

## Chapter 7

### Sound Response

#### The Public Reception of Audio Walks

*Angharad Saunders and Kate Moles*

The relationship between art and public space has long been an important one within urban studies (Miles 1997; Hall 2007; Hawkins 2013). Whether it is the grand imperialistic monuments of the nineteenth century, the commemorative memorials of the early twentieth century, the emergence of bohemian neighbourhoods or the co-opting of art into regeneration and development strategies more broadly, art is, in one guise or another, a very permanent and powerful fixture within the urban landscape. What is notable about recent interventions in this area, however, is a concern with the everyday nature of art practice. This may, in part, be a counterpoint to the widespread appropriation of art works and art practices for the neo-liberal inspired regeneration projects of successive governments (Matthew 2010). At the same time, it may owe to the rise of new genre public art, with its stress on art as process, not product; art working, not artwork; and dialogue, not direction (Lacy 1995; Bourriaud 2002). In such a context, Bourriaud's assertion that 'artwork is a dot in a line' (2002:21) seems particularly instructive, for it suggests that art is continually being made, both materially and meaningfully, through social relationships and social agencies.

To date, interest in art practice has tended to focus more on one side of the dot than another, concerned more with those social agencies and actions that come before the dot—those

that are bound up with its material creation—rather than with those that are involved in its reception in the world (Miles 1997; Sharp et al. 2005; Minty 2006). This is not to suggest that the audience has been wholly absent from considerations of art practice, for the idea of the audience has long haunted debates over the publicness, intentionality and iconography of artworks (Deutsche 1996; Kwon 2002). Work on site-specific art has sought to reveal the social and political fissures that arise between an artist, an artwork and the audience (Kwon 2002), while Massey and Rose (2003) have done much to theorise public art as an active insertion into place. That said, our understanding of the audience remains somewhat partial, for, as the work on site-specific art demonstrates, concern has tended to coalesce around the politics and pressures of reception. Exceptions are evident in the work of Hall (2007) and Zebracki (2012), who press for reception as something lived rather than something that is merely explained through political or social difference. Yet, it is still fair to say that the audience as an active agency in the making of place and meaning remains more implied than real. Our chapter, therefore, takes as its case study two audio walks created as part of a public engagement project that worked with a group of young men in Grangetown, an inner-city neighbourhood of Cardiff, Wales. In doing so, we focus on the ‘other side’ of these walks—on their consumption by the people who walked them and we explore how, as instances of sound art, these walks live within the area, affecting and altering how people come to know, understand and comprehend Grangetown. Before we do so, we elaborate on audio walks as instances and exemplars of sound art.

---

## Audio Walks and Sound Art

---

Interest in audio walks has grown in recent years as different groups recognise the form's potential for revealing and forging place in different ways. In essence, audio walks are audio guided routes through place. Sometimes they can take form through the provision of quite factual information, and at others they can proffer new worlds and experiences for the participants. They can be accompanied by a map, or not, and they can be narrated by single individuals or multiple voices and characters. As an art form, audio walks emerged from a disgruntlement with the visual predominance and institutional traditions of the art world (Butler 2006); they were a means of moving beyond and outside the gallery and the concert hall, they emphasised art as something mobile not situated, and they drew attention to art as an everyday, relational forging rather than an absolute object. Not all audio walks are art, although they are all processes of creation and construction. The content and nature of the walk places it somewhere along a spectrum of art to information, which can be negotiated by the place, time and participant as well, perhaps, as the intention of the constructor. In more recent years audio walks have been appropriated for more touristic ends, for they are seen to offer a powerful way of introducing people to, and taking them through, the historical, cultural and social landscapes of towns and cities (Footnotes 2009). They provide not only an opportunity to share social knowledges and heighten spatial literacy, but they can convey an insider's view of place that reveals its difference, its quirkier and grittier side through the multilayering of media and the construction of multiple realities in each meander. Consequently, audio walks give the impression of offering a city experience that is off-the-beaten-track and therefore more in-depth and engaged with the social and physical worlds they traverse.

One result of this commercial and touristic exploitation is that we have become accustomed to understand audio walks through very established conventions: They present place

as a series of interesting sites; they are linear and coherent in nature; they identify aspects of place that need to be discovered and made visible; they reduce the complexity of place to a singular narrative and they narrate it by pausing its flow and eddy. Audio walks, therefore, seemingly code the spatial imaginaries and aesthetic experiences of their creators and consumers in particular ways. They pivot on and create what [Ingold \(2005\)](#) might term point-to-point connections, wherein knowledge is assembled not developed, a route is given not made and we become passengers not wayfarers. Where wayfarers accrue understanding through their inhabitation and movement through place, passengers consume a pre-prepared route that moves them across but not through place. Thus under the guise of the quirky and the different, audio walks are often highly determined happenings. This, however, is to understand audio walks purely as objects, or containers of action, and not as lived practices of doing, for it is in the ‘very movement of [the] accomplishment’ ([Bourdieu 1977](#):3) that we make the world. Thus, when we turn to the actual practice of doing we must not assume that audio walks are linear constructs or conceptions, nor must we assume that being a passenger is passive or that it commits us to linear and destination orientated ways of moving or knowing. Instead, we must be open to the possibilities, interventions and creations that happen as we go, for the multiplicity, fluidity and intuition of our being in the world escapes and resists authorship and control.

When we consider audio walks as lived practices, or aesthetic experiences, what becomes most apparent, [Lavery \(2005\)](#) argues, is the way they collapse the traditional boundaries between author and audience, by demanding that both perform place. Instead of offering a product for observation, audio walks function through a nomadic metaphysics that depend on the embodied movement of both the creator and the consumer. They are shared accomplishments, and as such they are always pregnant with possibilities, as each encounter mingles and brings forth different

experiences, memories and imaginaries. Thus, an audio walk is always far more than a material route, for it plays host to the meeting of lifeworlds of its creators and consumers, and with each encounter the audio walk happens for ‘another first time’ (Garfinkel 1967:9): new lifeworlds emerge from the mix. And as this process occurs and the resulting spatial imaginaries unfold, we move further towards the artistic side of the spectrum, offering a creative and emerging process of knowing, being and doing place.

What is more, recent work on the agency of place presses for place as something more than a staging post for, or backdrop to, action (Anderson et al. 2010). It regards place as having a voice, which speaks to us in ways we can rarely predict. Thus, while an audio walk will have a route and a story, the voice of place—the sounds of the area, the traffic, real and imagined obstacles, road layout and so forth—inadvertently shapes how we do and understand the world. Consequently, audio walks can be material givens and they can order the world and direct our experience of it, but at the same time, they are never rigid or unforgiving routes through the world. They are always concatenations of histories and stories of and about place, they are records and registers of lifeworlds and they are replete with possible new worlds and new worldviews, as new inscriptions are made on and within them.

---

## Positioning the Project

---

The two audio walks created within Grangetown were part of a Beacon for Wales–funded public engagement project titled *Sounding the Way*. Beacon for Wales was a funding stream that sought to establish collaborative partnerships between Welsh universities and local communities through a range of capacity-building projects. In the beginning, the audio walk project was

conceived as a way of giving voice to a geographical area and to a particular social group that had been relatively marginalised, both economically and socially, within broader citywide regeneration and tourism discourses. We worked with a group of six young men over the course of a year. The young men, aged between 14 and 16 years, were recruited through a youth club in the area and were able to conduct this project as part of their Duke of Edinburgh Award (an initiative to get young people active, engaged and developing relevant skills for employment and beyond). Contact with the boys included workshops, informal meet-ups, wanders around the vicinity, activities with community groups and technical skills development. We conducted most of these ourselves, although we drafted in people who had greater skills or alternative knowledge when needed. We met with the boys at least once a fortnight, often more than once a week, and explored with them the process of audio walk making. They were responsible for choosing the topics of the walks, the routes of the walks, the narratives and the foci. They decided who to talk to, and how those interactions would go, while we helped them set up meetings and arrange consultations with community groups and individuals.

The young men were quite clear on the topics that were significant to them—one group selected the history of a street in Grangetown after a short time spent looking at the history of the whole area; the second group felt they could convey something meaningful about sport in the area, something significant in their own lives and interactions with the place. Once they had these points of departures in terms of ideas, we needed to get them thinking not just about the content but also about the routes they would navigate and communicate. This proved difficult for them, reducing their interests in the area to a series of points—something which we discuss in greater detail later. The process was engaged with enthusiastically though we had to negotiate time with the boys that fitted with their personal, social and educational lives. Flexibility proved

to be the key in keeping them engaged, in terms of time, in terms of what we were asking them to do and in terms of what they could do as part of it. We realised early on that engagement had to be on their terms, and that our role was to facilitate this as best we could in order to develop their active engagement with the place, project and process.

The final part of the project was to explore how people responded to the audio walks. [Massey and Rose \(2003\)](#) alert us to the *potentialities* of art works to engage an audience, and in this case the audio walks' use of sound, their formation through community based interviews and their audio presentation invited very active forms of engagement. Those interviewed were very keen to listen to the walks, as were members of the communities in which the walks took place. We wanted, however, to move away from the responses of those [Zebracki \(2012\)](#) calls 'indwellers' and the way such a focus tends to frame responses to art in terms of the extent to which it fosters community inclusions and exclusions. Instead, we wanted to explore what Massey and Rose term the 'external relationality' (2003:11) of the artworks—how the walks engaged people from outside the area and how this engagement made the area in new ways. Unlike indwellers to the project and to Grangetown, outdwellers may well identify and respond to different potentialities within the audio walks. We conducted a day of research with one such group of young women who all had links to the area but were not from there themselves; some were community workers in a neighbouring area, others worked with community groups in different parts of the area, one was a civil servant in the city and one was an academic. Some of the women knew one another; others did not. This group of six women was recruited as a convenient sample—we knew them and invited them as interested, although external, participants who had time to give to the project, so we could walk the walks with them and then sit and talk to them in a group interview afterwards. The dialogue continued as these women

recommended the walks to their friends and colleagues, and so we had comments coming back through them from others who had done the walks. Their gender was coincidental; they were the people who turned up on that day.

As they had time to give to the project, we walked with them as they undertook the walk and spoke with them afterwards in a group interview about their experiences of doing the walks and about the ways the walks functioned as tools of place making within Grangetown. What became apparent was that their perceptions of the area were heavily influenced by the wider urban narratives of Grangetown, while the practice of audio walking—of moving through the place of Grangetown in new ways (on foot rather than by car, as interested observers and attentive walkers rather than as people passing through or frustrated by traffic problems) produced new ways of understanding, negotiating and positioning this very place. It is to these practices of reception—to that which happens after the dot—which this chapter now turns (for discussion of practices of making see [Saunders and Moles, 2013](#)). In doing so, it analyses both the spatial and the temporal aspects of sound art consumption.

---

## **Making Grangetown: Spatial Aspects of Sound Art Consumption**

---

Grangetown is a neighbourhood that is squashed between Cardiff city centre and the redeveloped area of Cardiff Bay. As such, it is more a conduit for travelling between these areas than it is a destination in its own right. The Red Bus Tour, a guided tour around the city on an open-top red bus similar to the ones many cities and tourist destinations have, goes close by but does not enter; there are no buildings of note that would feature in Cardiff tourism leaflets, and within the

city it is often referred to as 'strangetown', reflective perhaps of its long history as a very cosmopolitan and diverse neighbourhood. [Cardiff City Council \(2012\)](#), for instance, registers the area as

a traditional, largely residential neighbourhood on the fringe of the city centre of Cardiff. The area is characterised by terraced housing and there is little open space, few street trees, poor quality pavement surfaces and poor street lighting. The area is dominated by the car, with issues regarding speeding and parking. The residents have identified graffiti, rubbish, youth annoyance and dog fouling as being problematic.

The perspective of the people who live there is obviously different to those that look in on it, and the various accounts of the area available to the public (both internally and externally) represent it in multiple ways. In the audio walks project, the intention was to step beyond regeneration discourses and the local government understandings, beyond the police statistics and housing benefit descriptions, through the ethnic classifications and past the shopfronts and the groups gathered on the street corners to an embedded, embodied engagement with the place through the social worlds of the young participants.

Audio walks are inherently tied up with place making. In creating two walks the young men involved in the project were able to articulate what Grangetown meant to them. This was not a coherent or smooth articulation. It did not create a seamless or authoritative narrative of place, similar to the 'official' telling of Grangetown that arose from those situated outside it. Instead, it was highly localised and personal; at times, it was disorientating and fragmented; and it moved awkwardly and hesitantly through the area. What is more, it was replete with pauses,

laughter and the daily chatter of the area. In many respects it was a piece of everyday art that emerged from the everyday ways of being and the practices of its creators:

I've lived in Grangetown, grew up here. Grangetown is a brilliant place [door banging in background], erm as a whole. It's very multicultural. Just walking round Grangetown you will find people from different cultures, different nationalities, you know, there's a variety of languages spoken in Grangetown, a really good mix.

(Sounding the Way 2012)

As such, [de Certeau \(1984\)](#) might term these audio walks 'tactical' artworks, for they both made and opened up the area in a manner that was different to, resisted and subverted its 'official' narration and they challenged the accepted form of an audio walk. The walks told Grangetown not only in a different tenor—one that was local and colloquial, but in a different texture too—one that was a little rough and ragged around the edges. Transforming the telling of Grangetown, however, is quite different to transforming its perception. If we are to get at the other side of the dot, at the practice of consumption, we need to ask, like [Crang \(2000\)](#), how the opening of new and tactical trajectories through Grangetown change it and perhaps even remake it.

One suggestion is to follow [Hawkins \(2010\)](#) and explore how artworks, in opening new trajectories into place, simultaneously open a politics of possibility; they suggest that life might be different to what our accepted frameworks of understanding tell us it is. There was a real sense of this in the responses to the Grangetown audio walks:

I know someone [. . .] who said ‘I was in Grangetown and I had my laptop on me and I was holding it close to me cos I was scared’, and I mean having done the walk now that’s properly crazy to us now that they would think that and so it’s good for that [. . .] in allaying people’s fears [about] an area.

(Women’s Group Interview, 17<sup>th</sup> July 2012)

In some respects, however, this is the outcome of change. We know that the sound art transformed our participants’ perceptions of the area, but through what *potentialities* did this transformation arise? Most obviously perhaps, the audio walks pivoted upon the act of walking, which as [Ingold \(2010\)](#) reminds us, is a process of becoming knowledgeable. As our participants walked along listening to the audio walks, their knowledge grew in relation to the paths they took and, perhaps more significantly, the ways they engaged with them. It is this wayfaring—a concern with moving, rather than with reaching a destination—that Ingold regards as most enriching, for this is the organic unfolding of life and knowing. Yet this type of walking, as already noted, does not fit easily with more formal, structured, didactic audio walks, for the audio walk prescribes both route and rhythm ([Saunders and Moles 2013](#)). Instead, this form of audio walk works through a form of walking that Ingold terms ‘transport’. Herein, the walker is a passenger who engages in a pre-prepared movement from one location to the next. This description is too passive for the engagement our walkers described, as a shared encounter among place, participant and the walk that required an active negotiation of the route. All our participants got lost at some point because the directions were not straightforward and the audio was often difficult to match to the physical landscape ([Figure 7.1](#)). This was an unfolding, becoming movement through the place, which required an active engagement with the movement through the place and its negotiation thereof.

**[Insert Figure 7.1 Here]**

**Figure 7.1** Participants losing and finding their way on the Grangetown History and Change audio walk

Photo by [Kate Moles \(2012\)](#).

Audio walks, in Myer's (2010:62) view, are best seen as practices of 'conversive wayfaring' rather than passive travels within, or a 'cosy visitation' to, place. That is, they do not just show place, but are rather relational activities that invite convivial, conversational and active interactions between place and participant. In part this arises because the audio walk is always a co-walk, albeit one distanced in space and time. The walker is never alone. They are guided by multiple voices, they are welcomed into a temporary community among listener–narrator–place and they are made to bear witness to the lived world of Grangetown. Within this process the memories, imagination and senses of the walker mingle with those of the place and its inhabitants, carving new worlds that are both real and imagined. This is evident in the way the walks took the participants behind the public facade of Grangetown. At various points in the audio walk we hear from local residents past and present who tell us much about life in the community, revealing the area as a social world as well as a material one:

It made you interested in, like, erm who the people were [. . .] I was walking past doors and rather than usual you just sort of push on and don't really think, it made you think about the people who were living behind the doors. There were people drinking on the curb as we went past and I thought it would be quite cool to stop and talk to them, which is something that'd never occur to me before.

(Women's Group Interview, 17<sup>th</sup> July 2012)

The audio walk and audio walker, the memories and the materiality of place coincide in the creation of a new imagining of Grangetown. It is an imagining, in this instance, which moves into the private sphere and begins to conceptualise Grangetown as something more than a way through; it is lived space replete with a variety of social relationships. What results from the doing of an audio walk, therefore, is not merely a change in perception but a more subtle activation and alteration of the self as new worlds and new opportunities open to it, developing its spatial confidence and imaginative reach.

This also reveals another *potentiality* of the audio walk as an aesthetic form: it invites us to listen. Although this may seem a little axiomatic, it rests on a distinction between hearing as something passive and listening as something active. We are constantly hearing, for we are persistently attuned to the sounds of the world; listening in contrast requires skill and focus for it is an active, responsive and willing engagement with the world (Shofter 2009). There is a type of audio walk that depends more on the former than the latter: They convey place in a smooth, regular and measured manner that requires little work from its participants. The Grangetown audio walks are not so easy or straightforward. As we noted earlier, they are hesitant, ragged and, at times, disorientating as narrative and route get out of kilter, moving them beyond the descriptive and linear and into the realm of art and creativity. Consequently, the ability to work, or do, the audio walks depends on the walker's active intervention and responsiveness; participants have to listen carefully in order to navigate and know place. Thus, as our participant records above, the walk and its narrative 'made you think'. This suggests that the Grangetown they were hearing (and simultaneously seeing and experiencing) was not what they expected; the place was being told in ways different to the norm. Listening, then, to borrow from Bickford is always 'a movement towards another's activity' (1996:145); it is a path builder between

indwellers and outdwellers and, more broadly, between different social worlds. As one of our participants neatly put it, ‘you become more comfortable in your surroundings just by hearing more about the place, I guess’ (Women’s Group Interview). In this sense, audio walks are important not only for their narrative content—the story they tell us about the world—but, more precisely, for the way they invite us to come in and partake of it. The narrative itself potentially fails, according to the conventions generally underpinning this mode of interaction: a beginning, a middle, an end and a connection between these points and the substance of the story; but despite, and maybe even because of this, it engages them with another vision of place; and it ultimately involves them in the place-making process that it is trying to achieve. Consequently, audio walking as a method of conversive wayfaring has the potentiality to emancipate the area by altering the cultural frameworks through which the area is heard, positioned and understood by those outside it.

---

## **Performing Grangetown: Temporal Aspects of Sound Art Consumption**

---

Time is ineffably bound up with art. According to [Phillips \(1989\)](#), we expect art to express permanence, to hold time in place and, at the same time, to reflect the time or moment of contemporary society. The idea of time is similarly often part of an artwork’s aesthetic, for instance, capturing and expressing the fragmentary or ceaseless nature of time. Yet one aspect of time that seems somewhat underplayed in the interface between art and public is the temporality of the experiencing of art in public. [Massey and Rose \(2003\)](#) comment on the often fleeting and inadvertent nature of engagement with art in public. This is particularly so, they argue, where

public art is ‘weak’, in that it has been designed as a passive backdrop to urban life, making it incapable of challenging and intruding upon urban life. Strong public art, in contrast, is testing. It does not ostensibly seek integrative social ends, but rather wishes to be critically affective and reflective. As such, strong public art often depends on time; it invites contemplation, active engagement and its effects and affects can live with the participant long after the initial encounter (Figure 7.2).

**[Insert Figure 7.2 Here]**

Figure 7.2 Participants actively listening to and investing in Grangetown

Photo by [Kate Moles \(2012\)](#).

Audio walks demand a temporal (and spatial) investment by the participant. They are not something that can be merely looked at, then turned away from. Instead, they have to be picked up, plugged in, turned on and followed either physically or imaginatively. As such, they demand a form of walking that [Wunderlich \(2008\)](#) refers to as conceptual, in that it is a conscious and often unhurried way of getting to know place. This form of walking draws us into place, it requires us to spend time within it and it turns us into co-performers of it as we engage with the *durée* of the route. In this way, audio walks produce, what [Lee and Ingold \(2006\)](#) term, very grounded and detailed forms of knowledge. Our participants, for instance, knew of Grangetown before they walked there, but as they observed, ‘you know the area because you drive through it, but you don’t know it’ (Women’s Group Interview). It was walking through the area that ‘made you look [. . .] even at the things that weren’t on the tour, it made you look at the world around you in quite a different way, like a different level of detail’ (Women’s Group Interview).

Walking allowed our participants time to inhabit place and to attend to life beneath its surface,

‘having people talk about living in Grangetown [. . .] and about [. . .] all the different layers of it and that made you think ah I’m not just walking down a street, there’s something here, there’s more going on here’ (Women’s Group Interview, 17<sup>th</sup> July 2012).

As a participant on one of these audio walks, your engagement with place is not head down, moving through to get somewhere else, instead you move in it, head up; you are actively navigating the route, engaged with various multi-sensory calls for attention and you are given the time to appreciate the nuances and specificities of the place you are *being* in. The ways you are being can alter depending on lots of things; the weather, the time of day, how good a time you are having, what else you have planned for that day. The key thing is that these walks open up spaces of engagement where there is room to feel these things, to experience them as you navigate Grangetown, to think, and be and do the place in a creative, constructive spatial imaginary.

Walking makes for a slower engagement with place and this change in tempo is something [Pink \(2008\)](#) draws attention to in her study of the Cittàslow movement. Moving slowly, Pink argues, allows us to become attuned to place; to its rhythms, pathways and people, so much so that place is not represented to us but, rather, is mediated to us as an embodied experience. It is recognised that audio walks do this through the way in which they direct the gaze and shape the pace and tempo of the walk; the participant sees and experiences place through the mind and in the footsteps of the narrator or narrators ([Pinder 2001](#); [Saunders and Moles 2013](#)). Yet something different was occurring as our participants walked in Grangetown, for at times they found the tempo of the walk too fast for them:

We had to pause it [the audio walk] quite a lot and go to the next [stop] it wasn’t one long [audio clip], so we paused it for a while and caught up with each another

and during that time, when you had like free time almost, you'd look around and the eye would look at it [the place] in a completely different way to normal.

(Women's Group Interview, 17<sup>th</sup> July 2012)

Although audio walks can slow down our engagement with place they can also offer an experience of place which in its vividness and richness is also overwhelming and disorientating, for there is so much to see, feel, hear, touch and smell. This disjuncture between walk and walker, art and audience is, however, also full of promise, for it throws up what [Iser \(1980\)](#) terms a space of indeterminacy; a moment when the narration may become quite ragged, where narrative and setting may become uncoupled or where the narrative voice becomes uncertain or hesitant, all of which create opportunities for the interpretative and creative agencies of the participant. Audio walks as works of art have the *potentiality* for participant intervention. We tend to conceptualise place as a series of interconnected points, yet as [Ingold \(2005\)](#) argues, it is more useful to think of place as a meshwork of lines; place is not the coincidence of points but arises where lines become entangled. Thus, walking out of kilter with the walk's narration, pausing, replaying or fast-forwarding the narrative is to entangle or mesh one's own trail or line of action with those of the people who figure in, help create or press on the walks. It is this mesh that is the place that the participants negotiate, and through it they uncover temporally hidden traces and peer inside those aspects of the social world that would have fallen outside a singular trail of action. As our focus group described,

There's a lot more history to it than you'd think, [where the walk is] pointing out stuff that's been newly built and what was there before and actually there's a lot of quite rich history.

I'd never have even thought about inside the houses; it makes you think about the people in the houses rather than the way to Ikea, which is what I know it as. (Women's Group Interview, 17<sup>th</sup> July 2012)

---

## Conclusion

---

Since the birth, or recognition, of new genre public art in the mid-1990s much attention has been directed to the everyday practices of art. We are now more aware of the social politics, the spatial conflicts and the semantic wranglings that are frequently part of the artistic process. Yet our understanding of this practice is somewhat one-sided, for we tend to know much about what goes on 'before the dot', that is before the artist leaves and the public is left alone with the artwork, but comparatively little about that which goes on after it. To put it bluntly, we know quite a bit about the practice of creation (art's making) but far less about the practice of consumption (art's reception). Taking inspiration from Bourriaud's idea of relational aesthetics, wherein the art work is always a dot in a line of social relationships and agencies, this chapter has explored the lived practices that come after the dot, or put another way, after the material art work has arrived in public space. Central to this chapter is the idea that art lives in the world and has affects beyond its creation, and by understanding art practice as something that persists beyond the dot, it suggests that art in public helps not only indwellers, but outdwellers, to see, engage and, most important, 'create' the area anew. By taking two audio walks, which had been created by young men in Grangetown, as our case study and thinking about the potentialities of these audio walks and the ways they engaged participants in the place through particular practices of knowing, being and doing, we have presented some reflection on what happened after the dot.

A reflection on the particular form and ambition of the young men's audio walks played a particular role in this, for they demand quite embodied interactions on the part of the consumer. It was not enough to see, the participants were required to listen, touch, smell and hear the areas that they walked through. It was this embodied and mobile consumption of place, and the very being-in-the-world that this called forth that enabled our participants to be not merely consumers, but agents in the making of place. The audio walk was simultaneously a line of action and a pause in place—it offered a way through place but one that was fixed in time and space—yet the consumption of this line brought new trails of action, enmeshing it in multiple lifeworlds and creating multiple Grangetowns.

---

## Acknowledgements

---

The authors wish to thank all those who gave their time and energy to the project, in particular, the young men who made these walks and the groups who took these walks and talked with us about their experiences of 'doing' the Sounding the Way audio walks.

## References

[Anderson, J., Adey, P. and Bevan, P. \(2010\) 'Positioning Place: Polylogic Approaches to](#)

[Research Methodology,' \*Qualitative Research\*, 10: 589–604.](#)

[Bickford, S. \(1996\) \*The Dissonance of Democracy: Listening, Conflict and Citizenship\*, London:](#)

[Cornell University Press.](#)

[Bourdieu, P. \(1977\) \*Outline of a Theory of Practice\*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.](#)

[Bourriaud, N. \(2002\) \*Relational Aesthetics\*, Dijon: Les presses du réel.](#)

Butler, T. (2006), 'A Walk of Art: The Potential of the Audio Walk as Practice in Cultural Geography,' *Social and Cultural Geography*, 7: 889–908.

Cardiff City Council (2012) North Grangetown Renewal Area.

[http://www.cardiff.gov.uk/content.asp?nav=2867%2C3477%2C3484%2C3596&parent\\_directory\\_id=2865&id=4298](http://www.cardiff.gov.uk/content.asp?nav=2867%2C3477%2C3484%2C3596&parent_directory_id=2865&id=4298) (accessed September 18, 2012).

Crang, M. (2000) 'Relics, Places and Unwritten Geographies in the Work of Michel de Certeau (1925–1986),' in M. Crang and N. Thrift (eds) *Thinking Space*, London: Routledge.

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

Deutsche, R. (1996) *Evictions: Art and Spatial Politics*, Cambridge MA: MIT Press.

Footnotes (2009) *Footnotes Audio Walks*. <http://www.footnotesaudiowalks.co.uk/> (accessed September 15, 2012).

[Garfinkel, H. \(1967\) \*Studies in Ethnomethodology\*, New York: Prentice Hall.](#)

Hall, T. (2007) 'Artful Cities,' *Geography Compass*, 1: 1376–92.

Hawkins, H. (2010) "'Turn Your Trash into . . . Rubbish, Art and Politics": Richard Wentworth's geographical imagination,' *Social and Cultural Geography*, 11: 805–27.

Hawkins, H. (2013) 'Geography and Art. An Expanding Field: Site, the Body and Practice,' *Progress in Human Geography*, 37: 52–71.

Ingold, T. (2005) *Up, Across and Along*, Creativity and Research Papers, Creativity and Practice Group, Dundee.

Ingold, T. (2010) 'Footprints through the Weather-world: Walking, Breathing, Knowing,' *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 16: 121–39.

Iser, W. (1980) *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

- Kwon, M. (2002) *One Place after Another: Site-specific Art and Locational Identity*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Lacy, S. (1995) *Mapping the Terrain: New Genre Public Art*, Seattle: Bay Press.
- Lavery, C. (2005) 'The Pepys of London E11: Graeme Miller and the politics of Linked,' *New Theatre Quarterly*, 21: 148–60.
- Lee, J. and Ingold, T. (2006) 'Fieldwork on Foot: Perceiving, Routing, Socialising,' in S.M. Coleman and R. Collins (eds) *Locating the Field: Space, Place and Context in Anthropology*. Oxford: Berg.
- Massey, D. and Rose, G. (2003) *Personal Views: Public Art Research Project*. Milton Keynes: Open University.
- <http://www.artpointtrust.org.uk/projects/Final%20Report%20complete%2025.07.03.doc>  
(accessed November 13, 2012).
- Matthews, V. (2010) 'Aestheticizing Space: Art, Gentrification and the City,' *Geography Compass*, 4(6): 660–75.
- Minty, Z. (2006) 'Post-apartheid Public Art in Cape Town: Symbolic Reparations and Public Space,' *Urban Studies*, 43: 421–40.
- Miles, M. (1997) *Art, Space and the City*, London: Routledge.
- Myers, M. (2010) "'Walk with Me, Talk with Me": The Art of Conversive Wayfaring', *Visual Studies*, 25: 59–68.
- Phillips, P. (1989) 'Temporality and Public Art,' *Art Journal*, 48: 331–5.
- Pinder, D. (2001) 'Ghostly Footsteps: Voices, Memories and Walks in the City,' *Cultural Geographies*, 8: 1–19.

- Pink, S. (2008) 'An Urban Tour: The Sensory Sociality of Ethnographic Place-making'  
*Ethnography*, 9: 175–92.
- Saunders, A. and Moles, K. (2013) 'The Spatial Practice of Public Engagement: "Doing"  
Geography in the South Wales Valleys,' *Social and Cultural Geography*, 14: 23–40.
- Sharp, J. Pollack, V. and Paddison, R. (2005) 'Just Art for a Just City: Public Art and Social  
Inclusion in Urban regeneration,' *Urban Studies*, 42: 1001–23.
- Shotter, J. (2009) 'Listening in a Way that Recognises/Realises the World of "the Other",' *The  
International Journal of Listening*, 23: 1–23.
- Sounding the Way (2012) *Grangetown History and Change Audio Walk*.  
<http://www.techniquet.org/STW/> (accessed November 1, 2012).
- Wunderlich, F. M. (2008) 'Walking and Rhythmicity: Sensing Urban Space,' *Journal of Urban  
Design*, 13: 125–39.
- Zebracki, M. (2012) 'Engaging Geographies of Public Art: Indwellers, the Butt Plug Gnome and  
their Locale,' *Social and Cultural Geography*, 13: 735–58.