

This is an Accepted Manuscript of an article published by Taylor & Francis in Journal of Cultural Geography on 01 jun 2023, available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/08873631.2023.2217395>

Walking ethnography: the polyphonies of space in an urban landscape

AUTHOR: Miren Urquijo

AFFILIATION: AFIT, Feminist Anthropology Research Group. University of the Basque Country IT 10-30 (UPV/EHU), Gipuzkoa, Spain.

EMAIL ADDRESS: miren.urquijo@ehu.eus

ORCID ID: <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-5237-5352>

Introduction

My interest in the subject of this article has its roots in a walking tour of riverside *caseríos*, led by an architect. I found it to be a unique way of gaining knowledge. I went on more. I reviewed the academic literature on the subject. When I was asked to lead a walking tour for HidroLogikak, I accepted without hesitation.

The HidroLogikak program aims to recover the history, culture, and heritage of the Urumea river in the city of Donostia-San Sebastián (Basque Country, Spain). I proposed a walking tour inspired by a little known chapter in the city's history, namely the existence of the Morlans aqueduct and its importance in supplying drinking water to the city. Centering a walking tour on the aqueduct intrigued me because the tensions between preserving nature and developing the city's urban core are still evident, and more generally, it was a way to investigate walking as a method for understanding the city's development and transformation.

The aim of this article is to reflect on the experience of walking as a method and its implications for the study of civic space. It describes the ethnographic method I used, in which the embodied practice of walking allowed for greater engagement with and

connection to the space under ethnographic study. It also demonstrates how marshaling historical narratives for a variety of walking routes promoted a different way to understand space and participate in ethnography. Furthermore, by articulating stories about this place in light of current policies on producing space, the sociocultural contradictions present during the expansion of the city of Donostia are spatially acknowledged, as are the popular acts of resistance that have sought to stop the processes of urban development and preserve the place's natural and cultural heritage.

Mobilizing the spatial turn in social theory

This article framed within the new paradigm of mobilities that Mimi Sheller and John Urry demonstrated in emphasizing mobile and relational spatiality (Sheller and Urry 2006; Sheller 2014, 2017). Accordingly, it is linked to the spatial turn of Henri Lefebvre and Doreen Massey, the social theorists of space who developed relational thinking about space and spatial thinking about social relations, wherein space and society are inseparable (Sheller 2017, 2).

This mobile turn has led to, among other things, a renewed interest in concrete issues related to walking, together with methodological reflections on and developments in this practice, connecting it with conceptualizations in which the practices that produce space take on the role of protagonist. In the following subsections, I summarize the literature that is most relevant to my research.

Walking

The art of walking has garnered much interest in recent years, as we see in numerous works (Careri 2013; Gros 2015; Hazlitt and Stevenson 2018; Le Breton 2017; Schelle 2013; Solnit 2015). However, the lineages of walkers repeat a set of past precedents. They usually include descriptions that focus on the naturalist view of Rousseau and Thoreau, the city-dweller wanderings of Baudelaire's and Walter Benjamin's *flâneur*, the situationist *dérive* and psychogeography of Guy Debord, or the practices of resistance of Michel de Certeau (Pink et al. 2010; Heddon and Turner 2012; O'Neill and Hubbard 2010). They all have an ideology that is implicitly masculinist, a critical assessment that I share (Careri 2013; Gros 2015; Hazlitt and Stevenson 2018; Le Breton 2017; Schelle 2013; Solnit 2015).

For example, Deirdre Heddon and Cathy Turner (2012, 224–25) critique the ideology associated with these figures, in which the walker is valorized as heroic, individualist, epic and transgressive. They also point out that Debord’s psychogeographical landscapes are devoid of women. Moreover, they note the fiction of Michèle Bernstein, one of the few female situationists, provides a different perspective on the situationist *dérive*. The character Geneviève (based on Bernstein herself) does not experience the city as a “free man”. She comments on the unwanted attention she arouses as a solitary woman; she considers the state of affairs sad and discouraging, and she is painfully aware of her body as spectacle. For this reason, her Paris is more limited than that of her male peers (2012, 228).

Similarly, Doreen Massey (1992) points out that the *flâneur* is inevitably a male figure. He observes others but is not observed, and that unidirectional gaze rules out the possibility of there being a *flâneuse* in the public space of nineteenth century Paris. Decent women could not walk along the street alone, and the movements of the “indecent” women who did were limited by the prospect of male violence (Massey 1992, 18–19). Accordingly, mobility can be understood as a “‘capability’ which may be more or less constrained and enabled in different historical and cultural contexts” (Sheller 2016, 259). Likewise, as I will show below, the undertaking of a walking ethnography is affected by that “capability”.

Walking ethnographies

Walking is well established in ethnographic practice (Heddon and Turner 2012; O’Neill and Hubbard 2010; Pink et al. 2010). Anthropologist Tim Ingold argues that bipedal locomotion is fundamental to the perception of the environment, the history of technology, the formation of the landscape and the evolution of human anatomy (Ingold 2004). Similarly, Tim Ingold and Jo Lee Vergunst assert that ethnography is largely done “on foot”, walking with and alongside the group of people the ethnographer is interacting with, but ethnography very rarely reflects the act of walking itself (2008, 3). In this sense, they appeal to the tradition of Marcel Mauss and his 1934 study on body techniques, which was the first study to put walking on the agenda as a serious topic of comparative ethnology (2008, 1). They also relate how Pierre Bourdieu later took up Mauss’s concept of *habitus* as the key to understanding the body’s involvement in its environment (2008, 2). This set of authors has influenced my ethnographic practice, but

to structure it I have availed myself of the three types of resonance between walking and anthropological fieldwork noted by Lee & Ingold in 2006—that is, sensory, cognitive, and emotional resonance—and the reinforcement of their meanings during a walking ethnography. For Lee & Ingold, fieldwork is carried out figuratively and literally on the ground, as is walking, and thus we fully perceive the multisensory environment of the practice of walking; that is, the sensory, emotional, and kinesthetic experience between a person and a place. Then there is the resonance between the locomotive nature of walking, which allows for an understanding of the places created by routes, and the anthropological understanding of others' routes and mobilities. Finally, the fact of being physically co-present with others while walking, sharing rhythms, movements and styles, can be seen as being analogous to the sociability ethnographers share with their subjects (Lee and Ingold 2006, 68–69). My reading of these three types of resonance were amply explored in my empirical research.

In sensorial terms, the practice of walking, as a sensory, emotional and kinesthetic experience between a person and a place, revealed the phenomenological aspects of walking that generate a kaleidoscope of thoughts, sensations and experiences, and a stronger connection between people and spaces, and through which we observe and engage with the environment (Ederson 2010; Heddon and Turner 2010; Myers 2010; O'Neill and Hubbard 2010; Pink 2007; Pink et al. 2010).

In creating a place through walking, this interactive way of knowing gave us a more intimate understanding of how subjects perceives the environment and construct a place through their everyday practices and performativity; it facilitated a process that involves different layers of meaning and interpretation and affords a richer understanding of the complexity of the experience; it aided in overcoming certain limitations of the interview; and it allowed for a detailed understanding of the place. In short, it provided diverse ways of knowing that include the experiential, the analytical, and the interventional (Myers 2010, 2011; Arias 2017; Pink 2008, 2007; O'Neill and Hubbard 2010).

Finally, co-presence in walking facilitated empathy and the co-production of knowledge through the group encounter, promoting a dialogue that evoked personal memories and feelings and generated knowledge about places through conversation, sociability, and engagement (Myers 2010; O'Neill and Hubbard 2010; Arias 2017; Pink 2007). The

three heterogeneous groups that participated in the walking tours, along with the different positionalities of the people interviewed while walking, collaborated on the construction of multiple readings. My own positionality (urban woman, feminist, PhD in anthropology with connections to the *caserío* and professional theater) may have further stimulated this facilitated group encounter—as Deirdre Heddon and Cathy Turner have observed, works put forth by women artists on the move are based on social relationships to a much greater extent than those by their male peers (2012, 235). Likewise, sociable walking made me more aware, as a woman, of the political nature of space and the myriad spaces within the city, and it opened up other spaces and other spatial relationships. In this way, group walking provided access to places that are outside the spatial and temporal limitations on certain groups, providing a safe context for women to walk and enjoy freedom in company (Heddon and Turner 2010, 2012; Myers 2011)

Moreover, the three walking tours have demonstrated that these same phenomenological, relational and investigative qualities of both walking and ethnographic fieldwork allow walking to serve as a way to communicate ethnographic experience (Pink et al. 2010, 4) and instigate the transfer of knowledge between academic and public contexts (Myers 2011, 193).

Moreover, combining walking with participative methodologies can have a political impact and transformative potential, feeding into policies and assisting processes of social justice (Heddon and Turner 2010; Mason 2021; Myers 2010; Pink et al. 2010; Vergunst 2017). In the area of gender politics, for example, walking can similarly be used to mobilize social relationships and problematize categories of hierarchical organization and the dichotomies—mobile/immobile, active/passive, macro/micro, wild/domesticated or culture/nature—through which power relations are constructed (Heddon & Turner 2012).

In what follows, I present the methodology I used to create the ethnohistorical walking tours in the area surrounding the old aqueduct in Morlans.

Ethnohistorical walking tours: a methodology

“...using the same material, because it is a kind of common inheritance or common patrimony of all groups, of all clans, or of all lineages, one can nevertheless success in building up an original account for each of them...”

(Lévi-Strauss 1978, 40–41)

Below I will attempt to make explicit, following Pierce & Lawhon, “the relationship among data, analysis and findings” and report “in sufficient detail for colleagues to attempt to repeat it” (2015, 658). First I contextualize the three walks, then I detail the procedure used to create them, and finally I briefly describe the third walk.

Situating walking in the context of the city of Donostia

The landscape of the city of Donostia-San Sebastián is characterized by a series of undulating hills with gentle slopes and steep hillsides and which alternate with the fertile plains of the Urumea and Añorga rivers. It is bordered by the Cantabrian Sea and three mountainous areas that have little significance but hinder the city’s growth. The city was once of military interest owing to its proximity to the French border, and its port was once an active trading hub. Today, the city’s location allows it to play a strategic role in connecting with the larger European urban space through the Bayonne–San Sebastián Basque Eurocity cross-border cooperation project.

From the Middle Ages until 1863, Donostia consisted of a walled town (10 ha) inhabited by wealthy merchants and a network of scattered *caseríos* and small rural villages. When the demolition of the city walls was authorized in 1863, the extensions to the city, known as *ensanches*, began to be built upon land reclaimed from the marshes and sandbanks of the Urumea river. By around 1950, nearly all the city’s flat terrain had been silted up, and the change was considerable: the built-up terrain jumped to 616 ha. The urban development of Donostia yielded to processes that substituted regulated land uses with more profitable ones, increasing residential density and building capacity. The drying up of the marshlands enabled the construction of Donostia’s city center, the neighborhood of Amara and, most recently, the neighborhood of Morlans. The city’s appeal as a place to live, coupled with its status as a tourist destination, has led to a strong demand for land and highly speculative processes of urban expansion.

My ethnohistorical fieldwork was centered on the Morlans aqueduct and the surrounding area. Built in 1609, it supplied Donostia with water until the walls were demolished; after that another type of water supply was installed and the aqueduct was demolished in 1870 (Muñoz Echabeguren 2003, 47). The area covered in the walking tour borders the neighborhoods of Amara, Ayete, Morlans and the city center. If we were to open a map of Donostia, the area of interest would be located at the center.

Ethnographic routes: compiling, corroborating, and representing

The first phase of my fieldwork entailed the documentary analysis of specialized literature and written works, pictorial records (mainly maps, engravings and photographs), archives and regulations, performed in parallel with a series of reconnaissance walks through the area of interest, both alone and in the company of area residents and specialists from different fields (architecture, anthropology and history) in order to locate, corroborate and experience the details gleaned from the reports and archives. These reconnaissance walks combined observational walking, walking interviews and documentary study. This made it possible to perceive the space in question from multiple perspectives, including auditory, visual, and tactile (Myers, 2010). It also made it possible to traverse imaginary spaces or map spatial changes using texts, photographs, and the like (Heddon and Turner 2010, 2012). In this way, the process contained “an expanded temporality of past-present-future” (Reed 2002; Vergunst 2010). For the most part, I was accompanied, perhaps because, being a woman, it was better to avoid walking alone in isolated areas. Each stretch was walked on multiple occasions. As a result, it was possible to access a deeper understanding of the complexity of the terrain, as the place was ultimately constructed through the contributions of a diverse range of people, each with their own narrative, observations and memories of the place.(Vergunst 2010; Myers 2010; Heddon and Turner 2010, 2012)

The second phase of my fieldwork consisted of analyzing and theoretically framing the information collected in order to build a sequence of scenes to be walked. My idea was to compose a kind of artistic and theatrical representation (Middleton 2011) through the act of walking. Taking a performative, expressive and generative approach to the walking tour opened up a discursive and aesthetic space in which to capture the ambiguity and complexity of ethnographic experience and generate a “potential space”

full of transformative possibilities (O'Neill and Hubbard 2010). The ethnographic experience was reconstituted as if for a playwright's script, envisioning which elements would be used, as well as where, when, and how (Fischer-Lichte 2011). The planned route was punctuated by stops, breaks, and talks. My own performative walking was a way to create and understand the power of that space (Philps 2021). In this manner, from the material I created three walking tours. Each one represented a different concept that established partial connections between spaces and imaginaries (Reed 2002). Each walking tour was run for a different civic organization in Donostia. The first was for the Fundación Cristina Enea's HidroLogikak program in 2017, the second for the Morlans Neighborhood Association in 2018, and the third for the Women and City Forum in 2019. Furthermore, each tour was based on an analysis that incorporated a particular interpretive framework: the first explored the transformation of the water landscape, the second the reclaiming of right to the city and the third the uneven development of the city's space. Taken together they created a dynamic constellation of events, actions, and interactions; a stratification of stories and different layers of memory that connect past and present places; a repertoire of sequences, representations, and contexts in a continual process of creative redefinition (Turner 2010). During this process of creation, the spaces were visited again and again, photographs taken on different walks were studied, the stops and the content to cover at each were decided, timings were measured, historical quotes were selected for recitation, stories were written, and old images were printed in order to display them on the tour—all to build a sensorial and embodied way of moving between the places, communicating the ethnography and generating critical thinking about our political relationship with space and its transformative possibilities (Aoki and Yoshimizu 2015).

Finally, the participants added their knowledge and memories to the organized walks, such as when the naturalist assessed the woodland and the age of the trees or a city engineer clarified an aspect of land management. The walking tours were thus made up of layers of words, layers of images and layers of meaning.

2019 walking tour

In the same way that Wylie (2005, 234–35) finds reasons for narrating a single day of his long journey, I have chosen to briefly describe the last walking tour, the one I led for the Women and City Forum in 2019. This allows me to not only present a complete

walking tour sequence but also point out the connections and disconnections between the different snippets of spatial reading by weaving local details into strands of associations. In short, it allows me to present the walking ethnography process.

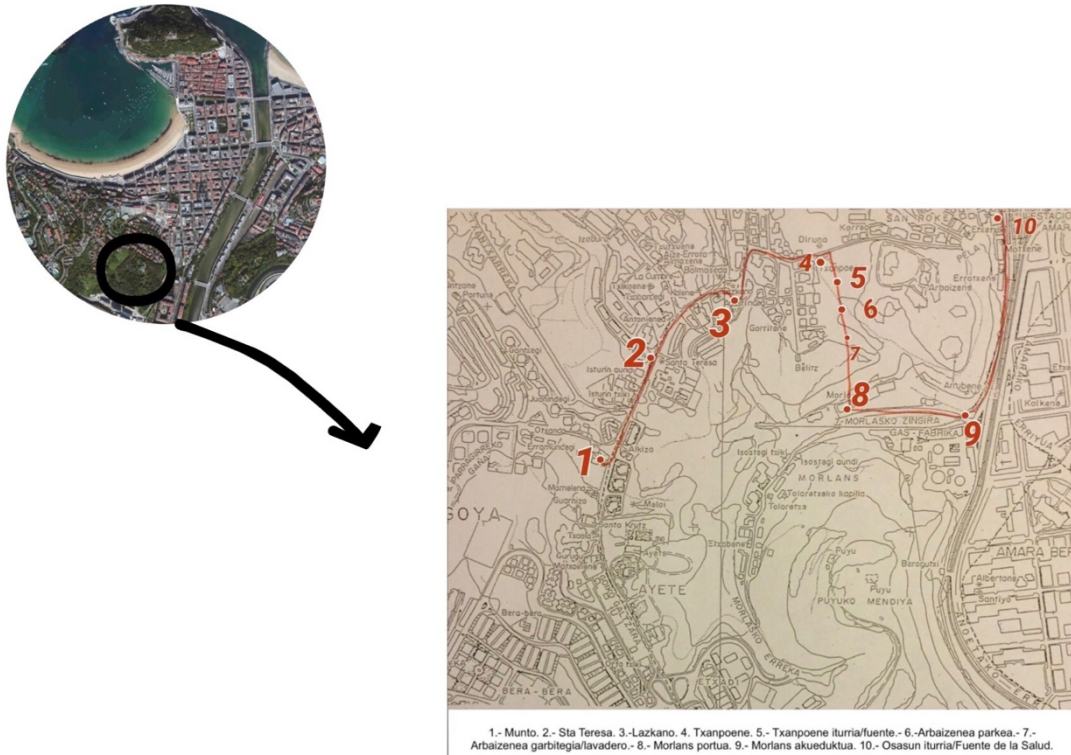


Figure 1. The walking route and stops: 1. Munto, 2. Santa Teresa, 3. Lazkano, 4. Txanpuene, 5. Txanpuene spring, 6. Arbaizenea woods, 7. Arbaizenea lavoir, 8. port of Morlans, 9. Morlans aqueduct, and 10. Fuente de la Salud fountain. Source: author.

Although all the walking tours visited the ten stops indicated on the map (Figure 1), the tour sketched below followed a different order. Where the text includes “partial disconnection”, that reading played a secondary role, though it may have played a much larger role on the other walking tours.

- Munto *caserio* and cider house (1). We intertwined the fact that in the sixteenth century cider was used to put out fires due to the scarcity of water with stories about the widow in the twentieth century who converted the cider house into an outdoor dining spot to support her family and the actions taken by neighborhood to conserve the ruins of the plaza we stood in. A participant shared her memories of this place.
- Santa Teresa (2). Partial disconnection at the watering trough, where the animals that pulled carts and carriages drank. We connected the place to the reproduction of the oil painting *The passage of King Phillip III through the town of San Sebastián*

and the associated historical episode, the exchange of betrothed princesses. We also connected the *caserío*'s transformation into a convent and the lives those women led.

- Lazkano (3). We connected the current urban landscape with a map from 1842 that showed the water streams that ran down to the aqueduct.
- Txanpuene *caserío* (4). We connected images of the aristocrat who owned the land with the farm women and domestic servant women who lived there. A participant made a bouquet with flowers from the garden.
- Txanpuene spring (5). Partial disconnection from the citizen initiatives related to that space. We highlighted the important role played by the water carriers and their representation in the local patronal festival. Some participants had difficulty following the path through the woodland.
- Return to Lazkano (3). We discussed the domestic space within the different housing types that surrounded us and their connection with public space and gender.
- We took the elevator down to the dried-up port of Morlans (8). Partial disconnection from transformations in terms of mobility. We walked to a 'critical point', an area known as being unsafe and limiting of mobility, especially for women, and thus on the city's radar for increasing security.
- We climbed up, following the trail of a yellow hose. Dirt, grass, brambles; vegetation; slope; ginger steps. We entered a small clearing containing the ruins of old lavoirs and semi-buried structures (7). Cold, dampness, the smell of rotting leaves. We confirmed that the water stream continued to bring water from the spring at Txanpuene. We talked about the hard labor of the washerwomen.
- Through the lens of gender, we discussed the plans to turn the spot into a park (6).
- We went back down to Morlans, walking among reeds. We arrived at a terraced community vegetable garden. We descended a staircase hewn out of the earth. Uneven, wet, muddy soil. We helped each other avoid slipping and falling.
- Given the impossibility of visiting the last remains of the aqueduct (9), which had been demolished between the first (2017) and third (2019) walking tours in the process of moving the train tracks underground, we recalled other occasions where the aqueduct had been destroyed by war. We looked at old images and walked along its route.

- Fuente de la Salud fountain (10) and the commemorative plaque. We reconcile it with photographs showing various tasks performed by water carriers.

Citizen routes. Mobilities in ecopolitical spaces and times

“The contemporary city has many layers. It forms what we might call a *palimpsest*, a composite landscape made up of different built forms superimposed upon each other with the passing of time”

(Harvey 2018, 536)

Walking was a way to analyze and understand the spatial policies of the city. The 2017 walking tour brought together 19 people, with an average age of 55. On the 2018 walking tour there were upwards of 30 people, many of them families with children. And in 2019 there were 10 women between the ages of 30 and 75. Each tour brought different meanings to the understanding of place. Memories and personal recollections were stirred in each walker and sometimes shared, and each walker connected to an understanding of space that was empirically and theoretically situated.

In what follows, I briefly present, from my own positionality as author, three themes—water routes, uneven paths, and right to the road—related to the ecopolitics of space, where space is “a product of practices, relationships, connections and disconnections” (Massey 2012, 198).

Water routes

The interpretative framework of this route assumes that the natural world contains an extraordinary amount of human history (Harvey 2018; Lefebvre 1996; Smith 2020) and nature is a historical product, that is, a “continuum of human and non-human events” (Smith 2020, 246). Included in this framework is the reading that “the expanding city attacks the countryside, corrodes and dissolves it” (Lefebvre 1996, 39), and that nature is “the frontier which industrial capitalism continually pushes back” (Smith 2020, 26), where domination over nature is incorporated into the logic of market exchange and the countryside is urbanized under the banner of progress (Smith 2020; Harvey 2018).

That reading underpinned each of the stops on the walking tour and determined how connections and disconnections were made with a specific landscape, an interpretive activity for perceiving the past in the present (Reed 2002) and laying out the stories accumulated in a place (Vergunst 2017). I will illustrate this with a selection of some of the empirical details.

For centuries that route had been a water landscape: streams, forests, marshes, a river port, and so on. An architect I had interviewed told me about a map from 1841 that shows nine water streams flowing to the aqueduct at Morlans, supplying water to the city. I had obtained a copy from the municipal archive and shared it at Lazkano. Even then the map's author warned about the insufficiency of these sources given the dwindling of the thick and leafy woodlands in the area (Echeveste 1841) we imagine the groove of those channels running under the concrete buildings and road networks that covered it, and we viewed the remains of the woodlands in the gardens of the new urban developments.

We were able to include in the tour the only spring still present, the one originating at Txanpuene. A resident had alerted me to the fact that this protected piece of patrimony had been de-listed and the written authorization on the spot allowed for “...*the potential dismantling and relocation of the spring's trough stone wall in the surrounding area.*” A new luxury housing development and other city works were slated to be undertaken in the area. We did not know then that in the same year six tons of rock and earth from a nearby construction site would be dumped on top of its course and the flow would be channeled through a pipe to the lavoir area. But we were aware of a similar precedent. In 1905, the Fuente de la Salud fountain was located on the banks of the Urumea, on a bucolic tree-lined promenade next to the aqueduct. While the *ensanche* was being built, the city engineer submitted a report recommending that the water be directed away from the fountain because it was contaminated by the surrounding *caseríos* (Muñoz Echabeguren 2003, 270). And with that, its three spouts were drained and the town hall sold the land to various locals to erect buildings (Muñoz Echabeguren 2003, 270).



Figure 2. Overview of the Arbaizenea woods. At the base of the wooded hill, the Morlans neighborhood. On the summit and to the right, the Arbaizenea mansion; center summit, the Txanpuene *caserío* and the slope down to the Txanpuene spring and the lavoir at Arbaizenea. On the summit and to left, the Ayete neighborhood. At the bottom right, the Amara neighborhood and the Urumea river. Source: author.

Another aspect of relevance to this ethnohistorical route is the fact that since the 16th century the biggest waves of spatial innovation have been driven by revolutions in transportation and communication and the way in which such revolutions lead to a change in how space is organized and open new possibilities for the process of urban development (Harvey 2018, 530–31), in addition to how the flow of capital transforms the environment (Harvey 2018).

Thus, the route showed that the port of Morlans was part of the Urumea port system, which was widely used to transport goods between Navarre and Guipúzcoa. It has also been noted that if the

“Urumea river had not been navigable up to Hernani, in all likelihood Donostia would not have become the market city that it was...[although] currently it is difficult to imagine the myriad comings and goings of the small boats called *alas* or barges, moving up and down the Urumea to the rhythm of the tides.” (García de Vicuña Olaizola 2014, 1)

The channeling of the Urumea river and the re-routing of its course in 1926 allowed the area to be completely drained and built up. However, on the tours we were able to collect eyewitness accounts of how wood was floated along the Urumea river and down to Morlans, or about a ramp where the grandfather of a participant used to tie up his boat—a spot that is now a private parking garage. Railway lines were laid on top of the aqueduct’s path to connect the region’s interior to Donostia, the capital city. And although in 2017 it was still possible to see small traces of the aqueduct, the work done to move the railway underground cleared away these last traces. But, as one participant noted, those construction projects open up new avenues in developing the city’s modes of transportation and communication. They are the foundation of the Bayonne–San Sebastián Basque Eurocity project.

Uneven paths

The theme of unevenness, which was present on the 2017 walking tour, was extended and the interpretive framework was reinforced for the 2019 tour described above. That is, the initial framework in 2017 held that the city is the “projection of society on the ground” (Lefebvre 1996, 32), and sociopolitical contradictions are thus acknowledged spatially (Lefebvre 2013). Space is invariably filled with complex networks of relationships of domination and subordination, of solidarity and cooperation, a dynamic power geometry (Massey 1994, 265). To that reading I added in 2019 another conceptual layer highlighting how that power geometry produces a spatial division of labor that confines women to domestic space (Massey 1994); nevertheless, their gender identity may emerge as a specific stance in a shifting historical context (Alcoff 1989). I will illustrate this through the case of uneven urban development.

On the first walking tour it was evident how, in a city whose economic revival was based on the growing boom of aristocratic tourism after the fire in 1813, the beginnings of this new social order demanded a transformation of the city’s space–temporality (Smith 2020; Harvey 2018). Thus, on the sites where the old *caseríos* were marked on

the shared maps, we could contrast some of the mansions built for the summering noble families, such as at Arbaizenea, with the buildings in the residential developments at Lazkano that adopted the garden city model and with the social housing apartment blocks in Morlans and the few remaining *caseríos*.

On the 2019 walking tour, our interpretation put the spotlight on the domestic versus the public sphere. The uneven development of the city was centered on the social status of the women who lived in the different types of suburban homes and the way they lived, following the work of Dolores Hayden, Betty Friedan, Daphne Spain, and Teresa del Valle. Moreover, at the Txanpuene *caserío* the portraits of the family of the Duke of Sotomayor and Marquis of Casa Irujo, who in 1883 bought the Arbaizenea and Txanpuene *caseríos* to build his mansion, stood in contrast with the portraits of the Basque farm women and servant women of the era. We imagined scenes of their opposing embodied domestic practices. We assessed how the interplay of the social practices of certain historical and social “agents” produced that space, converting it into “practiced place” (de Certeau 1996, 129).

We walked around the place, similarly acknowledging the dynamic power geometry of the public sphere. We shared stories about women. Property owners such as María de Fayet, who in 1525 sold to Joanes de Guamizo a piece of land where the lower edge bordered the “stream that runs to the port of Morlans” (Muñoz Echabeguren 2003, 42). They were investors in ships and trading companies that sailed to Newfoundland in the 16th century (Azpiazu Elorza 2016). They were the boatwomen, bargewomen, stevedores, and boat pullers working in the bustling commercial port (Macías 2016). They were widows. And other women whose lives were intertwined with the water landscape, such as the water carriers and the washerwomen. In this case, however, the binary discourse weakens when viewed in light of Elizabeth Philps’ notion of “the fluidity and complexity of spaces enacted around the home” (2021, 297) and Teresa del Valle’s construction of “bridging spaces”, which are anchored in interior and public spaces, and where the main objective is to support change when the established limits weaken (1997, 165) .

I must confess that I was never alone at the lavoirs. They are located in an area that is isolated and on a slope, where the ground is slippery and uneven, making walking difficult. I feel unsafe and fearful. Perhaps for this same reason, women came together

to do the washing, as has been amply documented (Hernández 2012; Manrique and Alberdi 2000). At that site, in addition to the ruins of a *lavoir*, a basin and some even older washing stones were discovered in the spring's stream. There are also several channels that may have flowed to the aqueduct. And all of it is surrounded by an unkempt clump of trees. The image that came closest to the past of that social space was created on the walking tour organized with the Morlans Neighborhood Association, when a neighbor who cleaned and restored the *lavoirs* as a volunteer showed us the various pieces he had unearthed, while children ran around, jumping from stone to stone. We imagined the embodied practices of those washerwomen captured in various engravings and photographs, standing barefoot in the water, their skirts wet even in winter, and their "dangerous/censurable" conversations. One participant replied: "I prefer to socialize in cafés".

Moreover, women had unequal access to the uses and governance of and experiences with water, an inequality mediated by their position within labor and sociocultural practices. The women from the *caseríos* were the ones in charge of washing and drying clothing. I drew on the ethnography by (Berriochoa Azcárate 2016) to relate how María Asun Iriarte (1914-1990), from the nearby Agustindegi *caserío*, used to wash clothing for the Cervera hotel, water up to her knees as she worked in the triple basin that collected the water that fell into the ravine in Morlans. It also described how in 1761

"because the *caseríos* are in gorges, there are more water sources and *lavoirs*, there they have firewood for washing and all the women from the farms busy themselves with washing clothes all week; thus when they arrive on Mondays, hauling their vegetables and other things, they collect the clothing from the houses, and being washed and dried, they return them to their owners." (Berriochoa Azcárate 2016, 48)

When I next run this tour, I will add the viewing of various photographs by José Brunet that show these women walking barefoot through the city streets in 1890, carrying large baskets of laundered clothing on their heads.

The walled city of Donostia always had problems with water supply. Women were responsible for the domestic water supply and thus were particularly affected if water quality or water access was compromised, such as after the attacks on the aqueduct during successive wars in the nineteenth century, where at the fountains there was "a great deal of noise and women gathered together, waiting their turn to get water"

(Muñoz Echabeguren 2003). We looked at photographs of water carriers with heavy buckets made of wood on their heads; when full, the buckets could weigh up to 15 kg. We talked about their role today in Donostia's patronal festival, where they walk alongside soldiers playing the drum, and for a future tour I plan to undertake detailed study of the water carriers' role in war.

Right to the road

Space is an ongoing production (Massey 2012, 198). In the area surrounding the aqueduct there have been a series of popular resistance practices, claims to the right to the city, acts of appropriation and engagement framed within that right (Fenster 2005; Lefebvre 1996). I led residents of the Morlans neighborhood on the 2018 walking tour the day after having shown them the 2017 tour at a conference. These two events were part of the neighborhood's patronal festival, but more than that they reiterated the neighborhood's claim to the woods at Arbaizenea. In previous years they had also collectively toured that natural setting, discussing potential use of the landscape. That same year, the neighborhood association had submitted to the city's participatory budgeting process a proposal titled "Arbaizenea, a woodland for the city and for Morlans" and received a small amount of funding. The Women and City Forum had also proposed that the lavoir at Arbaizenea be rebuilt, valorized, and re-listed in the *Special Plan for the Protection of the Urban and Built Heritage of Donostia*; the proposal was rejected and remanded to the general plan for the woodlands. We hope the outcomes will be better than for Txanpuene, another act of resistance covered on all the tours. A member of the Etxabe family, which has lived at Txanpuene as tenants since 1880, told us that in 1997 the Duchess of Alba negotiated with city officials the transfer of 10 ha of the Arbaizenea woods to the city, which would convert them into a public park in exchange for a permit to build on a 3-ha piece of land that includes the Txanpuene *caserío*. The plan sought to build on the site of the *caserío* a luxury residential development that has a private garden, pool, gym, dual exposure, and magnificent views. He further explained that, thanks to neighborhood resistance, a grant was awarded by the 2016 Foundation (as part of the European Capital of Culture Program) to unearth the Txanpuene spring using community labor and re-list it in the *Special Plan for the Protection of Heritage*. Moreover, the Ayete Neighborhood Association proposed that the *caserío* be preserved in the park's surroundings and that it be converted into a Museum of Water. The neighborhood would put on a fair every year

to commemorate this activism, the last of which I took part in. The Etxabe family has been fighting the infringement of their rights in court, and despite having won cases and the judicial process still being open, Txanpuene was bulldozed on December 15th, 2020. The Ayete Neighborhood Association's blog ran the headline: "Txanpuene: the bitter testimony of collective defeat."

Conclusions

I have described the method of walking ethnography I used, paying special attention to the following aspects: the multisensory perception of the setting, the co-production of knowledge via the group encounter, the understanding of the historical routes and mobilities within the interpretative framework of ecopolitics, the communication of the ethnographic experience and its impact as participatory policy. In short, I investigated walking as a method for discovering in a space how the city was built and transformed.

The experience recounted leads to a series of conclusions. Firstly, it shows us that walking is a form of embodied ethnography, where both the sensory and emotional perceptions of the route, as well as the experiential, analytical and relational knowledge of the spaces visited allow access to a detailed understanding of the ethnohistorical contexts.

Secondly, walking makes us aware of the political relationships of space. The routes traveled show the city as society projected onto the ground, a product of social and historical practices. Likewise, they explain how the dominant practices of hegemonic agents are contested by popular resistance movements.

Finally, walking has made it possible to communicate ethnographic experience and illustrate its power, its transformative possibilities, and its instrumental role in asserting the right to the city.

References

- Alcoff, Linda. 1989. "Feminismo Cultural versus Pos-Estructuralismo: La Crisis de La Identidad En La Teoría Feminista." *Feminaria* 2 (4): 1–18.
- Aoki, Julia, and Ayaka Yoshimizu. 2015. "Walking Histories, Un/Making Places: Walking Tours as Ethnography of Place." *Space and Culture* 18 (3). SAGE Publications Inc: 273–84. doi:10.1177/1206331215579719.

- Arias, Diana. 2017. "Etnografía en movimiento para explorar trayectorias de niños y jóvenes en Barcelona." *Revista de Antropología Social* 26 (1): 93-112-112. doi:10.5209/RASO.56044.
- Azpiazu Elorza, José Antonio. 2016. "Las Mujeres Vascas y El Mar." *Itsas Memoria. Revista de Estudios Marítimos Del País Vasco* 8: 811-29.
- Berriochoa Azcárate, Pedro. 2016. *Aiete. Caseríos, Casas y Familias*. Donostia: Lantxabe.
- Careri, Francesco. 2013. *Walkscapes. El Andar Como Práctica Estética*. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili.
- Certeau, Michel de. 1996. *La Invención de Lo Cotidiano. Prácticas Del Hacer*. México: Universidad Iberoamericana.
- Echeveste, Joaquín Ramón. 1841. "Descripción y Observaciones Sobre El Estado Actual de Los Manantiales de Que Pende El Surtimiento de La Fuente Pública de Esta Ciudad". Archivo Municipal de Donostia nº20, Libro nº 1993).
- Ederson, Tim. 2010. "Walking in Rhythms: Place, Regulation, Style and the Flow of Experience." *Visual Studies*, no. 25: 69-79. doi:10.1080/14725861003606902.
- Fenster, Tovi. 2005. "The Right to the Gendered City: Different Formations of Belonging in Everyday Life." *Journal of Gender Studies* 14 (3): 217-31. doi:10.1080/09589230500264109.
- Fischer-Lichte, Erika. 2011. *Estética de Lo Performativo*. Madrid: Abada.
- García de Vicuña Olaizola, Iñaki. 2014. "El Transporte Fluvial En El Urumea. Actividad y Gestión de Sus Puertos. Siglos XVI al XIX." *Publicaciones Digitales Untzi Museoa* 3.
- Gros, Frédéric. 2015. *Andar: Una Filosofía*. 3ª. Madrid: Taurus. <https://www.casadellibro.com/libro-andar-una-filosofia/9788430616763/2375063>.
- Harvey, David. 2018. *Justicia, Naturaleza y La Geografía de La Diferencia*. Ecuador-Madrid: IAEN del Ecuador-Traficantes de sueños.
- Hazlitt, William, and Robert Louis Stevenson. 2018. *Caminar*. Madrid: Nordica. <https://www.angleeditorial.com/caminar-695>.
- Heddon, Deirdre, and Cathy Turner. 2010. "Walking Women: Interviews with Artists on the Move." *Performance Research* 15 (4): 14-22. doi:10.1080/13528165.2010.539873.
- . 2012. "Walking Women: Shifting the Tales and Scales of Mobility." *Contemporary Theatre Review* 22 (2). <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10486801.2012.666741>.
- Hernández, Jone Miren. 2012. "Arkitektura Horizontalak." *Berria*, May 20.
- Ingold, Tim. 2004. "Culture on the Ground: The World Perceived Through the Feet." *Journal of Material Culture* 9 (3): 315-40. doi:10.1177/1359183504046896.
- Ingold, Tim, and Jo Lee Vergunst, eds. 2008. *Ways of Walking. Ethnography and Practice on Foot*. Surrey: Ashgate.
- Le Breton, David. 2017. *Elogio Del Caminar*. 5th ed. Madrid: Siruela.
- Lee, J, and T Ingold. 2006. "Fieldwork on Foot: Perceiving, Routing, Socializing." In *Locating the Field. Space, Place and Context in Anthropology*, edited by Simon Coleman and Peter Collins. Berg.
- Lefebvre, Henri. 1978. *El Derecho a La Ciudad*. 4th ed. Barcelona: Península.
- . 1996. *The Right to the City*. theanarchistlibrary.org/librari/henri-lefebvre-right-to-the-city.
- . 2013. *La Producción Del Espacio*. Madrid: Capitan Swing.

- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 1978. *Myth and Meaning. Five Talks for Radio*. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.
- Macías, Olga. 2016. “Las Mujeres y Las Actividades Marítimas En El País Vasco: Trabajo Portuario y Ámbito Persquero (1700-1950).” *Itsas Memoria. Revista de Estudios Marítimos Del País Vasco* 8: 831–45.
- Manrique, M^a Pilar, and Mari José Alberdi. 2000. “Lavaderos: Espacio Público, Genérico, de Trabajo, de Relaciones Interpersonales. Cambios Acaecidos. Guipúzcoa 1850-1950.” *Vasconia* 30: 301–21.
- Mason, Olivia. 2021. “A Political Geography of Walking in Jordan: Movement and Politics.” *Political Geography* 88: 1–11. doi:10.1016/j.polgeo.2021.102392.
- Massey, Doreen. 1992. “Sexismo Flexible.” *Sociologica* 7 (18).
- . 1994. *Space, Place, and Gender*. NED-New edition. University of Minnesota Press. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/j.ctttw2z>.
- . 2012. “Espacio, Tiempo y Responsabilidad Política En Una Era de Desigualdad Global.” In *Doreen Massey. Un Sentido Global Del Lugar*, edited by Abel Albet and Nuria Benach. Barcelona: Icaria.
- Middleton, Jennie. 2011. “Walking in the City: The Geographies of Everyday Pedestrian Practices.” *Geography Compass* 5: 90–105. doi:10.1111/j.1749.8198.2010.00409.x.
- Muñoz Echabeguren, Fermín. 2003. *El Agua Potable En La Historia de San Sebastián/Edateko Ura Donostiako Historian*. Donostia: Aguas del Añarbe.
- Myers, Misha. 2010. “Walk with Me, Talk with Me’: The Art of Conversive Wayfinding.” *Visual Studies* 25 (1): 59–68. doi:10.1080/14725861003606894.
- . 2011. “Walking Again Lively: Towards an Ambulant and Conversive Methodology of Performance and Research.” *Mobilities* 6 (2): 183–201. doi:10.1080/17450101.2011.552775.
- O’Neill, Maggie, and Phil Hubbard. 2010. “Walking, Sensing, Belonging: Ethno-Mimesis as Performative Praxis.” *Visual Studies* 25 (1): 46–58. doi:10.1080/14725861003606878.
- Philps, E. 2021. “Just to Get out of the House: A Maternal Lens on Suburban Walking as Arts Practice.” *Journal Fo Cultural Geography* 38 (2): 286–305. doi:10.1080/08873631.2021.1913924.
- Pierce, Joseph, and Mary Lawhon. 2015. “Walking as Method: Toward Methodological Fortrightness and Comparability in Urban Geographical Research.” *The Professional Geographer* 67: 655–62. doi:10.1080/00330124.2015.1059401.
- Pink, Sarah. 2007. “Walking with Video.” *Visual Studies* 22 (3): 240–52. doi:10.1080/14725860701657142.
- . 2008. “An Urban Tour: The Sensory Sociality of Ethnographic Place-Making.” *Ethnography* 9 (2): 175–96. doi:10.1177/1466138108089467.
- Pink, Sarah, Phil Hubbard, Maggie O’Neill, and Alan Radley. 2010. “Walking across Disciplines: From Ethnography to Arts Practice.” *Visual Studies* 25 (1): 1–7. doi:10.1080/14725861003606670.
- Reed, Adam. 2002. “City of Details: Interpreting the Personality of London.” *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 8 (1): 127–41.
- Schelle, Karl Gottlob. 2013. *El arte de pasear*. Madrid: Diaz & Pons. <https://www.casadellibro.com/libro-el-arte-de-pasear/9788494084492/2283669>.
- Sheller, Mimi. 2014. “The New Mobilities Paradigm for a Live Sociology.” *Current Sociology* 62 (6): 789–811. doi:10.1177/0011392114533211.

- . 2016. “Gendered Mobilities: Epilogue.” In *Gendered Mobilities*, edited by Tanu P. Uteng and Tim Cresswell. Oxfordshire: Routledge.
- . 2017. “From Spatial Turn to Mobilities Turn.” *Current Sociology* 65 (4): 623–39. doi:10.1177/0011392117697463.
- Sheller, Mimi, and John Urry. 2006. “The New Mobilities Paradigm.” *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 38 (2): 207–26. doi:10.1068/a37268.
- Smith, Neil. 2020. *Desarrollo Desigual. Naturaleza, Capital y La Producción Del Espacio*. Traficantes de sueños.
- Solnit, Rebecca. 2015. *Wanderlust: Una Historia Del Caminar*. Madrid: Capitan Swing.
- Turner, Cathy. 2010. “Mis-Guidance and Spatial Planning: Dramaturgies of Public Space.” *Contemporary Theatre Review* 20 (2): 149–61. doi:10.1080/10486801003682351.
- Valle, Teresa del. 1997. *Andamios Para Una Nueva Ciudad*. Madrid: Cátedra.
- Vergunst, Jo. 2010. “Rhythms of Walking: History and Presence in a City Street.” *Space and Culture* 13 (4): 376–88. doi:10.1177/1206331210374145.
- . 2017. “Key Figure of Mobility: The Pedestrian.” *Social Anthropology* 25 (1): 13–27. doi:10.1111/1469-8676.12289.
- Wylie, John. 2005. “A Single Day’s Walking: Narrating Self and Landscape on the South West Coast Path.” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 30 (2): 234–47.