valued by the students. The RISE could also be considered as a space that generated the “perception of a welcoming attitude” and “a sense of belonging or entitlement” (Fincher & Iveson, 2008, p. 35) to Millie, and
Janelle and her friends. As a consequence, they could engage in playful reappropriation of the space: “hang[ing] out” and “muck[ing] around” and even “get[ting] in trouble sometimes.” Janelle still considered it a favourite space to “muck around” with her friends even though they had been remonstrated for doing so.

6.1.2 Public toilets

Bella praised the accessibility of The RISE for herself as a wheelchair user, but not the facilitation and maintenance of its disabled toilets. She often found the disabled toilets locked, with a sign instructing users to pick up a key from reception. She noted that the reception was not always staffed during the centre’s opening hours. There was a sign on both toilet doors providing instructions for a master locksmith access key system for disabled toilets, but Bella bemoaned the lack of information about the system: “So, I have no idea how you contact the master locksmith access scheme. It doesn't actually tell you on the sign they put on the toilet.” Bella questioned whether any reasons for locking the toilets justified the consequences:

One of the reasons that they keep it locked is they were having problems with vandalism and people not being clean and that kind of relates back to people drinking in the park and being aggressive in the park. That was the kind of demographic they were concerned about I guess, but yeah, still locking the disabled toilet, I was just like, 'seriously dudes, seriously? (Bella)

The importance of convenient, and accessible, public toilets was a key topic of discussion on several of the walks. Colette explained that she was responsible for the installation of one of the public toilets in central Maylands, due to her persistence with the local council:

it’s beautiful. It’s clean as all get out. It’s lovely. …and my friends always say 'That's [Colette's] toilet' because, you know, I kept on nagging, saying, ‘look we need a toilet, we need a toilet in Maylands, there isn't one’. (Colette)

She expressed her concerns about the neighbouring suburb of Bayswater: “it could be a little hub like Maylands is, but there's no public toilet.”

Bella commented that there were not enough toilets in the commercial centre of Maylands: “yeah, I think it’s partly that the area is very commercial and a lot of
commercial facilities don't have toilets.” She noted that most toilets, including those at the Maylands Autumn Centre, a council owned facility that provides services for local seniors, were for patrons only (see Figure 6.1).

*Figure 6.1 Sign at the Maylands Autumn Centre pointed out by Bella on her Walking Interview: No public toilets on these premises*

The issue of public toilets did not come up in Kelly’s conversation during the Walking Interview. However, she limited her walks within a perceived “close” distance to her home as her sleeping baby could wake up “any moment … and probably want to be fed” and there was also the potential for a “nappy explosion.”

### 6.1.3 Playgrounds and parks

Playgrounds and parks were significant spaces for the child participants. In the *Photo Bingo* activity 14 of the 20 student participants chose a playground to represent a ‘fun space’, and also a ‘friendly space’, a “noisy space”, a ‘hang-out space,’ (see Figure 6.2) and a ‘favourite space.’
Figure 6.2 Child Walkshop 1 Photo Bingo Exercise: playground photographed as a ‘hang out space.’

The socio-semiotics of playgrounds communicate that they are intended to be spaces for children. However, there is a certain type of play that is sanctioned at a playground. Their appearance in the landscape signifies not only that children are welcome, but also children making noise, being physical, hanging out, and having fun are welcome.

Among things the student participants most wanted to change about Maylands, four students nominated “more parks.” The students who drew the map of Maylands in 2019 included a playground, as well as “fun parks”, “festivals”, a “rollerdrome”, a “soccer pitch”, a “basketball area”, “social areas” and “the park” (Figure 6.3).
The adult participants also identified public parks as important outdoor spaces for free social and physical activities. James identified a sports field next to one of the schools as one of the “hearts” of Maylands. He recalled how he had played sport there as a child, and how his son now used it for school sport activities. James also listed the infrastructure he thought was necessary in a public park: “every single park should have somewhere to sit, a shaded area to sit, a barbecue, a bin next to the barbecue and a table, and a water fountain, drinking water.” While walking by a small park overlooking the river, Colette reminisced how the public barbecue there had been an important social space on summer evenings, where she would take her mother, who had since passed away. Sarah commented on a news report she had recently heard stating that there was a plan to replace some public parks with housing: “If you are going to have lots of housing, restrict where they can walk, just have gyms indoors, well what's that going to do with their wellbeing?”
Walkshop participants noted parks as being important shared spaces. Parks were the second most listed item in the activity *What We all Share*, second only to the river.

### 6.1.4 Small spaces

Within the large public spaces of The RISE, parks and the school, smaller spaces were valued as convivial to socialising, particularly for the child participants. Several of the students chose the picnic tables, the school stage, and small patches of grass as ‘hang-out spaces’. Most of these spaces were shaded, and enclosed on one side. Student participant Jasmine nominated “more parks and small areas to relax and do something” as the one thing she would like to change about the suburb. These findings concur with those of Whyte (1980) and Gehl (2006) who argued small spaces with an element of enclosure are important for sitting, staying, and socialising, and more recent research which found that these spaces are particularly desirable for children (Cook et al., 2015, p. 16).

The handball courts in the school were prominent in the children’s data. In the *Photo Bingo* exercise, the handball courts were nominated as a ‘favourite space’ twice, a ‘fun space’ three times (see Figure 6.4), as well as a ‘friendly space’, and a ‘friendship space’.

![Figure 6.4 Child Walkshop 1 Photo Bingo Activity ‘fun space’: hand ball court](image-url)
This small-scale activity seemed to be important to the culture of the school, and some of the students took great care to ensure their map of the school included all nine handball courts, and drew figures playing handball. While guiding the senior visitors through the school, some of the boys performed a short demonstration of how to play. This game only requires two or four squares painted onto a flat surface and a ball. I wondered whether it was the small scale and accessibility of this game that made it so popular.

In the school, Malcolm and Michael chose another small space, the water-fountains, as their ‘friendly’ space, shown in Figure 6.5. This kind of space is archetypal of a mundane space that, because of its accessibility, can offer more than its basic function. A small space that provides drinkable water, a basic element of survival, can be a space for spontaneous and casual interactions through which inhabitants find “shared meanings” (Demerath & Levinger, 2003, p. 218) and build connections to space and other inhabitants.

*Figure 6.5 Child Walkshop 1 Photo Bingo Activity ‘friendly space’: drink fountains*
Colette spoke of scale when she pointed out the old preprimary school, which her son had attended: “So, you can see it’s a nice little building and the kids felt very comfy there because it was small and not too threatening.” Although the smaller scale of these spaces was discussed as evoking comfort the most important aspect of public spaces was that they were available and accessible.

6.1.5 Limits to community spaces

There are limits to community spaces, however, when some inhabitants, and certain spatial practices, are considered not part of the community that the spaces have been designed for. The abstracted “ideal of community” can be problematic as (sub)urban space consists of multiple groups of inhabitants who do not necessarily form a community (Young, 1990, p. 227). Although The RISE was valued as a designated community space by both adult and child participants, Bella’s discussion of the locked toilets demonstrated that the space was not always accessible, or welcoming, to all who wanted to make use of it. The signs on the locked toilet doors in The RISE stated there is an alternative public toilet by the grassed area between The RISE and the old Maylands Town Hall building. This is ‘Colette’s Toilet’, which was built after she lobbied the local council, and thus would not be in existence if not for her action. It seemed that the interior of The RISE could be a different type of public space, possibly designated for a more exclusive community than the grassed area outside its doors.

Apart from The RISE, the grassed area is bordered by: the old Maylands Town Hall, which held the Maylands Library before it moved into The RISE; the War Memorial with the “Lone Pine Tree”24 alongside it; and the old Police Station, which now houses the Maylands Historical and Peninsula Association. In the centre of the grassed area, and beside rows of rose bushes, is an amphitheatre that faces the doors of The RISE (see Figure 6.6).

24 The plaque at the tree reads: “GROWN FROM SEED LONE PINE Gallipoli.”
Figure 6.6 Aerial photograph showing The RISE and surrounds, Maylands

Adult participant Olivia photographed the grassed area outside The RISE as her ‘community space’ (Figure 6.7). The Lone Pine Tree and Maylands War Memorial can be seen in the photograph, behind the amphitheatre.

The war memorial is flanked by shady trees, including the “Lone Pine”, which help to buffer the space from the busy traffic of Guildford Road. Although the old Town Hall was not in use, and the Historical Association building only open one day a week, this area was seldom inactive, with the benches around the war memorial often used.
However, it was a specific activity taking place there that caused Adult Walkshop participant John to nominate the war memorial as his ‘problem space’ in the Photo Bingo activity. The problem was, in his words, “street drinking.” We visited the space on the shared walk where there was much discussion about whether this particular space was a problem. Rachel suggested that the area needed to be “activated”, so that it could be used by lots of different people, and discussed plans for the old Town Hall\textsuperscript{25} that might activate the space. Critics have argued, however, that place-based space activation could become exclusive if the activities “exclude groups of people who don’t fit in” (Fincher & Iveson, 2008, p. 36). In the discussion about the problem of “street drinking” at the war memorial, one participant’s comment stood out. Olivia stated that she could not see any problem with the space and gave her opinion that having a drink was a perfect way to make use of a park.

Discussions on equitable access to space may include questioning structural processes that reinforce “cultural imperialism” (Young, 1990, p. 60), and therefore

\textsuperscript{25} This building has been out of use for some time but a lease has since been negotiated between the council and the WA Youth Jazz Orchestra, who took over the building in 2015 (Pilat, 2015b).
stress the importance of “recognising group differences” so that accessibility is “redistributed” equitably (Fincher & Iveson, 2008, p. 36). On her Walking Interview, Penny explained that some of the people she had spoken to at the grassed area in front of The RISE were Aboriginal people from remote regions and communities who had travelled to Perth for medical treatment, or to support family members who were in hospital: “just along the road here, there’s a facility where they can get dialysis.” One young Aboriginal man she met had travelled roughly 2,000 kilometers to Perth from the Kimberley region of Western Australia, because his daughter was in the children’s hospital. Penny shared her understanding of why restrictions on accessibility elsewhere may lead people to make use of the grassed area in front of The RISE:

They didn’t plan to come to Perth and live at The RISE. …some of them are supposed to be in a hostel, but the hostels are quite restrictive and there’s been a lot of stuff in the paper so it could be that they can’t even hang around there all day, that they’re not allowed to, they’ve got to go somewhere, or it could be that what they want to do they can’t do inside, so they might want to have a drink. …They’re human beings. (Penny)

Penny’s comment highlights issues of inequitable access to medical services for Aboriginal people living in remote areas, as well as limited accommodation options and restrictions applied when they have to travel to the city for treatment. The construction of the war memorial as a problem space, rather than an important gathering space poses the risk of the promotion of exclusionary practices to “fix” the problem (Cox, 2012, p. 235).

The various perceptions of whether “street drinking” at the war memorial is a problem recalls Mitchell’s discussion of constructions of an “appropriate public” (Mitchell, 2003, p. 122), which may be formed through practices of “cultural imperialism” (Young, 1990, p. 60). Spaces inside and outside The RISE can be hired for functions where alcohol is consumed for a fee and with written consent from the centre. Through casual observation, when passing by the war memorial area, and by engagement with inhabitants of the space26 I noted that people of various cultures

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26 The What Makes Maylands? walk concluded at the grassed area in front of The RISE, where I provided cakes from a Maylands bakery for the walkers. Gordon, who later nominated the war memorial as a sacred space, had attended the walk and asked if we could share the cakes with the inhabitants sitting around the war memorial. We also shared cakes and bread with those sitting at the war memorial during the Maylands Walks exhibit.
used the space as a site for socialising and refuge, and on very few occasions did I notice people drinking there. However, as Cox argued when discussing constructions of “problems” in public space: “if the problem has been naturalised to Aboriginal people” this can lead to them being seen by others as “not actually ‘belonging’” (2012, p. 226). This perspective reinforces colonial constructs that ignore that Whadjuk Nyoongar and other Aboriginal people have been sitting, socialising and walking in this space for tens of thousands of years.

Over 18 months later, participant Lisa mentioned the comment that Olivia had made during the group walkshop:

Yeah and talking about, you know, …drinking up the front of The RISE, and she [Olivia] said ‘personally, I think that’s a really good use of public space’, and that to me was such a mind-blowing comment. I thought, hmm ‘maybe she’s right. Maybe if we flipped it. You know? It could be one of those situations where that is better than another situation’. Yeah, I thought, ‘Okay? Interesting.’ That comment’s always stuck with me. (Lisa)

Although the shared walk did not provide an opportunity for the inhabitants who sat and/or drank at the war memorial to share their perspectives, the walk did provide a site for contrasting perspectives on this spatial practice to be engaged. Issues of inequitable accessibility and spatial justice were raised. As Lisa’s comment demonstrated, the shared walk had created an opening where restrictions to community space, and cultural norms of appropriate spatial practice could be questioned.

6.2 Equity

In the Adult Walkshop’s Photo Bingo exercise, Mark nominated The Shopfront as his ‘problem space’. The Shopfront is a facility owned and run by the Catholic Church, staffed mostly by volunteers, which offers food and services for the homeless and people in need (“Shopfront WA,” n.d.). Mark wondered if having The Shopfront on a residential street in the commercial centre of Maylands was a “problem.” Additionally, if the service was to close down, then he wondered what problems it would cause for the people who use it. The Shopfront is situated opposite the train station, in a row of shops on a busy commercial street, in between a Thai restaurant and residential accommodation.
We walked, as a group, to stand outside The Shopfront, which was closed that day, and discussed the issues that Mark had raised. Several participants expressed that they were glad that The Shopfront existed in their neighbourhood in order to provide services for those that needed them. Some were concerned that The Shopfront attracted “problems” to the area. Natasha wondered whether a busy commercial and residential neighbourhood was an appropriate place for the facility. She suggested that nearby suburb East Perth may be a better location as there were already facilities for the homeless there. I asked her whether she thought that might result in a segregation of the homeless and she suggested that a roving meal van might be a good idea. I added that an advantage of the Shopfront having a fixed location was that there was a designated space that people could access if they needed help. Lisa asked me whether I would like to live next to The Shopfront. I replied that I would like to think that I would be very happy to, and Rachel added that she knew someone who did live close to The Shopfront, and although they had experienced some “problems” they were also very happy the facility was there.

The participants’ concerns seemed to be about “problems” and their proximity to private residential property. On her Walking Interview, Bella mentioned a friend’s concerns about buying a house near to another facility that offered services to the homeless. Her story also referenced gender safety:

so she's had a lot of people knock on her door or her lounge room window and ask her for food or for money or whatever, which she's felt kind of threatened by because she lives by herself and she's a fairly petite lady and so she's sort of said a couple of times that if she realised there was an emergency housing thing right around the corner from her she probably wouldn't have bought that property. (Bella)

On the shared walk I asked participants to reconsider each ‘problem space’ as a ‘possibility space’. This activity inspired questions when there was a realisation that as a group, we shared a lack of knowledge about the contexts of some of the ‘problem spaces’ we were discussing. Consequently, I undertook a fact-finding mission between the first and second walkshop to answer some of these questions, and discovered, for example, that a significant number of people who visit the Shopfront for food and other services, are themselves residents of Maylands (B. Tierney, personal communication, May 22, 2013).
6.2.1 Commodification of space, affordability, and gentrification

The participants in this study also spoke about accessibility in relation to affordability. Some participants expressed that affordability of goods and services was important in Maylands. There was discussion that high commercial rents that would only sustain “real estate agents, lawyers, and expensive businesses” (Olivia), and “diamond rings” (Carol) would not contribute to building and retaining community. Other researchers have argued the right to “access” the city is the right to enter both public and private-public spaces as “non-consumers” (Pugalis & Giddings, 2011, p. 285). Several participants discussed non-commercial spaces and spatial practices in Maylands as important for creating community and enhancing accessibility in the suburb.

Bella made a point to include the Maylands Autumn Centre on the route of her Walking Interview. The Autumn Centre is a facility run by the local council that offers activities and social events for local seniors. Bella explained why it was on her “list” to visit during the walk:

> a lot of the places in Maylands are kind of commercial spaces and the Autumn Centre is more of a community space. Like, it’s not kind of come in for a coffee and disappear in and hour kind of thing, people come and spend the day there and its much less money oriented. (Bella)

Several of the Adult Walkshop participants interpreted the Photo Bingo term ‘free space’ as representing non-commercial spaces. A large backyard tree, the river, cycle paths, river walks, parks and reserves, and the Peninsula Hotel\(^{27}\) were nominated as free spaces. Gordon also nominated the “Maylands shopping precinct,” with the annotation, “free if you window-shop.”

As discussed earlier, James was concerned that the state government may have plans to sell the old primary school land,\(^{28}\) and stated commercial reasons for doing so, highlighting his awareness of gentrification processes:

\(^{27}\) In 1976, the Peninsula Hotel was saved from demolition, and subsequently taken over, by Maylands residents to be run as a community centre (see Chapter 8).

\(^{28}\) The old primary school site is currently being redeveloped into a Safety School, to teach road safety to primary school aged children. It is run by the Constable Care Safety Foundation and expected to open in 2017 (Constable Care Safety Foundation, 2016).
Call me a cynic but I have the feeling that the [old] school’s being deliberately run down so that then the government can say ‘look how run down it is, it’s awful, we better sell it to developers and cash in on building a whole lot of high rise flats’. So I can see them just deliberately running it down, like not repairing fences and even the buildings have got a bit dilapidated. Doing, kind of, the bare minimum. (James)

Equitable access in a neighbourhood can also be determined by affordability while house prices and rents dictate who can afford to live in a suburb, the prices of the goods available to buy in the local shops can convey a message of who is welcome in the space. Participants noted both residential and commercial gentrification in Maylands, and although all participants appreciated the vitality that new cafés and boutiques had brought to the area, some were worried about the negative effects of the loss of affordability.

In the second walkshop, as we walked past several large blocks of flats, Mark wondered, “If these places go, where will these people go?” On her Walking Interview, Kelly said:

I do wonder what will become of these big apartment block buildings that are around here. Whether they'll all get renovated and jazzed up and become expensive one day or whether they'll stay as kind of low cost dodgy apartments. (Kelly)

Bella described different commercial areas of Maylands in terms of “personality”:

On this side of Eighth Avenue you can see all of the older shops that kind of predate, I guess, the trendification or the gentrification or whatever you want to call it. And so you've got kind of discount shops and it’s interesting cos its a totally different personality to Whatley Crescent. (Bella)

Participants expressed an awareness that the affordable flats, workers cottages, discount stores, expensive boutiques, luxury apartments and ‘McMansions’ contributed to the diversity of Maylands. However, for some participants, the singular story (Massey, 2005) of gentrification and redevelopment dominated their expectations for the suburb.

James expressed that he did not have a particular connection to the high rise flats in the suburb, saying, “They just happen to be there” and discussed them in
terms of aesthetics: “They’re a bit of an eyesore really.” He also expressed a sense of inevitability that they would disappear:

I think it will probably happen eventually, when the economics give a business case for it. No I don’t have any attachment to them. I think as soon as they get knocked down and nicer ones built, the better. (James)

Colette commented favourably on seeing the old cottages being renovated, though she did not relate this to a gentrification process:

I love it when I'm walking and if I see a young couple in the garden and I know its a tatty old cottage ... and if I can see they're doing it up I say 'well done, you know, its really nice to see you bringing it back to life again and not knock it down and build a McMansion’. (Colette)

However, both James and Colette expressed that they valued affordable housing. James said he valued the affordable flats as they made it possible for migrants to establish a home in the area. Colette commented that her idea of spatial justice was: “huge blocks that could be used for many families instead of just one person living in a huge house.”

The conflict between the values of real estate and the values of lower-income inhabitants, and others that welcome economic diversity in the suburb was evident at the time of the study. A Maylands real-estate agent had petitioned the local council to move for the demolition, or refurbishment, of an affordable high-rise apartment block, which houses 191 units. He expressed it was an “eyesore” that “denigrates the area”, and “attracted anti-social behaviour” (Pilat, 2015a). However, police reported there was no evidence of anti-social behavior and commented that a redevelopment of the apartment block “could result in temporary or permanent displacement of families” (Pilat, 2015a). Additionally, the Maylands Ratepayers and Residents Association noted in meeting minutes that “although it supported the idea of improving the aesthetics of the building, they would not want low-cost housing to be knocked down” (2015, para. 28).

Lisa and Paul’s selection of the “expensive boutiques” as a ‘problem space’ in the Adult Walkshop Photo Bingo exercise, led to a discussion of commercial gentrification in Maylands. Carol was of the opinion that Maylands should avoid following in the footsteps of a nearby suburb where every shop sold “$350 pairs of
jeans.” She questioned: “okay, but does that make a community, just having a street full of essentials and really expensive produce?”

Carol’s positioning of a relationship between community and affordability introduces multidimensionality to the concept of accessibility. Pugalis and Giddings (2011) stated, “commodification of the city, defined by limited forms of consumer activity, has significant and direct implications for the right to access the city” (p. 286). The benefits of a walkable commercial street become redundant to inhabitants if the street does not also provide shops and services that are economically accessible.

6.3 Mobility

Maylands participants discussed mobility in terms of walking and walkability, traffic, road safety, excessive car ownership, and cycling. Participants discussed how their degree of mobility, in various forms, impacted their accessibility to footpaths, streets and spaces within their neighbourhood. Discussions of walking have been included in this section when participants have referred to walking for practicality and necessity. However, participants also spoke about cycling, a mobility that many afforded great value. Several adult participants also discussed public transport services. Children participants depicted a range of public transport in their future maps of Maylands, and future cars were depicted as air based rather than road based. Adult participants spoke of cars in terms of traffic, dangerous driving, and excessive parking that impeded their safety as pedestrians and cyclists.

6.3.1 Walkability and wheelability

The negative impact of a car-centred culture on walkability was apparent during the walks. One example was a sign opposite a primary school, which Walking Interview participant Sarah read, “Pedestrians please give way to vehicles. Well I would have thought it would be the other way around at a school” (see Figure 6.8).
On the same walk, we came across a large trailer parked across the footpath, (see Figure 6.9) blocking our access.

Figure 6.8 Sign pointed out by Sarah during her Walking Interview, as she commented: “Pedestrians please give way to vehicles. Well I would have thought it would be the other way around at a school”

Figure 6.9 Truck trailer blocking footpath pointed out by Sarah during her Walking Interview
Sarah’s responded with her opinion the local council should be more vigilant regarding footpath accessibility: “Now see even this, it shouldn't be. Say you've got a kid coming along with a bike, and why, council have got security. They don't do anything.” On the Walking Interviews with Colette, Sarah, and Lisa, we found ourselves unwittingly walking in the middle of the road, when the footpath ended or was non-existent.

Adult Walkshop participant Carol, who does not own a car, cited proximity, accessibility to public transport, and the potential for interactions with people and the natural environment as the main reasons she chose to live in Maylands. She recalled:

And I was looking for a place to live, and I was struck by this little hub of shops. It wasn't anything special, but I just thought it was amazing. Suddenly, there's these old buildings and these shops and it is a suburb close to the city. So, I liked the fact that the train station was there as well. So, it just attracted me. And also, then I realised it was so close to the river, then I thought, well, how could you not live here? (Carol)

She also commented on Eighth Avenue, the traditional main shopping street: “It’s a good street, you know? Cos, there’s only two lanes, so, the traffic is really slow, so you can cross over.”

Walking Interview participant Kelly noted Maylands’ walkability was one of the factors in her decision to make a home there:

so I wanted to be able to do things within walking distance, to be able to walk around and look at things as well as be able to go to cafés and walk to a supermarket if I need milk or something like that. So those sorts of things are important. So yeah, we only have one car as well, so I needed to be able to get to a train and get to a shop and that sort of thing or I'm stuck at home without a car. (Kelly)

There were specific locations, however, where the walkability of Maylands was challenged, a key one being Guildford Road: the main traffic thoroughfare of the suburb. At the end of second Adult Walkshop, I asked the group what the most important issue that they wanted addressed in Maylands was, and Olivia immediately answered, “I would like a pedestrian crossing under Guildford Road.” In a later discussion, Wendy commented of the road, “It really divides up the suburb, doesn’t it?” Guildford Road was discussed throughout the research study in terms of traffic and traffic jams, as “busy and horrible”, and nominated as a ‘problem space’ (see Figure 6.10). Priority ‘next steps’ for the suburb were: “difficulty crossing Guildford
Rd”, and “connections between Guildford Rd/Maylands/Railway”, and “cyclists and pedestrians prioritised over cars.”

Figure 6.10 Adult Walkshop 1 Photo Bingo Exercise: Guildford Rd photographed by Ruby as a ‘problem space’

It is important to include wheelability in discussions of walkability, as demonstrated by the participants: Bella, in her power chair; Kelly, pushing her baby in a pram; and Lisa, who often wheeled her grandchildren in a double pram. Bella laughed that her favourite space in the suburb, the popular commercial strip of Whatley Crescent, was the only area in central Maylands where she sometimes struggled with footpath accessibility: “navigating the power chair through it, that’s the bit that’s the hardest to get through cos its just packed with people (laughs) and dogs and prams and everything.”

Bella did recall two occasions, however, when her access to The RISE had been blocked by the police and a politician parking their cars across the access ramp: “I was sort of saying to my friend who also uses a power wheelchair, ’you know, parking and blocking the ramp access … doesn't really endear us to voting for you (laughs).”
While walking alongside Kelly, with her baby in a pram, my awareness of pedestrian vulnerability was heightened; at one point we had to choose between avoiding a truck on the road and council workers spraying chemicals on the verge next to the footpath. We also encountered overgrown vegetation blocking the footpaths, and Kelly recalled walks when she found parked cars blocking access as well. On Lisa’s Walking Interview, she mentioned what hard work it had been to navigate a double pram along a street with no footpath. She asserted it “would be something that would deter Mums from walking here.”

Kelly explained it was her current situation, nursing a newborn baby that initially led to her regular walks:

> Well, I guess there's a range of reasons and one of them is for exercise, cos I just, I don't really feel up for other kinds of exercise just yet. I used to do yoga and personal training and stuff but I just feel like if I do anything too intensive, I'll wear myself out and then if I've got a cranky baby in the afternoon I just can't hack it. So, walking is just a way for me of getting a bit of exercise, just getting a bit of fresh air, and feeling like I've done something virtuous without wearing myself out too much. (Kelly)

For Kelly, walking had now become an easier option than driving, particularly with the additional logistics that accompanied her baby:

> It's been five years that we've only had one car, so, I don't know, walking has sort of become a means of getting around and sometimes I'd rather just walk than have to strap her into the car. It's such a pain to get the pram into the car and all the bags and everything, you know, ...So, sometimes it’s easier just to throw her in the pram and go out the door that way. A little bit less of a logistical pain in the bum. (Kelly)

Colette expressed very clearly her ideas about the benefits of walking:

> People have to walk because I think its good for the inner you and the outer you. You know, if you've got any problems, or if you're feeling on a bit of a downer, you go and have a walk and suddenly, you know, everything seems a lot better. (Colette)

Colette had a physical and emotional connection to her regular walks: “if I don't have a little walk every morning, it doesn't seem quite right somehow. Yes. The whole body just thinks, 'oh come on now lets go have a bit of a walk.'” It was also the alternatives to walking that motivated her:
But this morning, when it was peeing down with rain and you thought, ‘oh I can't go for a walk’. It was awful. Ooh (laughs). You have to do the washing up and make the bed and things. Ooooh. Boring. (Colette)

Walkability for transport was raised by James: “it turns out to be quite a walk, a half hour walk to get up to the train station.” In their review of the literature on the walkable neighbourhood, Talen and Koschinsky (2013) found that 30 minutes walk would be a feasible maximum time limit that people would voluntarily walk for transport. However, the mobility culture of the neighbourhood may also be a consideration.

As we walked closer to the main shopping precinct, James suggested we may see a lot more people out walking, because of proximity to the shops, but also “socio-economic” factors: the higher proportion of affordable apartments: “If you lived here you wouldn’t drive to the shops,” however he added, “You would, ‘cos it’s Perth, [but] you really shouldn’t (laughs).” When I asked him whether he meant it was a cultural thing, he replied:

I think it is a cultural thing but then our development of the city has accommodated that. For example, that block of shops couldn’t sustain a deli29, a big deli, ...Because people aren’t just going to walk to the deli next door; they’ll jump in their car and drive down to Coles [supermarket]. So then there’s nothing around that you can walk to, then you have to drive. It is sort of self-reinforcing. (James)

James noted that when he had lived in a city in another country he “got the hang of it… walking around everywhere, not taking a car unless I really had to.” He expressed that “we could do a lot more” in Perth to make it “more attractive to walk around.” Sarah had a similar opinion about the mobility culture of Western Australia:

WA has always been you own a car, you own a house. That's been forever. The other states have been less inclined to think that way. They believe that they should have that infrastructure set up. But WA, because of its remoteness has always, for whatever reason, thought, no, everyone's gotta have a car. (Sarah)

There was evidence of changes in children’s independent mobility over time. James’ chosen walking route was “retracing my steps [walking] towards the school”,

29 Deli is the vernacular word for grocery shop or corner store.
following his cycling route to visit childhood friends, and tracking the “Number 41 Bus Route” which held significant value due to his frequent use of the bus as a teenager. When I asked James what he would like me to photograph, one of the few things he suggested was the “41 Bus.” Although James regularly walked independently to school as a child, he did not now walk with his own child to school though expressed he wanted to: “my wife or I do the school run...although we should be walking I think, if we got up in time and get the kids ready.” Shaw et al. (2015, p. 6) found that declining independent mobility of children has led to significant time commitments for parents as they accompany their children on journeys in their local neighbourhood. There is also a strong likelihood that, if it is considered necessary to accompany children, the journey will most likely be made by car (Shaw et al., 2015, p. 6). It has been well established that traffic and road safety fears have been a key influence on children’s declining independent mobility (Shaw et al., 2015, p. vi). Adult research participants also discussed the ways in which traffic and road safety issues impacted their walkability.

6.3.2 Traffic, road safety and excessive car ownership

The Maylands participants expressed safety concerns regarding roads, traffic and dangerous driving. Bella had experienced a near miss with a car at the pedestrian crossing at Whatley Crescent and Eighth Avenue, when the car “went through a full on red light at probably … 60/70km an hour” and stopped “within 50 centimetres” of her. She described her distress and expressed upset that the police had told her the incident was not a priority because she had not been hit. She recalled the people from a nearby café who helped her recover, suggested that drivers had not adapted behaviours to changes in traffic regulations: “[they] said this used to be like a highway almost, before they put all the lights in, …so a lot of drivers are like, in their mind its still like a place that's 70/80 km an hour, you know.” Colette had a few words for a driver who sped past us revving his engine: “Oh aren't you clever? Don't they love showing…? Boys will be boys, won't they? Oh look what I've got. Ooh a big car.”

Sarah was concerned about increased traffic in residential areas: “we're going to have a situation that will have too much traffic and you can see by how many cars are down there now already, how many vehicles we're going to get in the future.”
She also articulated her opinion that there was a lack of forward planning in regards to road safety: “I don't want to see someone killed and everyone turn around and say, well that was an accident waiting to happen. To me, we can't be thinking like that. A life is a life and, you know, a little planning?” Sadly, a pedestrian was killed after being hit by a car in Maylands during the period of this study, while crossing Railway Parade on a Saturday night in 2015 (Knowles, 2015; Pollock, 2015)\(^{30}\).

Sarah discussed mobility within a holistic framework that included pedestrian and cyclist safety, road design, traffic and speed levels, excessive cars, street use, public transport and strategic planning of parking. Parking was the key issue for Sarah, in particular the impact that excessive cars parking “higgledy-piggledy” had on her accessibility as a cyclist and walker, but also for other inhabitants trying to leave and access their homes. She expressed that this was having a negative impact on neighbours’ relations: “I'm finding even with our little area, it's increasing the angst amongst neighbours. Because the council aren't doing their job, and overseeing these things, … and you’re getting misconduct, grievance, issues.” Sarah was not complaining about the parking issue, however, without coming up with solutions herself to resolve it.

The issue, as discussed by Sarah, was a side effect of increased housing density in the suburb, which had brought an increase in cars. On the walk, there was evidence of cars parked on verges and roads, impeding access and visibility. Chris proposed that the culture of automobility did not reflect the state governments’ plans for higher density:

> The parking requirements can be as low as 0.5 [spaces] per unit. That’s like assuming every other apartment: they’re not going to have a car. They’re trying to social engineer. They’re putting the cart before the horse. It’s just obviously more likely they might have two cars.\(^{31}\) (Chris)

Some participants expressed that increasing parking supply was not the answer, as Paul said in the Adult Walkshop, about the problem of excessive

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\(^{30}\) Although this crossing was not discussed in the data collection, it was highlighted by participants of the *Maylands Walks* walkability audit (see Chapter 8) as extremely dangerous and in urgent need of improvement.

\(^{31}\) In 2015, the zoning regulations were amended, which included a requirement of one parking bay per residence (O'Connor, 2015).
commuter parking at the train station, “there could be less car parks so less people wanna catch the train, so you could actually get on the train.” This statement also highlights a problem of insufficient public transport infrastructure to match demand.

Having recently become a one-car household, and investing in an electric bicycle, Sarah was more aware of the impact of excessive car use on her safety and visibility while cycling on the road:

because the road should never have taken this amount of traffic, at the end of the day. It was never meant for that. Even with myself, on my bike when I'm riding, it's very dangerous. Because sometimes you watch drivers, they don't look, they're either going too fast, or they don't look like they're in control when they're taking the corner. (Sarah)

Although it was impacting her personal safety and mobility, Sarah expressed that the problem was not caused by the introduction of higher density, but the lack of infrastructure to support it, “I have no problem with high density, I think it's important, but with high density you've got to look at your public transport.” Her own experience of insufficient public transport infrastructure supported this: “When I made the decision I was going to use public transport, everyone couldn't believe that, you know? ‘You're just never gonna get transport anywhere’, and it's true, you are restricted. Absolutely.”

Sarah came up with a solution to the issue of increased traffic and parked cars, while we were walking:

Realistically? I would love that to be the case. More cycling, walking, but the council aren't promoting that, are they? You know you have to have frequent buses, frequent trains; access for someone who is disabled to get to the train easily. And that's just not happening yet. … But one has to happen before the other. You have to get that, and you have to promote it. In fact, when they're issuing people with building permits, I think that there should be that explanation, well, you realise, of course, this an area whereby we're only wanting a couple of cars. You will be taxed if you have a third or fourth car. Maybe that's the only way to address it. And I would be quite happy with that. Well, you've got a limit to how many pets you can have. (Sarah)

I presented Sarah’s idea of a household car quota to visitors to the exhibit during the Maylands Walks event (see Chapter 8). I gave visitors the opportunity to vote for their favourite of the ideas presented by research participants. Sarah’s household car quota was voted the most popular of all the ideas presented.
6.3.3 Cycling

When I asked participants at the second Adult Walkshop to list all of the things they thought Maylands shared, the most listed items in order of popularity were: the river, parks, and cycle paths. A shared path (for cycling and walking) follows the railway line from Maylands into the city centre of Perth (see Figure 6.11) and there is another shared path that follows the river foreshore, most of the way around the peninsula. Olivia mentioned the riverside path influenced her decision to live in Maylands:

we looked, it was Saturday morning and there were all these women cycling past on the nice bike track down near the river. I thought 'this is it. I want to do this. This is where I want to be.’ So, yeah, now I am here and I do do that. (Olivia)

Although it was the physical feature of the cycle path that spurred Olivia’s desire to live in the area, the activity that she saw: “women cycling” was important. This point addresses a condition of accessibility, in that the best demonstration of accessible design is evidence of its use, and particularly its use by marginalised groups. A survey from the year of the walkshop, 2013, reported cycling participation at 11.6% of the Perth female population, compared to 21.5% of the male population (Austroads & Australian Bicycle Council, 2013, p. 49). Adult cycling participation was significantly lower than that of young children. The accessibility of the cycle path to adult women, told a spatial story to Olivia, which granted her inclusion in the spatial practice. She now belongs to the spatial practice, the spatial story, and the space itself, as she has become one of these “women cycling.”

Adult Walkshop participant Mark chose the “cycle track” along the railway line as his ‘sacred space’ in the Photo Bingo activity, replying with an abrupt “Yeah, of course I did” when I confirmed it with him. One of Gordon’s ‘possibility spaces’ was a “cycleway path around river foreshore … from the boat ramp at the police academy to the golf course” which would fill in the current gap, connecting the cycle route with the river all the way round.

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32 Equal next on the list were cafes, shops, streets/roads, schools and footpaths.

33 Repeated in 2015, the survey found the cycling participation rate had increased significantly for females: up to 18%, and up to 23% for males (Austroads & Australian Bicycle Council, p. 49).
James expressed that cycle paths were needed as he had safety concerns about cycling on the street:

Yeah, I did when I was a kid and in my twenties but I’m not that keen on riding on the road these days. I think the pattern of the traffic and cars paying attention has changed a bit and it seems to me it’s more dangerous to ride a bicycle now than it used to be. So we probably need to think about bike paths and so on. (James)

Chris described a lack of connectivity between the cycle paths in the suburb, which led to safety concerns: “Whilst there’s heaps of bike paths down here, there’s no bike path connecting the town side to here. So you know, I’ve gotta go on the road sometimes with the kids.” Lisa cycled regularly and pointed out an emotional benefit of the interactions that cycling on this particular route afforded her, “cause I cycle to work, along the river, so any day I see a dolphin is special.” The accessibility of the cycle path gave her opportunities for interactions with nature affording her an emotional connection with the natural environment, and a marker of belonging,
whereby she could recognise her day, and the everyday space she inhabits, as special.

6.3.4 Future mobilities

One phenomenon emerging from the student’s data was the lack of cars in all of the maps of future Maylands. The 2019 map (Figure 6.12) showed a very clearly marked railway line and train station, and a bridge over the river, but not a single road or car.

![Figure 6.12 ‘Future Maylands 2019’ map (Child Walkshop 2) showing the (existing) railway line and train station, a (new) bridge over the river, and no roads](image)

The 2024 map once again showed a bridge over the river, and a “bike trail for riders” along the side of the river. The international and domestic airports were once again in the space they had occupied from 1924 -1963, with the addition of two “hellyport[s]” at opposite sides of the suburb. Not a single road nor car is represented. The transport depicted in the 2034 map was also airborne, with “hover boards”, “hover cars” and a “teleporter.” Two roads can be seen on the map, with one marked “road for hover boards” and the other, with hover cars drawn on it. 2064
Maylands was drawn with “lots of cars (hovering)”, “awesome car (future) can fly”, “New! More cars, they fly for 10 sec”, with “hovering signs”, a “teleporting machine”, as well as “solar power bus, boats, cars”, “lots of bus stops”, and “less pollution.” Despite the airborne transport, Sam filled up the map with a labyrinthine system of roads, which he assured me were for the hover cars. As I analysed this road covered map I recalled Ingold’s words, “Unlike paths formed through the practices of wayfaring, such lines are surveyed and built in advance of the traffic that comes to pass up and down them” (2007, p. 81). This seemed to fit with Sam’s enjoyment in drawing and connecting lines across the map as he took part in making it. I wondered if the abstraction of the map allowed for the practice of drawing in lines for roads that were not needed.

6.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I have presented data that was coded under the core spatial practice value of accessibility. From the evidence shown in the supporting data, I have established a conceptualisation of accessibility that includes equity, affordability and mobility. The findings suggest, that if equitable accessibility is the aim, then the social and economic diversity of inhabitants must be considered. Spaces that were designated as community spaces were also key to promoting accessibility in the suburb, for both adult and child participants. Public spaces such as libraries, community centres, parks, playgrounds, the school, and natural spaces including the river, were fundamental for the children participants’ spatial practice. Within these spaces that sanctioned and welcomed children’s spatial practices as non-consumers, the children participants also favoured small scale and shaded spaces that could be comfortably inhabited.

Processes in the management of community spaces were identified as placing limits on accessibility, and there was evidence in the data of public toilets being sequestered from the general public, or inhabitants being required to ask for permission to access public toilets. Accessible public toilets were identified as necessary for equitable access to public spaces, for inhabitants of all ages and mobilities, and critical for walkability.

Processes in the management of mobilities were also found to impact accessibility in the suburb. Examples of car-centric design, lacking public transport,
road safety issues, and excessive car use were all identified within the data as impacting walkability. A culture of automobility was also noted as a factor, which had influenced the built environment, thus further promoting automobile reliance. Despite this, walking, walking routes, cycling and cycle paths were highly valued by participants. Although the child participants imagined hover cars and hover boards in their depictions of future Maylands, they did not include roads or cars. Although this raises more questions than answers about future mobilities, it is notable that cars were not featured, even in the 2019 map of future Maylands.

Discussions about accessibility are discussions about the “right to the city” (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 158). A spatial justice approach to spatial practice raises questions about who has the rights to engage in spatial practice within the city. As demonstrated by the Maylands participants’ data, some processes of spatial production can sanction specific spatial practices and proscribe others. The walking data collection methods proved effective for gathering and appreciating “multiple subjectivities” (Lugones, 2003, p. 208) of accessibility. Accessibility was found to be fundamental for inhabitants to engage with space and spatial practices through *interactions*, which will be discussed in the next chapter.
CHAPTER SEVEN:
FINDINGS – INTERACTIONS

Participants demonstrated myriad interactions with space while walking. These interactions were a multifaceted reciprocal engagement with physical and social space, including the human and non-human, the natural and built environment. They were also engagements with stories, a process I have called story sharing (see Chapter 5). Participants were creating new stories, and becoming a part of a shared story, as they walked.

Demerath and Levinger (2003) proposed we find order, understanding, clarity and meaning in the world through “casual conversation” and “we do this by telling stories about ourselves or others, by predicting the future, or interpreting the past” (p. 219). Pedestrian “casual interactions” are critical for this process (Demerath & Levinger, 2003, p. 219). T. Hall (2009), when discussing walking interviews he had undertaken with young people in Wales, considered the spaces themselves to be a conversive participant:

We have felt these walks to be three-way conversations, with interviewee, interviewer and locality engaged in an exchange of ideas; place has been under discussion but, more than this, and crucially, underfoot and all around, and, as such, that much more of an active, present participant in the conversation, able to prompt and interject. (2009, p. 582)

Such conversive interactions encouraged the participants to get to know space, and develop their spatial competence. As discussed in Chapter 5, interactions were particularly prominent in the children’s data.

This chapter is divided into subsections based on concepts that sat directly under the value *interactions* in the coding process. These subsections are: walking through a world of stories, vernacular creativity, developing spatial competence, learning spaces, the natural framework, textural and temporal layers, personal and emotional engagement, and conflicted spaces. However, interactions were multilayered and interrelated, and all could be connected to the process of developing spatial competence.
7.1 Walking through a world of stories

What became evident while walking with inhabitants of Maylands was that they were consciously and unconsciously walking their way through a world of stories. They engaged in old stories, or imagined and created new ones through their spatial practice, becoming a part of these stories in the process. The stories tied them to the spaces and connected them to other stories in the suburb.

Walking Interview participant, Kelly, was intrigued by the names given to apartment blocks along her walking route, wondering about the stories behind the names. She engaged in her own story sharing process by taking photographs of the name signs (see Figure 7.1 and Figure 7.2):

There are the ones that are named after women, and there's a whole bunch that …sound like a real exotic place, and you look at it and it’s the most unexotic place you could possibly imagine. I just wonder whether they were named to make it sound a bit more appealing to live in than it actually was. (Kelly)

Figure 7.1 Photograph taken by Walking Interview participant Kelly of an apartment building name sign, as she commented: “There are the ones that are named after women”
Kelly’s intrigue about the built environment was not diminished by her limited knowledge of local history:

There’s a lot of history here, and obviously for whatever reason, at some point in history a lot of people settled and built houses here, I don’t know very much about the history and why that would be the case, but, yeah so there’s the history around I suppose. (Kelly)

Colette made her way through this landscape of stories by engaging in personal interactions. She said “hello” to every person she passed on our Walking Interview, and also greeted wildlife (birds) and pets. She admitted that she always spoke to construction workers, to find out what changes were occurring in the area.

Kelly remarked that she regularly “snooped” at houses, as she did on our walk:

I’ll just cross the road and have a little snoop at those houses. This is what I normally do when I go out for a walk (Laughs). My husband usually disappears with the pram and I snoop around looking at people’s houses. (Kelly)
After our walk, Kelly contacted me to say that she had been reminded of the practice of Urban Exploring, which is generally known for such activities as torch light expeditions to closed subway stations, ruined industrial buildings, and abandoned hospitals and asylums (Edensor, 2000). I suggested to Kelly that she was undertaking her own form of suburban exploring on her walks. Instead of uncovering spaces that were closed down, or condemned, Kelly was photographing detail in spaces that may have been overlooked (see Figure 7.3).

Figure 7.3 Photographs taken by Walking Interview participant Kelly as she walked and pushed her newborn baby in a pram

An old cottage or an overgrown garden provided Kelly with the opportunity for many imagined stories. Kelly pointed out spaces that she had previously photographed, and was excited by spaces that she had not noticed before. It seemed possible for Kelly to walk the same streets of Maylands many times before she would run out of spaces to photograph. The stories evident in the spaces were not
explicitly written. The signifiers were not closed. Thus, Kelly could engage in her own creative practice of documenting her suburban exploration through photography. In comparison, the “standardization” of space, with branded multinational retail chains for example, can lead to “loss of place” (Demerath & Levinger, 2003, p. 235) and may shut down opportunities for this kind of creative engagement.

7.2 Vernacular creativity

Vernacular creativity was evident throughout the Maylands data. Vernacular creativity, or the creativity inhabitants engage in their ordinary everyday practices, imprints humanity on a space. Vernacular creativity could be considered a “public good” as it is an “abundant, generative and pervasive human capacity” which is an inclusive, non-competitive resource (Bromberg, 2010, p. 218). On our walks we saw creativity in gardens, letterboxes, house numbers, decorated footpaths, graffiti and street art, local shop windows and an amateur boat yard. The participants expressed visual and sensual pleasure in other inhabitants’ creativity, and responded emotionally.

Bella and Carol both spoke about the shop window displays created by local proprietors. Carol said, “It's just lovely. Even just looking through the shop windows. Everyone's made such an effort. It's beautiful” and Bella, “they always have the most gorgeous shop display windows that just catch the sun and are just really vivid and vibrant.” Colette was a fan of the Maylands Amateur Boatbuilding Yard (Figure 7.4):

And it’s for amateur people and some people bring their boats here for years and years and years and probably just potter along and mend them a bit, and they never go in the water. (Collete)

Colette pointed out a boat name, “This'll do” which reflected the relaxed atmosphere of the Amateur Boatbuilding Yard: “Somewhere to have a yarn and a joke and, you know, watch the world go by. Lovely isn't it?”
Figure 7.4 Photograph of boats at Maylands Amateur Boatbuilding Yard pointed out by Walking Interview participant, Colette, who commented: “and they never go in the water”

James said a decorated footpath (Figure 7.5) was representative of a change he had noticed in the area:

It’s probably quite culturally significant….Because there wasn’t really anything like this before, …I do notice people now are decorating more, and you see people planting flowers out the front or just taking a bit more pride in the area. (James)

Figure 7.5 A decorated footpath which Walking Interview participant James noted was “probably quite culturally significant”
Lisa appreciated the Christmas lights and the architectural details of the older houses:

> It’s beautiful walking around at night, especially this time of year too, because of the Christmas lights. Even when it’s not Christmas because of, the beautiful point about a lot of these houses, …is all the architectural detail in the windows, the lead lights and stained glass, it all sort of comes into it’s own. You can just walk around and look at the windows. (Lisa)

The participants demonstrated appreciation for the aesthetics of the finished product, but also had an awareness of the effort invested in its creation. Recognition of the cultural value of vernacular creativity, such as Christmas lights, can challenge the increasing homogenisation of urban space (Edensor & Millington, 2012, p. 156).

Kelly’s walking route took us to a garden, in which it was evident a great deal of effort, creativity and individuality had been invested (shown in Figure 7.6 and Figure 7.7). Kelly described it as both “weird and wonderful.” She wondered about the personality of the inhabitant who would create such a garden, “I really want to know what kind of person lives here.”

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*Figure 7.6* Photographs taken by Walking Interview participant Kelly of a garden she wanted to show me, as she commented: “It gets more weird and wonderful around the corner”
Figure 7.7 Photograph taken by Walking Interview participant Kelly of a garden on her walking route, as she commented: “I really want to know what kind of person lives here”

The “weird and wonderful garden” inspired Kelly’s imagination and her own creative practice of photography. Vernacular creativity encourages further creativity, because it is embedded in local, everyday practices, and does not impose aesthetic distinctions or monetary values (Bromberg, 2010, p. 216). Instead, vernacular creativity exudes effort, individuality and humanity, and is often engaged with a playful, knowing and self-deprecating sense of humour (Edensor & Millington, 2012). This type of local creativity is inclusive because it does not take itself too seriously and, as demonstrated by the Maylands participants, this could be where its generative nature lies.

7.3 Developing spatial competence

(Sub)urban space affords walkers a type of exploration that may be less possible in the countryside, where navigational skills and/or equipment are often
considered essential, and the paths marked by previous walkers are distinguishable (J. Lee & Ingold, 2006, p. 78). The Maylands participants’ data showed evidence of many forms of navigation. Kelly navigated by spaces she had photographed on previous walks. However, she enjoyed wandering without a planned route, as long as she was able to quickly return home if the needs of her baby required her to do so. Bella navigated her way through the centre of Maylands via a list that she ticked off as we went. Lisa planned her walk to the supermarket, not by the shortest route, but by one that took her through her favourite streets. The Maylands participants’ “purposive” walks were also “discursive” (Wunderlich, 2008, p. 126). A trip to undertake daily chores, or to get some exercise while caring for a newborn baby, could be an exploration.

There was also evidence of developing spatial competence through “reappropriation” (de Certeau, 1984, p. xiv) of space, particularly for the children participants, who used space creatively for play, or to suit their own needs. Learning spaces were also valued by the participants, and spaces that offered many opportunities for interactions, such as natural spaces, were important for developing “inhabitant knowledge” (Ingold, 2007, p. 90).

7.3.1 Wayfinding and personal safety

Personal safety was not a current issue raised during data collection. However, there was discussion at the Adult Walkshop about crime and safety issues in the suburb in previous years, which had influenced wayfinding for some of the female participants. Wendy mentioned, “I do remember when Eighth Avenue and Whatley Crescent, 34 I wouldn't walk down at a certain time of day or night, especially evening. You'd never go. Never go down there.” Olivia, who had moved to the suburb more recently replied, “You'd think with the train it would be different,” and Wendy responded: “Oh, it was quite scary. Yeah. At times, because there were quite a few gangs.” Colette recalled there was a particular street that she would not walk down in the daytime.

Appreciating perspective is key to discussions of safety in space. As discussed in Chapter 2, gender, age, sexuality, ethnicity and mobility can impact how

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34 Both streets now make up the main shopping area, with a variety of shops, from a gun shop to fashion boutiques.
a person experiences space, including social space. Carol explained that, to her, the tavern in Maylands was a gendered space: “I don't think any woman would step foot in there. It's just awful. Sorry, no offence. …because it’s filled with guys.” Bella told me a story about navigating a potentially unsafe interaction on the access ramp to the train station:

I had a weird kind of experience when I was going up this ramp, and there was a bloke kinda standing half way up the ramp…facing the wall and I thought ‘oh god I hope he's not, you know, masturbating or something,’ …and eventually he said, ‘oh, are you coming up the ramp?’ and I went ‘yes’, and he went ‘oh I was just gonna like urinate, I'll just wait till you finish going up the ramp’, and I was like ‘okaay?’ (laughs) and then I told my boyfriend about it and my boyfriend was like, ‘well, by Maylands standards that actually is polite’. (Bella)

The Maylands participants demonstrated developing spatial competence through the act of personal wayfinding through space including navigating areas that may be considered unsafe. The participants demonstrated how this process also builds up a connection to the area: a sense of belonging gained by survival and negotiation. The female participants who had discussed issues of safety in Maylands had continued to live in the area for several decades and walked in the area often.

7.3.2 Reappropriation

The popularity of The RISE and the school demonstrated the importance of accessible spaces where children, and children’s activities, are welcomed. This could also signify the importance of spaces that provide opportunities to learn through reappropriation: to have the opportunity to “muck around.”

The student participants’ data demonstrated engagement in creative reappropriation of the school space. In the Photo Bingo activity Jenny and Millie nominated, as their “eating space”, the “concrete tiles next to the benches.” Although it may not be out of the ordinary for a child to sit on the ground to eat, it was noteworthy that Jenny and Millie photographed this space for the Photo Bingo exercise, as they had not been prompted to nominate an “eating space.” This demonstrates the “concrete tiles” were a significant space, for which they held a sense of ownership. This could be because they had reappropriated the “concrete tiles” for their own purpose. As discussed, the basketball courts were also a
significant space in the school for the students who reappropriated it to play “chasey” (see Figure 7.8).

The students demonstrated it was important for them to have access to ‘in-between’ spaces that they could make their own, such as a “verandah” which was chosen as a ‘favourite space’ (see Figure 7.9). Access to these spaces allowed the students to interact creatively with the space and develop a connection to it.

The school was nominated by 26% of the students as a favourite space in Maylands. Cook et al. (2015) found that schools were important neighbourhood private spaces, giving “some indication of the broad range of affordances provided by the school grounds” (p. 11). The spatial competence the students displayed in their use of the school grounds and their skills in communicating these uses, demonstrates the importance of the school as a child friendly space in which to explore various uses of space of their own designation. Other spaces, particularly commercial spaces such as shopping centres, may not welcome such creative use of space, such as sitting on the floor to eat, or “hanging-out.”

Figure 7.8 Child Walkshop 1 Photo Bingo Exercise: the “basketball courts” photographed as a ‘fun space’ as they were reappropriated “for chasey”
7.3.3 Learning spaces

Both the adult and child participants valued spaces for learning in Maylands. When I asked the adult participants what they would prefer to see at a nominated ‘conflict space’, the central vacant block, where a large discount liquor store had been proposed, Carol said that she would like it to be used as a space for “adult courses.” She also expressed that the old primary school would be a good place for an adult learning facility, and chose it as her ‘possibility space’ for this reason.

James recalled a public library, which was a significant space to him as a child: “I went there all the time. I grew up there.” Chris discussed how an unused car park had been an important learning space for his children:

You know where the tennis club is? So there’s a car park there. That’s where both boys learnt to ride their bikes. That’s a big car park. I think it’s far too big for however many people park there but it’s great. It’s got some great circular tracks. (Chris)
There was evidence in the data that there could be pedagogical outcomes of interactions with space, including walking. Natural spaces were discussed as learning spaces, and the care of plants, birds and other wildlife had facilitated shared learning.

Lisa discussed her own developing spatial competence as a gardener. She had become friends with other neighbourhood gardeners, and told me, after our walk, “someone’s coming over to take some sweet potato clippings.” Although Lisa said she did not learn about “growing things” from her parents or grandparents, she wondered if her granddaughter would pick this up:

My granddaughter follows me around the garden. ...And I wonder if she’ll become a gardener or she’s just being a kid and enjoying herself. ...I go out on my bike to work and she waves at the gate, ...not yet three, and she says, ‘Don’t worry, ...I’ll look after your flowers’. And she’s out there; she’s wrestling this hose. (Lisa)

Penny spoke about her plan to encourage more children to attend the volunteer weeding days at the wetlands:

Kids are good. We’d like to see the families out. In fact I was saying to other committee members, we almost shift the focus of our publicity to make this a family day. The kids don’t actually get much work done but they see their parents busy pulling out giant weeds. They have a go at puling out a few. They’re forced to stay out for an hour or two, however long their parents have brought them, so that’s quite good discipline, away from a computer for a whole two hours. (Penny)

As discussed, spaces outside of the school can be significant learning spaces. Several student participants also valued the school because it was a space for learning. David chose the school as his favourite space because “it is a place where you can learn a lot.” Jack chose the school because “its fun to learn and play with friends” and for Maylands, he wanted “more area [sic] and fun place to learn and go play with friends.”

The Maylands’ data demonstrated that intergenerational walks could be important sites for learning how spatial practices have changed over time. The student participants discovered that the senior participants had much greater independent mobility as children, and much closer interactions with natural spaces, including waterways, forests and the bush. The senior participants learnt about the creativity of the students’ spatial practice, and their desire to learn and engage with the stories and spaces of the suburb.
7.3.4 The serendipity of walking

The Walking Interviews and Walkshops provided opportunity for serendipitous encounters and for seeing spaces differently. Both Colette and Kelly remarked that they had seen “different things” during our walk. Colette remarked: “There's an egret [design] on the bin. I hadn't noticed that before. You see, I'm seeing things being with you that I hadn't seen before.” Kelly realised, “I always walk up this street but have never seen this before.” The space created and provided by walking can be a site for “spontaneity” (Anguelovski, 2013, p. 1029), and “chance encounters” (Demerath & Levinger, 2003).

As discussed in Chapter 3, de Certeau (1984) described tactical everyday practices, which through their reappropriation of space provide a “flash shedding a different light on the language of a place” (pp. 37-38). Sarah made it clear that it was walking in the suburb that had raised her awareness of mobility issues. She explained: “We're walkers, we see what's going on.”

Participants of the Walking Interviews commented that the combination of walking and talking had been a positive experience. Additionally, some participants reflected that they had learnt something new, or seen a problem through a new perspective after engaging in a shared walk with other participants. Sarah said the Walking Interview had been “therapeutic” and after our walk, Penny wondered if there might be something about sharing a convivial walk that engenders open conversation.

As mentioned earlier, Lisa noted that being out walking, and cycling, afforded her the opportunity to see dolphins, a fact of which she had trouble convincing some of her friends who did not walk near the river:

They’re there a lot; you just have to catch them. And yet there are people who won’t believe you when I say that there’s dolphins in the river. …I have trouble convincing some of my friends when I see a dolphin, I’m like, ‘I’m not making it up. I see them regularly’. …it’s almost as if you said, ‘and then I saw a mermaid on the rocks.’ (Lisa)

For Lisa, and the majority of participants, walking provided an opportunity for both planned and serendipitous interactions with the natural environment. These interactions were highly valued.
7.4 The natural framework

The concept *natural framework* emerged in the data analysis from an interaction participants engaged in while walking, whereby they noted the passage of time by changes in the natural environment. The growth of trees signified age, histories, memories and longevity. The river has changed over the years, as have the spatial practices undertaken on or in it. The river also represented, for some participants, the connection between the suburb and the wider ecosystem of its catchment area, the Swan Coastal Plain. The moments that participants saw birds, and other wild animals, while out walking, were marked as significant milestones in the everyday. Of all codes applied to the collected data, the five most frequent were: *trees* (144 incidents), *river* (128), *walkability* (113), *local proprietors* \(^35\) (109), and *birds* (102). This demonstrates the importance of the natural environment to the Maylands participants.

7.4.1 The river

It was evident the river was significant to the Maylands participants. This was demonstrated in the walking routes, conversations and the portrayal of the suburb on their maps. The data also provided evidence that the river had shaped the suburb through influencing spatial practices. Of the eleven participants at the first Adult Walkshop, all but one drew a representation of the river, when asked to sketch a map that included the significant spaces in their suburb (Figure 7.10).

Three participants nominated the river as ‘our space’ during the *Photo Bingo* activity, and two people nominated it as a ‘free space’. It was chosen as a ‘sacred space’ by Ruby, and Lisa and Paul chose “Bardon Park over the water” as a ‘sacred space’. \(^36\) Gordon nominated the river as a ‘community space’ and noted both “East St Jetty” and the “river cycleways” under the ‘my space’ category. Lisa and Paul chose a riverside location as ‘our space’: “our wedding.” Ruby marked her favourite space on the large aerial map, “The River Dolphins!”

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\(^35\) *Local proprietors* was the spatial code applied to locally owned cafes and shops.

\(^36\) The Derbarl Yerrigan, or Swan River is a listed site on the Aboriginal Heritage Register: Site 3536. At the time of the Adult Walkshop the area of Bardon Park (Malgamongup) was also on the Aboriginal Heritage Register, according to the Aboriginal Heritage Act (Government of Western Australia, 1972).
Figure 7.10 Composite of portrayals of the river drawn by ten of the eleven participants in the ‘My Maylands’ maps exercise (Adult Walkshop 1)

The river was a prominent feature of the conversation on the shared walk in the second Adult Walkshop. Gordon spoke about one of his favourite fishing spots, and Carol said: “It's nice. Everything about this part of the river, is it's really natural.”

The Walking Interviews with Colette (see Figure 7.11), Sarah, and Penny all navigated along the river at some point, and James mentioned that he almost chose a walk along the river for his route.
Of the Child Walkshop participants, Maria chose the “boatyards” on the river as her favourite space, because “Me and my family go there to feed the fish. And because we SUP there (stand up paddle board).” However, this was the only river-based activity listed by the children.37 The students’ data on future Maylands appeared to signify the desire for a closer physical connection with the river. Robert wanted a “big sports stadium by the Swan River”, and David “a waterfall and a bridge [sic] on swan river.” The river featured prominently in three of the four maps of future Maylands. The 2034 map also included a lake, with the annotation “keep the water.” Both the 2019 and 2024 maps of future Maylands showed a bridge over the river38 and in 2019, Harry drew himself as a figure swimming in the river (see Figure 7.12).

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37 Although Danni paddled on surfboards with her friends on the lake (see Chapter 5), this is inland from the river.
38 There currently is neither a footbridge nor a traffic bridge across the river in Maylands.
The 2024 Maylands map showed the river with the annotation: “SMALLER RIVER LUCAS” (shown in Figure 7.13).
Adult participant Colette, who was working with Lucas’ group, noted they had discussed the shrinking of the river as she had heard that this might happen in the future. This map also included two jetties, dolphins and jellyfish, and a “bike trail for riding along the river.” The group who worked on the 2064 map drew two dolphins and annotated the river as “clean river.”

Student participant Jack chose the river as a favourite space, because “it is nice to look out to.” I compared this to eighty-year-old Colin’s favourite space, “the East St Jetty” on the river, because of “a lot of time spent swimming and canoeing there in the 1940's.” The data showed the river was an important space for participants of all ages, but there was evidence that river-based spatial practices had changed over time. This had impacted the children’s capacity for independent mobility, and for developing spatial competence, in and on the water.

James, now in his early forties, wondered whether the river was clean enough to swim in again, and discussed how his practices of using the river had changed as he grew up:

Yeah in my generation, up to about, I don’t know, aged 10 or something, I would swim in the river, and then I think probably after that. So that would be in the eighties that we stopped swimming in the river so much, although I still didn’t think twice about going canoeing and we’d end up going in the river, you wouldn’t sort of avoid it. (James)

He remembered having swimming lessons in the river as a young child. Subsequently, however, any swimming for sport or recreation occurred in a public swimming pool in an adjacent suburb. James mentioned that his son’s class now visited the same public swimming pool for their swimming lessons.

Next to the river in the Future Maylands 2024 map, the group had drawn “Waterland: little kids” which is an existing water playground for small children by the river, and added a large “water park for older kids” following the trend of children playing in chlorinated pools by the river instead of the river itself (see Figure 7.13). The declining health of the river, evidenced by algal blooms and fish kills caused by urban and agricultural pollutants (Department of Health, 2010; Dollery, 2013), had contributed to this change.

The significance of the river and its environs dominated Penny’s Walking Interview: a tour of the riverside wetlands, which she volunteers her time to help
conserve and regenerate. She explained the significance of the wetland’s sedge plain in “stabilising the [river] bank”, and the importance of the work undertaken both by local residents and the local council to support the wetlands and restore the natural vegetation.

Penny discussed the impact of urbanisation, industry and agriculture on the river, including the removal of the rocky bar to create the port in the 1890s (n.d.) and the intensive farming of the Wheatbelt further inland. Penny explained the heavy seasonal rain, which had regularly flooded the peninsula and flushed out the “tidal influence” of saltwater, no longer fell. This left a “salt wedge” that stretched far upriver:

But nowadays all this is called estuarine, right up. …We’re very clever. …It’s about 120 years let’s say, at the outside, we’ve managed to pretty well wreck the river, you know. And now it requires a lot of thought and intervention and no one’s ever going to take the port away. You have to live with that. That’s what human beings do. We just keep doing that. (Penny)

The river connected Maylands to both the inland country and the sea. Goldstein et al. (2015) discussed how interactions with the Los Angeles River “reframe various individuals’ expectations of urban natural resources and, as a result, their sense of connectedness to a wider ecological web” (p. 1295). During our Walking Interview, Penny explained how a nearby street was the source of a drain that brings household pollutants to the wetland area. A sign in one of the wetlands lakes reads:

Health Warning. This water may cause ill effects to humans and animals. No direct water contact activities (eg swimming wading). No prawning crabbing fishing.

The street Penny mentioned was the one that James grew up on, and for him, this space was significant to his suburban childhood. This disconnect between the suburban lifestyle and the impact it can have on the environment, and even the river just a few streets away became apparent through Penny’s discussion of the fragility of the wetlands and the river ecosystem, and her practices to preserve them.

39 The Wheatbelt is a region of over 155,000 square kilometres to the north and east of the city of Perth. It is the largest agricultural producing region in the state of Western Australia.
7.4.2 Trees

Trees were identified as spaces of great value to both adult and child participants. Interactions with trees were multiple and varied. Colette’s Walking Interview took us through a landscape of personal memories framed by specific trees, which afforded great emotional value: “I love trees. I'm really partial to trees.” For Colette, trees appeared to be markers of lives passing. She measured time and hung memories on the growth of trees, “I wonder whoever planted that many years ago” she said of the palm tree by the river (Figure 7.14) which she would lie under “in my bathers!\footnote{Bathers is the vernacular word for swimming costume.} on days when it is too hot to drive to the beach: “Lady Muck, there I am, reading my book. Isn't that lovely?”

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{tree.png}
\caption{Tree pointed out by Walking Interview participant Colette, of which she commented: “I wonder whoever planted that tree many years ago”}
\end{figure}

In particular, Colette wanted to show me a tree (see Figure 7.15) that marked the spot where she enjoyed afternoons with her son 29 years earlier: “There wasn't any grass, there wasn't anything and little saplings and I'll show you where I used to put my bag and now it’s a huge big tree.”
Colette had scattered her mother’s ashes at the base of a tree in Maylands, which she had chosen as her ‘sacred space’ during the *Photo Bingo* activity:

So we went at six o'clock one morning cos its not quite legal I don't think, to scatter people's ashes. And [my son] and I and went and put my Mum's ashes underneath this [tree] and its grown very well since I think. (Colette)

She also expressed her intention for her own ashes to be scattered under a tree by the river:

Oh yeah. That's where I'm going. When my ashes are scattered it’s under an oak... I've told my son in a letter. Yeah put me under an oak... By the river. So I can look at the river and be under an oak. (Colette)
Colette also chose a “gum tree” as her ‘free space’ in the *Photo Bingo* activity. During her Walking Interview she stopped to point out some trees to me, “Look at all those over there, you know, if you look up, we don’t always look up, do we? Look up. That there, right into the sky. Wonderful.”

Lisa spoke of her feeling of loss when a tree was cut down: “You kind of get up and you look at the sky and you go, ‘what’s missing?’ and oh god, it’s another tree’s gone.” She had become active in a local group that was fighting for the conservation of trees and lobbying the local council for the establishment of a significant tree register.

Chris’ connection to trees was prominent in his campaign within the local council to increase the tree canopy. He explained his desire to share his knowledge on the value of trees, which he did not always possess: “I got educated.” For Chris, trees held multiple values:

> Look, trees do evapotranspiration which is good, they reflect the heat and they also shade the ground so that they have three benefits, and that is just on the urban heat island effect, and there’s a whole host of other benefits that’s obviously good for the environment, good for fauna, good for wildlife, and they’re good for the value of your property. (Chris)

Chris further explained the value of trees for their contribution to combatting the Urban Heat Island effect (H. Brown, Katscherian, Carter, & Spickett, 2015), which “is when the city is three to four degrees warmer than it would otherwise be. So, …this has got nothing to do with climate change, this is just poor planning rules.”

Chris’ discussion of the impact of local housing and infrastructure design on the natural environment demonstrated an awareness of the links between the local and the global. As did Penny’s discussion of how the suburban drains affected the wetlands and river. Bendiner-Viani (2009) discussed “living locally and translocally” as one of the “layered dynamics” (p.414) of everyday life, and included climate change within this dynamic. Both Chris and Penny were aware of how their local efforts to protect trees and the wetlands could have a positive effect on a wider scale. While on the walk, Chris’ son Oliver expressed his own enthusiasm for interactions with trees, “I wanna climb a tree” with Chris answering, “Ah that’s good. Go and climb that.”
Jo, one of the child participants, drew a tree on his personal map of the school, with annotated text, “climb a tree.” Jenny also drew, and annotated, trees on her school map, and Robert drew a tree in the centre of his map. The importance of trees to Jo, in particular, was evident in his choice of “the park” as his favourite space in Maylands because “I can play with my friends. I can sit in a tree and draw.” He also drew and labelled “the biggest tree” in his group’s map of Maylands in 2064.

Trees provided physical interactions for the children, through climbing but also by providing shade, which is significant in Perth where temperatures can exceed 40 degrees Celsius in summer. Ten of the spaces chosen in the students’ Photo Bingo activity: as ‘favourite’, ‘hang-out’, “friendly” (see Figure 7.16) and ‘quiet’ spaces were tree-shaded spaces.

For adult participant Lisa, some trees also provided food. Lisa interacted with space by foraging while walking, with which she expressed an emotional
engagement, “I loooove foraging.” Lisa foraged field mushrooms, fruits and vegetables from the park areas and wetlands by the river. She told of her excitement at finding a fellow forager “harvesting” bags of watercress: “Perth’s best kept secret” growing in the fresh water springs at the wetlands. She also foraged from the branches of fruit trees that “lean over fences” of private houses: “Ah if they’re just hanging over fences and stuff I don’t think they mind. …if it was in someone’s yard I would think twice or ask.”

Foraging food from trees and plants brought value to Lisa’s everyday, through the richness of the experience, and also through the reciprocal spatial practice of appreciating and using the things that grew in her neighbourhood. Walking took her out of her own garden and developed her connection with growing, living things in the in-between spaces of the suburb.

7.4.3 Birds

Animals, and birds in particular, provided highly valued interactions for the Maylands participants. As mentioned previously, both Lisa and Ruby expressed emotional value to seeing dolphins in the river. Colette expressed this kind of interaction was an important part of her daily walks, “Ooh yes. And say good morning to people and look at gardens and speak to dogs.” Her greeting to a bird, “Are you gonna come and say hello too? Oh I like you. Aren’t you a handsome fellow, hey?” was one of many she made along the journey. Penny also addressed a bird before she took a photograph (Figure 7.17): “Hello pelican.”

Penny pointed out ten different species of birds to me, although she wondered why it was a quiet day for bird spotting. When I explained to Penny that my research study investigated how walking connects people to the places they inhabit, she pointed out a passerby who she knew was a keen bird photographer, and laughed, “Oh well, look at him he’s connected by a huge lens on his camera.” We met two people who were taking photographs of birds while we walked, and Penny chatted to them about the birds they had seen.
Colette’s excitement at seeing a particular bird was clear: “Oooh and a little swallow. Oh yummo!” and a lack of knowledge of bird species did not dampen her enthusiasm, “Oh there's one of those things that dives down. …A shag or something is it, or a cormorant or a?”

The children also displayed an emotional attachment to, and knowledge of, birds. Chris’ 8-year-old son Peter discussed his top six:

My favourite bird is an eagle and my second is a kookaburra. No, my first is a kookaburra, then eagle. [Chris: And then third?] Third, peacock. [Chris: …fourth?] Willy wagtail. [Chris: That’s right. That’s right.] And then fifth, what do you call it? A budgie, and then parrot. (Peter)

Peter enjoyed taking photographs of birds during the Walking Interview, “I took a photo of a willy wagtail sitting on a bench.” He also took a photograph of a kookaburra (Figure 7.18): “Ooh yeah I got a really good photo. Ooooh! I like how it turns.” Chris was full of praise for Peter’s photo and commented to me about the research data, “I bet you don’t have any kookaburra photos.”
Penny explained it was her concern for rare and small birds in Maylands that brought her to take action and volunteer to protect their wetland habitat:

I’ve always walked here, …But…in 2011, [the council] started dumping all these woodchips…And it just kept going on and I thought ‘what is going on?’ …it just seemed to be so excessive, and people were saying what about where the birds live? What’s going on? Because we had some really precious birds up that end, the Maylands end. (Penny)

Colette told a similar story about her neighbor who had saved the “old claypits” from development for the birds that had made it their home:

And this was all the claypit and it was a real terrible area but lots of birds, and my neighbour used to come and, he's a bit of a twitcher, he does bird watching, and then they decided to do this [housing estate], and [the developer] wanted to do a lot more houses, and my neighbour, he got up this petition to say, no, sorry, we want room for the birds, it should be a bird sanctuary. (Colette)

The area that was saved, now called Lake Brearley and Lake Bungana, but generally known as “the old claypits” was the space Chris chose for his Walking
Interview, “cos it’s a beautiful spot and we’re very close to the city. There’s not many spots like this. The birdlife, yeah the kids are playing. Yeah, it’s a special spot.” The data on this space provided an example of how everyday spatial practices of interaction had led to inhabitant action to save and preserve their habitat. Penny’s concern for the birds led to her development of intricate knowledge of the river and wetlands ecosystem. Colette’s neighbour’s action created a space where further interactions with birds and a connection to the natural environment could occur, as was the case for Chris and his children. For the Maylands participants, the fact that the space had layers of historical use: holes dug in the clay for the firing of bricks, then left as James said, “just big holes in the ground”, followed by the inhabitant action to preserve it as a bird sanctuary, seemed to make it valued all the more.

7.5 Textural and temporal layers

The concept textural and temporal layers was employed to code data that showed evidence of participants engaging in the multisensual experience of walking, the varied textures of the built and natural environment, and the engagement in stories, histories, reminiscences and imaginings encouraged by signs of age of the suburb. Demerath and Levinger (2003) observed “the sights, sounds, smells, and kinetic feelings we encounter walking are more numerous than those we encounter driving” (p. 226). Thus walking engenders a diversity of perceptions, cognitive and corporeal stimulations and memories. There were myriad engagements with the layers of storied and sensual space evident in the data. I have arranged the discussion of this data, however, into four subsections exploring: the visual aspects of the suburb, the significance of a 100 year old bridge, sensual experiences of walking, and the ways that walking afforded engagement with storied spaces imbued with times past.

7.5.1 Visual delights

Walking has been recognised for its capacity to embed the walker in sensorial experiences beyond the visual. However, the data on the participants’ visual interactions with space also deserves attention. Several Maylands participants demonstrated an emotional response to the visual, in particular, the views of the river. Wendy recalled:
one of my first, first memories was coming down Fourth Avenue East, and it was like this hidden gem that I had no idea existed, you know, cos' you come down Fourth Avenue East and you see Bardon Park, that area, and its like. Wow! (Wendy)

Colette agreed, “The view is tremendous. That is my favourite view. Coming down there. Doiing! It hits you.” Wendy explained how the view had influenced her decision to move to the suburb:

Yeah. So, I think that that was, that’s something, my first really positive memory of the place, and, I kept being told not to move to Maylands. Even by real estate agents. They'd say, 'Why do you want to move there for?' But, I haven't moved out and that was…1993. And I still go down Fourth Avenue East and think, Ooohh! (Wendy)

Visual aspects were also noted at the street-level. Bella punctuated her route with appreciation of colours: “I’m really kind of colour oriented,” she stated, as she pointed out: “red lanterns”; “red parasols” that she “loves” and are “really stunning”; “beautiful green tiles”; and “a turquoise [bench], a red frame.” She noted one of her favourite things about the garden in front of The RISE was the specific colour of the roses, which were not in bloom at the time, but she clearly remembered seeing, “Oh! Purple roses! That makes me smile.”

Adult Walkshop participants nominated visual aspects of the suburb in the What We All Share activity: “scenery”, and “views – city/hills.” “Diversity in housing ie: levels of height”, was also nominated. This data demonstrated participants considered that views and scenery possessed a value that could be shared by all inhabitants. The diversity of the built environment of Maylands also came up in conversations on several of the walks, and was expressed as a positive attribute of the suburb. “I think it’s a nice sort of diversity. We've got the old, we've got the new, we've got, you know, flats, we've got units, we've got houses, we've got everything really” was praise given by Colette.

James’ Walking Interview route finished on a pedestrian bridge over busy Guildford Road. He described how the space afforded a vantage point to perceive the suburb’s spaces in a different way than experienced at street level, which he said, gave him a “sense of looking at Maylands.” While walking over another bridge Lisa said we, “get a fantastic view to the city which, … everyone finds fascinating, and kids do too.” Demerath and Levinger (2003) discussed the appeal of steps, hills and bridges as they provide a different “vantage point” (p. 220) for perceiving space.
Five-year-old participant Oliver gained a different vantage point when he asked his father to carry him on his shoulders. He shouted down to his brother: “Hey Peter, I’m higher than you.”

7.5.2 Textures: The bumpy bridge

The Seventh Avenue Bridge, over the railway in central Maylands was a significant space for both adult and child participants. This bridge invoked more senses than just the visual. The 100th anniversary of the construction of the bridge, 2013, coincided with the plan for its demolition and replacement (Acott, 2014; Howie & Wynne, 2014). Originally constructed of wood, it was reinforced with concrete and had survived numerous vehicle collisions, mostly due to drivers misjudging the height restrictions. Adult Walkshop participant Gordon had been campaigning to save the bridge for some time, had done research on its history, and was adamant that the original wood structure should be retained. Gordon nominated, “Save the Seventh Ave Railway Bridge (100 Years Old)” as the most important next step for the suburb. He also chose the bridge as his ‘problem space’. The bridge was demolished in early 2014 and a new bridge built in 2015.

When asked to nominate his favourite space in Maylands, Peter, aged 8, said, “the bridge, I like seeing the bridge.” He also chose to draw the bridge as his favourite space (see Figure 7.19 next page), which he described: “That’s the train and those are the rails and that’s the bridge and it’s night time, and that’s the car. …That’s the gates.” Peter said he preferred the old bridge to the new bridge, but would like the new bridge if it was blue, because blue is his favourite colour. He described the sensations of travelling over the bridge by different means: “We scooted on it. It was very high if you like, scooter over it or bike ride over it, but if you go in a car, not that high.”

Some of the student participants felt very strongly about retaining the textural experience of traversing the old bridge. Jenny wrote: one change or new thing I would like to see in Maylands in the future is “for the Maylands Bridge to be all good and still have the bumpyness when we go down.” Millie wrote: one change or new thing I would like to see in Maylands in the future is “for new things to happen, and the bridge [sic] above Maylands train station to be bumpy.” The bumpiness of the bridge was not trivial, and was significant to the sense and story of Maylands.
Figure 7.19 Drawing by Walking Interview participant, Peter (aged 8) of his favourite space in Maylands, the Seventh Avenue Bridge

Adult participant Wendy had an onomatopoeic nickname for the bridge: “the clickety clack bridge is what we call it.” There was something about the sense of the old bridge, and other Maylands spaces, that participants related to and valued because of the signs of wear and tear that spoke stories of the past and present, vulnerability and human engagement.
7.5.3 Sensescapes

Walking affords inhabitants interactions with space through all of the senses. The data demonstrated sensual pedestrian interactions were highly valued by the Maylands participants. Lisa’s everyday walking practice was influenced by the senses, “depending on what’s about I will choose routes if I know somewhere is gonna smell nice because something’s in blossom, as well if I know something is ripe and ready to eat.” Degen’s (2008) research on sensing urban spaces could be applied to Lisa’s regular walking practice of smelling and tasting her “way” through the suburb: “As we digest food or feel the taste of a smell in our mouth, place and person become one” (2008, p. 45). Degen also cited Porteous’ concept of “smellscape” (2008, p. 42) to explain how the senses “mediate the body’s experience of a landscape” (2008, pp. 56-57).

Colette’s smellscape alerted her to creative practices in the boat yard, “Ooh, you can smell things are happening here can't you? You can smell paint and good stuff.” Olivia mentioned the smell of the horse droppings from the mounted police facility on the peninsula as “a bit strong”, but Colette remarked, “it’s a lovely smell” and Wendy concurred, “I like that yeah.” The discussion of this smell reminded Colette of a story from her childhood, “My aunt used to, …as soon as the horses went by, out she'd come with her bucket and spade. Very good manure.”

The coolness provided by tree shade was important for the spatial practices of the children, and also for walking. As we walked over a shaded creek, at the “old claypits”, shown in Figure 7.20, Chris remarked, “Feel how cool it is. You know?” The noticeable difference in temperature demonstrated the importance of trees and wetland areas in providing cool spaces, cooling the city, and improving walkability, as discussed by participants Penny and Chris separately.

Noise was an important factor for Bella as she guided me through a café, which she described as “a feast for the senses.” She noted, “in terms of loudness that area's quite loud, this area's quite loud but less loud than the indoor bit, and that area's much more quiet and serene.”
Figure 7.20 A shaded creek at the “old claypits” of which Walking Interview participant Chris remarked: “Feel how cool it is. You know?” (Photograph taken by Walking Interview participant Peter, aged 8)

Birdcalls were also important sounds to participants. Penny identified birds by their call, “That’s swamp hens.” Colette discussed people who wore headphones as they walked, “and you think, ‘You're missing out. You're not listening to the birds or the this or the that’.” When I spoke to Chris about the importance of the audio recorder picking up ambient noise as well as our conversation as we walked, he agreed: “Absolutely. The noises. The bird noises.” Just as a sensual interaction, engaged while walking, can recall a memory or emotion, storied spaces and signs of age in the built and natural environment can connect a walker to another time.

7.5.4 Walking “back in time”

Many textural details of the Maylands built and natural environment showed signs of age. These characteristics engaged walkers in a temporal excursion where they reminisced or imagined the past while walking in the present. Lisa discussed one of her favourite streets, “where you feel … especially if it’s the middle of the
day and a lot of the cars aren’t there, like you’ve actually stepped back in time.” J. Lee and Ingold (2006) described “how temporality in walking can be shifting and unsettled: thinking and perceiving the past, present and future, and combining them in reference to routes” (p. 75). Lisa engaged in a “purposive” walk from A to B (Wunderlich, 2008, p. 132) but also interacted in a “discursive” and “conceptual” way: “Yeah, It’s quite convenient. You can do that whole practical thing of saying, you’re going to Coles [supermarket] and then have this lovely almost walk back in time.”

James’ Walking Interview through the suburb traced much of his life, starting at his parents’ house, which they had moved to when he was a few months old, following his old walking route to school, which his son now attended, and finishing at the house where he lives with his own family. James pointed out things that “have always been here”, have always been “like this” or “the same.” Longevity was a theme running through the data, with several participants pointing out landmarks that represented their enduring connection to the suburb.

Kelly expressed her captivation with old houses that she walked past:

I don't know what it is about houses like this. They're a bit run down, and you think, ...maybe it was built by the person that first lived in it, and they were, you know, they had some kind of a life there and were proud of the place that they lived in and now its kind of a bit sad and dilapidated. I don't know; my mind just goes off on these little tangents. (Kelly)

It was the signs of age that piqued Kelly’s curiosity about the houses, and allowed her to imagine and create her own stories about the people that built the houses and had lived there. Her desire for exploration went further than just the street: “Yeah? I'd love to see inside some of these houses.”

Kelly also liked to look at, and photograph, the fonts of the building names on the older blocks of flats, and was interested in the design, as shown in Figure 7.21:

I also like some of...those kind of retro fonts that they use for the name of the building, ...I don't know when they were built but, I think of that kind of font being sort of seventies sort of style. (Kelly)
Figure 7.21 Photographs taken by Walking Interview participant Kelly, showing signs of age in Maylands, including “retro fonts” shown right

As we attempted to open a gate leading to a heritage-listed garden, Colette remarked of the latch: “Look at this old thing. …Wowee. …Ooh gosh the blacksmith that made this has probably been dead for two hundred years hasn't he?”

It seemed to be the signs of age that gave these spaces value for the participants. Degen discussed a trend towards “designer heritage aesthetics” whereby “historic monuments are renovated, sandblasted and stripped of the sensuous indicators of age such as dirt, moss and traces of environmental pollution in order to fit in with new buildings and the contemporary character of the area” (2008, p. 710). In Maylands there was evidence of houses and buildings that had escaped this trend and shared stories manifest with layers of human inhabitation and weathering. Child Walkshop-participants also demonstrated they valued aged and storied spaces. Jasmine’s favourite space in Maylands was 170-year-old “Tranby House” because “it has a lot of history,” and the one thing student Lucas wanted for the future in Maylands was, “I think we should secure all the historic places or items.”

Lisa explained that gardens were high on her list of attractions on a walk, and engaged with the stories of cultural heritage she recognised in garden plants: “you can see the fads in gardens. Oh that was the year where people started taking frangipani cuttings and moving them down the street.” When she saw olive trees, grape vines and mulberries over a back garden fence, she suggested the garden
would have been planted by Southern Europeans, most likely Italians, and was certain there would be a fig tree as well. When I asked her whether she thought something would be missing if these types of gardens disappeared, she said:

Oh yeah. I think it would be sad. It would just be a loss. Whether or not it really makes a difference to people’s lives, I think it probably doesn’t. But you know, they talk about people’s emotional landscape, and I think it does, it matters to people. But then it matters to people like me. I know there’ll be a lot of people who just wouldn’t give a stuff. It wouldn’t change them at all. And maybe that’s a good way to be, it’s quite resilient I suppose. (Lisa)

Gardens show traces of human activity and creativity, and “even blank walls may exhibit some transparency if overhung by trees or bushes, providing signs of habitation” (Ewing & Handy, 2009, p. 78). Lisa included gardens as part of her emotional landscape, and related this to other’s emotional landscapes too, including the people that planted and tended the gardens many years ago.

7.6 Personal and emotional engagement

All participants demonstrated engagement with spaces and other inhabitants on a personal and emotional level while walking. Certain spaces were also considered sacred, or revered, in the suburb. Bella expressed that Maylands was significant because of the friendliness of the people providing health services, and the library and chemist staff:

but yeah one of the things I've noticed about both the Maylands Compounding Pharmacy and the Friendlies Pharmacy is that…they get a lot of elderly customers, and they're really friendly and kind of really interested in the wellbeing of their elderly customers so there's a real kind of, I don't know, warmth, and sometimes tolerance as well. (Bella)

Colette discussed a main commercial street as an important space for personal interactions: “I can go down Eighth Ave and there is usually somebody you can say hello to.”

Emotional engagement was evident in how often participants expressed their love for spaces and practices in the suburb. Bella: “I love Maylands.” Lisa: “I grew up and just love animals and love gardening.” …“Oh and I love this house.” James: “This is really more my area but that area is beautiful, I love it too.” Sarah: “I
actually love this area. I love the bike track. I love the walkway.” Colette: “I looove Waterland.” And Kelly: “I love that verandah.”

On our walk, Lisa stopped suddenly, pulled out a plastic bag from her handbag, and told me I did not have to watch what she was about to do. She bent down and picked up a banana peel that had been discarded on our path, saying:

You might be horrified. My husband is horrified. ...these are gold on the compost heap. Absolute gold. They are full of potassium. Cause my husband … he’s like ‘you don’t have to keep eeew’ but to me, it’s my hunting instinct. I have to do it to be happy! (Lisa)

Lisa’s emotional fulfilment from the “hunt” was well expressed, and it was her emotional need that drove her to forage rather than an economic need. She explained that learning how to grow her own food had been a meaningful practice:

Yeah, I think it’s when you actually start growing things seriously, you make that commitment to actually be quite serious about things and you realise…how wasteful we are as a society. I mean how in God’s name did we get so wasteful? It’s frightening. It hasn’t done us any good I feel…I think wastage indicates that there is a lack of meaning in life to some extent. …To me I think, you know, because things don’t have meaning given, so you waste them, it’s not valued. (Lisa)

Participants demonstrated emotional and personal engagement with the walking route itself, as James expressed: “It was hard to choose which way to go because it is all meaningful.” Some participants pointed out spaces where significant events occurred: where they got married, where they celebrated family birthdays or commemorated the lives of family members, where they grew up or watched their children grow up. Expressions of positive emotions were sometimes related to visual and sensual aesthetics, such as emotional reactions to views of the river, or trees. Emotional connections also related to spatial practices, such as expressing love for “walkways” or revering a cycle path as “sacred.”

Bendiner-Viani (2009, pp. 220-224) discussed “sacred connections” as another important “everyday dynamic” of “living locally and translocally” relating sacred spaces to religious institutions. An annexation of ‘sacred spaces’ was evident in the Maylands data, invoking an expanded definition of sacred as “worthy of or regarded with reverence and awe” (Collins English Dictionary, 2006, p. 1061). Two participants chose the Buddhist Temple, but this was the only specific site connected
with a religion chosen as a ‘sacred space’. Gordon nominated “churches in Maylands,” but also nominated the “aviation park display,” “Tranby House” and “The War Memorial and Lone Pine Tree”, the latter being nominated by two participants. As previously noted, Mark nominated the “cycle track” as his ‘sacred space’. Ruby chose “the river (from my home East St jetty).” Lisa and Paul nominated “Bardon Park over the water” and Lisa explained that she was aware the area was listed as a Registered Site according to the Western Australian Aboriginal Heritage Act (1972). The variation of sacred spaces chosen demonstrates the multiple perspectives evident in the data. Participants also demonstrated reverence for spaces designated as culturally or spiritually sacred by fellow inhabitants.

### 7.7 Conflict spaces

The Maylands participants’ data also showed evidence of contested spaces. In the Adult Walkshop Photo Bingo exercise, I asked the participants to nominate a ‘conflict space’, however, the Walking Interview adult participants also spoke about contested spaces they were aware of. Conflict is common in spatial production, as space presents inhabitants with a plurality of perspectives, values, cultures and practices (Massey, 2010, para. 11). Prioritising a multiplicity of voices in public space is an acceptance that public space is composed of conflict and contestations (Iveson, 2007, p. 234).

Across the road from The RISE was an empty block of land, shown in Figure 7.22, currently owned by the retail company Coles Wesfarmers who, in their attempt to build a large discount liquor store, had met resistance from the local community (Ducey, 2013, March 5). Five walkshop participants chose this vacant block as a ‘conflict space’ and one nominated it as a ‘problem space’. Colette nominated the Peninsula Tavern as a ‘conflict space’ as this too was a proposed site for a redevelopment that included a large discount liquor outlet, this time by the supermarket chain Woolworths (Pollock, 2013).

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41 The Malgamongup (Bardon Park) site was removed from the Aboriginal Heritage Register in 2014 (See Appendix A).

42 In 2015 the local council amended its town planning scheme to limit the development of large liquor outlets to non-residential zones (Pilat, 2015c).
Maylands is a suburb that houses various accommodation and facilities for people dealing with alcohol and drug issues, homelessness, poverty, health and mental health issues. There seemed to be awareness among inhabitants of the suburb that a large discount liquor store may have a negative impact on inhabitants struggling with alcohol and drug abuse issues (Pollock & Grant, 2013). The opposition to the discount liquor outlets was undertaken as a joint action by the Maylands Residents and Ratepayers Association, a local Member for Parliament, church groups, and substance abuse support organisations (Ducey, 2013, March 5).

There was also conflict between inhabitants’ volunteer practices to protect the fragile river ecosystem and peninsula flood plain, and residential development in Maylands. This conflict was prevalent in the data on the riverside wetlands. Penny stated:

There’s going to probably be…lets say close enough to forty new luxury apartments are going to be built on the north side of [the wetlands] in the next five years or so. …And this puts huge pressure
on the environment, I’m not sure what, you know, just have to hang in there. (Penny)

Figure 7.23 Photograph taken by Walking Interview participant Penny of development next to the wetlands

Penny explained the complex processes required to develop the land so close to the wetlands, which included clearing the block, and adding “a pile of sand…twenty metres high or something to take the block to the level of…Stone Street, which is supposedly the hundred-year flood mark.” She added: “if they want to develop this swampy land, that’s what they’ve got to do.”

Lisa wondered why more residential development was not occurring near to the train stations, rather than on the wetlands:

What I don’t understand is, there’s plans to build down on the wetlands down there. Why don’t they turn that into affordable housing next to the railway line? …And instead they’re talking about building on the wetlands. I’m just aahh God!!! (Lisa)

The data on this conflicted space raised issues regarding constructions of walkability and accessibility that focus on proximity and residential density. The residential developments planned at the wetlands may offer greater accessibility to the river and surrounds, but this may be at the cost of the wetland environment.
Penny had an understanding of the negotiations required to preserve nature in a suburban environment and the contrasting values within this space. She spoke of a particular typha plant they were removing, which:

might be okay from the frogs’ point of view but it reduces diversity of vegetation and maybe habitat and also it’s a fire risk, …you’re always thinking about infrastructure in a modern environment, in a community where there’s lots of houses, and very expensive houses. (Penny)

Penny also highlighted the conflict between “recreation” and nature, demonstrated by the installation of the walkway through the area in the late 1980s even though “ecologically it is a very bad idea.” The walkway has had a positive impact on walkability in the area, but its environmental impacts have yet to be determined. Penny imagined the conflict at the time it was developed: “And probably the environmental consultants were going, ‘No, no, no’ and the locals were going ‘Yes, yes, yes, oh look it’s fun, we’ve been walking along it and it’s great.’”

On the walk we witnessed conflicting spatial practices of stewardship, after Penny noted that local council staff had trampled the sedge plain with their all-terrain vehicle (Figure 7.24).

Oh God, don’t say they’ve been back. I’m going to have to write to them, …I know the council, the environment officer wasn’t happy. They’re not supposed to trample sedges like that. If they destroy the sedge plain, you can forget it, you know, the river will just come straight in. (Penny)

Penny explained that the wetlands in Maylands are “a very significant bit of wetland, in that it’s riverside”:

it’s all part of Bush Forever Site 313, which includes from about here, the bridge right down to the end of the Peninsula on both sides of the river. Yeah, …these days Bush Forever means bush until we feel we need it. So, …everybody’s pretty cynical about Bush Forever, but it’s a pity, at least it’s labeled that, you know. (Penny)

Even with the protection this afforded, she considered the space with pessimism as well as hope. However, this also did not curb her enthusiasm to continue her spatial practice of stewardship in the area.
Figure 7.24 Photograph taken by Walking Interview participant Penny of damage done by council workers’ all-terrain vehicle, of which she commented: “They’re not supposed to trample sedges like that”

7.8 Conclusion

The Maylands participants’ data provided evidence of myriad interactions with space. There were too many variations for all to be listed in this thesis. However, there were notable consistencies, which have been categorised and discussed in this chapter. The categories emerged from the interactions participants engaged with spaces while walking. These are: stories and conversations; engaging in creativity, creative play, or taking joy in seeing others being creative; developing spatial competence through wayfinding, reappropriation of space, and learning through spatial practice; and through accepting and allowing space to surprise by exposing new phenomena, new ideas, new emotions and changing perceptions; creating connections with natural spaces, such as the river, trees, gardens and birds and incorporating these spaces into their own stories and practices; responding to the textural and temporal layers of space, through sensual experiences, and signs of age and inhabitation; and through an awareness of, and engagement in, conflicts over space.
The majority of these interactions were not spatial practices that could be attributed with a monetary value. Spaces that were valued within Maylands were ones that created the potential for unique and intricate interactions, such as the river, and the old Seventh Avenue Bridge. Inhabitants demonstrated emotional attachment to these spaces, and shared their stories about these spaces. Participants related conflicted space to stories of inhabitant action and stewardship. These interactions, by entwining spaces with the journey of their lives, formed a “meshwork” (Ingold, 2007, p. 80) which created a sense of identity, and belonging, within the suburb. The data on belonging: agency and action, stewardship, and identity, is discussed in the next chapter.
CHAPTER EIGHT:
FINDINGS – BELONGING
AND COMMUNICATING

In the previous two chapters I have discussed examples from the Maylands participants’ data that support the most prominent values of spatial practice: accessibility and interactions. In this chapter I focus on the least prominent but equally valid core value of spatial practice: belonging. Belonging may be considered a more conceptual value than accessibility and interactions. A street or building that promotes accessibility, or a space that fosters interactions might be more easily depicted than one that engenders belonging. It may also be argued, using evidence from the data, that belonging is dependent on the other two values of spatial practice discussed. Inhabitants need to be able to access space in order to interact with it and form a sense of belonging with it. The Maylands participants’ data demonstrated that belonging came from stories, memories and conversations with space. Conversations and communication were key to the participants forming their sense of belonging to Maylands. The practice of communicating is also important to this chapter, as here I include a description of the event I facilitated to communicate the findings of the research back to the inhabitants of Maylands.

In the first section of this chapter I discuss my process for arriving at the spatial value of belonging, and present the data that supports this value. Under the core value of belonging, distinct but interrelated values were evident in the data: inhabitant action, voice and agency; identity, which was mostly discussed as individual identity, but also a shared identity; and stewardship, which was demonstrated by incidents of caring for space, but also by a shared ownership of space. As the core value of belonging was less evident in the data than the other two core values, particularly within the children’s data (see Table 5.1) this section is shorter than the chapters on accessibility and interactions. However, in the second section of this chapter, I elaborate on the value of belonging when I discuss the relationships between the three core values.

In the final section, I detail and discuss Maylands Walks, a two day event of walks and an interactive exhibit, which I held to communicate the findings of the
research back to participants, Maylands inhabitants and the wider public. I have included the explication of this event within this chapter as a key finding of the study. I received a positive response from Maylands inhabitants regarding the Maylands Walks, and by staging this event, facilitated a continuation of the conversations about walking, walkability, accessibility, interactions and belonging engaged in this study. Maylands Walks demonstrated how shared walks can engage inhabitants in issues of spatial justice and contribute to spatial resilience.

8.1 Belonging

Belonging encompasses identity, agency and inhabitant action, a sense of ownership, and actions of stewardship, which are all key values of spatial practice that emerged from the data. The term belonging was one I settled on after some consideration and I chose it to reflect and respect the specificities of the Maylands participants’ spatial practices. Initially, I coded this theme, or value, as ownership, which represented the sense of ownership demonstrated by participants when they discussed connection to neighbourhood spaces and spatial practices. However the participants did not claim material ownership of space but demonstrated responsibility and action to care for space.

Bendiner-Viani (2009) used the term “stewardship” (p. 141) to represent a similar dynamic of everyday practice she observed in her guided-tours research. The term stewardship did not, however, encompass the sense of identity evident in the Maylands participant’s data, and particularly the children’s data, whereby participants expressed a sense of connection with space, by simply interacting with it, and gaining pleasure from it, not by becoming a steward of the space. I also considered the term custodianship to be problematic. Although the Maylands participants demonstrated everyday spatial practices of caring for space, this could not compare to the tens of thousands of years of highly developed spatial practice of Traditional Custodianship of the Whadjuk Nyoongar people of the Country on which Maylands stands. After consultation with research staff at Kurongkurl Katitjin at Edith Cowan University, I settled on the term belonging. This is a more conceptual term for a value of spatial practice than ownership, stewardship, or custodianship. Other researchers have investigated how inhabitants demonstrate belonging through
spatial practice (Williamson, 2015) however this has not been previously connected specifically to everyday practices of walking.

8.1.1 Inhabitant action

The adult participants spoke frequently about inhabitant action in the suburb. Some participants were involved in resident and volunteer groups. Some participants spoke about the effort they had put into contacting the local council to complain about, or highlight, local issues. Some professed appreciation for the work that volunteer groups had put into the community. Others were making plans to set up a community garden. One participant, Sarah, expressed her desire for the opportunity to work with neighbours to resolve issues, expressing that this would produce more effective outcomes than traditional consultation processes provided by local government.

In Maylands there is a history of inhabitant action for the preservation of heritage space and the creation of community space. In 1976, local residents and supporters had saved the Peninsula Hotel by stopping the bulldozers brought in by its owners, the Swan Brewery, who had started to demolish it to make way for a car park. After years of action, the residents negotiated ownership of the building and ran it as a community centre. In the Photo Bingo activity, Lisa and Paul chose the Peninsula Hotel as a ‘free space’ and added the note, “community success story” (see Figure 8.1).

Participants expressed the value of inhabitant action. Colette appreciated her neighbour who had successfully petitioned to retain the “claypits” as a bird sanctuary: “He was a really great guy.” Penny spoke of the various groups who had done “a lot of good work” making a significant impact on the wetlands in the decades before her group became involved. Lisa spoke about the ongoing efforts of a volunteer group fighting to save trees, and increase the tree canopy in the area.

43 Built in 1906 by Friederich Wilhelm Gustav Liebe.
44 The building is now owned by the local council, who lease it to Dome Coffees Australia as a café and head office, although a room remains available for use by community groups.
James also said that he would fight for green space in the suburb:

Certainly, I’d fight to save greenery, especially I think the local council or state government is fairly pro-developer and wants to keep attacking open space and green areas and cutting them back and cutting corners off for developers, edging away, and you never get green space back again ever, in history, so you’ve got to fight to preserve the green space. (James)

Other participants spoke positively of Chris’ work to promote trees within the local council, as Penny explained it, “he’s just saying, let’s monetise the trees, let’s really work out what their value is and just don’t rip them out willy-nilly.” Chris explained his “pitch”:

So, nobody seems to be too concerned about, if you say it’s going to be good for the environment, they’ve heard that for 40 years, nothing’s changed. My pitch is that it’s good for the economy because it increases walkability, when there’s tree-lined streets, more people walk, particularly in shopping districts, and it’s good for your house property. (Chris)
Chris had employed the tactic of reappropriating the commodity values applied to space to promote the value of trees generally. As referenced by Chris, above, this narrative has been applied elsewhere to promote walkability. Environmental justice and spatial justice are important concepts to consider when discussing this type of inhabitant action. Commodification could result in a conflict of aims, whereby the commodified value of the spatial practice consumes the environmental value, as well as any other inhabitant value applied to it. This demonstrates the importance of multiple subjectivities, and the promotion of the voices of inhabitants who may not benefit from this type of commodification.

8.1.2 Inhabitants’ voice and agency

Several adult participants spoke of the importance of opportunities to have their voice heard regarding spaces and spatial practices in their neighbourhood. They spoke about processes for sharing inhabitants’ voices. One of the participants of the Adult Walkshops spoke about the difference in response they has received from the local council and politicians after becoming involved with the Maylands Residents and Ratepayers Association. They recalled that, when writing in individually, their correspondence had not been actioned on, but when writing as part of the association, “something is usually done.”

James discussed a community consultation activity at the volunteer-run Maylands Hawker’s Markets, which he appreciated: “the first couple [of markets] …they pinned up a big sheet of paper for everyone, a suggestion board and everyone was putting up suggestions and ideas and it was really good.”

Sarah spoke of her desire to be heard regarding the the car parking issues that were impacting accessibility in her neighbourhood, “So, we're not asking for a lot, but we are asking we be included in, you know, discussions of how best to address the problem” and she expressed that residents could contribute to problem solving: “But even getting the neighbours, you know? If you get a group of people they will network, they'll brainstorm and they will come up with solutions that aren't really expensive.” She explained her frustration at a conversation with a council ranger who had not visited the site before taking action, and instead had looked at the area on a map:
That's a classic example of the ranger that had those signs put up. He said to me, ‘but on my map blah blah blah.’ And I said, ‘so have you been out here?’ And he said ‘no…I've looked at the map.’ ‘So, you've not been out here?’ He said ‘correct.’ I said, ‘you need to come out here and see and talk to the neighbours so that you can see what actually happens rather than just on a map.’ If you're not getting neighbours with their opinions and thoughts. You can't please everyone all the time. We're not saying that. We understand that. But if there is a discussion…(Sarah)

Sarah expressed that more communication from councillors with inhabitants would encourage a mutual sharing of perspectives:

I think another thing that worries me with councillors is they actually don't get to meet people so that, you know, one to one, they tend to put us in this…bucket of just annoying people rather than, ‘well if you actually addressed or spoke to me and I can see from your point of view, not only mine, then I would probably have a better perspective on everything, and have a better understanding.’ But when they don't have any contact with you, and refuse to ring you or do the walk, then that makes it very difficult. (Sarah)

For Sarah, an opportunity to “do the walk” with a local councillor, to explain the situation, at the space under concern, would lead to greater mutual respect and understanding.

The data created by the children however, spoke less about inhabitant action, voice and agency within their suburb. Interactions, and accessibility to the spaces where they could undertake these important interactions, were the values that dominated their data.

However, some Child Walkshop participants demonstrated evidence of interest in civic activity in the school and suburb. In the Photo Bingo activity, two student groups nominated the school office, which includes the school administration, the principal’s office and the staffroom, as a ‘friendly space’ and a ‘quiet space’. I observed students regularly accessed the office to make announcements to the school over the PA system. The school office featured on seven of the student’s individual maps of the school, and all of the group maps. One of the student tour groups gave their senior visitor an extended tour of the inside of the school office building, and on one of the students’ maps, the office was portrayed with smiling faces inside. On the map of future Maylands 2024, the students drew
“City Hall”, and “Maylands Parliament/Government” alongside the houses, shopping centre, vegetable garden, farm, and water parks (see Figure 8.2).

Figure 8.2 ‘Future Maylands 2024’ showing “Maylands parliament/Government” and “City Hall” (Child Walkshop 2)

On the 2034 map of Maylands, a large bank, ‘WestBank” was prominent, and the senior participant, Harriet, noted the student who drew it had explained in detail his future plans for bank and finance management. Children’s “active citizenship” and independent mobility have been linked in recent research with the understanding that spatial production that excludes children can impact their rights and sense of belonging (Cook et al., 2015). The Maylands child participants’ data, and the spatial competence they demonstrated throughout the research activities, suggest that more opportunities to promote their voice and agency in their neighbourhood would likely be embraced.

8.1.3 Identity

In the Maylands participants’ data there was evidence of inhabitants forming strong identities with specific spaces in the suburb, but also with spatial practices.
Walking Interview participants, Colette and Sarah both called themselves “walkers.” Kelly spoke of the walking practice that she and her husband engaged in: “it’s become a little bit of a thing that we do.” Walkers can establish identities as pedestrians, which are informed by the spatial practices they engage in through walking, and what these interactions communicate about their everyday lives (Middleton, 2009, pp. 1949-1950).

Participants also discussed a shared identity of the suburb, however, as this notion contains multiple perspectives and subjectivities it is difficult to pin down. The concept of “place identity”, defined as a complex connection to place through spatial, social, cultural, emotional, local and global experience, has been employed in place-based planning (Bendiner-Viani, 2009, pp. 85-86). However, Fincher and Iveson (2008) argued that planning for place identity is problematic and can lead to an exclusive construction of belonging:

The more pronounced the processes for nominating an identity for a place, which views certain groups or characteristics or actions of people as its embodiment, the more there is the potential for exclusion of those unlike the ideal residents. (Fincher & Iveson, 2008, p. 36)

This is especially prescient for a culturally and economically diverse place, such as Maylands. Pertinently, the main shared identity prevalent in discussions about Maylands was its diversity. As Adult Walkshop participant Gordon stated: “Maylands’ got everything.”

8.1.3.1 “My Maylands”

Several of the Walking Interview participants chose a walk that represented “My Maylands” to them. As stated, James walked a path through the suburb that followed stories of his life, from his parents’ house where he grew up to his current home. Colette expressed identity with her walking route as it provided opportunities for reminiscing about her own personal histories in the suburb: “its what I call 'My Maylands', you know, its sort of my area and you see things and think, 'yeah, we used to do that, yeah, we used to do this.” The adult participants described different favourite cafés for different reasons, and some selected them as ‘my space’ in the Photo Bingo activity. Gordon referred to a significant space: “My favourite fishing spot.”
Several participants imagined themselves in the spaces they interacted with, almost as if they were inserting themselves into the stories of the space. As we passed a house with a large veranda, Kelly imagined what she would do if she inhabited that space: “I’d have a chair on each side so you know, just depending on what you felt like looking at that day, you could take your book and, …drink a cup of tea.”

Some of the student participants drew themselves into the maps of their school and future Maylands. Robert, Harry, Hannah, Maria, Jenny, Millie and Janelle all drew themselves as figures on their school map, annotated with their names. In the map of 2019 Maylands, student Harry, who had initially expressed concern about participating in the research because he did not live in the suburb, placed his house, clearly annotated, as the biggest building on the map, right next to the railway line. Next to the river was “My house. Julie.” Julie, Millie and Harry drew themselves on the map, and Janelle is drawn, annotated as “Me (Janelle)”, smiling, in between The RISE, a “basketball area” and a “rollerdrome” (see Figure 8.3).

![Figure 8.3 Section of ‘Future Maylands 2016’ group map showing Janelle’s drawing of a figure with the annotation “Me (Janelle)”](image)
The map of future Maylands 2024, features “Jasmine’s house”, “Maria’s house”, and “Maria’s Farm.”

Maylands participant’s identities were linked to walking routes, favourite cafés, hang-out spaces, a fishing spot, spaces embedded with memories of growing up, or special events. I wondered how an inhabitant’s identity and sense of belonging would be affected by the destruction of such significant spaces.

8.1.3.2 Our Maylands: Suburb identity and diversity

During the second Adult Walkshop, participants discussed the identity of the suburb as a whole, recalling a time when some residents wanted to de-identify as Maylands and join the neighbouring suburb of Inglewood. Colette explained, “a few years back, there was a meeting, and people on … the other side of the railway, wanted to secede and be a part of Inglewood” which Wendy remembered, “That's right. Yes. They did. …Because it was better for their real estate, real estate prices.” Colette continued, “and we all went, 'boo hoo'.” Lisa replied, “they’re not real Maylands anyway.” Colette added, “I bet they’re glad they’re Maylands now” alluding to the gentrification of the suburb. Carol asked if the reason they did not want to be part of Maylands was because of the high-rise flats in the suburb. Lisa answered, “Yeah, it's cos of the flats. It’s lifestyle economics.” I did not question Lisa further on her comment “they’re not real Maylands anyway”, but this provokes a sense of defining Maylands by what it is not. It may be that, if the seceding residents did not identify themselves with Maylands “high-rise flats”, or had identified their value for a suburb in terms of “real estate prices” then they did not fit with Lisa’s idea of “real Maylands.”

Colette discussed how the suburb had moved from one local government council to another,45 and expressed that she was happier with the new council where “now we are thought of as being ourselves.” She also commented that the increased cultural diversity in the suburb added to its diverse identity:

It all goes to make Maylands doesn't it? …I think it’s a nice sort of diversity. We've got the old, we 've got the new, we've got, you know, flats, we've got units, we've got houses, we've got everything really. …the new people that are coming in like the Ethiopians and the Indians and the Somalians seem to be really nice people. And you

45 In 1998 Maylands was moved from the City of Stirling to the City of Bayswater.
know, they're out working and doing which is great. Hopefully it will
be good for them. (Colette)

Although James had said the ten storey flats were “a bit yuck” he appreciated that
low cost housing brought recent migrants to the area:

You’ve still got all the flats and fairly cheap accommodation so
you’ve got a lot of immigrants, or migrants, living here which is good
because it’s got a multicultural cosmopolitan feel to it. I guess
especially recently maybe a lot of people from …India, Pakistan,
Bangladesh sort of area. There are a couple of Indian Restaurants.
When I was growing up there wasn’t an Indian restaurant or an Indian
deli/shop anywhere. …now there’s like two or three just here in
Maylands and there’s also two or three Indian groceries. (James)

Kelly expressed her desire to walk further afield in the suburb, so that she
could experience and photograph more, “because there are a lot of churches over
there. I like that about Maylands as well, there's that kind of diversity.” Colette
expressed how the religious diversity added to her enjoyment of the suburb: “I go to
Rifo's for a coffee on a Sunday morning. There's about six churches within cooee of
Rifo's and all different, different sorts of churches, and you think, 'Wow'.”

Mark explained how a decision to reside in the suburb temporarily had
resulted in permanence: “My wife… owned a house in Maylands, so while we were
deciding on where to live, we moved in there, and I decided I liked Maylands and I
wanted to stay.” Olivia noted that she had heard that Maylands was popular for
people seeking more transient accommodation: “I think, on the last stats, it is likely
to house the recently divorced. They moved to Maylands because it was full of flats
and they didn't know what they were going to do next.” Lisa suggested Maylands
was popular with “FIFO” (fly-in fly-out) workers because of its proximity to the
airport. It may be that transience is a significant factor in any attempt at describing a
shared identity of Maylands. However, as demonstrated by the participants’ data,
longevity was also a significant spatial identity of the suburb. Recent research has
found that belonging may be established with multiple spatial and temporal spheres
(Myers, 2009, pp. 52-57; Williamson, 2015, p. 280). As discussed, notions of place
identity can be problematic, as inhabitant’s processes of belonging are fluid and
diverse.

As discussed, in the What we all share activity undertaken as part of the
second Adult Walkshop, the participants listed some less tangible entities:
“Community”, “Quality Life Style [sic]”, and “History” were noted, but also “Rights”, “Responsibilities”, “Ownership”, “A story” and “Desire.” The concept of Maylands sharing “a story” could be an acknowledgement that each inhabitant of Maylands has their own story, which combine to make the suburb as a whole. This concept of sharing “a story” relates directly to the practice of story sharing. Each individual and group, and their stories, form the story of Maylands; a story that changes and evolves everyday. The participants’ concept of the suburb sharing “desire” opens up a discourse on the ways in which inhabitants’ lives are intertwined through the spaces of the suburb. Apart from basic needs for survival, each individual inhabitant’s “desire” would be markedly different. However, each inhabitant shares the commonality of wanting, hoping, or desiring for something. This concept of sharing rights, responsibilities, ownership, a story, and desire speaks to the social space inhabitants share alongside physical space. It also highlights a sense of stewardship that coincides with belonging.

8.1.4 Stewardship

Several participants engaged in stewardship of built and natural spaces in Maylands, and spoke favourably of others who engaged in the practice. The Collins English Dictionary defines a steward as “a person who administers the property, house, finances, etc., of another” (2006, p. 1183). Both Penny and Lisa demonstrated stewardship of natural spaces during their Walking Interview. Penny spoke about her everyday spatial practice to conserve the wetlands: “so a lot of us walk through here, just for the pleasure of it, of course. It’s only probably me that’s constantly minding and checking.” Lisa expressed that a “sense of place and custodianship” and the “connection to the land” experienced by inhabitants was something that deserved attention.

There was also evidence of stewardship in everyday spatial practices. Colette picked up every piece of discarded rubbish she came across on our walk, once bemoaning the fact that she had not brought a little bag to put rubbish in. Gordon did the same during the Adult Walkshops. Gordon remarked that he kept up a regular maintenance of the public reserve near his house. Penny told how volunteers from the local Fo Guang Shan Buddhist Temple pick up rubbish at the wetlands once every year. Small gestures of individual stewardship, such as picking up rubbish, can
be part of an unconscious collective action, as inhabitants work individually and together to care for space. However small this gesture may seem, it is significant in its undertaking but also in the way it builds a connection to space.

8.1.5 Conclusion

Belonging could be considered a more elusive value of spatial practice than accessibility and interactions but the Maylands participants’ data shows it deserves attention. The data showed evidence of inhabitants engaging in action to preserve and care for space. Participants expressed a desire for their voice to be heard and to engage in deliberative decision-making processes in their neighbourhood. Both child and adult participants identified with specific spaces and demonstrated forming an identity with spatial practices. They were also aware that other inhabitants valued different spaces, and identified with different stories in the suburb. Therefore, although a shared identity for the suburb was discussed: the identity most mentioned was diversity.

Participants also demonstrated stewardship of the built and natural environment and volunteered time and effort in this practice. Belonging can also be related to walking and walkability. Participants formed their spatial identities through iterative engagement with space, or by specific memorable moments encountered while walking. An ongoing practice of forming a connection with space by walking, and sharing stories about spaces that have meaning to the inhabitant could support a sense of belonging.

8.2 Relationships between core values of spatial practice

The three core values evident in the data: accessibility; interactions and belonging are intersecting and interrelated. Examples provided by participants have demonstrated that spatial practices that enhance accessibility can provide a foundation for greater interaction and belonging. Accessibility for diversity, as argued by Fincher and Iveson (2008) must consider who feels welcome, who can interact, and develop a sense of belonging in the space. Participants discussed the importance of affordability for sustaining “community.” This viewpoint can be related to the idea of “cultural displacement” discussed by Zukin (2010) by which long term residents find commercial businesses that do not suit their tastes or
budgets replacing those they valued. This can impact their perception of being welcome within those spaces, and consequently, their sense of belonging in the area.

As discussed in Chapter 6, Adult Walkshop participant Carol suggested that a commercial street needed to offer diverse goods and services: “a major street will attract a lot of people and then … its a beautiful mixture of everything, and then that builds a lovely community.” The participants’ data showed an appreciation of perspectives is critical to attaining accessibility for a diversity of inhabitants. To recall a specific example, participant Bella’s discussion of issues in Maylands focused on access to toilets: “I love Maylands but one of the problems it definitely has is a lack of toilets.” Although Bella demonstrated her emotional connection with Maylands, and pointed out multiple personal, sensual and emotional interactions that formed her sense of belonging with the suburb, this would be immaterial if this issue impeded her accessibility.

Interactions enhanced belonging, both by improving the scope of an individual’s network within the suburb, and allowing the individual to inscribe new stories and local histories through their spatial practices. The data provided evidence that interactions, engaged in an ongoing and reciprocal conversation through which space is able to *interject* (T. Hall, 2009, p. 582), can change inhabitants’ perceptions about space and about themselves. This can lead to forming an identity through spatial practice, and identification with space.

Interactions also improved accessibility, for example, the opportunity to “say hello” to people, animals and birds, or look at, and photograph, architectural details or gardens, made the spaces more inviting for walking. Interactions also allowed for intergenerational and intercultural connections to be made. The data on Bella’s discussion of the empathetic nature of chemists in the suburb is a clear demonstration of how positive interactions can promote equitable accessibility. As Fincher and Iveson (2008, p. 35) argued, this can promote “a sense of belonging.”

There was evidence that belonging helped to strengthen accessibility. As inhabitants increased their agency and access to local government through inhabitant action, they had created accessible community spaces. Practices of belonging also promoted interactions, by developing individual’s social networks and capital, and
also by creating opportunities for other inhabitants to engage in spatial practices of belonging in the suburb.

Belonging could potentially be connected to spatial resilience; remove the spaces with which inhabitants form a sense of belonging and they can suffer significant loss. Discussing the emotional impact of loss on inhabitants, Bendiner-Viani cited Low’s research in Costa Rica, where a man devastated by the cutting down of a palm tree reminisced about “how it felt to sit in the shade of that tree” (2009, p. 248). Maylands participant also expressed a sense of loss when a tree had been removed. Cutting down a tree can have a significant impact on an individual’s: accessibility, through loss of shade, provision of a back rest, or climbing frame; interactions, the sensual feeling of the shade, as well as the visual beauty, smells, and sound of the leaves, seeing and hearing birds and animals that inhabit the tree; and belonging, as that tree could be their tree, the one they always go to, or the one that recalls a significant event or memory. It could be a tree that they helped to grow, or one that they saved from destruction. As discussed, trees were identified as spaces that provided a myriad of interactions and thus possessed great value to the Maylands participants. A tree can be integral to an inhabitant’s identity and sense of belonging.

The degree to which the data focused on belonging, in relation to the other core values: accessibility and interactions, varied by participant. Sarah, for example, volunteered to participate in the study, because she wanted to speak about specific accessibility issues in the suburb, so the value of accessibility dominated her Walking Interview. The dominant value emerging from Penny’s data was interactions, particularly interactions with nature: the river, trees, wetlands and birds, in that order, and the secondary value was belonging: through stewardship and inhabitant action. Accessibility featured less in Penny’s data, and discussions around this value centred on the walking and cycle path through the wetlands, which emerged as a conflict space for Penny, between the value of accessibility for “recreation” and the “intrinsic value” of the wetland environment. When Bella volunteered to take part in the study, there were specific issues of accessibility, mobility and road safety she wanted to discuss which were critical to her as a wheelchair user. However, the dominant value evident in her data was interactions, demonstrating the importance of the cultural and social environment of the suburb to
her everyday spatial practices. The Maylands participants’ data demonstrated how the integration of these values: accessibility, interactions and belonging, applied through an inquiry process of everyday spatial practice: walking and story sharing, could produce a site in which to gain greater understanding of everyday issues of spatial justice.

8.3 Communicating the findings: ‘Maylands Walks’

As the data collection was undertaken through walking conversations with participants, and the participants demonstrated the many ways in which they undertook conversations with space in their everyday spatial practices, I considered it appropriate to communicate the results of the research back to the inhabitants of Maylands through a conversational practice, and one that was undertaken through the fundamental spatial practice of this study: walking.

I had initiated this study by leading a walking tour through Maylands as part of the 2012 Jane’s Walk festival. It seemed pertinent to communicate the results of the research back to the community in the same way. On the weekend of 2nd – 3rd May 2015, I staged an event titled, Maylands Walks, in which I led three walks, each designed to communicate one of the core values of spatial practice, which had emerged from the data. The event also included a Welcome to Country46, morning tea, an interactive exhibit, and participation from Maylands inhabitants.

I focused on the three key values of spatial practice that had emerged from the data, which at that time, I termed: accessibility, interactions and ownership47. Each of the three walks I led was based on one of the values. The exhibit was also based around the three values. I introduced spaces and stories on the walks that were additional to those told during the data collection, however, several of these were stories and spaces that participants had wondered about or discussed. In order to protect the anonymity of the participants, I could not share the personal stories that they had told during data collection. I had also uncovered stories about Maylands

46 Welcome to Country is the ceremony performed by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples to welcome visitors to Country, or their traditional land (Reconciliation Australia, 2013).
47 At this point, I had not settled on the final term: belonging. Therefore, the value represented in the walk and exhibit was termed ownership. I was careful to make it clear that I defined ownership by a sense of ownership of space and spatial practices. This definition had nothing to do with material possession.
during the preliminary research for this study. These stories were noteworthy for the local history of the suburb, and also related to the themes of accessibility, interactions and ownership. My intention was to give stories back to the inhabitants of Maylands, as the participants had been so open in sharing their stories with me.

The first walk, Residents, Resistance & the River, included stories of: resident action, including the preservation of the bird habitat and wetlands; Nyoongar resistance stories from colonial records; and the suburb’s connection to the river. The walk highlighted stories and issues relating to ownership, which emerged during data collection. Participants of the walk shared more inhabitant stories en route. A Nyoongar participant of the walk also shared stories of the area that they had heard from Elders.

The second walk was titled, Scratch and Sniff Maylands: A feast for the senses. This walk was based on the value of interactions, utilising the senses, vernacular creativity and the serendipity of walking. “A feast for the senses” was Bella’s description of a Maylands café we visited on her Walking Interview, which I reappropriated for the walk. One of the first stopping points on the walk was the garden of purple roses that Bella had said made her “happy”, which were now in bloom (see Figure 8.4 next page).

I shared Bella’s story with the walk tour participants and asked them to stop and smell the roses. They also tasted bread from The Wood-fired Baker, cake from the Starswiss Patisserie, established in Maylands in 1964, and gulab jamun sweets from Dream India. These interactions highlighted some of the distinctive tastes of Maylands as well as the diverse vernacular creativity of local bakers. The creativity of local proprietors, residents, gardeners, artists, and the sounds of musicians and religious services were also engaged on the walk.

48 See Appendix A.

49 I commenced the walk by explaining to participants that I was not an expert in telling stories of Nyoongar resistance in Maylands, yet, as advised by Elder Dr Noel Nannup, I was relating these stories for people to interpret themselves. I also encouraged walk participants to attend walks on Whadjuk culture led by Nyoongar people, and provided details of where to join these walks.
I titled the third walk, Somewhat Walkable Maylands? which referenced the “somewhat walkable” rating given to the suburb by Walkscore.org. My intention was to raise discussion about other qualities needed in a space to engender walkability outside of Walkscore’s algorithm (“Walk Score Maylands Perth,” n.d.). For this walk I adapted, with kind permission, Victoria Walk’s Walking Audit (Victoria Walks, n.d.). I chose this particular walkability audit because I found it had a conversational, rather than technical, tone that spoke directly to the auditor as a regular user of the space. I added questions relating to accessibility, interactions and ownership such as: “Do you feel welcome in this area? Are there people to say ‘hello’ to?” I also included questions related to specific issues raised during the data collection, such as whether the audit participants had witnessed any crashes, near misses or reckless driving. I also adapted the walking audit to create a version for children to use by simplifying the language and omitting some questions. We did not have any children participate in this walk, although several children attended the other walks.

One thing I discussed with the walkability audit participants was that we did not observe any children on the streets for the duration of the audit. As discussed, the data collected from the child participants of this study did not contain any reference
to the commercial area of Maylands. Although there are retail businesses in central Maylands that sell children’s shoes and clothing, the only time I had seen children moving freely in this area was during the Maylands Street Festival, when the street had been closed to traffic. This articulates the importance of replicating this audit with a group of children.

The *Maylands Walks* exhibit was held at the Maylands Historical and Peninsula Association building and was an important gathering area for walk participants, and for discussing issues emerging from the research. Local Nyoongar Elder Aunty May McGuire gave the Welcome to Country, which opened the event. A group of approximately twenty people, including the local member for state government, two local government councillors and an ex-federal government senator, attended the Welcome to Country, which was followed directly by a morning tea supplied by five Maylands bakeries.

The speaking of Nyoongar language in the space, and the acknowledgement of Country, and Elders, past, present and future, created an opening for recognition and reflection. The morning tea that followed was a space of conviviality where this conversation continued. Bendiner-Viani noted:

> People in communities of multiplicity and of contested spaces need places where they can share and negotiate known and unknown layered dynamics, both to better know themselves and to better function as a community. The challenge this analysis poses is how these kinds of social and physical places can be fostered, and where dialogue amongst our intersecting layers of meaning can happen. (2013, p. 724)

At the suggestion of walk participants, we shared our food with inhabitants sitting at the war memorial that day, and some came in to the Historical Association to look at the exhibit. One visitor told me that the last time he had been in the building was in less convivial circumstances, when it was still running as a police station.

The exhibit was designed to be interactive to continue the conversations initiated during data collection. I displayed quotes from the Walking Interviews and Adult Walkshop alongside photographs taken by the research participants. I also presented newspaper articles and documents from the Colonial Secretary’s Records documenting Nyoongar/coloniser confrontations. As instructed by Nyoongar Elder...
Dr Noel Nannup, I left the interpretation up to exhibit attendees. I also included wayfinding signs, which displayed the travel time for cyclists and walkers to popular locations in the suburb. I included the Whadjuk names for local places: Malgamongup for Bardon Park, and the Derbarl Yerrigan for the Swan River. I also displayed a 40km per hour High Pedestrian Activity sign on the wall facing Guildford Road.

A popular activity was the ‘dot-voting’ exercise, where I displayed participant’s ideas for the suburb that had emerged from the data collection. I asked exhibit visitors to take a row of dot stickers and ‘vote’ by placing a sticker next to the ideas they liked best (see Figure 8.5). This is a commonly used exercise in community planning activities, and was successful here in encouraging conversations about the ideas generated through the research.

![Figure 8.5 Exhibit visitors sticking dots on their favourite ideas in the dot-voting exercise (Maylands Walks). Photograph: Marnie Blennerhassett](image)

The dot-voting exercise engaged exhibit visitors in conversations about ownership of the suburb, as it demonstrated a simple method for making their voices heard regarding the spatial production of Maylands. Participant Sarah’s idea of a household car quota, discussed in Chapter 6, received the most votes.
Another activity focused on the value of accessibility. I displayed an aerial photograph of the suburb, next to which I placed card cut-outs of walkability infrastructure that could be stuck on to the photograph, such as crosswalks, lighting, traffic calming, street trees and benches. I also included other items emerging from the research such as community gardens and playgrounds, shown in Figure 8.6.

![Figure 8.6 Walkability Stick-ons activity, part of the interactive exhibit (Maylands Walks). Photograph: author](image)

Other interactive parts of the exhibit included a Memory Tree, which was a large printed photograph of a Maylands tree on which participants hung written memories of interactions with trees in the suburb, or from childhood memories. Another activity was a 1,000-piece Maylands jigsaw, which I had printed from a satellite image of the suburb. These activities encouraged interactions with other participants, their perspectives and stories, and the shared but diverse identities of the suburb.

The walks attracted 130 people with the majority from Maylands and neighbouring suburbs but some travelled from 30 kilometres away to take part. The event was publicised in two local newspapers and a popular events listing website, as well as in cafés, shops, and on notice boards around the suburb. I had also placed a call-out for Maylands inhabitants to participate further by contributing to the Maylands Walks event. A Maylands inhabitant displayed photographs they had taken
of Maylands at the exhibit. Dr Marie-Louise McDermott, a sports historian and Maylands inhabitant, led a fourth walk, titled Maylands Sporting History. Although this walk was inhabitant designed and led, it related to this research study as it recalled stories of physical and social interactions with spaces in the suburb and information of how local parks, reserves, and community centres, including the RISE came to be. I assisted Dr McDermott in making connections with sporting groups in the suburb, including Nyoongar Wellbeing and Sports (n.d.), who shared information about traditional Nyoongar sports games. Several of the research participants attended the walks, as well as the Welcome to Country and morning tea.

Because the walks were part of the Jane’s Walks festival, an element of uncertainty was introduced. Jane’s Walk stipulates that pre-registration for the walks is not allowed, so there is no way of determining how many walkers will turn up. The Residents, Resistance & the River walk attracted 65 walkers, including babies in prams, pregnant women, people in their seventies, and four dogs (see Figure 8.7).

Figure 8.7 Residents, Resistance and the River walk at Malgamongup/Bardon Park. Photograph: Marnie Blennerhassett

45 walkers turned up for the Scratch and Sniff Maylands Walk, with just as wide an age range. The Somewhat Walkable Maylands? walk attracted 20 walkers, with only
adults participating in the walkability audit. As Jane’s Walks are conversational, there was the opportunity for walkers to contribute their inhabitant knowledge to the tours. This was an important factor for deciding to choose Jane’s Walk as a medium of communicating the research as I felt it reflected both the methodology and the conversational way in which the participants engaged in space throughout the data collection. Through this method of communication we could keep the conversation going.

The open nature of the Jane’s Walk format also allowed for serendipitous moments on the walks. The Peninsula Hotel, which had been saved from demolition by the Maylands community in 1976, was an important stop on the Residents, Resistance and the River walk. The Dome café chain now leases the hotel for head office premises, and I had not been able to gain permission for the walking group to enter the building. However, as the walking group of 65 arrived at the Peninsula Hotel so did one of the Dome executives who let us inside the building.

I had previously contacted the Perth Debre Medhanit Medhane Alem Ethiopian Orthodox Church to ask them about the new sign they had erected, which they told me was in Amharic, the official language of Ethiopia. As I explained that I would be walking by the church on Sunday with the walking tour, they asked that we drop by to say “G’day” (Figure 8.8 next page). When the walking party arrived at the church, I was asked inside to speak to the congregation. They were currently renting the church hall from the Catholic Church, and were keen to share the news that they were fundraising to buy their own church.50

We visited the artistic and wonderfully eccentric garden Kelly had taken me to, and the resident gardener, who I had previously contacted, brought out a petition contesting a luxury residential development on the street for the walkers to sign.

50 Their fundraising has been successful and they have since purchased their own church.
The Somewhat Walkable Maylands? walk dwindled in numbers by the end as people followed their own routes. However, the audit participants made such detailed observations I was able to produce a Walkability Audit Report on central Maylands from the contributions, which I shared with the wider Maylands community, including a local councillor and a transport professional. These unplanned incidents, as well as the additional stories contributed by walk participants, added to the immediacy of the interactions on the walks.

The design of the event had been inspired by the Reading Public Spaces Symposium and Exhibition (2013) situated in East Perth over one day and several locations, using various mediums of communication, from presentations, to walking tours, an art exhibition and site specific music performances. MacCallum (2013) explained the participatory nature of the event in the programme: “These works may be received as works in progress, which invite – explicitly or implicitly – the audience to participate in shaping the researcher’s meaning-making. Please enjoy doing so.”

Although the Maylands Walks event was not part of the data collection, it was an integral part of the research study, and a continuation of the research methodology. As the purpose of the research was to test a participatory walking
practice as a tool for engendering community dialogue about spatial justice, then utilising walking as the methodology for communication of the research made sense. If the intended outcome is dialogical, then the communication of the research might also take the form of a dialogue. A group of 65 walkers will bring 65 different points of view, and 65 different interpretations of the walk. Moving, on foot, together, through shared spaces and experiences, allows for different perspectives to be appreciated.

At the start of every walk I stated that I, the researcher and walk leader, was not an expert on this neighbourhood, that the inhabitants that lived, worked and played in the neighbourhood, were the experts. However, on that day we were all creating a story as we walked, and were walking through: layers of stories; layers of the built and natural environment; traces of lives, dreams, desires and footsteps of those that had traversed a day before, or 60,000 years before. We created an opening for stories and memories and an opportunity for discourse about what is happening, and what has happened, beyond what we immediately perceived, to create something shared and new.

8.3.1 Continuing the conversation

I was overwhelmed by the positive reactions to the Maylands Walks event and appreciated the opportunity to communicate the research findings in ways that were spatial and reciprocal. After I had shared photos and information gathered from the Maylands Walks event on Facebook, I received a comment from a person I had not met previously: “Thanks so much for everything you have done for Maylands. You are going to make so much difference to our community.” I did not know, at first, how to reply to this comment, as I was not sure exactly what I had done for Maylands: so I replied that it was the people of Maylands who had done great things for their suburb. I was just highlighting and celebrating them.

The comment however, demonstrates the “community” building potential of shared walks. The Maylands Walks event, in itself, became a site where residents, decision makers from local and state government, and visitors to the suburb, came together to share stories, and discuss issues of concern. Maylands residents discovered stories of the spaces they inhabit everyday, but they also found spaces of the present they had not seen before, even spaces they passed daily. They
experienced new smells and tastes and met people who lived in their neighbourhood. Several attendees told me that after participating in the walks they understood and experienced spaces in their neighbourhood in a different way.

An urban planning and design professional, who attended *Maylands Walks*, volunteered to collaborate with me to facilitate the Jane’s Walk festival in Perth the following year, then wrote a chapter about the application of shared walks to improve communication in urban planning (Temov, 2016). *Maylands Walks* was a site where people could gather to share a walk, stories, experiences and viewpoints: a reciprocal spatial practice for “shedding a different light on the language of a place” (de Certeau, 1984, pp. 37-38) by collaborating in making a space where stories are valued and accessibility, interactions and belonging are celebrated.

The success of *Maylands Walks* can help to answer the research questions posed by this thesis. Issues of spatial justice that were raised on the walks undertaken through data collection were discussed during the *Maylands Walks* event. I heard people discussing gentrification, affordable housing, continuing practices of Nyoongar sovereignty and resistance, walkability and road safety, and the preservation of trees and natural spaces. *Maylands Walks* was a free event, which engaged inhabitants in a decommodified enjoyment of the suburb by walking. The event could also be appreciated as an ephemeral practice of belonging, which could engender spatial resilience via the networks engaged and the conversations initiated.

### 8.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed the data on the final value of spatial practice, belonging. Although this value was less prevalent in the data than the other two values identified: accessibility and interactions, the value of belonging is significant as it raises questions about how inhabitants form an identity with space. The adult participants discussed incidents whereby they became a steward of space or took action to preserve space because of an affinity they held with it. Both the adult and child participants’ data demonstrated inhabitants forming an identity with space and spatial practice, and value in civic engagement in the suburb. A shared identity of the suburb was also discussed. The data on the value of belonging tentatively speaks to a conceptualisation of the ways in which spatial practice can engender spatial resilience.
The core values of: accessibility, interactions, and belonging are interrelated. These values are also context dependent, as demonstrated by the variation of their predominance in the data depending on research participants. However, as the data underwriting these values was collected via walking methodologies, there may be potential to apply the values to develop greater understanding of walking and walkability.

Finally, in this chapter, I described *Maylands Walks*, the event held to communicate the findings outlined in this thesis back to the inhabitants of Maylands and the wider community. The event continued the conversations started during data collection and the activities were designed to be interactive so as to encourage continued discussion. In the streets and spaces of Maylands, inhabitants walked together, discussed accessibility, interactions, and belonging, shared stories, ideas, memories, issues and dreams. Hence, the spatial justice/spatial practice approach applied to data collection was also applied to the communication of the findings.
CHAPTER NINE: GENERAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Through this study I have synthesised literature on spatial justice, mobility inequities and the commodification of walkability with research on the spatial practice of walking, and attempted to put theory recommending street level research into practice. I applied a spatial justice/spatial practice framework by asking the participants to take the lead through various participatory walking methods of data collection. A constructivist approach was applied to both data collection and analysis in order to foreground the perspectives and values of the participants. This approach addresses a shortcoming of walking research and policy, identified by Middleton (2016), which has a tendency to “overlook the accounts of pedestrians themselves” (p. 9). The data contributed by pedestrians in this study has been collated to identify three core values of spatial practice: accessibility, interactions and belonging. These findings contribute new knowledge to better understand walking as a distinct spatial practice within multiple disciplines and can also be applied to future investigations of walkability in both theory and practice.

This chapter begins by introducing a theoretical model of the core values of spatial practice determined through the data analysis. The subsequent sections juxtapose the findings with the literature reviewed in Chapters 2 and 3 in relation to the research questions. This is followed with a discussion of potential applications of the theoretical model and implications for future research and practice. Finally, I provide a section on the conclusions of this thesis, in which the theoretical and methodological advances are summarised.

9.1 A theoretical model for spatial justice in spatial practice

The empirical findings of this study provide a new understanding of the promotion of spatial justice in spatial practice. Inhabitants need equitable access to space, opportunity for interactions with space, and the ability to demonstrate and develop belonging to space in order to affirm, what Lefebvre (1996, p. 158) termed, their “right to the city.” From these findings I present a theoretical model of the core values: accessibility, interactions and belonging, which through the data collection and analysis were found to be critical to supporting everyday spatial practice (Figure
9.1. The theoretical model addresses a research gap identified in Chapter 3 as it presents a proposal of the ways in which people connect to the spaces they inhabit by walking, through a reciprocal process I have called *story sharing*.

![Theoretical model for Spatial Justice in Spatial Practice](image)

**Figure 9.1 Theoretical model for Spatial Justice in Spatial Practice. Source: author**

By developing this theoretical model, I present *accessibility, interactions* and *belonging* within an integrated framework for the conversational practice of walking. This gives form to the ways in which space shapes walking practices: through accessibility and interactions, and the means by which walkers shape space: through interactions and belonging. This also speaks to the spatial production of accessibility. As accessibility is subjective, conscientisation (Freire, 1972) of the plurality of belonging can inform and generate more inclusive productions of accessibility.

A significant attribute of the theoretical model is that it introduces a spatial practice approach to spatial production. Therefore, this theoretical model could be used for developing knowledge of walking and other spatial practices, and employed to inform spatial production in the service of spatial practices, such as walkability. However, my intention, in presenting this theoretical model is to avoid reductionism
in spatial practice and planning. Thus, each value requires consideration across different contexts and moments of practice. The theoretical model also challenges conventional approaches to place making and walkability by placing spatial justice at its centre.

I invoke the metaphor of a lens to help explain the theoretical model because this generates the potential for the values to be applied as a way of understanding various spatial practices in different contexts. Viewing spatial practice through this lens could instigate critical analysis from a justice perspective.

A more complex representation of the theoretical model, shown in Figure 9.2, includes the conceptual categories of spatial practice specific to the Maylands participants’ data.

![Theoretical model for spatial justice in spatial practice based on the Maylands participants’ data. The outer ring is context dependent. Source: author](image-url)
For the Maylands participants, accessibility to spatial practice also incorporated equity, of which affordability was critical. Interactions included conversations with space in the form of multisensory, physical, social and emotional encounters, inhabitant vernacular creativity, and reappropriation of space. Belonging encompassed the demonstration of agency and action, stewardship, and identification with space. These concepts are substantive to the Maylands research participants’ data.

As the theoretical model is transferable to different contexts, the concepts represented in the outer ring on Figure 9.2 would therefore be context dependent. Spatial theorists and practitioners who work within shifting contexts, complexity, change, and “cross-cultural and cross-scalar communications” (MacCallum, 2009, p. 180) may apply the values of accessibility, interactions and belonging, through participatory walking and story sharing, to better understand and evaluate spatial practices in various situations.

Returning to the extended theoretical model (Figure 9.2), the connections between equity, affordability, vernacular creativity, or identity, and walking and walkability might be questioned. However, the point of this model is to challenge reductive constructions of walkability. Any design for walkability that does not consider the way that inhabitants engage in spatial practices will be an imposition, which may affect more than just their walking. Walking is a multifaceted practice connected to many other spatial practices. For example, walkability can be improved by increasing accessibility. However, if mobility inequities are not considered, and potential impacts on housing affordability are not addressed, then the outcome may be an improved walkability only for the inhabitants who have the spatial and economic capital to access it. Improving walkability by linking it to elite constructions of creativity, or removing spaces with which inhabitants have formed their identity, may be just as reductive. Authorising spatial production that posits improving walkability through spatial abstraction (Lefebvre, 1991) could be authorising alienation, gentrification and displacement.

Comparison of these findings with other studies confirms that values related to mobilities and spatial practice are not based on fixed theories but the perceptions of inhabitants (Miciukiewicz & Vigar, 2013, p. 179), are context dependent (Low et al., 2005, pp. 14-15) and can be better understood through “inhabitant knowledge”
The prioritisation of non-commodified spatial practice values over property and commercial values could be an enactment of Lefebvre’s (1996) right to the city (Pugalis & Giddings, 2011, p. 283) and a process of spatial justice.

9.1.1 Accessibility

A particularly useful finding for theoretical and practical applications of spatial justice is the conceptualisation of accessibility to incorporate equity and affordability, not just physical mobility. This finding builds on Fincher and Iveson’s (2008, pp. 36-37) extension of the definition of accessible space to the provision of services that are inclusive and applicable to inhabitants’ needs. Low et al. (2005, p. 197) also argued that accessibility should take into account inhabitants’ income. Participants within this study spoke of the impact of commercial gentrification on the suburb of Maylands and expressed recognition of the importance of affordability on the shopping streets. Carol, an Adult Walkshop participant, questioned whether a street with only expensive shops and “essentials” can make a community. The loss of commercial businesses and services that address the needs of lower-income inhabitants can generate displacement and accelerate gentrification as inhabitants’ accessibility to positive daily interactions and a sense of belonging in the area are diminished.

This finding also extends accessibility to include “socio-semiotics” (Gottdiener & Lagopoulos, 1986, p. 5), or what an urban space communicates to inhabitants based on socioculturally constructed ideas, symbols, and material context. A street sign that informs pedestrians to stop for cars communicates that walkers are secondary to automobile transport. If this sign is outside the entrance to a school, as encountered on the Walking Interview with Sarah (see Chapter 6), then the sign communicates that children’s independent mobility is not a priority.

The significance of accessibility to the participants of this study also reflects the importance of “access” as being fundamental to the enjoyment of the right to the city (Pugalis & Giddings, 2011, p. 279; Whitzman, 2013, pp. 35-36). Discussing gender inequities in everyday mobility Whitzman (2013) argued that ensuring women’s unencumbered right to the city by prioritising accessibility to space included opportunities to “negotiate risks” (p. 42). Several female participants in this study shared stories of wayfinding for personal safety as a process of developing
spatial competence and belonging. Valuing accessibility might also engender conversations about the risks apparent in public space, as well as the risks inherent in reducing accessibility due to safety fears (Whitzman, 2013, p. 42). This argument is supported by the findings of the present study in relation to the data on the importance of accessibility to spaces where children can engage in interactions and creative reappropriation, and therefore develop spatial competence. Inhabitants, whose mobility and access to public space has been restricted due to safety fears or cultural norms, need opportunities for their voices to be heard regarding solutions for improving their own accessibility by asserting their presence in public space.

9.1.2 Interactions

A key finding of this study was the significance of interactions for the process by which walkers connect with space. Interactions dominated the data, particularly those of the child participants. They were also found to be a key element in the process of belonging, as participants demonstrated that many interactions involved elements of creativity, reappropriation and practical learning, which could develop spatial competence. Sensual, emotional and social interactions engaged while walking were also important for forming connections with space, as was the process of story sharing.

Participants in this study afforded greater value to the interactions engaged with on a walk than the aesthetics of the spaces around them. Although aesthetics were important to participants’ engagement with spaces, they were not afforded precedence within the broad range of interactions engaged. In addition, the aesthetics that participants valued varied greatly. For example, one participant discussed the aesthetic value of purple roses, and another a rusty cottage. This finding suggests that prioritising a single aesthetic in spatial production can be problematic.

Aesthetics are subjective, and are susceptible to power structures (Iveson, 2007). Aesthetics can also communicate exclusivity (Berney, 2011, p. 25). This can occur when planning is based on a “place identity” aesthetic that may not reflect the various identities and values of the many inhabitants of a space (Fincher & Iveson, 2008, p. 36). Moreover, globalised, branded, aesthetically duplicated spaces leave little opportunity for sensory connection to the local (Degen, 2008, p. 63) or engagement with vernacular creativity. Practices of vernacular creativity have been
discussed as “public goods” whereby a value cannot be applied to the practice as a commodity, but rather, the value is inherent in the spatial practice itself (Bromberg, 2010, p. 174). Prioritising interactions over aesthetics could be a significant and useful contribution to the discourse on walking practices and contribute to the decommodification of walkability.

Participants in this study valued walking as a method of engagement with space on their terms. Reappropriation of space was evident in participants creating their own walking routes, but also engaging in related spatial practices. The child participants, in particular, expressed value toward the spaces they reappropriated, including bending the rules communicated through spatial production by: “muck[ing] around”, creating hang out spaces, using a basketball court for a game of “chasey”, and designating the ground as an eating space. These reappropriating practices demonstrated how the child participants developed spatial competence and formed an identity with spaces and spatial practices. Learning spaces were also highly valued by the child participants. These findings have implications for the promotion of child independent mobility and Child Friendly Cities and Communities (Planning Institute of Australia, n.d.; UNICEF, 2014). Children’s spatial competence is influenced by their independent mobility (Cook et al., 2015; Whitzman, Cook, & Tranter, 2013) and their opportunities for using neighbourhood space in their own ways (Cook et al., 2013). Children’s spatial agency can also be shaped by adults’ propensity to respect children’s spatial competence and allow them to take the lead in making decisions about their own safety and sociability (L. G. Phillips & Hickey, 2013). The findings of this study demonstrate that the production of neighbourhood spaces for reappropriation, independent creative play, and active intergenerational learning could extend children’s spatial competence beyond the school grounds, and challenge the distinctions between child space and adult space.

Conversations with space, and interactions with the non-human: animals, birds, trees, the natural and built environment, were valued alongside human encounters. There was evidence in the data that these often non-verbal conversations developed spatial competence and creative engagement. Talking may engender creativity when walking on a treadmill indoors, as Oppezzo and Schwartz’s study highlighted (2014), but the ever changing scenery and sounds experienced when walking outside: the shifting undulations and texture of the ground underfoot, the
variations in exposure to weather, and even the smells that drift in and out of the walker’s orbit, promote an engaged, conversive spatial practice.

In the present study, sensual and emotional geographies were walked and discussed, punctuated by interactions, and recollections of interactions, that formed a meaningful connection with space. Personal emotions can be hard to explain and qualify. However, “emotional geographies” have been recognised as a critical to the formation of individual perceptions of mobility (Miciukiewicz & Vigar, 2013, p. 176). The emotional attachment participants demonstrated to spaces and spatial practices was linked to the practice of story sharing. Spaces were identified with friends, family members, and memories as stories connected to these spaces were told.

Walking affords opportunities to form personal connections through “casual interactions” (Bendiner-Viani, 2009, p. 181) which can lead to a sense of belonging. Practices of story sharing can also develop belonging by the process of inhabitants writing themselves into the story of the neighbourhood. As this is a reciprocal process it aligns with Massey’s (2005) explication of space as “emerging from interaction” and as “the realm of the configuration of potentially discordant (or concordant) narratives” (p. 71). Valuing interactions and story sharing as an identity forming process could promote a conscious engagement with the multiplicity of stories in space, and walking could be a foundational practice in this process.

9.1.3 Belonging

Belonging is an iterative process of engaging and interacting with space such that an inhabitant begins to identify with that space. Participants in this research study demonstrated belonging through identifying with, and forming emotional connections to space and spatial practice, evidenced by the possessive language used, such as “my Maylands”, or “my route.” This was not by any official claim to ownership, but through interactions, conversing and sharing stories in and with space, reappropriating space for their own use, taking action through stewardship of space, or creating memories there. These findings enhance our understanding of how inhabitants can form a sense of belonging with space by interactions engaged in while walking.
Belonging to space is reliant on accessibility and interactions. This is because the formation of spatial identity is a relational process of engaging with space, and other inhabitants. Researchers have argued that mobility is linked to “the construction of individual identities and affinities [and] the processes of formation of collective identities” (Miciukiewicz & Vigar, 2013, p. 177). It has also been argued that the right to the city includes the right to undertake practices that engage “perceptual realms of belonging” (Whitzman, 2013, p. 49). This draws on discussions of “the right to be” (Pugalis & Giddings, 2011, p. 286) in (sub)urban space including the right to challenge norms and imposed values of appropriate inhabitants and spatial practices.

A spatial justice approach to belonging builds on Fincher and Iveson’s (2008) “social logics” of “recognition” and “encounter” (p. 20) to promote diversity by acknowledging that all inhabitants are in a process of developing their identification with, and expressing their belonging to, space. Bromberg (2010) argued that developing identities and belonging through a relational process “where we weave the social fabric, encounter and embrace difference in diverse societies” is itself a process of “vernacular creativity” (p. 216). This process faces the contradiction of being both uncommodifiable and curtailed by presiding commodifying operations of spatial production (Bromberg, 2010).

To bring the discussion back to walking, it can be argued that the shared walk in particular, as a site for sharing stories and perspectives, can be a process for enacting spatial identity and belonging. The shared walk undertaken in the first Adult Walkshop in this study became a site for engaging active subjectivities. The guided tours of the second Child Walkshop were a demonstration of spatial competence, agency, and belonging for the children, as well as intergenerational practices of identity formation.

The enthusiasm for Maylands Walks, the event I facilitated to communicate the research findings (see Chapter 8), may suggest the potential for such walks to encourage collective and collaborative spatial storytelling, as well as a desire for inhabitants to understand their neighbourhood through the layers of stories and spatial practices inherent there. The Maylands Walks event was a convivial practice of story sharing and perhaps an enactment of belonging. Myers (2009) demonstrated that shared walks could be “performative mechanisms [which] may be conceived as
dialogic, contingent and temporary places of belonging, communality or refuge” (p. 31). Shared walks pose questions about the ways in which identity and belonging are formed through walking as a collective spatial practice.

Participants in this study also engaged in spatial practices of belonging by undertaking action to affect change on space, such as Colette’s successful campaign for a public toilet, and Penny’s stewardship practices in the wetlands. Though not walking practices of themselves, these actions were engaged due to issues the participants encountered while walking. Their actions have improved accessibility and interactions for other inhabitants. The process of belonging was reinforced as others engaged in these practices, and the participants’ identities became enmeshed with the spaces. For Colette, this was literal, as she noted her friends now referred to the public toilet as “Colette’s toilet.”

There was significantly less evidence of action, agency and stewardship in the data collected from the child participants. The children’s data focused more on interactions than belonging. Spatial practice was for learning about space and themselves through interactions, which many child participants noted, was also fun. Spatial practice was also important for developing their spatial competence and forming identities with space. However, it is possible that this finding also indicates a disconnect between children’s everyday spatial practices and a lack of opportunities for influencing change, and developing agency, in their neighbourhood. Recent research has found a correlation between children’s independent mobility and opportunities to demonstrate citizenship and proposes urban planning processes to include children in decisions impacting their right to the city (Cook, 2015; Cook et al., 2015).

Practices of belonging are multiple and varied. An inhabitants’ sense of belonging is also dependent on spatial and social context, including national constructs (Williamson, 2015, p. 280). Inhabitant action and stewardship can be dependent on agency, and social and economic capital, as time and resources are needed. If an inhabitant has no option but to prioritise their own daily survival, their opportunities for spatial stewardship can be diminished. Oppressions that exclude inhabitants from space limit their opportunities to demonstrate belonging.
9.1.4 Walking and story sharing

A key finding in this study is the process of story sharing, or the reciprocal nature in which participants formed stories with spaces they traversed, through verbal and non-verbal interactions. Walking and story sharing are practices by which inhabitants form their values in relation to space. This finding contributes empirical evidence to support theories that pedestrian “interactions”, engaged “by telling stories about ourselves and others”, are a process whereby inhabitants construct meaning from space, thus could have “profound political importance” (Demerath & Levinger, 2003, p. 219). This is also consistent with the findings of Low et al. (2005) who argued that cultural value is applied to space through, among other practices: “narrating stories and telling myths about a place” over time (Low et al., 2005, p. 15).

The concept of story sharing builds on Low et al.’s (2005) argument as it includes the formation of personal values toward space, which may occur through a fleeting interaction, such as seeing a dolphin in the river. Maylands participants demonstrated story sharing through walking and wondering about a space, and the human and natural forces that created it, or becoming creatively or actively involved in shaping space. These practices allow inhabitants to add their contribution, their layer, to the storied spaces of their neighbourhood.

Greater attention paid to the process of story sharing could aid comprehension of how inhabitants develop their values toward space and spatial practice. A constructivist perspective suggests that inhabitants’ previous interactions will influence the stories they create, but this also enforces the significance of interactions in spatial practice. Each interaction builds on the layers of spatial stories that constitute space, and each interaction develops connections between inhabitants and that space.

The practice of story sharing is reciprocal because it engages local legends and vernacular landscapes. Mobilities “create spaces and stories – spatial stories” (Cresswell & Merriman, 2010, p. 5) and inhabitants “invent” (de Certeau, 1984, p. 107) or produce space, by creating new legends or stories and engaging in the layers of stories that already exist. These findings are in keeping with Massey’s discussion of space as constitute of the “simultaneity of stories so far” (2005, p. 9).
participants noted, everyone in the suburb shares a story and these stories are occurring concurrently, so all have equal value, and they all add to the layers of stories to make up the storied space of the suburb. Stories are a way of connecting diverse cultural geographies and understanding inequity, as storytelling is a practice of sharing different ways of “knowing” the world (hooks, 2013, p. 53).

Story sharing is also consistent with Lugones’ (2003) concept of the “streetwalker theorist” as an inhabitant who forms knowledge through the competing narratives of space (pp. 222-224). Sharing stories could facilitate spatial resilience as the stories can engender a re-evaluation of space through the perspective of the inhabitant’s everyday, thus challenging dominant values that commodify space and spatial practice.

9.2 Research question one

How can a participatory walking methodology engage inhabitants in issues of spatial justice?

This research question is answered by the research methods employed in this study with evidence that inhabitants did discuss issues of spatial justice on the walks. Participants shared perspectives and some acknowledged that they had understood issues in a new way after engaging in these participatory walks. An additional finding from this process has led to a reconsideration of accessibility to include equity and affordability. After walking and discussing spaces in their neighbourhood, some participants expressed the opinion that spatial production only serves to build and benefit a community if it results in spaces and services that are affordable and inclusive. These findings support previous research into the spatial production of walkability and sustainable transport, which has argued for processes that also promote social sustainability through affordable housing and inhabitant participation (Zavestoski & Agyeman, 2015).

Some participants came to the study with specific spatial justice issues they wanted to discuss, such as Sarah’s explanation of how excessive car ownership, increased traffic and infrequent public transport had impacted her walkability, and Bella’s complaint about the locked disabled toilets at The RISE. These situations had repercussions for the participants’ accessibility but also revealed processes that limit public space, including streets, community centres and public toilets to “correct”
mobilities (Cresswell, 2010, p. 24) and “appropriate” publics (Mitchell, 2012, p. 203). However, there were occasions where the walking practice itself had encouraged contemplation of spatial justice. One example was Lisa’s reflection that her perspective on drinking in the space outside The RISE had been altered after hearing Olivia’s opinion that it was a perfect use of public space. Walkability and accessibility issues were also experienced through the data collection practice as we struggled to hear each other speak over traffic, found ourselves walking on the road when footpaths ended, negotiated around vehicles parked across footpaths, or encountered signs and designs that prioritised cars over pedestrians and cyclists.

Employing shared walks to reframe and re-question spatial practices from different perspectives could be the beginning of a re-evaluation of space and spatial practice. When viewed through a spatial justice lens our spatial practices can be interrogated to consider how they affect the accessibility of others and impact their interactions with space, both positively and negatively. Every interaction is influenced by multiple stories and spatial experiences. Conscientisation (Freire, 1972) of others’ spatial stories can raise questions about the norms of spatial practice. This process might also encourage a critical evaluation of institutional and structural practices of exclusion, such as the locking of public toilets in community centres, which determine the limits of appropriate practices and appropriate inhabitants in public space.

Commercial gentrification was addressed in the adult walkshop as participants discussed what they valued in the suburb, and noted changes taking place as more expensive shops opened and affordable shops closed. Residential gentrification was spoken of in terms of inevitability, as participants Mark and Kelly wondered what would happen to the flats and cheap accommodation, and Mark wondered where the potentially displaced residents would go. Mark also expressed concern for homeless and low-income inhabitants who relied on the Shopfront for food and other services, if that too was to close.

The Catholic Church owns the Shopfront building so the service is not subject to pressure from rising commercial rents, but this does not guarantee against the church selling the property. The aesthetics of regeneration or urban renewal can position non-consuming inhabitants and spatial practices as no longer valid (Deutsche, 1996, p. xiv). Mitchell discussed “how movements to regulate public
space so as to remove homeless people lead to a specific, and highly constricted sort of public sphere” which engages politically in prioritising “aesthetics” over inhabitants’ need to survive (2003, p. 9). Participant Mark’s comments that the Shopfront could disappear might have stemmed from a sense that the aesthetics of Maylands was changing in this way. This aligned with a sense of inevitability of gentrification expressed by several of the participants.

The Shopfront is a designated community space that is vital to the everyday spatial practice of survival, and a social space that would otherwise be inaccessible to many inhabitants. Relating the discussions held during the walkshop about this space to the concept of coevalness (Massey, 2005, p. 69) frames the Shopfront as a community space of equal validity as any other in the neighbourhood. Its presence on a main shopping street could be considered important as its services are spatially included in the everyday practice of the suburb of providing food for oneself and one’s family; free food for those in need available next door to a restaurant, around the corner from a greengrocers, and down the road from a cupcake shop. The small scale of The Shopfront is also important to note, being located, as its name implies, in an old shop front. Participants noted that small-scale spaces were perceived as comfortable and welcoming.

Spatial justice issues merged with environmental justice issues during some of the walks. Penny’s walk highlighted conflicts between residential development in the suburb and the conservation of the natural environment. Data from the intergenerational walkshops demonstrated how spatial production that had been detrimental to the health of the river had impacted children’s active play in natural spaces. For the Maylands participants, the river had become an unsafe space for children to play. Practices of transport and mobility at the global level, such as shipping and road haulage, can have environmental impacts at the local level that are detrimental to children’s access to natural spaces, physical health and spatial competence.

The shared walk elicited by the participants’ identification of ‘problem spaces’ and ‘possibility spaces’ in the Adult Walkshop, allowed for a site where spatial justice could be discussed. The shared walk engendered critical engagement with space. Walking took us, as a group, to the spaces in order to face them and experience them, not as abstract spaces, but as spaces of everyday life.
Sharing stories is a foundational spatial practice of a critical and equitable movement towards spatial justice. As histories and stories of power and conflict in space are complex, so too are the spatial structures within which these inequities persist. Viewing spatial practice through a spatial justice lens invokes a critical appraisal of how spatial inequities integrate and intersect in the everyday; walking could initiate this process.

9.3 Research question two

How can walking be investigated as a tool to decommodify everyday spatial practices?

The data demonstrated evidence of the Maylands participants engaging with space, through spatial practices that could not be commodified. As discussed, an unexpected finding was the way participants interacted with space by sharing stories. Participants created new stories about spaces they walked through, either by imagining stories about these spaces, or interacting, verbally and non-verbally, with the spaces. Some participants did this by photographing the spaces, and others did this by engaging with trees, birds, and animals, and the textures and temporal layers evident in the built and natural environment. These stories were then inserted among the layers of storied space, thus forming a personal and emotional engagement with that space. Valuing this type of interaction could be a decommodifying process.

The Maylands participants’ data showed that this practice of story sharing was a key component of walking. This finding is compelling because it gives insight into how walking can foster inhabitants’ connections with space. However, inhabitants need access to space in order to engage in this process. An important finding was that the stories participants shared as they engaged with space by walking highlighted three core values of spatial practice: accessibility, interactions and belonging, which contribute knowledge to the ways that inhabitants engage in spatial practice, and therefore, what values might be considered when promoting and planning for everyday spatial practices.

There were examples, however, where inhabitants had employed commodification tactics to promote environmental benefits. Chris had explained that he had promoted interest in trees by focusing on their monetary value. This included their potential to increase residential property values and commercial business by
increasing the walkability of streets. He argued, “if you say it’s going to be good for the environment, they’ve heard that for 40 years, nothing’s changed.” Chris’ approach could be considered “tactical strategic” (Lugones, 2003, p. 224) by employing the dominant discourse of the commodification of space to promote environmental benefits. However, the walking practices engaged in this study exposed the multitude of benefits afforded by an increased tree canopy that are irrespective of increasing property values. Chris’ statement highlights the difficulties faced by both environmental and social justice proponents working within a hegemony that understands the city as purely a space for economic growth (Whitzman, 2015a). As discussed in Chapter 3, walkable neighbourhoods, and their associated physical landscape, such as increased tree canopies, residential density and public transport can have social benefits. Despite that, these benefits are not shared by low-income inhabitants unless the negative impacts of the commodification of walkability are mitigated by providing affordable housing.

The values of accessibility, interactions and belonging challenge the abstraction of space and spatial practice through commodification, and thus propose a reconsideration of *appropriate* spatial practice. In the majority of urban contexts, an appropriate practice is one that contributes to economic growth, either through increasing property values or by positioning inhabitants as consumers. The findings of this study add to the discussion of “(re)appropriations” of space (de Certeau, 1984; Lefebvre, 1991) by introducing a reappropriation of the commercial values applied to space and spatial practice.

Reappropriating the values of political, social and cultural structures to focus on everyday spatial practices could be a process of opening up dialogues about spatial justice. However, as the commodification of urban space and spatial practices has become widespread and city authorities have focused on competing for tourists, investors and the Creative Class, even “messy” everyday practices in public space can be co-opted into the “pro-commodification project” (Berney, 2011, p. 28). A constructivist approach to appreciating values applied to interactions over aesthetics could be employed as a challenge to this project. However, this would need to be undertaken with a spatial justice approach to ensure the perspectives of marginalised inhabitants are included.
These findings could promote a “delinquent narrativity” (de Certeau, 1984, p. 130) by foregrounding values that exist outside of the commodification of spatial practice: accessibility, interactions and belonging, as well as spatial justice. This includes the recognition and value of a plurality of spatial stories and practices (Massey, 2005) but also to take the dominant spatial stories “literally” (de Certeau, 1984, p. 130), by bringing back the “tour describers” to the map or plan (de Certeau, 1984, pp. 121-130) of spatial production (Lefebvre, 1991). Participants in this study expressed the sense that gentrification, and subsequently displacement, in Maylands was inevitable. Spatial production that purports to promote walkability, diversity or creativity through a commodification process can then be taken literally as a process that encourages displacement of those who cannot afford it.

9.4 Research question three

How can walking be investigated as a spatial practice to cultivate spatial resilience?

Through the process of walking and story sharing, the Maylands participants demonstrated spatial practices of belonging. Belonging has been discussed here as a value but also as a spatial practice, engaged as an ongoing and personal process. Participants of this study demonstrated spatial practices of belonging through inhabitant action, developing agency and sharing their voice, through stewardship of neighbourhood spaces, and by forming identities with the spaces and routes they traversed. Walking brought the participants to these spaces, to allow them to engage in interactions, share stories, and create memories, thus forging an identity with spaces as a result. Several participants engaged in stewardship of space, and inhabitant action to preserve space, after walking and noticing valued interactions were threatened. The shared walks engaged in this study also showed evidence of inhabitants engaging in a pedagogical process of developing understanding of other inhabitants’ perspectives. These findings complicate previous literature arguing everyday walking has been positioned as a tactical, romantic and possibly reactionary process (Meagher, 2007; Middleton, 2011; Pinder, 2011). In contrast, the findings support the concept of walking as engaging with “active subjectivities” and “tactical strategic” (Lugones, 2003, pp. 224-226) practices of spatial resilience.
As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, theorists and practitioners have strived to protect and support the right to the city for individuals and groups including the right to thrive and “stay put” (Pugalis & Giddings, 2011, p. 291). Gentrification, commodification, displacement and predatory developments are not inevitable, but there can be little to help those at risk when spatial production prioritises commodification and associated aesthetics. Even if mechanisms are in place to protect inhabitants’ rights, if structural, cultural, institutional and political biases that inform everyday practices are not challenged, injustice can prevail for those that have inequitable access to these rights (Young, 1990). The findings of this study indicate that the values of accessibility, interactions and belonging can be applied to facilitate critical analysis of the production of walkability, to better understand its impact on spatial justice and resilience.

Walking Interview participant Lisa discussed the emotional impact of the loss of storied garden spaces in Maylands, and used the term “resilient” to describe those who may not be affected in the same way. Lisa’s statement reflects neoliberal definitions of resilience as the capacity to adapt in the face of perpetual change and uncertainty (B. Evans & Reid, 2013; Joseph, 2013). I noted that this was speculation on Lisa’s behalf regarding other inhabitants, as she had demonstrated how she had built her own spatial competence, social capital, and resilience, by creating an “emotional landscape” in her neighbourhood through spatial practice. Resilience may be redefined in spatial terms, as establishing spatial competence through greater emotional and personal engagement with space. By engaging in spatial practices of belonging, by taking action as stewards of local space, inhabitants may develop networks and agency to establish spatial resilience.

In some cases spatial resilience has been achieved when inhabitants have fought displacement through legal and physical contestation (Causa Justa :: Just Cause, 2014; London Tenants Federation, Lees, Just Space, & Southwark Notes Archive Group, 2014; Right to the City, n.d.; Soja, 2010). Spatial abstractions such as urban renewal, regeneration, affordable housing that in effect is not affordable to inhabitants on low and moderate incomes, and the positioning of gentrification as inevitable, can be regarded as actualities unless the stories of inhabitants fighting displacement are shared (London Tenants Federation et al., 2014). When vulnerable inhabitants’ stories are obfuscated, due to individual, institutional and structural
biases and inequities (D. C. Harvey, 2008) then a responsibility lies with those who hold the social, economic and spatial capital to create spaces and sites where these stories can be shared and heard (Bendiner-Viani, 2009; Fincher & Iveson, 2008; Low et al., 2005; Myers, 2009; Whitzman, 2012). Creating “discursive safe spaces” (Whitzman, 2007; 2013, p. 49) (discussed in Chapter 2), may also provide opportunities for sharing stories of *tactical-strategies* of resilience in face of displacement. Even a temporary safe space, engaged through a shared walk (Myers, 2009), could create opportunities for inhabitants’ stories and practices of belonging and resilience to be shared.

Everyday walking practices could also generate further practices toward spatial resilience. By walking inhabitants are testing the accessibility of their neighbourhoods and gaining an embodied knowledge of what is impeding or promoting accessibility. Walking also builds spatial competence. Inhabitants come to know their neighbourhood spaces, through interactions with others, and the built, natural, cultural and social environment, but also through navigation of these spaces. By wayfinding and waymaking inhabitants also learn about their own capabilities and form identities with space. Through walking interactions inhabitants can form networks, physically through their routes, but also through the people they come into contact with on the way. This embodied knowing and sharing of space, “meaning making” (Demerath & Levinger, 2003, p. 219) and “homing” (Myers, 2009, p. 79) opens possibilities for a sense of belonging to space. For the Maylands participants, a “cycle track” was a sacred space. A tree to sit under, a favourite fishing spot, a hundred-year-old bridge, or a post-industrial wasteland that had become a haven for birds, were spaces of personal interactions that were cherished, that built deep connections between space and self, that helped establish identity, and allowed for the insertion of the self into the stories of a space. The research evidenced that these were spaces worth fighting for.

9.5 Research implications, applications and future directions

The following sections continue to answer the research questions while discussing how the findings of this study can contribute to future theory and practice. Here I discuss how a constructivist approach, and a greater understanding of how story sharing functions to connect walkers to the spaces they inhabit, can inform
more resilient practices of spatial production. First, I discuss how an appreciation of storied spaces and vernacular practices can de-commodify the values surrounding walking and walkability. I then apply this knowledge to conceive a holistic approach to walkability and discuss how the theoretical model introduced at the beginning of this chapter can be applied to the promotion of walkability. I also consider the potential of walking as a consultative practice and as a pedagogical practice, particularly for deliberative and participatory planning with children.

As discussed in Chapter 4, there are limitations to the research methodology applied in this study, which inform future research opportunities. Spatial resilience cannot be achieved unless inhabitants participate as partners in the production of urban space (Cook et al., 2013; Low et al., 2005; MacCallum, 2008, 2009; Miller & Lubitow, 2015; Sobers, 2015; Whitzman, 2015b; Whitzman, James, et al., 2013; Zavestoski & Agyeman, 2015). As children and senior inhabitants were targeted in this study, recruiting those most vulnerable to gentrification such as rental tenants and low-income inhabitants would prove important in further studies of spatial resilience. A partnership study that specifically targets these participant groups would be a beneficial undertaking for future research on walking and walkability in (sub)urban Australia.

Mixed-methods research could be applied to test the proposals made in this thesis regarding the application of the core values: accessibility, interactions, and belonging, to spatial justice. The tensions between environmental justice and social justice could also be investigated further, with attention paid to the relationships between climate change and everyday spatial practices.

Practically, the findings of this study can contribute to the daily work of urban planners, urban designers, transport planners, social planners, active and sustainable transport advocates, affordable housing advocates, community developers, place managers, and health promoters in local and state government, or independent practice. The findings can also inform policy development in various jurisdictions. At the community level, schools, senior centres, community and resident groups could employ the walking methods investigated here to communicate issues and ideas. Specific practical and conceptual applications of the findings are discussed in the sections to follow.
9.5.1 Valuing diverse vernacular spaces and spatial practices

As demonstrated by the data collected in this research study, established suburbs, such as Maylands, with a mixed density and mixed socio-economic population already demonstrate the vibrant attributes of diverse interactions that walkability proponents seek to establish (Talen & Koschinsky, 2013). However, inhabitants of established inner suburban neighbourhoods can be subjected to risk of gentrification and displacement, especially when a higher commercial value is applied to land that has close proximity to economic and cultural centres. Bendiner-Viani (2009, p. 264) found an implicit value in studying established heterogeneous neighbourhoods that “have a richness that should not be ignored in planning.” The findings of this study support Bendiner-Viani’s proposal that already existing spaces that accommodate a “rich heterogeneity” (2009, p. 161) of inhabitants and practices can be important spaces for learning about the complexity of everyday spatial interactions, and are therefore spaces to be nurtured and celebrated.

Acknowledging and valuing stories and vernacular creativity is acknowledging the effort that inhabitants have put into their neighbourhood spaces. The Maylands participants’ actions as stewards of space can lead to a re-evaluation of what some may consider the mundane. Everyday spatial practices such as walking, foraging and bird watching formed strong connections between participants and spaces in Maylands. Penny’s concern for the “really precious birds” in her neighbourhood led her to take action, and to educate herself along with others. Now they work alongside environmental scientists, river protection authorities, and the local government to preserve the wetland habitat.

The findings in this study have demonstrated inhabitants can, and do, find solutions through negotiating the spaces they know, as experts of their own space. Jacobs (1958/2011) asserted that no logic or plan could make the city in the way that inhabitants create it through everyday spatial practice. More recently, theorists and practitioners are turning to vernacular spatial practices and vernacular creativity (Bromberg, 2010; Crouch, 2010; Edensor et al., 2010; G. Evans, 2010; Miles, 2010), for inspiration. Evidence of vernacular creativity, in the form of gardens and creative hobbies, was afforded great value by the participants of this study. The data also demonstrated that the inclusive nature of vernacular creative practices, which
engaged pedestrians in a shared story of humanity and humour, made the
eighbourhood more walkable.

Spaces of value in the community, landmarks, “typical” spaces and storied
spaces are also important for a neighbourhood’s identity and sense of ownership.
Storied spaces imbue inhabitation, and inclusive open-ended spatial practice. These
are the spaces of “layered dynamics” (Bendiner-Viani, 2009, p. 724), which manifest
“coevalness” through a multiplicity of stories that challenge univocity (Massey,
2005, p. 69). Signs of age in the built and natural landscape, together with vernacular
creativity, expose the stories and local histories in space and allow for creative
engagement while walking. “Typical” or vernacular spaces can really only be known
and understood by the people that inhabit that space, as the values used to identify
such spaces are established in layers of everyday spatial practice (Low et al., 2005).
Imported values can engender spatial practices that ignore, and have the potential to
destroy, these vernacular spaces and spatial practices, thus severing important
connections between inhabitants and space (Zukin, 2009). Sharing stories of
vernacular spatial practice is vital to ensure the lessons learnt, and solutions
established through everyday spatial pedagogy are not displaced, lost, or forgotten.

9.5.2 A holistic approach to walkability

For walkability to be approached holistically, walking might be considered
not just as an activity, or a form of active transport but the most integral practice of
mobility and a fundamental enactment of the right to the city (Pugalis & Giddings,
2011). Individual perceptions determine spatial behaviours, thus the validity of
“absolute definitions of walkability” (Talen & Koschinsky, 2013, p. 48) has been
questioned. Moreover, a “holistic conceptualisation of urban mobility” cannot be
realised without engaging spatial justice as a principle and outcome (Miciukiewicz &
Vigar, 2013, p. 181). At the risk of repetition, I highlight the three values emerging
from this research study: accessibility, interactions and belonging. If accessibility,
interactions and/or belonging are designed out of a space, or their loss is sanctioned
by failure to protect them from opportunistic development, the key elements, or
values that make a space walkable risk being removed.

The importance of a holistic approach to walkability corroborates recent
studies in the fields of mobility and urban sustainability that have argued the spatial
production of transport infrastructure is formed through historical, political and social power relations (Miller & Lubitow, 2015; Sheller, 2016; Zavestoski & Agyeman, 2015). In particular, Miller and Lubitow (2015) demonstrated how broadening the community consultation process to involve “issues of racism, gentrification and inclusion” (p. 268) led to a greater understanding of how previous spatial production had reinforced inequities, and a resulting street design that better reflected the needs of the wider community.

To further discuss a holistic approach to walkability, I will provide an example from this research study. Walking Interview participant Sarah perceived her neighbourhood as a space under “pressure” and increased “danger”: pressure on neighbours and council rangers to resolve issues of accessibility due to the excess of cars parked on verges and the street; and danger from decreased visibility for walkers and cyclists caused by the parked cars and increased traffic. Sarah’s sense of an intensified automobility reflects previous studies which have found that gentrification can result in increased car ownership in a neighbourhood (Pollack et al., 2010, p. 3). Sarah’s solution of a household car quota, discussed in Chapter 6, fits well with the theoretical model discussed in this chapter as it approaches walkability as an outcome by promoting positive walking interactions, and inhabitant ownership of the problem. A restriction on registered vehicles per dwelling could promote stewardship of the spatial production of walkability, whereby no car, or one-car households, are rewarded for their contribution to the walkability of the neighbourhood. This approach could also engender discussions regarding the public transport infrastructure needs of inhabitants. Speck stated, “communities can only be their best if on-street parking, off street parking, parking permits, and parking regulations are all managed collectively” (2012, p. 138) but this statement overlooks the importance of extending this integrated management to include public transport bodies.

Another potential solution to improving walkability in Maylands could be the implementation of a 30 km per hour speed limit on the Maylands peninsula area, already applied in numerous cities internationally (Schmitt, 2014; SWOV Institute for Road Safety Research, 2010). However, a holistic view of walkability, perceived through a spatial justice lens, would stipulate the preservation of low-income housing in the area. A USA report, Creating Connected Communities, noted the
increase in demand for walkable communities had resulted in a “tradeoff” between affordable transport and affordable housing (Center for Transit-Oriented Development, 2014, pp. 5-8). Talen and Koschinsky’s findings that the spatial production of walkable neighbourhoods may encourage gentrification (2013, p. 53) draws attention to the importance of preserving affordable housing in walkable areas with good public transport connections. Affordability also fundamentally impacts access to public space. As Iveson observed, “public housing and public transport, then, may be as important in fostering a genuine ‘diversity’ in public space as widened footpaths and cafes” (2007, p. 234). A holistic approach to walkability is one that includes affordability within its remit.

The Maylands participants’ data demonstrated the importance of interactions to encourage walking and enhance walkability. Trees, gardens and wetlands were found to provide multiple benefits: for cooling urban space, for interactions with animals, birds and the trees, plants and waterways themselves; for facilitating and framing stories and memories. Walking Interview participant James observed a lack of trees and green space in the new infill developments in Maylands and suggested: “Maybe there should be some rules for developers about having so much greenery.” Planning for increased density without regulating against loss of trees and green space, in infill developments or “opportunistic subdivision of individual lots” (Bolleter & Ramalho, 2014, p. 64), can have a negative impact on walkability by decreasing shade and contributing to the Urban Heat Island effect, thus making the city hotter overall (H. Brown et al., 2015). A holistic approach to walkability can be approached by undertaking walking as a consultative practice to inform the integration of these factors from the direct and embodied experience of the walker.

The current study found that shared walks generated discussions of transport practices including inhabitant solutions to improve walkability. The child participants imagined, and mapped, future spaces void of roads, with public transport powered by renewable energy, as well as air-based private transport. Pedestrians have a unique, yet shared experience of urban space and thus can make a valid contribution to community-based design and planning. A “meta-pedestrian culture” could be developed through this shared process of shaping space from the pedestrian’s perspective (Demerath & Levinger, 2003, p. 233). Positioning walking as a foundational and fundamental spatial practice for walkability planning,
particularly if viewed through a spatial justice lens, reframes walking as a right and not just an activity and may assist in decommodifying the values surrounding walkability.

9.5.3 **Walking as a consultative and communicative spatial practice**

Community consultation processes that include walking and storytelling could provide the opportunity for participants to articulate the values invested in their neighbourhood spaces and spatial practices. Shared walks that partner with marginalised groups could promote the understanding of the spatial practices and spaces necessary for such groups to survive, and thrive, in their neighbourhood. The empirical findings of this study suggest that conversational walking practices combined with constructive data analysis, could have practical applications for participatory planning and design with particular attention to spatial justice.

The employment of walking as a method for consultative and communicative spatial practice produces several benefits. It is low cost, and as demonstrated in the variety of practices undertaken in this study, it is adaptable to suit various contexts, participants, time constraints, and can address a number of issues. By focusing participatory walking research practices on collecting data about walking, and spatial practices that coincide with walking, this study has contributed knowledge regarding the ways in which walking acts as a conversation facilitator. Walking can facilitate conversations between walkers, but walking also facilitates conversations and connections between inhabitants and space. These findings could build on previous walking research methods employed to maximise space elicitation, discussed in Chapter 4.

In the present study, the walking methods enabled the researcher, an outsider of the space, to understand how inhabitants viewed and experienced significant spaces in their neighbourhood, the concerns and ideas that occupied them as they walked these spaces, and how different perceptions of space could be shared across a heterogeneous group. The shared walk produced insights into spatial justice and spatial practice for both researcher and participants, which could not have been realised with traditional sedentary methods.

Structural inequities can be reinforced through spatial practice, even those considered positive and inclusive, such as walking, unless efforts are made to
address such inequities. Fincher and Iveson (2008) argued the necessity of “procedural equity” which could be realised by involving inhabitants in decisions about spatial production to facilitate interpretations of “accessibility” dependent on spatial context (Fincher & Iveson, 2008, p. 37). The findings of this study position shared walks as a useful consultation practice to deliberate these contextual interpretations. Participatory walking practices accord power and agency to the participants by acknowledging them as experts of their neighbourhood spaces and everyday spatial practices. As discussed by Myers (2009, p. 33), shared walks can also be sites for the translation and “transformation” of knowledge and “for expressing the poly-vocality of landscape” (Myers, 2009, p. 180). As demonstrated by this study, shared walks can engage multiple perspectives to challenge univocity in spatial production.

The Constructive Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2014) methodology applied to data collection and analysis within this context also contributes to knowledge on methodologies, as it provided a practical framework for foregrounding perspectives, stories and values in research on space and spatial practice. As I was able to appreciate spatial practice through a constructivist approach, I was able to apply understandings of the pedagogical process of conscientisation (Freire, 1972, 1976) to participants’ cognisance of issues of spatial justice. The data analysis also included an appreciation of the socio-semiotics of space (Gottdiener & Lagopoulos, 1986), how the built environment influenced spatial practices, as well as the stories that abstracted space communicated to inhabitants. This research methodology provides a comprehensive, responsive and participatory framework for analysing qualitative data, which may facilitate a wider application of a spatial practice approach.

It is also possible to position the shared walk as a pedagogical practice for understanding the perceptions and spatial practices of fellow inhabitants. On the shared walks undertaken during this study, problems were considered in situ and different perspectives were shared. Interrogating problems on the group walk led to further discussions about reasons for homelessness in the city, and constructions of appropriate spatial practice. Inhabitants’ capacity to affect the “public definition of a problem” is dependent on power relations (Cox, 2012). On the shared walks, there were multiple definitions of ‘problem spaces’. Where some participants found problems, others saw no problems at all, or in contrast, saw solutions.
Freire argued that “posing reality as a problem does not mean sloganizing: it means critical analysis of a problematic reality” (1972, p. 136). This argument can be applied to the act of defining problems within this research context. The participants did not propose solutions to the problems, or act to resolve them, but a critical analysis was initiated and, as was the case with Lisa’s reaction to Olivia’s comment, discussed earlier, about people drinking in a park, in some cases a different point of view was realised. The opportunity was granted to the participants by the shared walk methodology to empathetically engage with the spatial stories of others, to develop their spatial competence in a safe space.

The shared walk could also be put to use by communities to bring decision makers to the space in question, or to initiate their own consultation processes with other inhabitants if official consultation is deemed insufficient or conciliatory (London Tenants Federation et al., 2014, p. 21). If there is resistance expressed by inhabitants to proposed changes in their neighbourhood space, a shared walk around the space might open up the potential for further investigation into inequities and underlying issues, and may provide a site for negotiation and collaboration toward solutions that foster spatial resilience.

An appreciation of others’ spatial competence can therefore open up the potential for collaborative problem solving. Myers’ (2009) shared walk practice with refugees and asylum seekers has been extended to workshops for architecture students and community development practitioners (p. 161). Discussing participatory planning, MacCallum (2008) proposed “substantively different collaborative plans” (p. 340) which would be shaped by each specific context. The various participatory methods employed in this research, with the central focus of a shared walk, could be translated to different spaces and different contexts, as can the theoretical model. This flexibility could be considered a strength of its design.

The shared walk, in its convivial nature (Myers, 2009), allows for a site of empathy, rather than confrontation (J. Lee & Ingold, 2006). As I walked with the participants, I saw what they saw, in the moment of them telling their stories, or expressing their emotions about that space. I walked at their pace and through their routes, and stopped at the spaces that were significant to them. For the participants the walk provided a site, and an opportunity, to express emotional connections and issues regarding spaces that form part of their identity and constitute their everyday.
Through this process, walking has been engaged as a practice of pedagogy. By being led, the researcher can engage with “active subjectivity” (Lugones, 2003, p. 226) at the street level. Being led can subvert the norms of spatial practice by raising awareness of how space is understood through different perspectives. This could include an awareness of one’s own complicity in spatial oppressions.

9.5.4 The Pedagogy of being led: Child led walks for developing the spatial competence of adults

The spatial competence of the student participants within the school grounds of the Child Walkshops in this study demonstrated the importance of spaces where children are granted free and independent mobility. Spaces where children can independently develop skills and belonging to space through playful and creative interactions are spaces where children can develop skills for resilience. The students also demonstrated their social and spatial aptitude as tour guides for the visiting seniors.

Based on these findings, delegating authority to children to lead decision makers on guided walking tours of their neighbourhood could facilitate four key positive outcomes. Firstly, the child led walking tours could enhance the spatial agency of children by developing their confidence as authorities of their own space and spatial practice, and improve their understanding of how decisions about space are made. Secondly, the tours could also develop the spatial competence of decision makers as they undertake a shared experience of space from a child’s perspective, including interrupting social norms about children’s abilities as guardians of their own safety in space (L. G. Phillips & Hickey, 2013). Thirdly, the experience can also demonstrate the vibrancy and immediacy of children’s spatial interactions (Cook et al., 2013), the importance of dynamic spaces (Cook et al., 2015) and spaces which children can reappropriate so as to develop their sense of belonging. Fourthly, the child led tours could lead to collaborative participation in negotiating issues, decisions and plans in space as children’s voices and perceptions are included in the process.

An initial context for this type of project could be children leading local government elected officials and officers on tours through the streets around their school to highlight road safety issues, walkability and children’s independent
mobility in the area, thus developing the spatial competence of both children and local government while informing policy. The children could create their own strategic neighbourhood plans, with reference to Child Friendly Cities (2014), and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989). This process could be undertaken within the Australian Curriculum years F-10 subjects of Geography, and Civics and Citizenship.

9.6 Conclusions

This thesis has investigated walking and walkability through a spatial justice/spatial practice framework. Walking is a complex spatial practice and critical to inhabitants identification with space. Walking facilitates connections between inhabitants and space through interactions with: other inhabitants, animals and birds, the built and natural environment, sensations, textures and temporal layers, and stories. While walking, inhabitants share stories with space. They do this by imagining, learning and creating new space through their spatial practices. By sharing stories, inhabitants are forming an identity with space and developing their sense of belonging.

Walking is therefore an inherently uncommodifiable practice, as its value lies in inhabitant/space interactions. However, accessibility is a requisite value for the practice of walking, as limiting inhabitants accessibility is limiting their capacity for reciprocal engagement with space. Such limits deny inhabitants’ right to the city. The commodification of walkability can therefore be equated with a practice of spatial injustice.

A spatial justice framework has been employed in this study to rethink and decommodify the values of walkability. Creating, or designating, walkable neighbourhoods as spaces only for those who may benefit from the increased prosperity walkability is supposed to engender, reserves the right to “be” and “participate” in the city for the select few who can “access” (Pugalis & Giddings, 2011, p. 279) these spaces. Therefore, a just walkability is one that equates accessibility with affordability. The definition of walkability could therefore include affordable goods and services on walkable commercial streets, affordable public transport, and affordable housing.
Three core values of spatial practice have emerged through this research: accessibility, interactions and belonging, which can be applied to a theoretical model of spatial justice through spatial practice. These values have been arrived at through the employment of participatory walking practices of data collection, and a constructive analysis of that data. Both of these processes privileged the perspectives of the participants. Moreover, both of these processes engaged with walking as a distinct spatial practice, an approach that has been missing from research and policy on walkability (Middleton, 2011, 2016).

In addition, to produce the outcome of improving walkability without considering the integration between accessibility, interactions and belonging in everyday spatial practice, could lead to a space that is physically walkable but devoid of the qualities that encourage walking. As demonstrated by the Maylands participants’ data, a holistic approach may be useful for promoting walkability in established neighbourhoods whereby spatial practices of interacting and belonging have already been substantiated through layers of storied spaces and spatial practice.

The findings of this study challenge research and practice that treat space and practices separately, and instead support a holistic approach to spatial practice. These findings suggest that if discussing, planning or designing for spatial practices, it is imperative to investigate the spatial practice itself. This builds on Fincher and Iveson’s (2008) “social logics” of “redistribution, recognition and encounter” (p. 8) to plan for a just diversity in the city, by narrowing the focus on spatial practice. Spatial practice is an action, and in relation to space it is an interaction, so spatial practice changes the space, in as much as space determines and facilitates spatial practice. The theoretical model introduced in this study may therefore be applied to a spatial practice approach in urban planning, design and policy to promote walkability with consideration of spatial justice.

By engaging walking as a spatial practice in its own right, not simply a method of data collection, this thesis examined walking and associated spatial practices from an interdisciplinary perspective. The walking methods have been informed by the practice of artists, ethnographers, geographers, and experts in participatory planning and design. The theoretical model could be adopted and adapted by theorists within these disciplines, or by those who work in interdisciplinary spaces, particularly those who are interested in the connections
between spatial practice and spatial justice, and the ways in which people connect to the spaces they inhabit through walking and sharing stories.

An understanding of spatial justice is an understanding that all inhabitants do not share access to, and enjoyment of, space and spatial practices equitably. Cultural norms of spatial practice can reinforce the restriction of some inhabitants in public space. “Cultural imperialism” (Young, 1990, p. 60) reinforces these cultural norms as the perspectives of inhabitants who do not have equitable access to space are invisibilised. It is possible that the story sharing process engaged with while walking could be harnessed to create temporary sites of pedagogy for the conscientisation (Freire, 1972) of the plurality of perspectives. Shared walks have been previously employed for this purpose (see Myers, 2009). Belonging is reliant on accessibility and interactions. It is an ongoing process through interactions. It is also a subjective process; therefore a constructivist viewpoint can aid appreciation of it. Shared walks, as demonstrated by the findings of this study, may be engaged for gathering perspectives, establishing belonging, and engendering an understanding of diversity of belongings.

The Maylands Walks event could be considered as an ephemeral practice of belonging, in which Maylands inhabitants and the wider community, came together to walk, and share ideas about walking, walkability, accessibility, spatial justice and the planning and design of streets, suburbs and cities. The impact of this event was far ranging, from: the attendance of over 200 participants including state and local government elected officials, positive feedback from Maylands inhabitants, a Walkability Audit Report shared with the local council and a transport professional, and a publication written by an urban planning and design professional (Temov, 2016) on the implications such walks have for communication in urban planning. Maylands Walks was designed to communicate the findings of this study back to the inhabitants of Maylands, however, the event became a key finding as it demonstrated the potential of shared walks to facilitate communication and belonging.

What this study has demonstrated is that data collected on shared walks, and analysed through a Constructivist Grounded Theory methodology, and a spatial justice framework, can inform the spatial production of walkability. An important contribution of this thesis, therefore, has been the application of walking as a distinct spatial practice to better understand walkability from a spatial justice perspective.
The knowledge contributed by this thesis can inform a holistic approach to walkability that achieves the outcome of greater spatial resilience for inhabitants than those currently used to promote walkability in theory and practice.
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APPENDIX A:  
NYOONGAR HISTORY, CULTURE AND RESISTANCE 
IN THE MAYLANDS AREA

Preamble

Maylands is a place of interest to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people who live and work there, as well as the wider Aboriginal population who have ancestral, traditional, cultural and familial ties to the area. As per the Guidelines for Ethical Conduct in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Research, it was my intention to conduct the study by the values of reciprocity, respect, equality, responsibility, survival and protection, and spirit and integrity (National Health and Research Medical Council, 2003). After consulting Kurongkurl Katitjin, Edith Cowan University’s Centre for Indigenous Australian Education and Research, I was advised to undertake research into Nyoongar heritage, culture and resistance in the Maylands area. I did this by consulting a Nyoongar Elder, by accessing colonial records, and reading Nyoongar publications on the surrounding area.

As I was not able to recruit any Nyoongar participants to this study, I contain this research within the appendices of this thesis. To follow are just a few of the stories of the Whadjuk Nyoongar Boodja, which is now, called Maylands. These stories cover hundreds of million years to the present day, and include details from newspaper reports, colonial records and archaeological surveys. Copies of these original documents were displayed at the Maylands Walks exhibit, added to the files at the Maylands Peninsula and Historical Association, and shared with Nyoongar inhabitants of Maylands.

Stories of a place now known as Maylands

The stories of the place now known as Maylands go back to the Permian Ice Age 300 million years ago, to what the Nyoongar People, the Aboriginal inhabitants of the South West of Western Australia, call the Nyetting, or the “cold, dark time” (Robertson, Stasiuk, Nannup, & Hopper, 2016, p. 43)\(^{51}\). This was the time when the

\(^{51}\) The project ‘Djena Koorliny Danjoo Boodjar-ang’ (Walking Together – Belonging to Country) was an investigation of the synergies between Nyoongar knowledge and Western Science, with Nyoongar
Waakarl, “the rhythm of the earth”, moved under and across the land and formed the water systems and rivers, including the Derbarl Yerrigan, or the Swan River, which contours the Maylands peninsula (Robertson et al., 2016, p. 44). Western science explains this as the time when the land now known as Western Australia was connected to India as part of the supercontinent Gondwana, and the river systems were formed by the movements of a continental ice sheet (Robertson et al., 2016).

The stories of boodja, or land, continue to present time. The changing and shaping of Nyoongar Boodja, The Jindalee, or “Spirit Woman”, story explains the formation of the rock clusters, and flora and fauna of the Triassic and Jurassic period (250 to 130 million years ago) (Robertson et al., 2016). The Waaliny Walkern, or “Coming of the colours”, explains the change to a tropical climate and the evolution from dinosaurs to reptiles, birds, and mammals of the Cretaceous and Tertiary period (130 to 2.6 million years ago) (Robertson et al., 2016).

Between 60,000-50,000 years ago, was the when the Nyoongar “human spirit ancestors became real” (Robertson et al., 2016, p. 46). They contended earthquakes, volcanoes, meteor strikes, and the prolonged drought of the Last Glacial Maximum (22,000 years ago), and adapted and survived by establishing Koondaarn Boodja, or “the Lore of the Land”, and expertise in fire management, water conservation and farming technology (Robertson et al., 2016, p. 46).

From 18,000 years ago, Nyoongar Boodja began to warm, and the kaarda (goanna) and nyingarn (echidna) took care of the Spirits buried when a third of the boodja was flooded as the sea levels rose (Robertson et al., 2016). 7,000 years ago the land took the shape recognised today and the Nyoongar people developed a federation of 14 nations (Robertson et al., 2016). The suburb now known as Maylands is Whadjuk Nyoongar Boodja “kalykool (always)” (Robertson et al., 2016, p. 45).

The peninsula area, of what is now called Maylands, with its numerous freshwater springs and eleven species of frogs, some of which were used for medicinal purposes, is the place where the old people would camp while the others walked on inland (Dr N. Nannup, personal communication, June 22, 2014).

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Elder Dr Noel Nannup of Kurongkurl Katitjin, Edith Cowan University and Professor Stephen Hopper of Murdoch University
Archeological surveys undertaken in the Maylands peninsula area from 1981–1996 recorded two significant and “very old“ Aboriginal sites at Wall Street and Fogerthorpe Crescent (Stranger, n.d., para. 1). One anvil or hammer stone and one grinding stone were found, along with 33 pieces of quartz and other artifacts (Stranger, n.d.).

Malgamongup, meaning “on the shoulder, the place of the spearwood camp on the hill” (Hughes-Hallet & Swan River Trust, 2010, p. 51) is today called Bardon Park, where East Street meets the river in Maylands. In 2012 it was listed on the Aboriginal Heritage Register as a “camp [and], hunting place” (Aboriginal Heritage Inquiry System, 2012). Around this area is the place “where the crow became black” (McGuire cited in Latitude Creative Services & National Trust (WA), 2009, pp. 50-51). It is also the place where the “Waagle” drank and gained “strength… from a fresh water spring at East Street jetty”, before he fights an ancestral “crocodile, bites off his tail and places his tail across the mouth of the river to prevent salt water coming upstream” (Walley cited in Robertson et al., 2016, p. 49), thus forming the ecosystem of the Derbarl Yerrigan.

**Colonisers, Capitalists, Resistance and Survival**

Malgamongup is said to be the first place where the founding Governor of the Swan River Colony, Captain Stirling, stopped ashore with his party and ”replenished water at a spring” on exploration up river in 1827 (Latitude Creative Services & National Trust (WA), 2009, p. 34). Two years later, the colonisers named the settlement Perth. This was the beginning of the Bwokaboort boodjar, or “stripping of land” by the colonisers undertaken through appropriation, violence and massacres (Robertson et al., 2016, p. 50). Resistance by the Nyoongar people has continued from this time.

In 1830, settlers from the brig Tranby, mostly Wesleyans from the North of England, established farms on the peninsula area, led by Joseph Hardey. The bend of the peninsula, Malgamongup, was claimed by John Gregory, who in 1832, petitioned the government for bread to support his family as he “was prevented from going out to labour…for fear of the natives” and instead lived six miles up river at Guildford (Colonial Secretary's Office, 1832). Although he established the Pineapple Inn on the site, Gregory had left the area by 1836 (Cooper & McDonald, 1999).
The other farmers on the peninsula were more successful but their occupation of Nyoongar Boodja came with oppression. This was met with resistance from the Nyoongar people. In 1833, “Mr Hardey and the Gentlemen of the Peninsular Farms with their Servants” assisted Captain Ellis and troops on a search “through the several haunts of the natives” until they found and captured the Nyoongar Elder Midgegooroo and his five year old son (“The Natives Again,” 1833, p. 78). Midgegooroo was subsequently executed by firing squad without trial (“The Natives Again,” 1833).

In 1834 the Hardeys, Clarksons and other settlers from the area petitioned the Lieutenant Governor against the proclamation of outlaw status on, and reward for capture of “the Native Wee-ip” (Colonial Secretary's Records, 1834, para. 1). However, the settlers added that the annulment of the proclamation should come with an assurance from Wee-ip:

“that he would use the utmost of his influence to prevent further aggressions from the Aborigines and at the same time acquainting him that should they be detected in seizing or destroying any Property belonging to the Settlers, they must accept punishment” (Colonial Secretary's Records, 1834, para. 8).

In January 1835 the Superintendent of Mounted Police “proceeded with 2 men to Peninsula Farm and brought 43 natives back to Perth who had assembled at the farm for the purpose of gleaning wheat by which means they put a stop to the operations of the harvest” (Colonial Secretary's Records, 1834, para. 1). The following month, John Hardey advertised for sale Chase Farm on the peninsula riverfront, as offering, “to Capitalists an opportunity of investment with a certain prospect of remuneration” and added that it was bordered by settlers’ farms on both sides, “which renders it secure from any attack by the natives” (“Peninsula,” 1835, para. 1).

In 1838 there was a newspaper report of Nyoongar fires at Malgamongup, “The native fires have been very destructive in the neighbourhood of Perth. Mr Bourne's house, near the Guildford road and adjoining the Pineapple Inn, was burnt down a few days ago” ("The native fires," 1838, p. 21). Fire management, or fire-stick farming, of Country was, and still is, planned and precise, and used for a variety of reasons, including fire prevention, hunting, regenerating plant species, and spiritual and ceremonial practices (Gammage, 2011).
In 1905, the Aborigines Act 1905 (WA) came into force. This was an amendment to prior legislation, which meant that any adult of Aboriginal descent could be removed to a Reserve, any child of Aboriginal descent could be institutionalised, and any prior legal status or citizenship rights were annulled (Delmege, 2005). Aboriginal Peoples in Western Australia had to show a ‘Native pass’ to prove they were in a town on official business, and curfews were assigned. In 1927 the Governor used the Act to officially enforce the banning of Aboriginal people from the Perth city centre (“Impacts of Law,” n.d.; J.M. Jacobs, 1996, p. 108).

Nyoongar people have continued to camp at Malgamongup and other parts of what is now called Maylands. Up to 30 people at a time camped at Malgamongup, between the early 1930s and early 1960s (O'Connor, Quartemaine, & Bodney, 1989, p. 34). Malgamomgup has been recorded as “a temporary camping place and fishing area [and] in the 1950s and 60s, Aboriginal people living in the East Perth area would come to this place from their homes to fish. At least one family is reported to have called this place their home” (Latitude Creative Services & National Trust (WA), 2009, p. 76).

Nyoongar Mia Mia, an Aboriginal owned and operated, not-for-profit housing association, established in 1995, recently took over the title to its Maylands offices ("Housing body right at home," 2015). The organisation has been based in Maylands since 2012 and provides housing for more than 400 First Nations people in Perth and the town of Esperance (n.d.). Also in Maylands since 2012 is the Nyooongar Wellbeing & Sports Association which is “an Aboriginal controlled health promotion charity working to build physical health and well-being in the Aboriginal community residing in Nyoongar country” and uses Traditional Indigenous Games in its programs to promote the connection between sport and culture (M. Griffin, personal communication, April 29, 2015).

In 2015, after a request from local residents, the City of Bayswater installed a commemorative plaque on the Maylands War Memorial to recognise First Nations men and women who served and provided aid during World War I and II (City of Bayswater, 2015, July 6; Pollock, 2015). After a request from members of the Maylands Residents and Ratepayers Association, in April 2015, the City of
Bayswater (Maylands’ local government area) voted to fly the Aboriginal flag outside its offices for the first time (Pilat, 2015).

**Malgamongup**

At the commencement of this study, Malgamongup, or Bardon Park, on the river in Maylands, was a registered Aboriginal Heritage Site (Aboriginal Heritage Inquiry System, 2012). In 2014, the site was removed from the Aboriginal Heritage Register and is currently listed as an “other heritage place” (Aboriginal Heritage Inquiry System, 2015). The number of Aboriginal Heritage Sites within Maylands’ local government area of the City of Bayswater has been reduced from seven sites to four sites within this time period.

The Malgamongup (Bardon Park) site was removed from the Aboriginal Heritage Register after a meeting of the Aboriginal Cultural Materials Committee in 2014, where it was reviewed under new guidelines formed in 2013 from an internal interpretation of the Aboriginal Heritage Act (1972). The guidelines declared “for a place to be a sacred site requires that it is devoted to a religious use rather than a place subject to mythological story, song or belief” (Wahlquist, 2015). Section 5b of the Act states as follows: “This act applies to any sacred, ritual or ceremonial site which is of importance and special significance to persons of Aboriginal descent” (Government of Western Australia, 1972).

Hon Peter Collier, the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, confirmed in state parliament that 22 culturally significant sites in WA had been delisted from the Aboriginal Heritage Register since 2012, after applications for developments on the sites were received (Perpitch & Gartry, 2015; Wahlquist, 2015). In 2015, the WA Supreme Court found the Aboriginal Cultural Materials Committee had enacted “jurisdictional error” by deregistering a site in Port Hedland, Western Australia, under these guidelines, after legal proceedings brought by Marapikurrinya people who are the Traditional Owners and native title claim holders of that area (Robinson v Fielding [2015] WASC 108). Peter Collier stated that other sites that had been deregistered under the interpretation of the act would therefore be referred to the committee for reconsideration (Western Australian Parliament, 2015). The implication of removing sites significant for “mythological story, song or belief” from the register means that any urban, or industrial, development on these sites
would go unchallenged by the protections of the Aboriginal Heritage Act (1972). Malgamongup remains deregistered.
APPENDIX A    REFERENCE LIST


Colonial Secretary's Office. (1832). Letter from John Gregory to the Colonial Secretary's Office. State Records Office Western Australia: Acc CSR 20_143.


Appendix B.

Appendix B.1. Letter of Information - Adult Walkshop participants

Dear Participant

Project: Neighbourhood Participatory Walks as Communication Avenues for Discussing Issues of Social Justice in Urban Space

I am writing to you to invite you to participate in my research project which is being undertaken as part of the requirements for a PhD at Edith Cowan University. The project has been instigated to investigate innovative solutions to issues that occur in the urban environment, using walking as a participatory activity and as a process for opening up communication avenues to discuss such issues and their solutions.

The aim of the project is to investigate and develop walking workshops, which can be used by communities as tools for discussing and proposing solutions for issues that may exist because of the built environment and every day functions of their neighbourhood. The workshops will use methods such as walking, photography, mapmaking and storytelling, borrowed from the fields of art and design, to communicate these problems and what could be done to solve them. The overall aim of the project is to create an activity that gives space and time for people to communicate their own ideas and concerns about their own neighbourhood to the people that can make changes in that neighbourhood, including other residents, businesses and local governments.

You have been approached as a potential participant because your neighbourhood is within the geographical area of the study, which is the suburb of Maylands, Western Australia.

What does participating in the research involve?
You are invited to participate in stage two of the project, which involves participating in a Walkshop, or walking workshop. The Walkshop involves walking in your neighbourhood, mapmaking, photography and storytelling in a group of up to ten people. At the end of the participation period, the participants will be asked to undertake a short anonymous survey, which will consist of questions asking their opinion of the project.

There is also the potential for further involvement in the project, if you so wish, which could include involvement in a walking tour of the neighbourhood, producing a neighbourhood map, or a ‘pop up space’ community exhibition, depending on the desired outcomes highlighted by the participants.

The time to be taken for participation in this stage of the project is 2 sessions of 3.5 hours each.
The potential discomfort or inconvenience involved in participation in this project may include minor physical exertion that would occur when walking outside for a time period of up to one hour. Shorter walking time periods can be undertaken as an alternative to the longer walking time, if this is more suitable.

Benefits of participation in this project could include getting to know your neighbourhood better, and having an opportunity to voice your opinion on things you want to change in your neighbourhood. You may also have the opportunity to get involved in discussions about possible solutions to problems regarding the built and natural environment in your neighbourhood and possible avenues of communication for addressing these problems.
Possible risks involved in participation in this project could include the typical dangers involved in walking along footpaths and crossing roads with vehicle traffic. The researcher aims to minimise or avoid these risks by discussing issues of road safety with all participants and providing a safety warden for every five or more participants.

If agreed by the participant, this project may involve audiovisual recording as part of the data collection procedures. In such case, participants may be recorded by an audio recorder or by photograph. If further consent is given, the audiovisual material recorded may be displayed to the public in a ‘pop up space’ exhibition. After the completion of the project, the recordings will be made available to the participants for personal use or archive. Any audiovisual material other than that kept or archived by the participants will be stored in a locked cabinet at Edith Cowan University and destroyed after five years. It is entirely possible to participate in the project without being recorded, and all participants have the option to not give consent to be recorded.

What will happen to the information I give, and is privacy and confidentiality assured?
The information provided by participants, as part of the research study, will be confidential and will be used only for the purposes of the research study. Pseudonyms will be used to protect all identities of participants involved in the study. All data will be stored in a locked cabinet at Edith Cowan University and will be destroyed after five years.

The results of the research study will be used in a PhD Thesis, and may also be used for a paper for an academic journal or presentation. The results will not include any information that may identify individual participants, unless specific consent for this has been obtained. If you would like to be informed of the results of the study, this information will be provided to you.

Do I have to take part?
No. Consent for participation in this study is given on an entirely voluntary basis. No explanation or justification is needed if you choose not to participate.

What if I wanted to change my initial decision?
You are free to withdraw your consent to further involvement in the research project at any time. In such case that you do exercise your right to withdraw from the research, all information or material that has already been collected from you as a participant will also be withdrawn.

Who do I contact if I wish to discuss the project further?
If you have any questions or require any further information about the research project, please contact:

Tina Askam
Researcher

If you have any concerns or complaints about the research project and wish to talk to an independent person, you may contact:

Research Ethics Officer
Edith Cowan University
270 Joondalup Drive
JOONDALUP WA 6027

How do I become involved?
If you have had all questions about the project answered to your satisfaction, and are willing to become involved, please complete the Consent Form attached and return it to Tina Askam, either by hand, or by the contact details above.

The Edith Cowan University Human Research Ethics Committee has approved this project.
This information letter is for you to keep.
Appendix B.2. Consent Form - Adult Walkshop participants

*Project:* Neighbourhood Participatory Walks as Communication Avenues for Discussing Issues of Social Justice in Urban Space

**Consent Form**

I have been provided with a copy of the Information Letter, explaining the research study and have read and understood the information provided therein.

I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the research study, and feel that any questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I am aware that I can contact the research team with any additional questions I may have.

I understand that participation in the research project will involve taking part in one or two workshops that involve walking in my neighbourhood, as well as producing various artistic works, which could include mapmaking, photography and storytelling among other activities (as outlined in the Participant Information Letter).

I understand that the information provided will be kept confidential, and that the identity of participants will not be disclosed without consent.

I understand that the information provided will only be used for the purposes of this research project, and understand the ways in which the information is to be used.

I understand that I am free to withdraw from further participation in this research study at any time, without explanation or penalty.

I freely agree to participate in the project titled *Neighbourhood Participatory Walks as Communication Avenues for Discussing Issues of Social Justice in Urban Space* undertaken by Tina Askam, PhD Candidate at Edith Cowan University.

Name of Participant (printed): ________________________________

Signature of Participant: ________________________________ Date: / /

**Consent for Audiovisual Recording**

*Please tick where applicable)* ☑

In addition to the consent given above,

I do give consent to be recorded by audio and/or photograph ☐

I do give consent for the audiovisual material recorded to be displayed to the public in a gallery exhibition, catalogue or brochure ☐

I do give consent for any artworks or photographs I produce during the above mentioned research study to be displayed to the public in a gallery exhibition, catalogue, or brochure ☐

Name of Participant (printed): ________________________________

Signature of Participant: ________________________________ Date: / /
Appendix B.3. Letter of Information - Walking Interview participants

Dear Participant

Project: Neighbourhood Participatory Walks as Communication Avenues for Discussing Issues of Social Justice in Urban Space

I am writing to you to invite you to participate in my research project which is being undertaken as part of the requirements for a PhD at Edith Cowan University. The project has been instigated to investigate innovative solutions to issues of social injustice in the urban environment, using walking as a participatory activity and as a process for opening up communication avenues to discuss such issues and their solutions.

The aim of the project is to investigate and develop walking workshops, which can be used by communities as tools for discussing and proposing solutions for issues that may exist because of the built environment and every day functions of their neighbourhood. The workshops will use methods such as walking, mapmaking and storytelling to communicate these problems and what could be done to solve them. The overall aim of the project is to create an activity that gives space and time for people to communicate their own ideas and concerns about their own neighbourhood to the people that can make changes in that neighbourhood, including other residents, businesses and local governments.

You have been selected as a potential participant because your neighbourhood is within the geographical area of the study, which is the suburb of Maylands, Western Australia.

What does participating in the research involve?
You have been invited to participate in stage one of the project, which involves participating in a Walkshop, or one-on-one walking workshop with the researcher. The Walkshop involves walking in your neighbourhood with the researcher and talking about issues in your neighbourhood, telling stories about your neighbourhood from the past or present, and taking photographs of significant places in your neighbourhood.

There is also the potential for further involvement in the project, which could include taking part in a community walking tour of the neighbourhood, producing a neighbourhood map, or a community exhibition. At the end of the participation period, the participant will be asked to undertake a short anonymous survey, which will consist of questions asking their opinion of the project.

The time to be taken for participation in this stage of the project is approximately 1 - 2 hours.

The potential discomfort or inconvenience involved in participation in this project may include minor physical exertion that would occur when walking outside for a time period of up to one hour. Shorter walking time periods can be undertaken as an alternative to the longer walking time.

Benefits of participation in this project could include getting to know your neighbourhood better, and having an opportunity to voice your opinion on things you want to change in your neighbourhood. You may also have the opportunity to get involved in discussions about possible solutions to problems regarding the built and natural environment in your neighbourhood and possible avenues of communication for addressing these problems.

Possible risks involved in participation in this project could include the typical dangers involved in walking along footpaths and crossing roads with vehicle traffic. The researcher aims to minimise or avoid these risks by discussing issues of road safety with all participants.

If agreed by the participant, this project may involve audiovisual recording as part of the data collection procedures. In such case, participants may be recorded by an audio recorder or by
photograph. If further consent is given, the audiovisual material recorded may be displayed to the
public in a gallery exhibition. After the completion of the project, the recordings will be made
available to the participants for personal use or archive. Any audiovisual material other than that kept
or archived by the participants will be stored in a locked cabinet at Edith Cowan University and
destroyed after five years. It is entirely possible to participate in the project without being recorded,
and all participants have the option to not give consent to be recorded.

What will happen to the information I give, and is privacy and confidentiality assured?
The information provided by participants, as part of the research study, will be confidential and will
be used only for the purposes of the research study. Pseudonyms will be used to protect all identities
of participants involved in the study. All data will be stored in a locked cabinet at Edith Cowan
University and will be destroyed after five years.

The results of the research study will be used in a PhD Thesis and may also be used for a paper for an
academic journal or presentation. The results will not include any information that may identify
individual participants, unless specific consent for this has been obtained. If you would like to be
informed of the results of the study, this information will be provided to you.

Do I have to take part?
No. Consent for participation in this study is given on an entirely voluntary basis. No explanation or
justification is needed if you choose not to participate.

What if I wanted to change my initial decision?
You are free to withdraw your consent to further involvement in the research project at any time. In
such case that you do exercise your right to withdraw from the research, all information or material
that has already been collected from you as a participant will also be withdrawn.

Who do I contact if I wish to discuss the project further?
If you have any questions or require any further information about the research project, please
contact:
Tina Askam
Researcher

If you have any concerns or complaints about the research project and wish to talk to an independent
person, you may contact:
Research Ethics Officer
Edith Cowan University
270 Joondalup Drive
JOONDALUP WA 6027

How do I become involved?
If you have had all questions about the project answered to your satisfaction, and are willing to
become involved, please complete the Consent Form attached and return it to Tina Askam, either by
hand, or by the contact details above.

The Edith Cowan University Human Research Ethics Committee has approved this project.
This information letter is for you to keep.
Appendix B.4. Consent Form - Walking Interview participants

Project: Neighbourhood Participatory Walks as Communication Avenues for Discussing Issues of Social Justice in Urban Space

Consent Form

I have been provided with a copy of the Information Letter, explaining the research study and have read and understood the information provided therein.

I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the research study, and feel that any questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I am aware that I can contact the research team with any additional questions I may have.

I understand that participation in the research project will involve taking part in a workshop that involves walking in my neighbourhood, as well as producing various artistic works, which could include mapmaking, photography and storytelling among other activities (as outlined in the Participant Information Letter).

I understand that the information provided will be kept confidential, and that the identity of participants will not be disclosed without consent.

I understand that the information provided will only be used for the purposes of this research project, and understand the ways in which the information is to be used.

I understand that I am free to withdraw from further participation in this research study at any time, without explanation or penalty.

I freely agree to participate in the project titled Neighbourhood Participatory Walks as Communication Avenues for Discussing Issues of Social Justice in Urban Space undertaken by Tina Askam, PhD Candidate at Edith Cowan University.

Name of Participant (printed):

Signature of Participant: ____________________________ Date: / / 

Consent for Audiovisual Recording

Please tick where applicable)

☐ In addition to the consent given above,

☐ I do give consent to be recorded by audio and/or photograph

☐ I do give consent for the audiovisual material recorded to be displayed to the public in a gallery exhibition, catalogue or brochure

☐ I do give consent for any artworks or photographs I produce during the above mentioned research study to be displayed to the public in a gallery exhibition, catalogue, or brochure

Name of Participant (printed):

Signature of Participant: ____________________________ Date: / /
Appendix B.5. Letter of Information - Walking Interview child participants: for parent/carer

Dear Parent/Carer,

Project: Participatory Walks as Communication Avenues for Discussing Issues of Social Justice in Urban Space

My name is Tina Askam and I am writing to you on behalf of Edith Cowan University. I am conducting a research project that aims to investigate walking as a participatory activity for the discussion of issues in the urban environment. The project is being conducted with Dr Nicola Kaye and Dr Christopher Kueh as part of a PhD study at Edith Cowan University.

I would like to invite your child to take part in the project. This is because your child lives within the area of study; the suburb of Maylands, Western Australia. Your child has also been provided with a letter from us that we encourage you to discuss with him/her.

As part of this project I will be investigating creative methods for engaging young people with the spaces in their suburb and give them the opportunity to take on the role of a ‘space explorer’.

The overall aim of the research study is to investigate and develop walking workshops, which can be used by communities, and service providers, as tools for discussing and proposing solutions for issues that may exist because of the built environment and every day functions of their neighbourhood. The workshops will use methods such as walking, mapmaking and storytelling to communicate stories and histories from the neighbourhood’s past and dreams and aspirations for the neighbourhood’s future.

The proposed outcome of the project is to create an activity that gives space and time for people to communicate their own ideas and concerns about their own neighbourhood to the people that can make changes in that neighbourhood, including other residents, businesses and local governments.

Benefits of participation in this project could include the children getting to know their suburb better, and having an opportunity to voice their opinion on things they want to change in their neighbourhood. They may also have the opportunity to get involved in discussions about possible solutions to problems regarding the built and natural environment in their neighbourhood and possible avenues of communication for addressing these problems. The project fits within the guidelines of the Western Australian Curriculum Framework for Society and Environment.

This research project supports the principles of the ‘8 – 80 rule’, which states that a city that is designed for 8 year-olds and 80 year-olds is a city that is successful and safe for everyone. It is this idea that has inspired the recruitment of schoolchildren as participants in the study. Children also have the greatest stake in the future of urban public space but often have little say in the decisions that are made about that space. Senior Citizens are also great users of public space, and they often hold a wealth of stories and histories about the cultural and structural changes that have occurred in a neighbourhood over time.

Participation in the project will involve your child taking part in a walk. The activities undertaken during the walk will be mapmaking, photography and storytelling.

Participation is voluntary and your decision will be respected. No explanation or justification is needed if you choose not to give consent for your child to participate. Once a decision is made to participate, either you or your child can change your mind at any time.

You are also free to withdraw your consent to your child’s further involvement in the research project at any time. In such case that you do exercise your right to withdraw your child from the research, all information or material that has already been collected from your child as a participant will also be withdrawn.
Under the *Working with Children (Criminal Record Checking) Act 2004*, people undertaking research that involves contact with children must undergo a Working with Children Check. The main researcher, Tina Askam, holds a current Working with Children Check card.

Possible risks involved in participation in this project could include the typical dangers involved in walking along footpaths and crossing roads with vehicle traffic. The researcher aims to minimise or avoid these risks by discussing issues of road safety with all participants.

The data to be collected will be in the form of photographs, drawings and maps made by the children participants. Copies will be made for analysis purposes. Some photographs, drawings or maps may be published in the PhD thesis, or in a journal article or presentation of the findings. A consent form for the use of photographs and artworks created by your child for analysis and publication is attached.

**No photographs of the children or artworks that feature or identify any child will be published in any way.**

The privacy and confidentiality of participants is assured. Information that identifies any child will be removed from the data collected. The data is then stored securely in a locked cabinet at Edith Cowan University, which can only be accessed by Tina Askam, Dr Nicola Kaye or Dr Christopher Kueh and will be destroyed after five years.

The results of the research study will be used in a PhD thesis and may also be used for a paper for an academic journal or presentation. The results will not include any information that may identify individual participants. If you would like to be informed of the results of the study, this information will be provided to you.

If you have any questions or require any further information about the research project, please contact:

Tina Askam  
Researcher

If you wish to speak to an independent person about how this research study is conducted, please contact:

Research Ethics Officer  
Edith Cowan University

If you and your child are both willing for him/her to be involved, please complete the **Consent Form** on the following page.

This project information letter is for you to keep.

The Edith Cowan University Human Research Ethics Committee has approved this project.
Appendix B.6. Consent Form - Walking Interview child participants: for parent/carer

Consent Form for Parent/Carer of Child Participant

Research Study: Participatory Walks as Communication Avenues for Discussing Issues of Social Justice in Urban Space

• I have read and understood the information letter about the project, or have had it explained to me in language I understand.

• I have taken up the invitation to ask any questions I may have had and am satisfied with the answers I received.

• I understand that participation in the project is entirely voluntarily.

• I am willing for my child to become involved in the project, as described.

• I have discussed with my child what it means to participate in this project. He/she has explicitly indicated a willingness to take part, as indicated by his/her completion of the child consent form.

• I understand that both my child and I are free to withdraw my consent for my child’s participation in the study at any time, and in such case all data collected from my child will also be withdrawn from the study.

• I understand that I can request a summary of findings after the research has been completed.

• I understand that copies of photos and artworks made by my child during the study will be collected for analysis purposes.

Please tick if applicable

• In addition to the consent given above, I do give consent for copies of any art works or photographs produced by my child during the above mentioned research study to be published in a PhD thesis, academic journal article, and/or presentation of research findings, as long as my child is not identified in any way and they are suitable to be published in this way. ☐

Name of Child (printed): ____________________________

Name of Parent/Carer (printed): ____________________________

Signature of Parent/Carer: ____________________________ Date: / /
Appendix B.7. Letter of Information - Child Walkshops: for school Principal

Dear Principal

Project: Neighbourhood Participatory Walks as Communication Avenues for Discussing Issues of Social Justice in Urban Space

My name is Tina Askam and I am writing to you on behalf of Edith Cowan University. I am conducting a research project that aims to investigate innovative solutions to issues of social injustice in the urban environment, using walking as a participatory activity and as a process for opening up communication avenues to discuss such issues and their solutions. The project is being conducted with Dr Nicola Kaye and Dr Christopher Kueh as part of a PhD study at Edith Cowan University.

The aim of the project is to investigate and develop walking workshops, which can be used by communities as tools for discussing and proposing solutions for issues that may exist because of the built environment and every day functions of their neighbourhood. The workshops will use methods such as walking, mapmaking and storytelling to communicate how people interact with spaces in their neighbourhood. The overall aim of the project is to create an activity that gives space and time for people to communicate their own ideas and concerns about their own neighbourhood to the people that can make changes in that neighbourhood, including other residents, businesses and local governments.

I would like to invite (...) School to take part. This is because it is located within the geographical area of the research study; the suburb of Maylands, Western Australia.

What does participation in the research project involve?

In order to undertake the research project I seek access to an actual class of students from either grades year 3, 4, 5 or 6, depending on the school’s preference. The maximum number of student participants I can accommodate in the research is 40 students. I hope to undertake the research in Term 1, 2014.

The class will be invited to participate in a two-part workshop entitled, SpaceLab: Exploring spaces and culture in your neighbourhood, and will be investigating, in particular, creative methods for engaging young people with the spaces in their school and giving them the opportunity to take on the role of a ‘space explorer’ by discovering stories, histories and social and structural issues that exist in their school and suburb. The project also encourages connections between different generations that exist in the same neighbourhood, giving an opportunity to share different stories and opinions about neighbourhood spaces.

This research project supports the principles of the ‘8 – 80 rule’, which states that a city that is designed for 8 year-olds and 80 year-olds is a city that is successful and safe for everyone. It is this idea that has inspired the recruitment of schoolchildren as participants in the study. Children also have the greatest stake in the future of urban public space but often have little say in the decisions that are made about that space. Senior citizens are also great users of public space, and they often hold a wealth of stories and histories about the cultural and structural changes that have occurred in a neighbourhood over time. With this idea in mind, this stage of the research project has been designed to include an opportunity for the children to share stories and ideas about their school and suburb with Senior Citizens from the local area. Potential Senior Citizen groups to be approached for involvement in the project could be (...). Consultation with the school will be sought as to the suitability of such intergenerational practices, and as to which group would be involved, should the school wish to undertake this opportunity.

The time to be taken for participation in this stage of the project is approximately 2 sessions of 2 hours each. The first session of the project will involve only the class of schoolchildren. The activities undertaken will be mapmaking, photography and storytelling within the school area. Edith Cowan University will provide the cameras and all art materials. The second session of the project, if approved by the school, will consist of the same activities within the school area, but shared with
Senior Citizens to ultimately build an intergenerational map of the spaces, culture and stories that make the school and suburb unique. A draft schedule of the two sessions is attached to this letter.

I will keep the (…) School’s involvement in the administration of the research procedures to a minimum. However, it will be necessary for the (…) School to send home with students the information letters and consent forms for students and their parents.

**To what extent is participation voluntary, and what are the implications of withdrawing that participation?**

Participation in this research project is entirely voluntary.

If any member of a participant group decides to participate and then later changes their mind, they are able to withdraw their participation at any time.

Consent for participation in this study is given on an entirely voluntary basis. No explanation or justification is needed if you choose not to participate.

Participants are also free to withdraw their consent to further involvement in the research project at any time. In such case that participants do exercise their right to withdraw from the research, all information or material that has already been collected from the participant will also be withdrawn and destroyed.

There will be no consequences relating to any decision by an individual or the (…) School regarding participation, other than those already described in this letter. Decisions made will not affect the relationship with the research team or (…) School.

Possible risks involved in participation in this project could include the typical dangers involved in walking within the school grounds. The research study will follow all school guidelines as to health and safety, and supervision of school students throughout all activities involved, as advised by the school administration and teaching staff. The school will have final decision as to the location within the school grounds in which the walking takes place, as well as the duration of the walks and the number and age of the children involved. Additional safety wardens will be provided to supervise the students’ walking activities in the school grounds if necessary, as per the school’s requirements.

**What will happen to the information collected, and is privacy and confidentiality assured?**

The data to be collected will be in the form of photographs, drawings and maps made by the student participants. Copies will be made of these photographs, drawings and maps for analysis purposes and the artefacts will be returned to the school. Some photographs, drawings or maps may be selected for publication in a PhD thesis, or in a journal article or presentation, as long as they do not identify any student or the school in any way. Before any photographs or artworks are published I will ask you to view the selected items and seek your written authorisation for their use in this way. Parents will be asked to indicate on their signed consent form that they consent for the photographs and artworks created by their child to be copied for analysis purposes and for selected photographs and artworks to be published, provided you have authorised their use in this way. The information provided by participants, as part of the research study, will be confidential and will be used only for the purposes of the research study. Pseudonyms will be used to protect all identities of participants involved in the study. All data will be stored in a locked cabinet at Edith Cowan University, which can only be accessed by Tina Askam, Dr Nicola Kaye, or Dr Chris Kueh, and will be shredded after five years.

The identity of participants will not be disclosed at any time, except in circumstances that require reporting under the (…) Child Protection policy, or where the research team is legally required to disclose that information.

The identity of the school will not be disclosed in the research study, however, it is understood that, as (…) School is the only (…) school in the suburb of Maylands, the anonymity of the school cannot be guaranteed. The suburb of Maylands will be identified in research publications.

Participant privacy, and the confidentiality of information disclosed by participants, is assured at all other times.
The data will be used only for this project, and will not be used in any extended or future research without first obtaining explicit written consent from participants.

Consistent with (...) policy, a summary of the research findings will be made available to the participating site and the (...).

The results of the research study will be used in a PhD Thesis, and may also be used for a paper for an academic journal or presentation. The results will not include any information that may identify individual participants.

Is this research approved?

The research has been approved by the Edith Cowan University Human Research Ethics Committee, and has met the policy requirements of the (...) as indicated in the attached letter.

Do all members of the research team who will be having contact with children have their Working with Children Check?

Yes. Under the Working with Children (Criminal Record Checking) Act 2004, people undertaking work in Western Australia that involves contact with children must undergo a Working with Children Check. The documents attached to this letter include evidence of the current Working With Children Check held. If the school chooses to invite Senior Citizens to attend the school as research participants, or requires additional Safety Wardens, then evidence of their current Working With Children Checks will be provided to the school, as per the requirements of the (...), Western Australia.

Who do I contact if I wish to discuss the project further?

Tina Askam
Researcher

If you have any concerns or complaints about the research project and wish to talk to an independent person, you may contact:

Research Ethics Officer
Edith Cowan University
270 Joondalup Drive
JOONDALUP WA 6027

How do I indicate my willingness for the (...) School to be involved?

If you have had all questions about the project answered to your satisfaction, and are willing for the (...) School to participate, please complete the Consent Form on the following page and return it to Tina Askam either by hand or by posting it to the above address.

This information letter is for you to keep.
Appendix B.8. Consent Form - Child Walkshops: for school Principal

Consent Form for (...) Site Managers

Project: Neighbourhood Participatory Walks as Communication Avenues for Discussing Issues of Social Justice in Urban Space

- I have read this document and understand the aims, procedures, and risks of this project, as described within it.

- For any questions I may have had, I have taken up the invitation to ask those questions, and I am satisfied with the answers I received.

- I am willing for (...) School to become involved in the research project, as described.

- I understand that participation in the project is entirely voluntarily.

- I understand that the (...) School is free to withdraw its participation at any time, without affecting the relationship with the research team or Edith Cowan University.

- I understand that I am free to withdraw (...) School and all related data from further participation in this research study at any time, without explanation or penalty.

- I understand that this research may be published in a PhD Thesis, journal, or conference presentation provided that the participants and the school are not identified in any way. I understand that the suburb of Maylands will be identified.

- I understand that I will be asked to view and authorise the publication of specific copies of students photographs and artworks in your PhD thesis, or in a journal article or presentation, provided parents have consented for this to happen.

- I understand that the (...) School will be provided with a copy of the findings from this research upon its completion.

Name of Site Manager (printed): 

Signature: ___________________________ Date: / / 

______________________________

Dear Parent/Carer,

Project: Participatory Walks as Communication Avenues for Discussing Issues of Social Justice in Urban Space

My name is Tina Askam and I am writing to you on behalf of Edith Cowan University. I am conducting a research project that aims to investigate walking as a participatory activity for the discussion of issues in the urban environment. The project is being conducted with Dr Nicola Kay and Dr Christopher Kueh as part of a PhD study at Edith Cowan University.

I would like to invite your child to take part in the project. This is because your child attends (…) School which is within the area of study; the suburb of Maylands, Western Australia. Your child has also been provided with a letter from us that we encourage you to discuss with him/her.

The stage of the project I am inviting your child’s school to take part in is titled, SpaceLab: Exploring spaces and culture in your neighbourhood, and will be investigating, in particular, creative methods for engaging young people with the spaces in their school and suburb and giving them the opportunity to take on the role of a ‘space explorer’ by discovering stories, histories and issues that exist in their school and suburb. The project also encourages connections between different generations that exist in the same neighbourhood, giving an opportunity to share different stories and opinions about how people interact with space.

The overall aim of the research study is to investigate and develop walking workshops, which can be used by communities, and service providers, as tools for discussing and proposing solutions for issues that may exist because of the built environment and every day functions of their neighbourhood. The workshops will use methods such as walking, mapmaking and storytelling to communicate stories and histories from the neighbourhood’s past and dreams and aspirations for the neighbourhood’s future.

The proposed outcome of the project is to create an activity that gives space and time for people to communicate their own ideas and concerns about their own neighbourhood to the people that can make changes in that neighbourhood, including other residents, businesses and local governments.

Benefits of participation in this project could include the children getting to know their school and suburb better, and having an opportunity to voice their opinion on things they want to change in their neighbourhood. They may also have the opportunity to get involved in discussions about possible solutions to problems regarding the built and natural environment in their neighbourhood and possible avenues of communication for addressing these problems. The project fits within the guidelines of the Western Australian Curriculum Framework for Society and Environment.

This research project supports the principles of the ‘8 – 80 rule’, which states that a city that is designed for 8 year-olds and 80 year-olds is a city that is successful and safe for everyone. It is this idea that has inspired the recruitment of schoolchildren as participants in the study. Children also have the greatest stake in the future of urban public space but often have little say in the decisions that are made about that space. Senior Citizens are also great users of public space, and they often hold a wealth of stories and histories about the cultural and structural changes that have occurred in a neighbourhood over time.

With this idea in mind, this stage of the research project has been designed to include an opportunity for the children to share stories and ideas about the school neighbourhood with Senior Citizens who live, or may have lived in the suburb.

Participation in the project will involve your child taking part in 2 workshop sessions of 2 hours each. The activities undertaken in the first session of the project will be mapmaking, photography and storytelling within the school area. The second session of the project, will undertake the same activities but shared with Senior Citizens to discuss past, present and future Maylands and ultimately build a map of the spaces, culture and stories that make the suburb of Maylands unique.

At the end of the participation period, the participants will be asked to undertake a short anonymous survey, which will consist of questions asking their opinion of the project. A copy of the survey questions is attached.

Participation is voluntary and your decision will be respected. No explanation or justification is needed if you choose not to give consent for your child to participate. Your decision will not affect
your family’s relationship with your child’s teacher or the school. If a decision is made to participate, it will need to be made by 1st April 2014 for your child to be included in the project. Once a decision is made to participate, either you or your child can change your mind at any time.

You are also free to withdraw your consent to your child’s further involvement in the research project at any time. In such case that you do exercise your right to withdraw your child from the research, all information or material that has already been collected from your child as a participant will also be withdrawn.

Since the project will take place during normal class time, another activity will be arranged for children not taking part, in conjunction with their teacher.

The researcher will liaise with the school to ensure that all school safety and supervision requirements are met. The research study will follow all school guidelines as to health and safety, and supervision of school students throughout all activities involved, as advised by the school administration and teaching staff.

Under the Working with Children (Criminal Record Checking) Act 2004, people undertaking research that involves contact with children must undergo a Working with Children Check. Evidence that these checks are current for each member of the research team has been provided to the Principal of (...) School.

The data to be collected will be in the form of photographs, drawings and maps made by the student participants. Copies will be made for analysis purposes of the participant students’ photographs, drawings and maps and the artefacts returned to the school. Some photographs, drawings or maps may be published in the PhD thesis, or in a journal article or presentation of the findings. A consent form for the use of photographs and artworks created by your child for analysis and publication is attached. No photographs of students or artworks that feature or identify any student or the school will be published in any way. Before any photo or artwork is published, the Principal will view them to ensure they do not identify students or the school in any way and will sign an authorisation form for their use in publications of the research findings.

The privacy and confidentiality of participants is assured. Information that identifies any student will be removed from the data collected. The data is then stored securely in a locked cabinet at Edith Cowan University, which can only be accessed by Tina Askam, Dr Nicola Kaye or Dr Christopher Kueh and will be destroyed after five years.

The results of the research study will be used in a PhD thesis and may also be used for a paper for an academic journal or presentation. The results will not include any information that may identify individual participants or the school. If you would like to be informed of the results of the study, this information will be provided to you.

If you have any questions or require any further information about the research project, please contact:

Tina Askam
Researcher

If you wish to speak to an independent person about how this research study is conducted, please contact:

Research Ethics Officer
Edith Cowan University
270 Joondalup Drive
JOONDALUP WA 6027

If you and your child are both willing for him/her to be involved, please complete the Consent Form on the following page. Your child is also asked to complete the Consent Form attached to his/her letter. Please submit both completed consent forms to the class teacher by 1st April 2014.

This project information letter is for you to keep.

The (...) Western Australia and The Edith Cowan University Human Research Ethics Committee have approved this project.
Appendix B.10. Consent Form - Child Walkshops: for parent/carer

Consent Form for Parent/Carer of Child Participant
(please complete and return by 1st April 2014)

Research Study: Participatory Walks as Communication Avenues for Discussing Issues of Social Justice in Urban Space

- I have read and understood the information letter about the project, or have had it explained to me in language I understand.

- I have taken up the invitation to ask any questions I may have had and am satisfied with the answers I received.

- I understand that participation in the project is entirely voluntarily.

- I am willing for my child to become involved in the project, as described.

- I have discussed with my child what it means to participate in this project. He/she has explicitly indicated a willingness to take part, as indicated by his/her completion of the child consent form.

- I understand that both my child and I are free to withdraw that participation at any time without affecting the family’s relationship with my child’s teacher or my child’s school.

- I understand that I can withdraw my consent for my child’s participation in the study at any time, and in such case all data collected from my child will also be withdrawn from the study.

- I understand that I can request a summary of findings after the research has been completed.

- I understand that copies of photos and artworks made by my child during the study will be collected for analysis purposes.

Please tick if applicable þ
- In addition to the consent given above, I do give consent for copies of any art works or photographs produced by my child during the above mentioned research study to be published in a PhD thesis, academic journal article, and/or presentation of research findings, as long as the Principal has viewed them and provided written authorisation to indicate that my child and the school are not identified in any way and they are suitable to be published in this way.

Name of Child (printed): ____________________________
Name of Parent/Carer (printed): ____________________________
Signature of Parent/Carer: ____________________________ Date: / /

Information Sheet

Project: Participatory Walks as Communication Avenues for Discussing Issues of Social Justice in Urban Space

Dear Student

My name is Tina Askam and I am from Edith Cowan University. I would like to invite you to take part in a research project that I am doing.

The project is about getting to know what different types of people in Maylands think about spaces in Maylands, like buildings, parks, streets and schools. It is also about finding out what things people think are important in Maylands and what things they would like to change.

I am asking for your help with the project because your school is in the suburb of Maylands, Western Australia. I will be asking lots of different people in Maylands, to become involved.

I would like to find out what ideas and dreams people have when they walk around the places where they live and go to school. I think it is really important to ask children what they think about these things because children don't often get to have a say about parks and playgrounds and other spaces that they use more than anyone else. I also think it is important to ask older people how they played and learnt when they were children and find out what has changed in their neighbourhood since they were younger.

By taking part in this project, you have a chance to tell other people about your own ideas and dreams for spaces in your school and neighbourhood and listen to some interesting stories about Maylands told by other people. I hope, by doing this, we can find out some great ideas about how to make our neighbourhoods friendlier, safer and more fun for everyone.

What would I be asked to do?
If you agree to take part, you would be asked to walk in the school grounds with your classmates, and take photographs, draw maps, and tell stories of things that are interesting and important to you in the school area. You will also be asked to think and write about things that you would like to change in your school area. The time taken to do this will be about two hours.

On a different day, your school group will be visited by some older people from the Maylands area who will tell stories about going to school and growing up in Maylands when they were children. They can also listen to your stories about your school and help you draw a map of the interesting and important things in Maylands. The time taken to do this will also be about two hours. I will make copies of the drawings, stories and photographs you
make on both of the days. I will use the copies of all of the student’s drawings, stories and photographs to tell a story about the spaces in Maylands so that I can let other people know what the students at your school think.

Do I have to take part?
No. You are completely free to say yes or no. I will respect your decision whichever choice you make.

What if I wanted to change my mind?
If you say no, but then change your mind and want to take part, please let your teacher know.
You can stop at any time, even if you have said yes. Just let your teacher or mum or dad, or the person who looks after you, know and they will tell me.
If you decide to stop taking part at any time, any photographs, drawings or stories that you make will be given back to you and will not be included in the project.

What if I say something during the project that I don’t want anyone else to know?
I may have to tell someone like your teacher if you tell me that you have been hurt by someone lately. But for all other things you tell me, I won’t repeat them to anyone else.

What will you do with the information I give you?
I collect what each student has given to the project, and then I write about it in a journal, which is like a magazine, so that other adults can read about it. When I do this, I won’t write or tell anyone your name, or the names of any other students or your school. With the permission of you and your parents I may also use copies of some of your photos and artwork in the journal. Before I do this I will show the photos and artworks to the Principal to get his permission too.

How do I get involved?
You have already talked with your mum or dad, or the person who looks after you, about what it means to take part in the project. Now you get to say for yourself.

If you do want to be a part of the project, please read the next page and write your name in the space provided.

Please hand that page to (as decided by school) by (date to be confirmed). This letter is for you to keep.
Appendix B.12. Consent Form - Child Workshops: for student participant

Consent Form

- I know that I don’t have to be involved in this project, but I would like to be.

- I know that I will be doing walking, photography, drawing and storytelling in my school as part of the project. I will also be listening to stories told by my classmates and older people from Maylands who visit the school.

- I know that I can stop when I want to.

- If I decide to stop taking part at any time, any photographs, drawings or stories that I make will be given back to me and will not be included in the project.

- I understand that I need to write my name in the space below, before I can be a part of the project.

Your name: ____________________________  Today’s Date:  /  /  

______________________________

Dear Participant

Project: Neighbourhood Participatory Walks as Communication Avenues for Discussing Issues of Social Justice in Urban Space

I am writing to you to invite you to participate in my research project which is being undertaken as part of the requirements for a PhD at Edith Cowan University. The project has been instigated to investigate innovative solutions to issues of social injustice in the urban environment, using walking as a participatory activity and as a process for opening up communication avenues to discuss such issues and their solutions.

The aim of the project is to investigate and develop walking workshops, which can be used by communities as tools for discussing and proposing solutions for issues that may exist because of the built environment and every day functions of their neighbourhood. The workshops will use methods such as walking, mapmaking and storytelling to communicate these problems and what could be done to solve them. The overall aim of the project is to create an activity that gives space and time for people to communicate their own ideas and concerns about their own neighbourhood to the people that can make changes in that neighbourhood, including other residents, businesses and local governments.

This research project supports the principles of the ‘8 – 80 rule’, which states that a city that is designed for 8 year-olds and 80 year-olds is a city that is successful and safe for everyone. It is this idea that has inspired the recruitment of schoolchildren as participants in the study. Children also have the greatest stake in the future of urban public space but often have little say in the decisions that are made about that space. Senior Citizens are also great users of public space, and they often hold a wealth of stories and histories about the cultural and structural changes that have occurred in a neighbourhood over time.

With this idea in mind, this stage of the research project has been designed to include an opportunity for children to share stories and ideas about the school neighbourhood with Senior Citizens who live, or may have lived in the area.

You have been selected as a potential participant because your neighbourhood is within the geographical area of the study, which is the suburb of Maylands, Western Australia.

What does participating in the research involve?

You have been invited to participate in stage three of the project, which involves participating in a Walkshop, or walking workshop with local schoolchildren.

The time to be taken for participation in this stage of the project is 1 session of approximately 2 hours. The activities undertaken in the project will be mapmaking, photography and storytelling with schoolchildren within the school area, with the aim of ultimately creating a map of the spaces, culture and stories that make the school neighbourhood unique. At the end of the participation period, the participants will be asked to undertake a short anonymous survey, which will consist of questions asking their opinion of the project.

Before commencement of the project, all participants will be asked to sign a declaration provided by the (...) Western Australia regarding conduct on (...) sites. Depending on previous engagement in child-related work this year, participants may also be asked to complete, and produce evidence of, a current Working With Children Check.

The potential discomfort or inconvenience involved in participation in this project may include minor physical exertion that would occur when walking outside for a time period of up to 30 minutes. Shorter walking time periods can be undertaken as an alternative to the longer walking time.

Benefits of participation in this project could include the participants getting to know their neighbourhood better, and having an opportunity to voice their opinion on things they want to change.
in their neighbourhood. They may also have the opportunity to get involved in discussions about possible solutions to problems regarding the built and natural environment in their neighbourhood and possible avenues of communication for addressing these problems. The project fits within the guidelines of the Western Australian Curriculum Framework for Society and Environment.

Possible risks involved in participation in this project could include the typical dangers involved in walking within the school grounds. If agreed by the participant, this project may involve photography as part of the data collection procedures. In such case, participants may be photographed, in such a way as to not give away their identity. If further consent is given, the photograph may be displayed to the public in an exhibition or in a school publication. After the completion of the project, any photographs will be made available to the participants for personal use or archive. Any copies or artefacts of audiovisual material other than that kept or archived by the participants will be stored in a locked cabinet at Edith Cowan University and destroyed after five years. It is entirely possible to participate in the project without being recorded by photograph, and all participants have the option to not give consent to be photographed.

**What will happen to the information I give, and is privacy and confidentiality assured?**
The information provided by participants, as part of the research study, will be confidential and will be used only for the purposes of the research study. Pseudonyms will be used to protect all identities of participants involved in the study. All data will be stored in a locked cabinet at Edith Cowan University and will be destroyed after five years.

The results of the research study will be used in a PhD thesis and may also be used for a paper for an academic journal or presentation. The results will not include any information that may identify individual participants, unless specific consent for this has been obtained. If you would like to be informed of the results of the study, this information will be provided to you.

**Do I have to take part?**
No. Consent for participation in this study is given on an entirely voluntary basis. No explanation or justification is needed if you choose not to participate.

**What if I wanted to change my initial decision?**
You are free to withdraw your consent to further involvement in the research project at any time. In such case that you do exercise your right to withdraw from the research, all information or material that has already been collected from you as a participant will also be withdrawn.

**Who do I contact if I wish to discuss the project further?**
If you have any questions or require any further information about the research project, please contact:
Tina Askam
Researcher

If you have any concerns or complaints about the research project and wish to talk to an independent person, you may contact:
Research Ethics Officer
Edith Cowan University
270 Joondalup Drive
JOONDALUP WA 6027

**How do I become involved?**
If you have had all questions about the project answered to your satisfaction, and are willing to become involved, please complete the Consent Form attached and return it to Tina Askam, either by hand, or by the contact details above.

The (…) Western Australia and The Edith Cowan University Human Research Ethics Committee have approved this project.

This information letter is for you to keep.
Appendix B.14. Consent Form - Child Workshops: for senior participant

*Project:* Neighbourhood Participatory Walks as Communication Avenues for Discussing Issues of Social Justice in Urban Space

**Consent Form**

I have been provided with a copy of the Information Letter, explaining the research study and have read and understood the information provided therein.

I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the research study, and feel that any questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I am aware that I can contact the research team with any additional questions I may have.

I understand that participation in the research project will involve taking part in a workshop that involves walking in my neighbourhood, as well as producing various artistic works, which could include mapmaking, photography and storytelling among other activities (as outlined in the Participant Information Letter).

I understand that the information provided will be kept confidential, and that the identity of participants will not be disclosed without consent.

I understand that the information provided will only be used for the purposes of this research project, and understand the ways in which the information is to be used.

I understand that I am free to withdraw from further participation in this research study at any time, without explanation or penalty.

I freely agree to participate in the project titled *Neighbourhood Participatory Walks as Communication Avenues for Discussing Issues of Social Justice in Urban Space* undertaken by Tina Askam, PhD Candidate at Edith Cowan University.

_name of participant (printed):_ ____________________________

_signature of participant: ____________________________ date: / /_