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BSc Geography Undergraduate Dissertation

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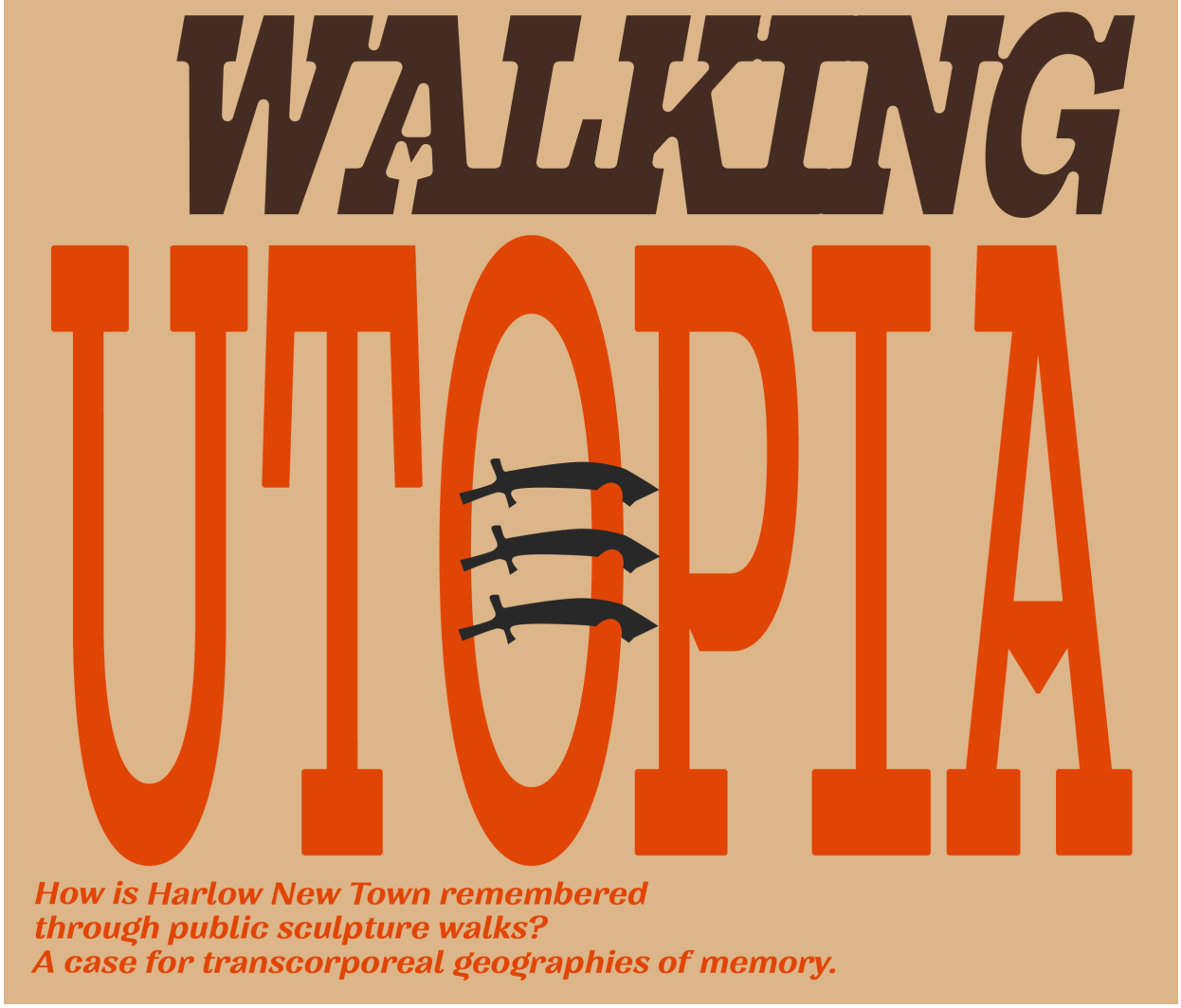
OPTICAL FIBER
SCULPTURE TOWN
CIGARETTES &
NAKED LADIES
FAMILY GROUP
F. GIBBERD
DONKEY
SOCIALISM

Walking Utopia: How is Harlow New Town remembered through public sculpture walks? A case for transcorporeal geographies of memory.



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Abstract

This paper proposes an alternative geography of memory. Drawing on feminist new materialist theories – in particular that of Karen Barad and Stacy Alaimo – it describes our relationship to remembering place as 'mattering'. Through using walking ethnographic methods, this paper proposes the process of 'transcorporeal memory' – a mixing of time, memories and place – to reimagine non-representational geographies of memory. Doing so, narrative storying and illustrative map-making attend to the unchartability of memory processes specifically in Harlow New Town, Essex and its public sculptures. As we 'transcorporeally remember' we are thick with memorial intra-actions. These perceptions of place compete for time and space when Harlow is viewed as traditionally 'from above' in cartographic representations. Narrative stories from Go-Along-style interviews with Harlow's residents, together with this transcorporeal memory approach of analysis, propose the tricky navigations of the parallels and contradictions of post-war utopianism in art, architecture, and consciousness. This paper sees that by recalling transcorporeally through walking, nostalgia is not strong enough to refer to the present and continual nature by which memories and notions of place exist. Instead, if transcorporeal memory is a distinct and unique strain of the non-representational, then there is scope to further the ways memories pass and move through bodies in different urban spaces.

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Nain and Grandad for your persistent obsessions with creativity. For caring about the places we live in with unique exuberance.

"IN COMMON ENDEAVOUR"

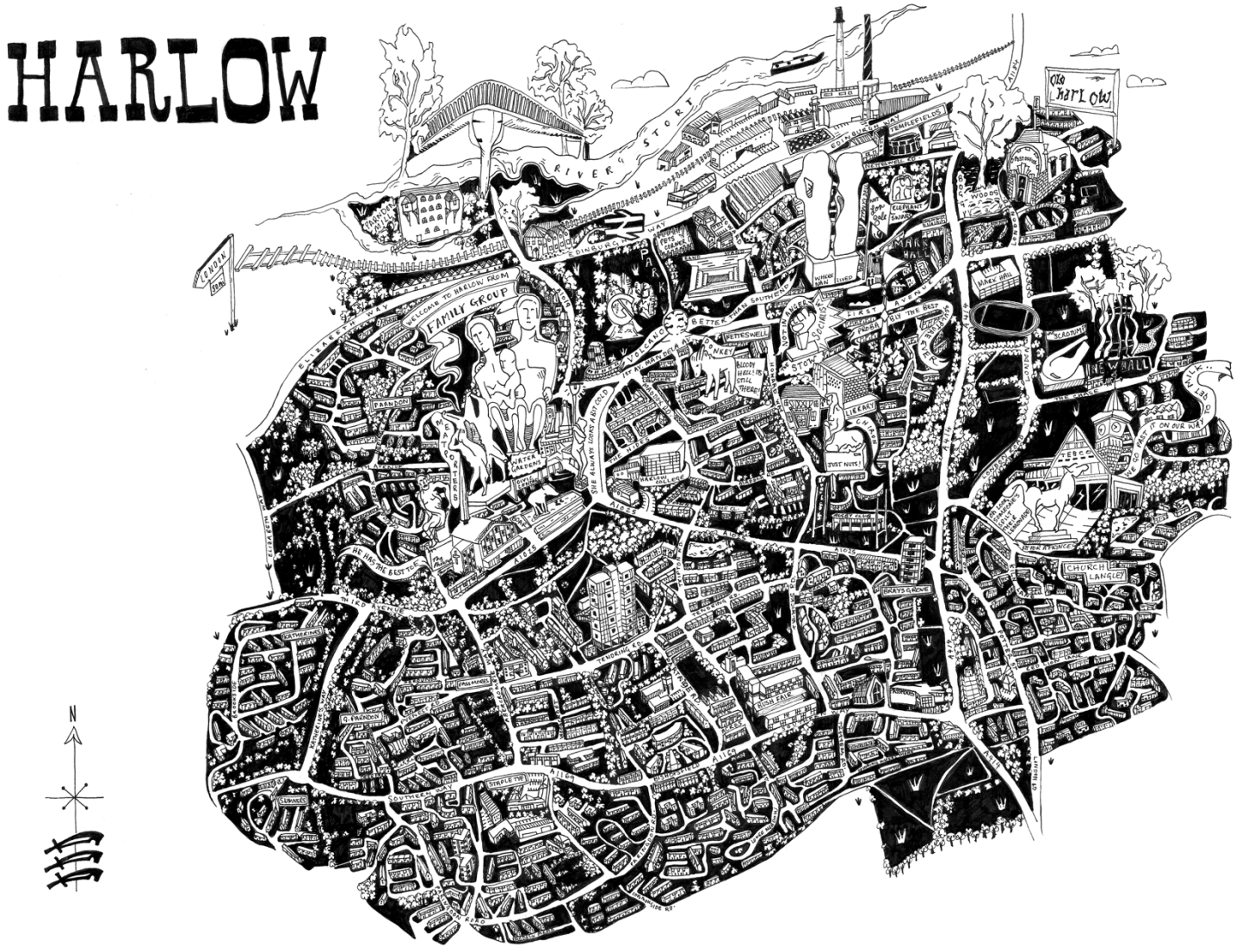
CONTENTS

FIGURES

PREFACE

A page, a step, a tension.

A journey begins with movement of the body. Cantering toward the next page folded over in a novel or stride in a voyage, walking and thinking are akin to the cyclical rhythm of a journey. But, is it really so simple as merely beginning and end? My answer is simply, no. This dissertation foregrounds geographical research as merely the first page, and not the last, of how people remember place.



CHAPTER 1
What's in a walk?

1.1 A first step

This paper is an attempt to provoke a wider audience to consider remembering as a continual and ephemeral process. An oxymoron if you will. That a memory of walking to the corner shop with your group of friends on a summer's day, clutching a brown paper bag of boiled sweets is geographical. It is valid. 'Radically contextual', this paper offers three stories of how people know, without knowing, Harlow New Town in Essex (Thrift 1996: 41).

It seems pertinent, arguably necessary, to begin this paper by confessing my own struggles with the approachability of traditional written geographical research. Often, it is easy to fall victim to a 'parallel'-universe scenario of research describing something just familiar enough you (may) continue reading, yet struggle to see yourself part of, implicated by or actively participating in. By attending to these concerns shared by other critics of academic communication (Law, 2004; Clandinin, 2007), I present narratives of residents in Harlow New Town, Essex enmeshed with analytical considerations in three distinct vignettes. Overturning the erasure of everyday remembering practices (Clandinin, 2007), I utilise ethnographic research, through a commitment to a prolonged relationship with communities, to elevate lives from the appendices and into the research itself.

Following a total of eight residents on walking trails around Harlow New Town, this paper explores themes of socialism, feminism, banality and utopianism through the common denominator of public sculpture. Analytical work points to the necessity for a new termed process of remembering, through what I call 'transcorporeal memory'. A neologism developed from feminist transcorporeal studies championed by the likes of Karen Barad and Stacy Alaimo, transcorporeal memory focuses on the skewing of bodies and time in processes of remembering. Whilst transcorporeal memory is formative and holds its own issues of infancy, for the sake of this paper it overcomes a relatively under-developed strain of new cultural geographies of materialistic memory. In this way, I am not attempting to chart the tricky practices of memory but write about its very unchartability. For philosopher Walter Benjamin's towns, memories are a staging of the past, a 'tableaux' of 'space, moments and discontinuities', which, through walking create the location of self (1997: 13). Therefore, this paper aims to reflect the discontinuous nature of memory in its ability to be read from multiple points, in multiple directions.

1.2 A rationale

Chapter 2 situates these narratives within context of Harlow's conception in post-war Britain under a Labour government faced with the dislocation of thousands of citizens in the wake of London's material and social devastation in 1946 (Gibberd et al. 1980). This historical context is paired with contemporary currents in cultural geographies exploring place-making specifically through remembering practices. I conclude by referring back to my decision to dismantle the dissertation structure which guided my construction of a psychogeographical 'Re-mastering Plan' of Harlow (fig.i) discussed in Chapter 7.

Specifically, I address three questions in this paper;

1. **What are the continuities and transformations in everyday embodied experiences of Harlow's sculptures?**

2. **How are these experiences perceived as exceptional, lacking value, normal or deviant?**

3. How does walking lend to an experiential notion of place and what are the moods and feelings which describe these notions?

By answering these, the narratives of Harlow's residents challenge a perceived dualist separation of studying 'matter' in cultural geography as localized in the dualism of body/society (as with Judith Butler, 1990) or environment/nature (such as Shapin and Schaffer, 1985). Using stories and place as data, the findings of my research point to how sculpture, as art objects, are technologies of memory. Notably because "all sorts of characters can be active, are active and are made to be active" through remembering (Plate and Smelik, 2009; Law, 2004: 133). How amidst funding cuts and strains on housing in Harlow, residents explore the sculptures in a way which frames memory as art. As subjective, and never neutral.

The narrative begins as a personal one.

Born in Princess Alexandria Hospital in 1997, I lived in a small village on the outskirts of Harlow New Town in Essex, UK until later moving to a neighbouring town in Hertfordshire. I have disjointed memories of this time, pierced with certain feelings but never any sort of coherent string of events. Of all these mosaic tiles, one is the most whole, the clearest. It is the memory of a Boar sculpture, by Elizabeth Frink, situated in Harlow's shopping complex, The Water Gardens (figure 1.1). I can smell the musty pond water within which the Boar stands proud, if slightly askew. It is always a comfortingly breezy sunny day. An ecstasy of homeliness. Why is it that of all my experiences in Harlow, this one is branded in my mind?

How might other sculptures contribute to an experience of remembering and the moods with which we attach to them? By committing to support the recording of everyday narratives in Harlow, this dissertation compliments my wider involvement with the Harlow Gibberd Gallery and Arts Trust. At the time of writing, future community discussions and an online podcast to further the remembering process in Harlow from the basis of this research are in stages of coordination.

1.1

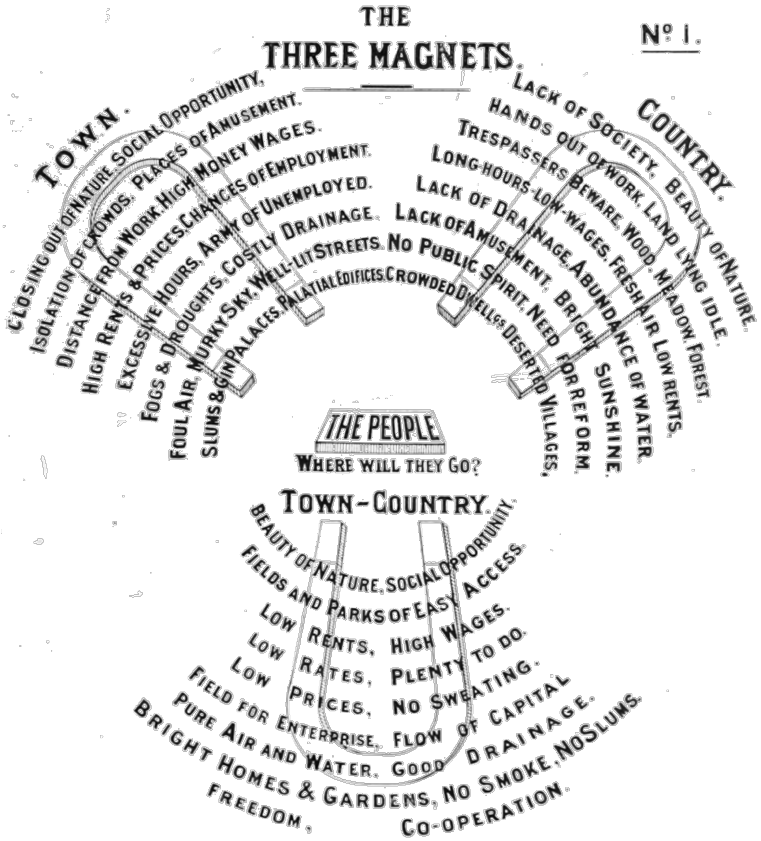
CHAPTER 2
Walking through the ideas

2.1 Paving the way

Walking through existing literature on geographies of remembering place will help lay the foundation for navigating memory in Harlow. A commitment to do so requires understanding Harlow's genesis, utopianism, memory and non-representational geography. This chapter is split loosely along the lines of each theme, however, each does not exist in strict isolation.

2.2 Harlow New Town, Sculpture Town

It was idealistic and it was socialist (Alexander, 2009). Harlow New Town was conceived by architect-planner Sir Frederick Gibberd under a Labour government following the 1946 New Town's Act ordered by Lewis Silkin, Minister of Town and Country Planning. Harlow's 1947 designation occurred with Stevenage, Hemel Hempsted and Crawley in counties surrounding London (Evans, 1972). These New Towns were inspired by the planning and social-political organization of Ebenezer Howard's *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* (1902). Howard's Garden City was a means to an end – that of abolishing slums and unemployment but undertaken in microcosm of a much greater end – to build a new civilization for the growing anxieties of a marginalized middle class in the early 20th century. The New Towns were an iteration of the Garden City. They embraced a middle-class patriotism of suburban living sought from the city "weak in its traditions and ideals" as illustrated in Howard's *Three Magnets* of town and country (fig.2.1) (Osborn, 1943: 30). Only Britain's New Towns were not founded on a middle class "urge to identify with the countryside" (Mandler, 1997). But rather an egregious necessity founded on requirements to re-house both middle and working classes made homeless and unemployed following the material devastation of Blitz – from the German word *Blitzkrieg* (lightening war) – between 1940-1 (figs. 2.2-2.3).



2.1

2.2

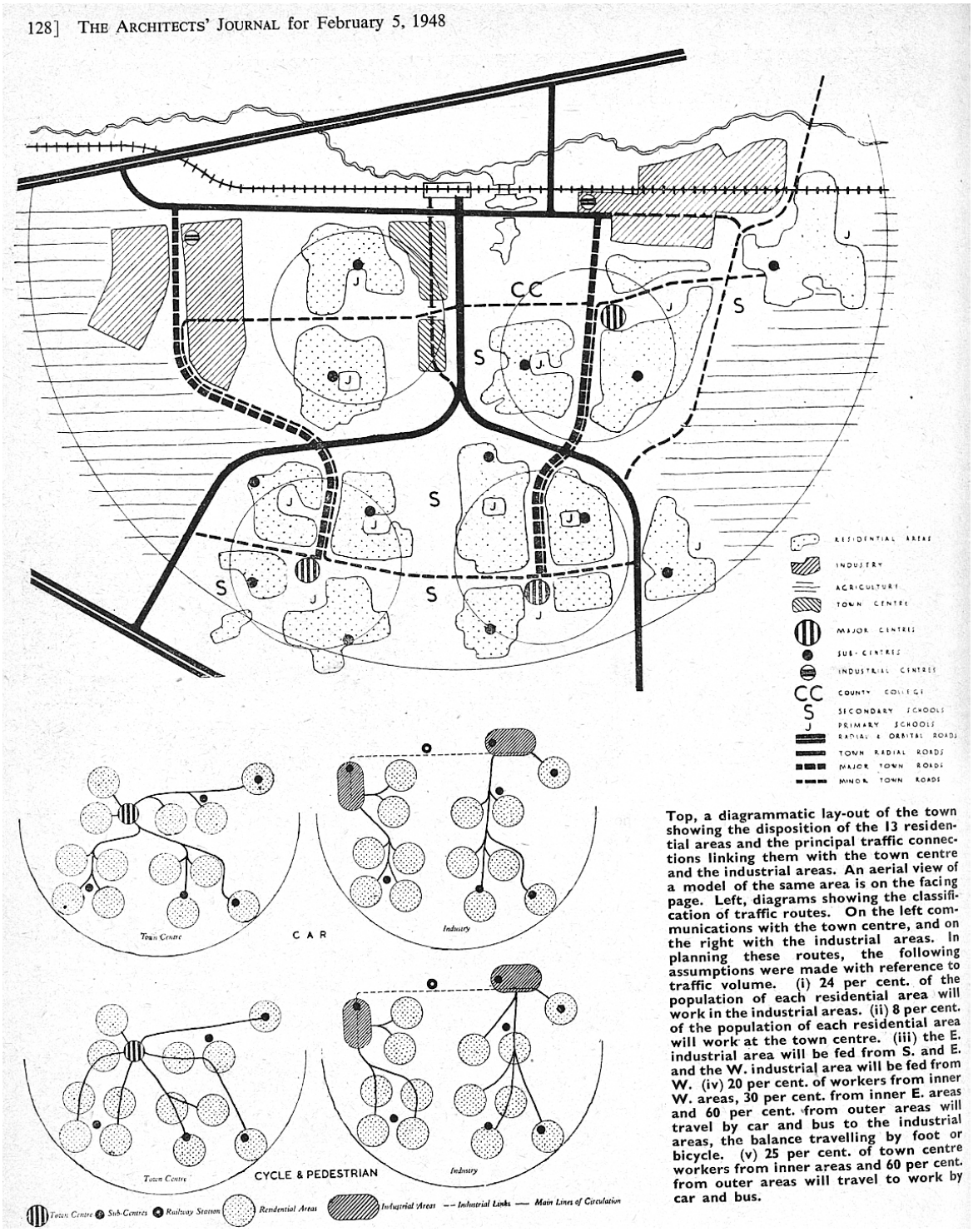
A common struggle to have a place called home.

2.3

2.2.1 Utopian materiality

HARLOW NEW TOWN
THE MASTER PLAN BY FREDERICK GIBBERD

2.4



Top, a diagrammatic lay-out of the town showing the disposition of the 13 residential areas and the principal traffic connections linking them with the town centre and the industrial areas. An aerial view of a model of the same area is on the facing page. Left, diagrams showing the classification of traffic routes. On the left communications with the town centre, and on the right with the industrial areas. In planning these routes, the following assumptions were made with reference to traffic volume. (i) 24 per cent. of the population of each residential area will work in the industrial areas. (ii) 8 per cent. of the population of each residential area will work at the town centre. (iii) the E. industrial area will be fed from S. and E. and the W. industrial area will be fed from W. (iv) 20 per cent. of workers from inner W. areas, 30 per cent. from inner E. areas and 60 per cent. from outer areas will travel by car and bus to the industrial areas, the balance travelling by foot or bicycle. (v) 25 per cent. of town centre workers from inner areas and 60 per cent. from outer areas will travel to work by car and bus.

Harlow exemplifies involvement of the post-World War II state, and the foregrounding of a radical liberal interventionism and consensus to planning (Meacham, 1999). With distinct neighborhoods congregated into a semi-circular web of life (fig 2.4)). One might define utopia as an imaginative account of idealized society, deliberately constructed to be better than the reality from which it was produced (Buchanan, 2018). Greek for 'good place', and the title of Sir Thomas Moore's 1516 book, *utopia* has become relatively 'overcoded' into a pejorative political discourse for its idealistic, fanciful qualities (Ibid). Following the material and socio-economic demise of WWII, British utopianism transpired as a necessity (Highmore, 2017). Around this time, technological advancements of Fordist mechanization meant utopian rumination, for once, seemed materially promising. Housing units could be manufactured in any one locale by and for itself to support expansion (Vale, 1995). The planning of Harlow New Town to include public artworks alongside its erection was clearly cognizant, with sculpture for Gibberd "by far the most important" urban furnishing (Gibberd et al., 1980:243). Harlow existed as an ideological archipelago nestled between a swirling sea of destruction in 1947 post-WWII Britain (Lord Greenwood of Rossendale, 1980:xix).

Lending itself to radical ontologies of idealistic 'impossible' authoritarianism, utopianism presents itself as a highly geographical urban issue. Geographies of utopian projects often spotlight extravagant cases of South American (Pope and Finn, 2017) or European communism (Swyngedouw, 2010) or offer poststructuralist critique of Baudrillard or Lefebvre's Marxist organizations of urban life (see Madden, 2012; Smith, 2001). Marxist social philosopher Ernst Bloch's *The Principle of Hope* (1959) understood utopianism as an anticipatory consciousness expressed by two utopian dimensions dependent on the propagation of thought into the future; materially and socially (termed the Not-Yet-Become and Not-Yet-Conscious). Demarcating a material and social utopianism, however, ignores their assemblage in the multi-dimensional terrain of everyday, geographical, life. This seems to be where Bloch's anticipatory hold of utopia becomes its downfall. It struggles to consider the present, where 'utopia' is unsettling and contested (Pinder 2005; Kraftl, 2007). Moreover, utopias are "potentially affectually[1] unsettling in the act of exposure" such as reading and remembering (Kraftl, 2007: 123). As these brief examples demonstrate, urban utopias have been posited from a range of methodological and political perspectives and therefore are wildly elusive in material and social life. Considering it is the UK's first designated 'Sculpture Town' and its construction hailed "a brave and courageous gesture" (Taylor, 1964: 220), Harlow is an exceptional example of planned 20th century decentralization and performed utopian hope in this 'unsettling' present.

2.3 That which cannot be represented

Aspects of this present life which elude description are commonly referred to as geographically 'non-representational', or better, 'more-than-representational' (Lorimer 2005). Both are denominations of non-representational theory (NRT), which epistemologically emphasizes the 'overabundance of things to be known' in everyday life (see Foucault 1997:325; Pinder, 2001; Clark, 2005). NRTs respond to this overabundance by attending to embodied practices which cannot easily be spoken of. A means of knowing place without knowing. It is concerned with aspects of life which are not always, and sometimes never, cognitive (Thrift, 1997:126-7). And often encoded through narratives of walking or affect (Bissel, 2016; Gregg and Seigworth, 2010). Cultural geography's shift towards more-than-human cognate experiences offers an epistemology which considers the nexus of human-object relations in a world of continual flux.

[1] Referring to the psychological notion of affect as from (Kraftl, 2007: 123)

2.5

'New cultural geographies' in the 1980s recast theoretical comprehensions of culture. The totemic essay by Daniels and Cosgrove introducing *Iconography and Landscape* references landscape as a 'cultural image' (1988). Explored in chapter 3.2, these 'new' cultural geographies brought forth a movement of NRT geographers exploring the inseparability of environment's production by culture. However, this produced a demarcation of geographical discipline between the social and natural sciences (Whatmore, 2006). Attempts to reunite this amputation between a theoretical understanding of culture from its sited materiality include that of Rose (2002), Self (2007) and Cresswell (2010; 2012). But as Cresswell cautions, there is a notion that this work from the mid-80s has become hegemonic, and endeavors of cultural geography using NRT are beginning to go around in circles. To avoid another 'here we go again' paper (Cresswell 2010:169), I see the necessity to outsource materiality-based cultural geographical frameworks from more unexpected origins. Therefore, a notion of feminist materialism, in particular that of Stacy Alaimo and Karan Barad, helps describe the inseparable relationship of

remembering cultures with the spatio-temporal environment (Alaimo, 2008: 238). Chapter 3 addresses Alaimo's 'transcorporeality' in surmounting the dualisms and abstractions concomitant with new cultural geographies (NRT in particular) while, hopefully, contributing to a more novel means of considering memory practices.

2.3.2 Memory in the New Towns

Harlow now has 90 public sculptures (Harlow Council, n.d.). Attuning to remembering processes by which the sculptures are engendered with meaning, I consider specifically how people move through and describe life in Harlow. Contemporary geographical practices steer to invoke the past as a conscious attempt to make the past present (Jones, 2011), by "presentification of the past" (Gumbrecht 2004: 123). However, Halbwachs's (1992) notion that shared memories are, in and of themselves, a technology of power to shape place, falls victim to the stasis presumed of the past to influence the present. Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) is one example of Halbwachs' contention. The power given to hegemonic Western remembrance informs collective identities of communities largely along constructions of Eastern 'Orient' identities as divergent from the West. I instead wish to magnify delicate "ecologies of memory" (Toila-Kelly, 2010) which do exist in Said's macro-discourses, but also in intimate, micro-discourses belonging to individuals by offering a relational approach to memory. Such a focus transports memory into the present (Jones, 2011). Where life is lived.

Studying urban memory using walking methods is heavily influenced by psychogeography. Inspired by Guy Debord and The Situationists – the Surrealist avant-garde group who used experimental investigation in 1950s urban Paris to explore capitalism restricting the "real and ephemeral possibilities of time and space" (Richardson, 2006) – contemporary psychogeographies use the concept of the *flâneur*[2] and walking to critique urban space. The ideologies of psychogeographical methods were integral to inform this research's playfulness, non-conformity and dissenting of traditional geographical representations of place rather than any pointed urban critique. Adopting Will Self's approach (2007), this paper is a "meditation on the vexed relationship between psyche and place" in remembering practices.

2.3.3 A matter of things

Since memory has a history, it has a material geography (Plate and Smelik, 2009: 8). Mitch Rose's (2002) theorization of landscapes as a process of emergence, called into being through practice, indicates how poststructural geographies, including NRT, tend to offer a latent structuralism through a dormant passivity of landscapes and their materiality. Calling on Heidegger, Rose asserts interpretative practice is the "mechanism through which the world takes shape" (2002: 465). I instead prefer the term technology to describe 'texts' or 'mechanisms' by which we constitute the world vis-à-vis materiality. Specifically, Donna Haraway's cyborg manifesto of 'technology' (1991: 181) compliments a feminist materialism of culture as the interface of intra-action between individual and collective bodies (Barad, 2007: 128). It is through the contingency of interpretive technologies that the world comes to matter. Karen Barad suggests that *inter*-action relies on a metaphysics of individualism while the *intra*-action between technologies of matter and their "measuring agencies" emerge from phenomena of inseparable relationality (2007: 128). This paper proposes ontologically inseparable technologies of intra-action drive transcorporeality.

The following chapter introduces this feminist materialist approach to uncover how technologies of memory in Harlow operate without reinforcing any 'latent' structuralism or essentializations of body-mind, or environment-experience. Hopefully avoiding another 'here we go again' moment.

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[2] A theoretical urban figure who "walks and experiences the city" exploring the anonymity of urban modernity (see Walter Benjamin's *The Arcades Project* (1927-40). The figure is known for their – usually 'his' – practice of strolling (Rodgers et al., 2013).

CHAPTER 3
Transcorporeality: *Walking and memory as a roundabout.*

3.1 (Trans)formations of Memory

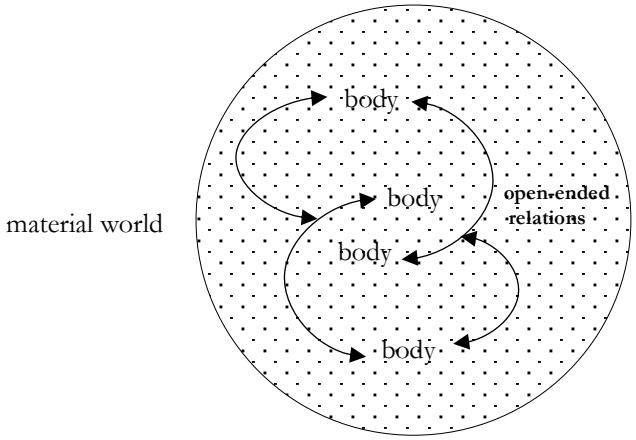
> "Memory, like the mind, is unimaginable without physical dimensions, to imagine it as a physical place is to make it into a landscape in which its contents are located, and what has location, can be approached."
>
> (Solnit, 2002:77)

Rebecca Solnit's evaluation of walking allows memory to become approachable as a symbolic[3] and universal activity. Walking's simplicity, as an expression of personal freedom makes it what psychogeographer Iain Sinlar describes as the 'last radical act' (Kobek 2014: 31). Solnit's "landscape" is translated here to be Harlow New Town, with public sculpture and residents its 'contents'. Her book *Wanderlust* (2002) guides my reviewing of space as a way to read memory. But it resists being read from start to finish. So, where do we start? Firstly, a landscape's 'contents' are lampposts, bodies, flowers, cigarette butts, sculptures or soil which assemble together to make Harlow recognisable (3.1). By defining Harlow's contents as matter, we (as geographers, researchers and residents alike) must attune to the way they assemble ecologies of memories. And so, I suggest that place can never be read, but can be deciphered by attuning to each object, each a node in a wider web of knowing place.

3.1

[3] see Oliver (1996) for undertaking walking as a manifestation of power in regard to disability.

To understand landscapes as an existence which is called forth by practices of remembering (Rose, 2002: 455), one must rethink the semantics of these material objects. Ambiguous 'objects' come to appear as they are put to task, remembered and practiced. While Butler (1990; 1993) focuses on the way human bodies are performatively inscribed by and through society, I struggle to align her anthropocentric hegemony with new cultural geographies along with Barad (2007) and Schep (2012). Instead of settling on Butler's idea (1993) that a landscape matters (materially) based on how it matters (in meaning), Stacy Alaimo's 'transcorporeality' offers an application which makes memory 'matter' by extending to all bodies which find themselves at "the crossroads of body and place" (2018: 436). This includes sculpture, residents, soil and trees. Described in fig.3.2, transcorporeality is not a mystical way of seeing how 'everything is connected' or performed by extrapolating Butler's performativity. But forces us to think how mundane acts such as walking and remembering impact human and non-human worlds across vast geographic and temporal scales[4].



3.2: Diagram of a trans-corporeal material world. The world is porous and relations between and including all bodies (human, non-human) are in a process of becoming in space and time.

The material world is porous, containing human and non-human bodies. These bodies unfold in open relations in a world of many open-ended relations. Remembering practices of place-making relate in skewed formations of space and time (Alaimo, 2018). While Alaimo's focus is specifically environmental material feminism, her *trans*-ferral of theory between body, mind and object allows me to undertake a more locatable iteration of memory than NRT (2010). The trans-corporeal residents of Harlow are in this case, generated through and entangled with technological, artistic, environmental social and political open-ended relations (Alaimo, 2018: 436). Residents are therefore not discrete entities able to be viewed from a distance, but analysing their memories transcorporeally, means thinking *with* memories as contributing to an 'ever-emerging world' (Rose, 2002). It means viewing memories specifically in two ways. One, as 'intra-acting' with other bodies, with matter and objects in a landscape (Barad, 2007). Two, as agents which skew traditional (linear) conventions of time and therefore reality (Pinder, 2001).

This emphasizes the importance of my research. Processes of remembering in walking have impacts on human and non-human worlds which feedback as inputs to how we presently know the world and might do in the future. Transcorporeality's cyclic relational nature recasts memory close to Ben Highmore's (2017) onus of generational influence on how we feel the world, but transcorporeality extents further. It takes it into the future and back again. Like a roundabout.

[4] Trans-corporeality, as a theoretical and epistemological endeavour, involves 'unexpected transits and crossings' between bodies, meaning it can be applied to a variety of examples and used to tackle divergent and surprising problems. Cristina Fredengren (2013) uses the concept to place archaeological data such as isotope analysis in a way which demonstrates the enmeshing of the skeleton, the visceral body and the environment. Other examples include assessing transcorporeal temporalities with weather (Neimanis and Lowen Walker, 2012), and in breathing (Gorska – forthcoming) (Alaimo, 2018). There is scope to extend transcorporeality to memory as it attends to the skewing of time-place in environments. So far there is limited application of transcorporeality specially directed at remembering and place-making.

So, if we have our landscape and its contents, and their relations which form a trans-corporeal whole; why focus on sculpture? Public sculpture is one feature of Harlow's contents. Its bronze, stone or wooden materiality is never "passively awaiting signification" from you, me or any so-called 'critic' to give it meaning (Barad, 2007: 151). No commodified 'true' meaning we so often lust for in 'art' exists, and so they make suitable objects of study to communicate codes of knowledge (Morphy, 2010). The ubiquity of sculpture in Harlow offers a unique insight into how representational material contents of a landscape can be active agents in forming local culture.

3.2 Alive Landscapes

Agential realism championed by Karen Barad (1993) refers to the agency given to bodies to experience realities and relations in the transcorporeal material world. Material objects in Harlow's landscape are always in a process of materialisation. They decay, weather and bloom with fungus in ways which make one see Solnit's landscape rampant with materiality living with a relative sense of agency (see Edensor, 2011). Of course, agency suggests a level of consciousness. I not suggesting mould has an awareness of its propagation on the sides of Chrion, a sculpture located in the Stow in Harlow (fig.3.3). Focusing on the connections between matter and process, this paper puts analytical onus on what Jeanette Winterson calls the 'livingness' of the world (1997: 85). As one participant, Jane, put herself of their agency:

"I suppose they don't last forever but maybe that's part of it. They're here and then they're not here."

3.3

I propose referencing sculptures as matter also implies the trajectory of change continually occurring by each object in a landscape. The permanence of statuary materiality suggests it will outlive the observer in the present (Funke & Grove, 2019). This helps acknowledge the tendency of new cultural geographies to re-inscribe objects of matter as passive products of human discursive fetishizations, and neglecting each material's agency in space (Law, 2004). Contemporary, or 'new' cultural geographies emerged in the late-1980s as an alternative to the Berkeley School's cultural geography established in California from the 1920s under geographer Carl Sauer (see Sauer, 1925). The radicality of 'new' cultural geography lies with its casting of culture as process rather than manifest in material objects in a landscape, undoing the essentialism and stasis of landscapes proposed by the Berkley School. This new perspective offered to see

how "space may be produced by society, yet society creates itself within a cultural space" (Bonnemaison, 1985: 33). Trans-corporeality builds on this notion of 'creates itself' – as 'productive time' to see that hegemonic memory is temporally based and offers the idea that if all 'biographies of things cannot but be similarly partial', geography must review memory as just one practice which occurs to make landscapes relevant in time (Highmore, 2017; Kopytoff, 1986: 68; Rose, 2002: 463). In this way, I intend to adopt a feminist agential realism to site the tricky, rather unlocatable methodologies of Non-Representational Theory and frame memory as an affectively fraught web of relation which unfolds in extensive space and time, with and through objects (Lorimer, 2005). How and why residents remember place through art is not to limit my concerns to the art world. But demonstrate how memory works in a lived, transcorporeal spacetime.

3.3 The Go-Along: Walking and Talking

Pragmatically, 'trans' (Latin for *across)*, injects a flagrant sense of movement in the project to conceptualise matter using transcorporeality. In the same way I aim to travel across transcorporeality's theoretical arena, I might travel in method. The relationality between space and memory provide richer analyses of *how* remembering happens since Harlow's sculptures are always sited in a navigable landscape.

Walking's persistent propagation of the next step encourages a recurrent bodily and cognitive rhythm leaving us "free to think without being wholly lost in our thoughts" (Solnit, 2002: 5). Specifically, adopting Kusenbach's (2005) "Go-along" methodological approach compliments this transcorporeal analysis of memory for it involves walking[5] interviews lead by participants rather than researcher. Its value initially began as means to dispell ethical issues of static observational ethnographic methods to explore space. Charles Briggs (1986) notes that interviews fundamentally (not incidentally) shape the content of what is constructed by respondents and interviewer. Neglecting a spatiality to remembering not only limits the 'still developing' arsenal of NRT methodologies (Lorimer, 2008: 556) omitting residents' sensorial lived experience (Holtein & Gubrium, 2004; Pink, 2012). It reinforces a parochial passivity of matter; the environments, objects and sculptures in Harlow which I am conscious to avoid (Barad, 2007). Walking ethnographies alleviate probing impressions associated with sedentary interviews by attuning to ethnomethodological and post-structural considerations of memory and perspective in calling up place-based personal biographies (Evans & Jones, 2011; Carpiano, 2009).

I undertook one-on-one walks with eight[6] self-volunteered (ex)residents recruited via word of mouth and social media posts shared by The Gibberd Gallery (run by the Harlow Arts Trust) over the course of three months in 2019. Participants chose where we started and finished and breaks in-between[7]. During each walk I cooperatively followed. Close enough to encourage movement and dialogue but never influence their direction. Fundamental to the ethics of my study in general, agency is an essential property of the formation of reality and thus memory (Barad, 2007). Letting participants lead, I began to see what constitutes their memorial realities through agency in space (Trend, 1992; Thrift, 2004). By drawing attention to bodily practices, habits and routes through the embodied act of walking, a space is opened up for critical reflections on the "ordinariness" of producing memory and culture in Harlow Town. Opening up the "everyday" is an important approach within this agential realist transcorporeal canon of geographical endeavour. The multiplicity of what the "everyday" is - as individually and habitually founded (Nash, 1999); continually changing (De Certeau, 1984); and rhythmical process (Lefebvre, 2004) - complements the continual transferral of meaning between bodies in our transcorporeal world.

[5] Walking as the most common mode of a Go-Along (see examples for climbing - Lund, 2005; or cycling - Spinney, 2007).
[6] See Appendix A for profiles.
[7] See Appendix B for walk maps.

Recruitment of research participants required detailing how volunteers would guide me around sculptures on their terms, meeting in safe public places and during daylight-hours. The walks were consensually audio and GPS recorded, then analysed along individual narratives owing to concerns of losing the personality of participants involved if analysis was undertaken thematically. Accessibility concerns limiting my potential volunteers resulted in welcoming alternative mobilities during the 'walks'[8]. Aiming to enter into a position of relative neutrality, I opened up about my connections to Harlow when seemed appropriate during each interview (however my local accent certainly acted in-part to reveal this). This was a bid to avoid overlooking experiences of place I (as an ex-'local') also contribute to (Laurier, 2010). Having now lived away from Harlow for a greater amount of time, I felt suitably distanced to notice local means of experiencing and thus remembering place.

3.3.1 Sharing step: a reflection

Whilst not a new methodological phenomenon, I became "immersed in temporal continuums of social everyday life activities" using Go-Alongs (Wunderlich, 2008: 125-6). Lee and Ingold (2006) illustrate an ostensible "sociability that is engendered by walking with others". The "sociability" invokes a *trans*-ferral of knowledge. Sharing step, style and rhythm of movement has long been acknowledged in ethnographic endeavours to create a sense of affinity with participants but requires a commitment to self-reflexivity (Sheller and Urry, 2005). If memory matters, then my body is bound up in participants' assemblages of matter - this is not to be confused with a "sameness" of sensorial and memorial experiences in walking through Harlow. I am keen to demarcate the impossibility of "sameness" in a "shared" experience of walking (see Okely, 1994; Downey, 2005). My research is not to represent what is remembered through my own experiences by walking but offer means to imagine what remembering Harlow might be like by interpreting my informants' experience (Pink, 2012). I become 'emplaced' without replacing using walking interviews. Taking this further, I experiment with what that interpretation looks like, by producing a hand-drawn map guided by the resident's walks alongside written analysis. By collaborating and placing quotes and ideas from participants' experience onto the map, I aim to present place as a messy tableau of consciousness.

Each of the following three chapters is comprised of narrative fieldnote vignettes buttressed by more contemplative analytical work and assembled visually in Chapter 7. While each narrative offers a distinctly different approach to remembering with marked character, certain themes materialise which elude to the scope of transcorporeality to analyse memory work. From socialism and sensorial experience, feminism and nonconformity.

I begin with Lesley.

August, 2019.

[8] Two walks involved short drives between locations arranged beforehand with participants.

CHAPTER 4

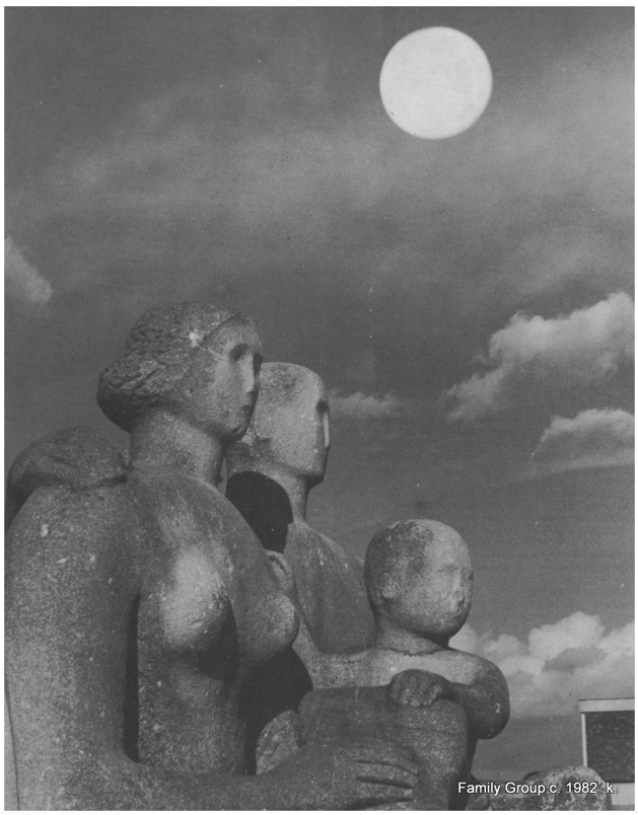
Walking with Lesley

Ex-visitor
Resident since 2018

"Seeing Family Group would mark the beginning of a day out", says Lesley, leading me away from the bustle of the ASDA superstore, toward the Harlow Civic centre with determination. It was Friday morning. Without any prompt or inclination, Lesley begins telling me about Henry Moore's monolithic Family Group (4.1) sculpture (1954)[9]. Now enclosed behind glass, the sculpture gazes outward over The Water Gardens shopping centre (4.2). We begin with Lesley[10], born 1966, for she offers me a place to start, "This was my welcome to Harlow. For a lot of people, it signifies Harlow" but shortly after she adds the caveat, "it's not my favourite".

Family Group depicts a single child sat upright on the lap of stone male and female presenting figures, all coalesced in a notable Henry Moore style. Smooth and curved. As the single only child in her friendship group, it offered a sense of representation and belonging to Lesley figuring out what growing up meant in post-war Britain. Lesley would visit her extended family in Harlow from nearby Theydon Bois. Her uncles and aunts employed by some of the 94 factories and businesses established in Harlow by 1967 including the development of optical-fibre technologies. (Alexander, 2009). Family Group was the sole reason Lesley would race out of the car when her family visited, more often than not, to *"get onto it before my parents could tell me off"*; truly the ultimate goal.

4.1



4.2

[9] All sculpture details are obtained from The Gibberd Gallery (Harlow Arts Trust registered charity) unless stated otherwise.
[10] All named participants agreed for their identities (first name and identified pronouns) to be used. They were able to amend/review the paper until its completion upon request.

Why does this sculpture signify Harlow? I wonder as we continue walking. Is it the fact it's by Henry Moore, a close friend of 'master-planner' Frederick Gibberd? Or is it more contextual? Is it a question not of symbolism but the fact Family Group acted as a collective play space for the town's first generation?

The answer lies in the ways Lesley attunes herself to the sculpture. Animated with a mischievousness, her recollections of playing with the sculpture are articulated to me with buoyant exhilaration. She, and other children, would clamber up the sculpture, often forcing repairs to be made. Such excessive wear has meant the child's head has been replaced more than twice, leaving a guttural slash across its throat (4.1). Lesley's contemplations concerning the sculpture's 'meaning' are much more sober than of her own feelings. Of course - sculpture is surely loaded with established meanings and considered criticisms? For Lesley it was not. It was playful because it was played with. It was both a child's toy and an aesthetic and semantic object for adults in Harlow. Lesley's personal memories of her family played out in the sculpture existed in concert with the collective definitions of sculpture, childhood and play from Harlow's children and adults (Wood, 2009: 128). The nuclear family's ubiquity lent Lesley a model family to play with, to be a part of. But it did not discriminate by age. A 'universal' set of male and female parents for every person who brought it into being (Hoskins, 1998: 8). Enticing play was a twofold process exercised through Family Group's enticing smooth hapticity, and through the familiarity of the family unit itself. The sculpture symbolizes the heteronormativity of the post-war nuclear family (Gutterman, 2012). All three of the figures are the same in form and material – a utopia of homogeny and heterosexual patriarchy. Whilst within reach, *"for everybody",* to Lesley Family Group was an exercise of self-identification practiced within the wider social tenets of what an 'acceptable' family structure looked like: homogenous and heterosexual.

4.3

4.4

Somewhere in-between her recollections of the town's indoor shopping centre akin to a "palace", Lesley refers to another sculpture; the Meat Porters (4.4) by Ralph Brown (1959). It stands in Harlow's old market square. All four sides of the square are lined by sun-bleached vacant office units. On-looking ghosts of UK high street decline stemming from out-of-town retailing (Thomas et al., 2004) and the rise of online competition (Welteverden and Atzema, 2006), with residents "sitting on Amazon" as Lesley declares.

She then lowers her tone. I look up.

The sculpture depicts two human figures holding what seems to be a pig carcass. The disembowelled body "appalling" for young Lesley. I try and imagine being a young child and begin to understand these sculptures and her body have engaged in a conversational evolution which began as hierarchical, the sculpture as massive and domineering. Over time, as she grew, the sculpture's spatial supremacy weaned. Her sense of self swelling with every inch taller she grew, balancing her relationship with this once 'monstrous' thing she now sees "as an art form". With both of us standing there in the blustering summer wind, Lesley declares, "I thought that I would be able to smell it [the carcass] if I went too near".

"*I smell lavender* not only signifies myself as an "I" and the lavender smell as an object but also marks the instant that I am the lavender smell (and it is me) therefore blurring subject-object distinctions"

The Evaporating Subject (Letizia Schmid, 2006)

Lesley's attachment of an explicit bloodiness to the inanimate sculpture sanctions her olfactory distain to slowly seep into the spaces around it. Including mine. Lesley's body is taken to a place where she indeed smells something that is not physically there in the moment. Since "the transit between body

and environment is exceedingly local" (Alaimo, 2010: 15) as exemplified by Schmid's lavender (2006), here I experience a mixing of place, smell, and time through her memories.

I somehow anticipate for the wind direction to change and the bloodied scent to intensify. It never does. It is in my head.

Mine and Lesley's bodies are subject to episodic memories of smelling meat. Episodic since they result from past experiences (Barbara and Perliss, 2006). However, unlike Marcel Proust's 'Madeleine episode' of *In Search of Lost Time* (1913) where the practice of eating a Madeline conjures up involuntary memories, Lesley experiences an inversion of Proust's memorial osmosis of time. Notably, I experience what Marianne Hirsch coined 'postmemory', which since its inception in the early 1990s refers to the very phenomenon of my body becoming inhibited by Lesley's experiences, smells and emotions as though they are my own private recollections (Alloa et al., 2015). Viewing memory as "inter-individual" (Alloa et al., 2015: 2), both our bodies and experiences interface transcorporally. A mobile space which acknowledges and allows this unpredictable and disconcerting feeling of postmemory to play out occurs through this shared 'phantom' smell. The habitual rhythm of Lesley's life in Harlow does not allow new moods and associations to take root and so these childhood feelings of fear engender and loiter here. The smell does too, unable to be transformed by her daily life as it exists today. In the market square. Now, for me too. Her emotional memories are a present actuality for both of us (Highmore, 2017). Unable to be viewed from above or identified as any stasis (De Certeau, 1984), but viewed by sharing and appropriating experience.

4.5

We reach a final sculpture, Not In Anger (by Leon Underwood, 1979) located next to Lesley's new fitness class in The Stow east of the town centre. The sculpture is stout. A colossus of fist cast in bronze (4.5). It protrudes massively clenched tight with the might of revolution (rather than of aggression – a matter of the thumb placement distinguishing between a virtuous or malevolent fist). Lesley references the sculpture's symbolism of solidarity with the Republicans in the Spanish Civil War as a reflection of Harlow itself, "we need to carry on this sort of solidarity". But then adds, "As time goes on people move away and they lose that purpose". Lesley cherishes this sculpture as a memento of a bygone modernist existence, built on democracy and underscored by socialism.

"Rapidly fulfilling its function of helping to absorb the city's (London's) surplus population and industries."

Town Built for London's Overflow Now of Age

Harlow, One of 14 Towns, Will Hold Its First Election

By THOMAS P. RONAN

Special to The New York Times.

HARLOW, England, March 25 —This attractive new town, twenty-three miles from London, is rapidly fulfilling its function of helping to absorb the city's surplus population and industries.

Now almost one-third completed, Harlow will reach a milestone in its young history tomorrow when it elects its own urban district council. It is the first of the fourteen new communities designated under the New Towns Act of 1946 to have a local authority created for it.

On the eve of this event, a a voice, from a touring sound truck, urging the voters to go to the polls, was almost drowned in the rasp of saws and the thud of hammers.

New factories are being built to accommodate concerns coming here from London and others are being extended to meet the needs of those that found their move here a happy and profitable one.

British Information Services

London suburb of Harlow is one-third complete. It will relieve the capital's congestion.

4.6

Lesley reflects about the town centre's fate, Harlow "could never be what it was before", but it's about "finding what the future is". Once again Lesley's orientations to a utopia are of a 'purpose' now departed, now lost.

Lesley is prompted by Not in Anger to make links between past and present, identity (re)production and the future of Harlow given its current problems. In many ways Lesley cites Harlow's utopia has lost purpose by virtue of losing its utility in the post-war era to provide jobs and housing to her extended family (fig.4.6). Lesley uses this reflection to also move into the present, and Harlow's notoriety of 'human warehouse' office-block residencies (Precey and Cawley, 2019). Following a change in the Permitted Development[11] rights allowing offices to be turned into residential housing without planning permission from 2013, families are housed in one-bedroom studios with near to no natural light. I see how the utopian virtuosity of "balanced and harmonious" planning with space and room for all is a lingering presence, adding salt to the already seeping wound of Lesley's declared lack of 'purpose' (Wakeman, 2016: 5).

[11] Informed by the Planning Portal, a joint venture between the UK Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government and TerraQuest Ltd. Available at: (https://www.planningportal.co.uk/info/200130/common_projects/9/change_of_use/2)

With kids cycling past in groups of two or three, Lesley claims, "Harlow is a working-class town, really", I note her shift to the present. It is a working-class town. It is also laden with sculptures Lesley's parents, scolding her for climbing on back in the early 70s, would warn her about - "you can't touch them, its art".

'Art' as an institution was to Lesley a part of working-class identity acting along the lines of Pierre Bourdieu's 'cultural capital' - a structural social axis of inequality transmitted from parental figures (Kinney, 2018; Bourdieu and Passeorn, 1977; Bennett and Savage, 2004: 7). The idea of playfulness is often used deny sculpture as 'high art' or cultural capital to working-class communities by means of class demarcation (Hewison, 2014: 162). For Lesley, Harlow made her own feelings of 'play' an act of socialist political ownership and above all, mischievous childhood adventure. Lesley's experiences with sculptures are more than a brushstroke to suggest collective memory of working-class Harlow, they were embedded with the playfulness of her childhood, pushing the cultural boundaries her parents had demarcated. Whilst cultural capital may "always remain[s] marked by its earliest conditions of acquisition" (Bordieu, 1986, p. 245), these are contingent and contradictory. With the Arts Trust frequently introducing sculptures to Harlow's collection, these earliest conditions of acquisition, can and as demonstrated, occur when residents are any age. And in the present. The meanings of Harlow and memories thus compiled are constantly shifting with the addition of new objects to navigate around and interpret in each resident's landscape.

I leave Lesley as she heads to do a food shop up the road with a sense of loss superseded with her playfulness. I see how fond memories and shortfalls in politics among Lesley's experiences shapes her movement in, and relationship to, Harlow (Bonnet, 2015: 75).

CHAPTER 5

Walking with Jane

Resident since 1957

I turn around from behind the white pillars which frame The Harlow Civic Centre and see Jane walking towards me. She picks at a punnet of cherries, dropping the stones recurrently into the perforated plastic container. She commences, "People in Harlow love their sculptures. They really do. People are so, not possessive, but they take ownership of them. They feel they are part of their lives". I do help but wonder who the 'they' are?

Beginning too with Family Group, Jane offers analyses of Family Group's gender relationships. Seeing it as the iconographic nuclear family from Lesley's walk, I anticipate her response to be centred around what 'family' in Harlow means. But walking with Jane, I stand corrected.

Jane speaks of the female presenting figure, "She's a big strong woman, not like a girly girl". For Jane, the female figure is an icon of femme strength, pride and empowerment. I start to see Jane's tendencies to champion femininity by viewing the modernist monolithic sculptures through her desired political landscape; of a feminism called into being through our walk. It would become easy to interpret her readings as a normative 'masculinisation' of the female and a subsequent proliferation of polarising patriarchal gender binaries. With woman converging to man by acquiring 'strength' (Li, 1993). But before I can question this reductionism further, Jane swiftly moves across the top tier of the water gardens towards Eve by Rodin (1882) and, grazing on a cherry, starts laughing:

"My association with her [Eve] is that I often sit with my friend and have a coffee at Esquires. And when it's cold, and she's all sort of like this [Jane re-creates the interiorly posed Eve (fig. 5.1)], and you think "oh blimey! Give her some clothes!" Because you see the back of her. […] It's like shame that she's suddenly realised her nakedness, but I always just see her as being cold."

5.1

"If we're gonna look at naked ladies, let's let them be strong ones".

Expressing aversion to recall this sculpture through a 'shamed' female nakedness expresses Jane's intolerance to and rejection of, succumbing to the supremacy of the male gaze (Bray, 2009: 174). Her intolerance does not lie within the object itself, its blooms of copper oxidation, but with the semiotic invocation of 'Eve's' materiality as a female to be observed (fig.5.2).

5.2

As Jane explores Eve, finally catching a view of her from the front, an angle she's "never seen her from", I note an ostensible irony of the sculpture's name.

'Eve' from the Christian religion is seen as a dualistic symbol of virginal innocence and the chaos with which earth falls into a wasteland (Merchant, 2013). Such essentialisms of gender in the sculpture's semantic genesis are challenged by Jane. Eve is important to understanding Jane's feminism not because it inherently stands for something 'radical', pre-meditated by Auguste Rodin as an 'ally' centuries before feminism became what it is today (if such a thing can be defined). But because Eve can stand for anything. It gives agency to Jane and has agency itself (Rose, 2002: 456). By practicing what Adrienne Rich (1972: 18) coined as 're-visioning' Eve's semiotic value, Jane reinterprets sculpture as a technology of memory. If processes of normalisation of bodies "remain constitutive of perceptual and other judgements" (Jansen and Wehrle, 2018: 49), Jane's reclamation and re-visioning of 'normal' vis-à-vis Eve's coldness, is an act of normalisation attempting to undo past gender normalisations which Jane herself as a lived body has experienced.

In a way Jane's declaration of Eve's coldness removes fetishizations of the sculpture as an Aristotelian object (as transcorporeality advocates), not existing independently from us, affecting our senses to generate its very idea. Instead, as Jane recreates Eve's pose, the iconography of the sculpture becomes distorted across two bodies. Two females enacting the same pose. One naked. One clothed. Eve is not the bringer of the fall, nor a shamed figure, but a technology of experiencing the triviality of being cold. A radically feminist utopian banality. The mundane experience of feeling cold unfastens the tight grasp of Rodin's Eve from centuries of scholarship on Rodin[12], the Edenic story (Merchant, 2013) and female body as about lived affective unity or sexualised promiscuity (Jansen and Wehrle, 2018). I see 'they' in her opening statement transform into an 'us' as Jane declares:

"I guess that's what art's for, it can't be separate from us."

I think back to how the binding of bodies occurred too with Lesley's olfactory distain at the Meat Porters. We move away from Eve and into the Harvey Centre mall. Two seagulls pick at some chips at the foot of what appears to be another female figure. It is "Portrait Figure", sculpted by F.E. McWilliam, of sculptor and printmaker Elizabeth Frink (fig.5.3-4). As Jane takes me round, her upbeat recollections continue, "I just think because of what she's wearing and the way she is – it's very modern […] If she walked out of the Harvey Centre I wouldn't think twice!".

Again, Jane recalls this sculpture not through any striking memories of childhood or history, but rather invokes the sculpture as having value to Harlow per its ability to seem part of familiar suburban life. Writing in 1895, architect Edmund Gosse asked, "Why should not we sometimes, when we wish to beautify our town, set up the figures of our daily life?" (p. 148). Gosse calls for a memorialisation in statuary not only dedicated to sensationalised conservative 'personal feats of arms' but also the present urban everyday in sculpture (Gumbrecht, 2004).

5.3

[12] Rodin's lover Camille Claudel at the age of 19 entered into a 10-year relationship with him, 25 years her senior. She was a sculptor, starting out as his assistant c.1881. Her work was often nude figurative sculpture and received public outrage for its creation by a woman. Rodin instead received funding for notably similar nude sculptures with figures in close proximity see (Schmoll-Eisenwerth, 1994). To what degree Eve is Camille, in body, concept and practice leaves me anxious to applaud Rodin for this sculpture as his.

5.4

Jane affirms Gosse's evaluation, by referring to the *"way she is"* of the sculpture. I take this not in materiality – that seems to be dealt with Jane's comment about her clothing. I see the *"way she is"* as again a 'being', of her personality as an emergent body bound to Jane – through an 'us'. The statuary permanence of this *"modern"* woman outside the shopping centre offers to Jane, and me, an eternal embodiment to the everyday modern woman. Reading the sculpture in such a way, Jane exposes how Harlow makes female iconography part of the everyday. For a large majority of our walk, Jane orients most ostentatiously towards these representations of women. I can't help but wonder whether feminism has not run dry so to speak, but if there it is also time to give more explicit statuary permanence to other historically subjugated bodies, ideas and cultures - an intersectional re-visioning of the statuary textuality of Harlow to widen the scope of 'us'.

We carry on down the cycle tracks towards Pittmans Field to the east of the town centre. Jane stops every few hundred feet to harvest from the spindly blackberry thicket arms which stretch over the path on either side. As we walk closer to where Donkey by Willi Soukop (1935) stands (5.5), Jane begins to share more about her personal life and biography of Harlow. "My father was a teacher…", Jane was four when her and her two siblings moved from Walthamstow to Harlow for her father received a house and teaching job at a local school. Walking every Monday to Friday with her mother Jane would pick her father up from work, "he'd pop me on his seat, and we'd ride back to the house" past Donkey. Jane stops again to pick more blackberries off the bush.

Jane's memories of spending time with her mother holds a mirror to the increased maternalistic autonomy tendered by Harlow's physical and social infrastructure (Meacham, 1999: 152). Harlow's complex web of cycle paths meant Jane accompanied her mother walking to the shops, socialising and indeed spending time outside. This urban organisation incited a transformation of the chores and demands assigned to women in the mid-20th century. No longer confined to domestic household as mother (indeed in an assumed heterosexual family unit), Jane's mother was given the material technology of the locale to enact greater everyday agency relative to life in Walthamstow. The technological advancement of suburban planning allowed greater opportunity for formal employment. This freeing up of time to be able to undertake paid work, however, was never a replacement of the domestic work still largely expected of women in families, but an addition to. Consequently, the

liberation proposed by Harlow's neighbourhood planning indeed in many ways meant "more work for mother" rather than less (Schwats Cowan, 1983).

5.5

Jane's attachment to the blackberry thickets along each leg of the walk between sculptures was a clear distinction of a hierarchy of her world in Harlow. Our conversation is regularly paused as her hands manoeuvre through the spindly vines to share with me, the ripe blackberries.

I pick up on this habit as a compliment to her affinity to Harlow as alive - the non-human world as the harbinger of Harlow. Entwined with and propagating through our walk. The town extends to her continually, in many of the same ways it offered her family in the late-1950s. And in some cases, ensnaring those like her mother in a life both empowering but inhibiting. For Jane the sculptures are less of a technology of remembering disjointed fragments of the past, but a way to think through her understandings and contradictions to social hegemony, her family and everyday life today, as a woman. The 'skewing' of time with Jane occurs though her recollections of a more recent past, rather than

Lesley's focus on childhood (Alaimo, 2018). The skewness of Jane's memory work in walking recasts the immediately recent past – in a way it refers to the short-term memories of Jane's banal everyday routes, and her habits of grabbing coffee. The eschewing of Jane's everyday life as not a 'past' occurs in the ways she continually brings these sculptures, and their living environments to the fore of her 'memories'. There is value to see thus that everyday life is both 'present' and 'recent-past', and holds value to be remembered, reflected upon and walked through in this reflective way. Transcorporeal memory is therefore applicable to see how we are continually emerging bodies, and in walking, the recent past is seen as a past step, or place visited. It is the difference of milliseconds, and a way of *feeling* 'past' rather than arbitrary boundaries of past/present. Transcorporeal memory helps theorise memory as a materialisation of landscape and consciousness, the two inseparable, in-fact indivisible, from the ways we come to remember, and be in place.

CHAPTER 6

Walking with Kevin and Shelia

Residents since 1960 and mid-1970s

Another clear August day in the New Town.
I walk towards the familiar Family Group,
feeling as though we are now old friends,
and await the arrival of Kevin and Sheila.
They too choose this as their starting point.

6.1

6.2

It is only a short while into walking around Family Group that, while discussing The Henry Moore Foundation's copyrighting practices, Kevin jovially interjects, "My mate Steve never asked for copyright!", referring to his friend's use of Family Group for their local punk record label (6.1). Family Group was for Kevin a relic of the past Harlow, appropriated and "sat on by countless rockers" in the mid 70s to early 80s (6.2). On leaving the Civic Centre, the dynamic between Kevin and Shelia begins to present itself; Kevin the more mischievous of the two. Sheila grounds Kevin's comments of Rodin's Eve whose "right buttock (here) was shiny", because of the accumulation of residents who "slapped her arse" as they walked past decades ago. Shelia then makes a gentler comparison to Italians in Verona, where legend states rubbing the statuary breast of Romeo's Juliet will turn your luck around. Kevin retorts,

"But in Harlow people don't rub it; they slapped her arse. It's very Harlow."

I laugh and instantly know that for these two, Harlow's sculptures were and still are a sequence of connections between places and people. Verona, but Harlow. Art not touched for luck, but because it was there, part of walking in the town. Not a 'Rodin'.

I reflect on how Jane named Eve as an active female actor in her life in Harlow's town centre. Kevin and Shelia's recollections instead proposition a more collective response to the art. While "slapping" is unavoidably bound up with discourses of mysognistic violence, I see that in the context of a working-

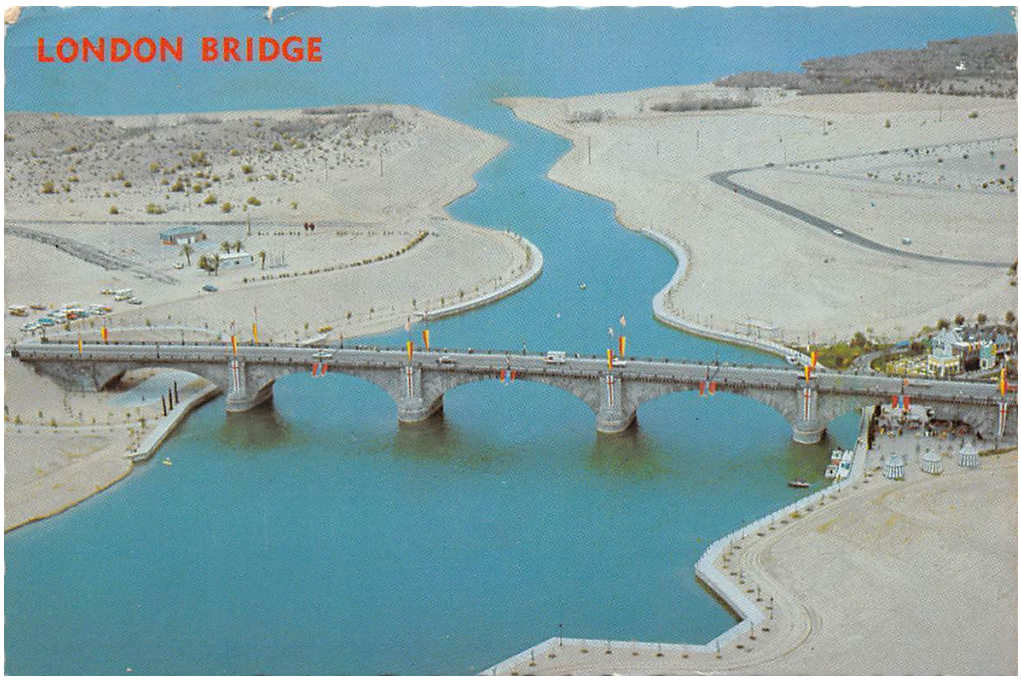
class town, in the late 70s and early 1980s, this "slapping" was as much an affirmation of light-hearted irony and inclusivity, as it was an Othering. As such, Eve is transformed from an object of personal feelings and appropriation with Jane, into a permeable entity existing at the nexus of the personal and the collective. The personal and social are enmeshed with political relations, ideologies and always a contestation of claims of power (Hirsch and Smith, 2002: 6). This sculpture is evocative of the ways collective feelings are founded on feelings inherited from the past (Highmore, 2017). Jane's present embracement of Eve founded on years of seeing her being owned in a more callous, even if jovial, manner. Eve is thus a unification of multiple generations in the name of class and their divergent attitudes. Harlow's identity as a predominatly working town, with collectivity only catching the light, through these technologies and medial sources (Rigney, 2005). Only visible in these discrete moments. Eve; Empowered and objectified. Slapped and embraced.

6.3

Kevin and Shelia drive me over to Glebelands for ease of their walking. A neighbourhood nestled beyond the footpaths and cycle tracks, Glebelands is a labyrinth of apartments, houses and quadrilateral patches of grass. It is also home to two undulating blue limestone figures - Barbra Hepworth's Grade II-listed Contrapuntal Forms (6.3). Glebelands becomes cast with a playfulness of Kevin's irreverent punk inclinations driven by a 'politics of boredom' and alienation (Worley, 2017: 112).

Aged 18, living in the top-right hand corner of the adjacent building, Kevin recalls the rarity of being able to find accommodation under Margret Thatcher's 'right to buy' policy (Gibberd, 1980; Huq, 2013). At the time, news of "a mad American millionaire purchasing London Bridge", mistaking it for Tower Bridge was circulating. Purchased by Robert McCulloch for the sum of $2,460,000 in 1967, London bridge was dismantled and shipped to Lake Havasu, Arizona (6.4).

"And we thought, if American Billionaires are that mad, maybe we could convince them that Contrapuntal Forms is ours, and we could sell it."



6.4

Kevin's attempt to peddle Contrapuntal Forms lasted four months until it was terminated by struggles to print advertisements. I stand there as they dispute the sculpture's position and am taken by how Kevin speaks so fondly of this object he once tried to sell. It is an evocation of how Kevin used it to dream outside Harlow, of a world beyond the roundabouts and cycle tracks. This sculpture was an opportunity to appropriate materiality to break through the looming political barriers of social mobility and inclusivity his flat encountered as working-class male 'punks' confronted with unemployment under the 'authoritarian populism' (Hall, 1988: 122-60) of Thatcherite neoliberalism, and decline of the welfare socialist state from which Harlow itself was conceived (Alexander, 2009).

A liminal space popularly demarcated as "prison or promised land" (Huq, 2013: 190), suburban Harlow afforded space for Kevin and other self-proclaimed 'punks' to rebel in relative comfort of its ambiguity. In many ways, Kevin's desire to sell Hepworth's sculpture was not a clear indication of Harlow as prison or promised land, but of both. The utopia-dystopia binary is constantly shifting from a longing to leave and longing for home. A paradoxical paranoia of desire to belong to, and be free from, homogeneity.

A punk 'fleshiness' of environment is articulated in Kevin's call to arms of suburbia's idle soldiers to join the rise of late-1970s post-modern movements in protesting positivism and neoliberalism to undermine those "American millionaires" (Alaimo, 2008: 238). Kevin's irreverence to Harlow's utopianism aligns with Debord's Situationist understanding of a 'golden age'. Where fundamental shifts in social and political thought pioneered by those engendered by Marx and Nietzsche (as many punks were) saw a time for general revolution as necessary, even 'inevitable' (Sadler, 1998: 4-5). Specifically, home-grown punk used presumed matter of the then deemed 'utopian' Harlow to encounter wider discourses and powers creating understandings of place in the 1970s and 80s (Highmore, 2017). Transcorporeally, there is an interdependence of environment to the proliferation of the psyche of those faced with Margret Thatcher's neoliberal policies which at the time posed a threat to wellbeing; through unemployment and welfare decentralisation (Hall, 2011; Peck, 2012). Today, the threats are morphed, but the relations exist none the same. It is the 'human warehouses' as Lesley pointed out, and BAME communities faced with rising xenophobic paranoia in a post-Brexit Britain (Traverso, 2019), all transcorporeality bound through neoliberal ideology.

The punk mythology of urban paranoia and diaspora of youth identity is played out in Kevin's recollections, *"we had lots of sort of* ***mad*** *ideas"* (emphasis added). Harlow was indeed one of the first New Towns, however, the aggregate variety of what British suburbs were, and are, have constituted a complex cross-section of people (Clapson, 2003: 167). The ambiguity and 'nowhere-ness' of the 1970s New Town in comparison to the punks in London's infamous Kings Road, was in-fact a collective

mood circulated throughout suburbs in Britain (Highmore, 2017). What felt as a "cultural void" (Huq, 2013: 6) to many young people was in-fact a dominant feeling, becoming a culture in-of itself. The prosaic material utopianism in Harlow in many ways allows attitudes of 'mad' creativity and adventure to flourish in a way London's fast-paced competitive environment limits (MacDonald, 2010). Punk rumination appears more incongruous in Harlow's landscape than London's. As such, the (relative) perfection of utopian materiality, in Harlow meant that it itself became a dystopia for younger generations.

Kevin presents this sculpture not by introducing the sculptor, but through this very story. To blur the lines between my participants, Jane on a similar reflection of Donkey in Pittman's Field affirmed,

"Nobody knows [who made it] and nobody cares! It's purely what it is. That's it's value."

Viewing these sculptures as 'purely what [they are]' suggests for first generations growing up in New Town suburbia, materiality was seen as resource rather than passive absolute. The value of Contrapuntal Forms is therefore contingent on its emergence – how 'they are' - in each resident's active landscape (Rose, 2002). Such eschewing of suburban matter was a way to express the complexity of collective young adult attitudes in the 1970s and 80s. As a nationwide experience of political grapple for culture in a place where it seems non-existent. The knowledge shared between punk bodies represents a fluid merger of experiential and material ways of knowing with suburban materiality.

As we walk around the base of the large domineering sculpture up-close, a glint of orange, then a whole patch of white chalk catches my eye. Scribbled on the base of this historical listed artwork is a marking made by a child. (I presume). Someone claiming the object, disposable as it was to Kevin but as a canvas. I think back to Lesley and imagine her scribbling across the sculpture in the 70s. All together at once. Haunted by the markings of ownership.

6.5

6.6

This object is a covalent bond of sorts, sharing, through its form, electrical pulses of collective attitude. The rhythmic pulse of moods charged by wider cultural contexts, times and experiences. Kevin's story adds another rhythm to its pulsating being. Slotted in between a child's scribbles, and Hepworth's sculptural artistry.

In Newhall, the newest neighbourhood in Harlow, still expanding at the time of writing, Kevin and Shelia resume their light-hearted and rebellious dispositions. Declaring their reservations about a new sculpture, colloquially referred to as the "scrotum", I see how their attitudes of irreverence do not remain in the past. It has transferred to the present and persists throughout our walk.

I note how I am quickly taken back to Jane and Lesley's recollections, and other participants on each walk. My own now-accumulating recollections of place are constantly being navigated to give room for these new stories. Each one adding to the web of feelings of the objects in Harlow by a certain perpetuation of histories through a geography. I see that materiality is more than contingent (Alaimo, 2010), it is brought into being through relations, through needs, wants and desires. Of play and rebellion, of empowerment and banality. As I leave, I notice some fallen blackberries, crushed by some passer-by, and I think of Jane, and the stories coalesce in a living lattice of being. The meanings and recollections from my walks pulsating along the contours of the lattice, matching the rhythm of my footsteps.

Then there is time to contemplate; how do I write about these feelings of contradiction, environment and emergence without falling over my feet, without getting lost?

A map.

CHAPTER 7
Assembly: *Mapping walks of remembering*

7.1 Unearthing the walks

I am not trying to 'curate' memories in Harlow but hope to show they are incomplete, re-vised and enacted across unconventional spatial-temporal continuums. Founded upon a contemporary paranoia of what 'reality' is (see Paul Auster, 1987), there are bountiful alternative and parallel realities existing in this one place.

Example.

Ashley. A curation of sculptures which she played with as a child. She notes having her first cigarette at the base of a sculpture in the town, crippled with anxiety that her mother would appear.

Ruth. She too recalls her first cigarette outside a disco. Exploration, shared, half a century apart.

Shannon. Labour councillor and ostensible Harlow advocate explores how council influence has altered since Harlow was designated. At sixteen, she used to sit in the park with friends when having nowhere else to go. She sees herself in those kids who do that now in her council ward. Liminality, shared.

Sam. Lived in Harlow nearly all his life and rarely brings the sculptures into his daily being. On our walk he does. Playing as a kid in the park, where Lesley used to play. Where Ruth did. All at once and through generations, personalities and feelings like liquid flowing. Sometimes visible, sometimes laconic, but never absent.

The logic of narrative not only implies selection, thus a 'forgetting' of alternative versions, but 'inside the story told is the story that cannot be told' (Winterson 2008: 127). This implies that the narratives translated to you are multifarious iterations of reality, no one 'normal' or 'deviant' experience of remembering occurs. How these certain stories come to be is a process of mine and participant's selection of environment and talk owing to personal situated political and academic inclinations. In a bid to democratise remembering, an embracement of Zygmunt Bauman's 'liquid' analogy for our present condition is insightful (2000; 2006; 2007a; 2007b). Life is liquid. Our relations volatile and transcorporeal. Everything as such is a matter of choice; what is done, remembered and represented. But choice does not mean freedom of choice. We act within the boundaries of our own social and physical being, contexts and positions. What I, as researcher, am able to exercise is a certain representation of my participants' experiences. By drawing a map including colloquialisms and contradictions of place, I hope to exemplify how Harlow is a place of myriad possibilities. 'Transcoporeal memory', as a neologism rooted in transcorporeality, allows this position of time and space to become more porous, without glazing over the lived experiences and trivialities of Lesley, Jane, Kevin and Shelia.

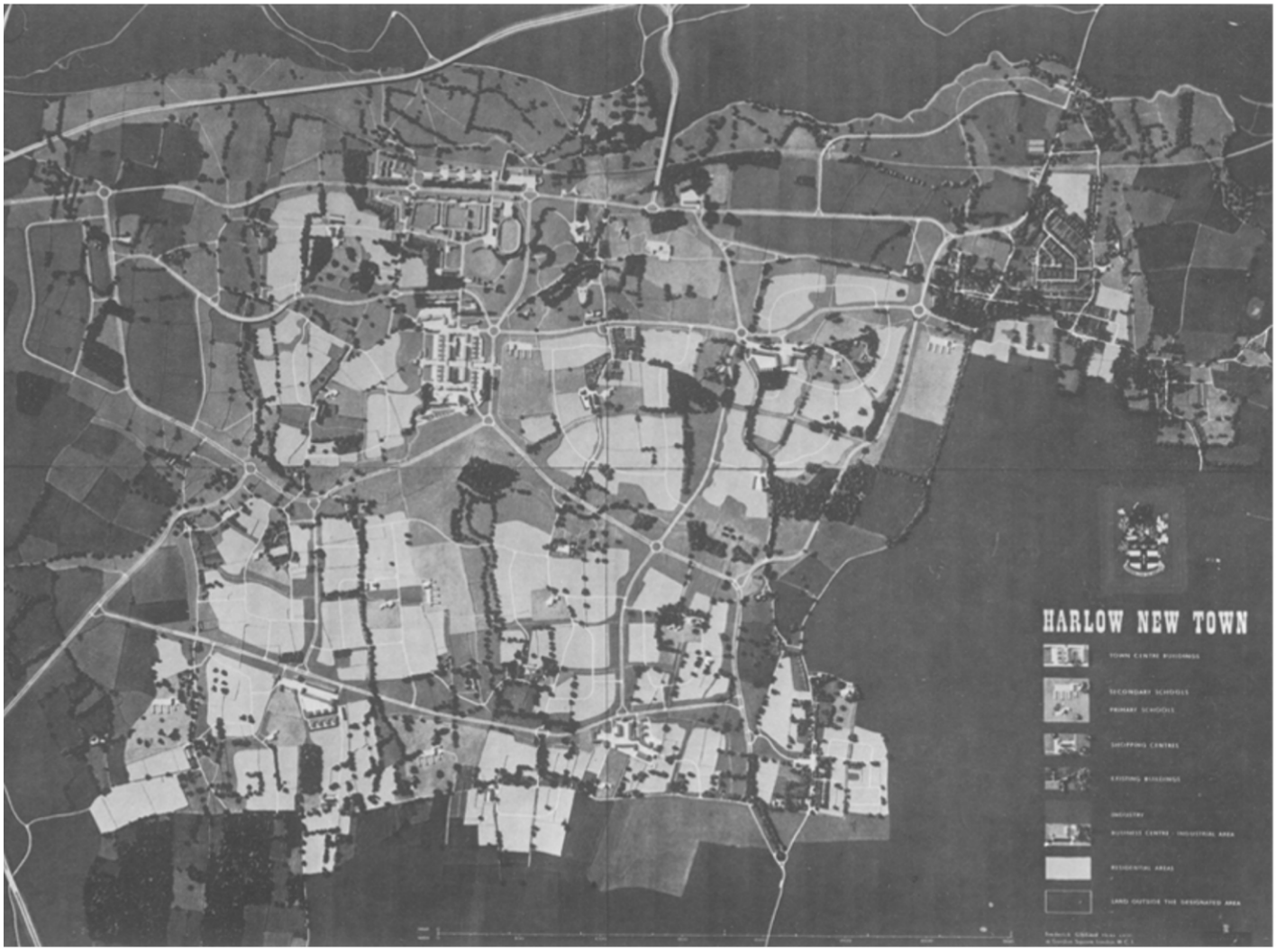
Attempting to foreground this research as a commentary supporting my wider, ongoing research I mapped the memories of my eight participants onto a map playing on Frederick Gibberd's "Master Plan" (7.1) of Harlow 1947-1952, and have called it accordingly a 'Re-Mastering Plan' (7.2). Constructed by using the projection and format of the original Master Plan and OS data to keep roads and infrastructure up to date, I hand-drew my interpretations of this data. With nearly all participants staying in the north of the town, where there is a higher concentration of sculptures[13]. By 'Re-mastering' I convey the ways representations of experience are real but open to re-visions, embracing a psychogeographical aesthetic language to convey the fluidity of Harlow. On such account, this product is intended to aid readers to undo the linearity of each of the antecedent narrative chapters

[13] See Appendix B for walk maps.

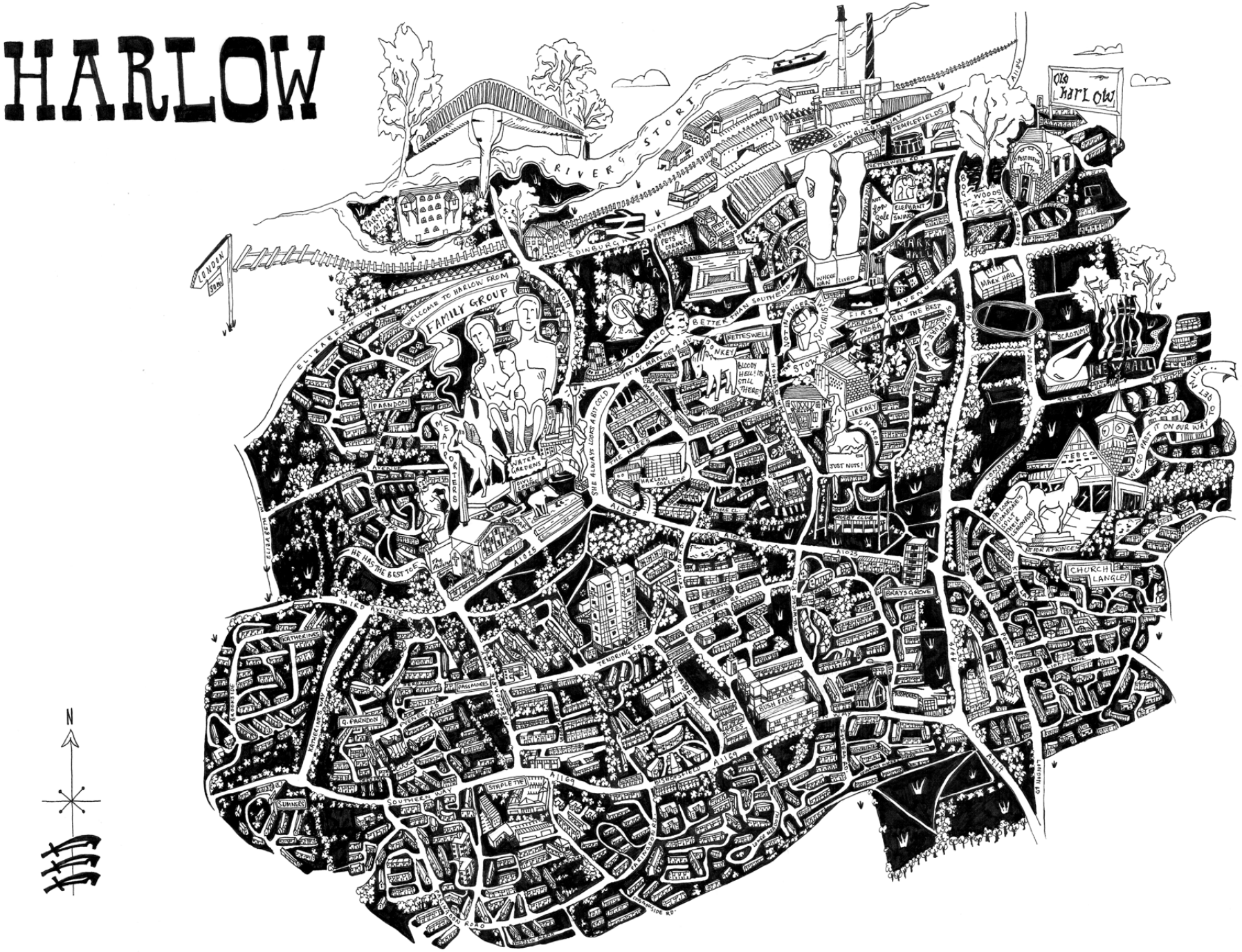
and actively get lost in the web of Harlow as expressed through their recollections, comments and realities of space.

John Law's *After Method* (2004) presents a strong case for the allegorical nature of geography as a firmer account of reality's multiplicity, rather than social science's traditional representations in which written "descriptions describe directly" only one singular reality (p.88). The Re-mastering Plan offers overt space for allegory vis-à-vis the more approachable visual language of maps. Harlow is an inexhaustible place, a labyrinth of time and place.

Gibberd's Master Plan



7.1


HARLOW
RIVER STORT
Old HARLOW
WELCOME TO HARLOW FROM
FAMILY GROUP
MARK HALL
NEW HALL
TESCO
CHURCH LANGLEY
PARNDON
N

The Re-Mastering Plan is certainly no definitive, final, epilogue of how Harlow is remembered, but rather a material object of ongoing discussions. Much inspired by the philosophy of Psychogeography of the Situationists Guy Debord' *Society of the Spectacle* (1994), more recent geographical work of Will Self (2007) and Paul Auster's contemporary literature in the *New York Trilogy* (1987) the Re-mastering map is an appraisal of how Harlow's urban terrain is appropriated and alive in a messy web of residents' past and present lives:

> In general, lives seem to veer abruptly from one thing to another, to jostle and bump, to squirm. A person heads in one direction, turns sharply in mid-course, stalls, drifts, starts up again. Nothing is ever known, and inevitably we come to a place quite different from the one we set out for.
>
> Paul Auster, The New York Trilogy

By including caricatured illustrations alongside more familiar map aesthetics, following Will Self's (2007) *Psychogeography* illustrated book, I intend to challenge the criticism of urban dystopias associated with the Situationists from 1957. Instead, I embrace a hybridity of their rejection of aesthetic representation and urban linearity, coupled with Alaimo and Barad's contemporary material feminist ontologies to create a markedly specific map of place. By morphing the sculptures' representation dependent on how much they were discussed and frequented on the walks, they come to define and distort Harlow's visual landscape. Subsequently, they antagonise our understanding of spatiality through map aesthetics. It both conceals and reveals the ways resident's stories disappear and re-appear in certain spaces. Supporting and deconstructing Harlow as utopia, as home, as lost. Thematically, the relationship between the map and the narratives is established between navigations of space, selfhood and signification of materiality. For indeed, "every life is inexplicable" (Auster, 1987).

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CHAPTER 8
The Art of remembering: *Next Steps*

8.1 Epilogue / Prologue

This paper's very being has been a rejection of writing finalised renditions of life and resists conclusion. By using sculpture to situate walking and oral recollections of Harlow New Town, I exemplify the way materiality, in one participant's words has *"been allowed to become part of that landscape without being on show"*. It has been given space to be viewed in a way involving a mixing of relations between space and time, body and the senses, local and national. Marx, on talking about people making their own history posited,

> "they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brains of the living"
>
> Karl Marx (1852: 96)

I see now that Marx' nightmarish hauntings of past histories do not necessarily have to always weigh down on how we recall place. These pre-existing circumstances are also not just generational between humans. They are generational in materiality. As Contrapuntal Forms is etched and scribbled on over time, it's existence as an active body in Harlow's landscape also contributes to its persistent transformation, deterioration and appropriation. It is the transmission of these objects through time and space called forth in practices of walking and recollection which found certain understandings of Harlow amongst its residents. And these understandings are never clear. From a disobedient punk to an active council member. From birth in a council home to moving away. Each person adopts and transforms dominant cultural moods existing at the time and through the nexus of class, race, generation and gender power relations, these perspectives of place are skewed with a distinct subtlety (Highmore, 2017: 156). The parameters of these relations are too shifting in meaning and certainty. The distinctions likely to become skewed by a subtle shift in the kaleidoscope in the future, with Harlow faced with housing, health and artistic challenges in 2020. Over and over. All the while maintaining its contents. This is not to say that common associations and memories do not appear, but when we look closer, into the local micro-discourses which pulsate through the web of fibres continually multiplying between bodies, these common associations are disingenuous to the ways we remember individually while walking.

Participating in these walks, my experiences of Harlow beyond childhood have become perforated by childhoods from the 70s to life in 2019. Interjected by blackberry thickets which I now commit to pick ripely when I next get the chance. My personal reflections have acted to correct my geographical tendencies to encode ethnographic experience as a past stasis of being. However, certain moods did appear more pronounced when reflecting on my fieldnotes, recordings and in drawing the Re-Mastering Plan.

Amongst my participants, moods of utopianism pivoted around a fulcrum of nostalgia; *"it could never be what it was before", "I'm slightly disappointed that sculpture's changed", "we thought we had come to heaven"*. The discourse of post-war Britain certainly propelled the utopianism of Harlow which is a feeling less able to be grasped by those living there today in the same capacity as experienced with Lesley. Pride is rooted in nostalgia (Highmore, 2017). But I also saw pride enacted in the present. In the ways Jane continues to include Eve as part of her daily life. How Lesley has come to love the Stow's Not in Anger because it reminds her of power and her fitness classes. I believe perception and embodiment are not the same. We perceive from a distance whereas we live with utter proximity. I suggest that this proximity of life is in of itself a utopian consciousness, as a life lived with hope for

change and progress in the future. Since participants were unable to talk about their memories, without too reflecting on the present (Constant, 1999 [1970]: a33). The material dystopias of Harlow, through the office housing, the decline of the high street and the banality of suburban life are not the authority on utopian consciousness.

This research observes that some residents were able to be reflexive about the art as place-making, but for others, issues of growing conservatism, xenophobia and gender struggles recast sculptures to act as more fraught objects. As lingering ghosts of a lost past utopian hope or active agents in their daily struggles with gender, power and place. I demonstrate through writing structure, narratives and mapping that experiences of walking are contingent and that any attempt to explore these uncover how moods and feelings work in skewed time-places. How the past is made present through sculptures, objects and ideas but that they do not retain an innate meaning. They are loaded with meanings from previous generations and the moods of utopianism of which Harlow was conceived (Highmore, 2017). One participant described an ostensible "*interest in keeping the sculptures alive, and relevant*". Their suggestion of an antecedent 'dying' importance of past objects and the overarching moods and feelings which people associate to them, indicates how Harlow is remembered through materials which have variable capacities to retain moods. New feelings, anxieties and pressures in Harlow, today, replace those old established meanings in some cases, but in others they reinforce a notion of a nostalgia and loss of a utopian mood which only appears in retrospect, highlighting the power of memory to define place.

8.2 Technologies of 'transcorporeal memory'

I end by suggesting sculpture is a technology of memory. It has materiality and a continually emerging semiotic value. In the eyes of Donna Haraway, technology is not a neutral absolute but 'the machine is us, our processes, an aspect of our embodiment' (1991: 180). There is value in viewing sculpture as such a technology because of the ways it is accepted to be lucrative in the ways we perceive art. We are told to encode it along lines of 'interpretation' and 'meaning making' based on a self-proclaimed subjectivity. Art in Harlow, as public art, is interpreted less consciously and instead brought into being by its materialisation and embodiment in everyday life. As such, artworks are a valuable research tool for uncovering geographies of memory and place since they more effectively evade being defined passively than other objects. I suggest, therefore, there is something valuable in theorising memory as art. Memory is also an entity which evades being inscribed passively with meaning, while still being able to describe and define feelings, moods and generations. In Harlow the sculptures intersect the relations of object-subject, art-culture and human-environment in ways which rupture the polarisation between the two in ways one could not assume before undertaking this research. My participants expressed they were able to exercise deviant acts as young adults or teenagers, many recalling their first cigarettes, or getting up to no good. It is the ways these feelings of freedom not only happened (in the moment) but are brought up when they walk past sculpture. Indeed, Harlow cannot really be remembered because its history is half-made. Half-made because it is in the process of being made, both materially and socially, and so instead it exists in 'transcorporeal memory'.

My adoption of transcorporeality is no better employed than in the motto to Harlow New Town's coat of arms,

"IN COMMON ENDEAVOUR"

I suggest the theoretical neologism of 'transcorporeal memory' as the act of place-making through remembering – through recollections, walking, narration, art, literature and particularly sculpture – in a state of transforming relationality with landscapes of space-time. I see memory as a process which emerges when called forth, either consciously or when in an altered state of consciousness like walking (Solnit, 2000). There is a commonality in transcorporeal memory for it is always part of wider relations with political climates, personal experience and non-human processes. A common endeavour. Human

and non-human. Together and in shared materiality of Harlow's landscape, they work commonly, alongside one another to create place and remember. Time is skewed and embodied in the present but is continually finding new meaning and emergence by being called forth by practices of remembering (Rose, 2002). The common endeavour in Harlow is a caring commitment to relationality through transcorporeal memory. An assurance founded by its utopian genesis and propagated through and by those who live and remember Harlow today.

There is scope to use this transcorporeal remembering process to uncover the ways nature and society work in tandem to continually skew time and meaning of places. To explore power differentials involved in these processes and cases where dominant feelings and memories are replaced, challenged and re-visioned. Using this lens, these cases would not be seen as counter-memorial, or swimming upstream against hegemonic ideas of memory so to speak, but they would be seen hegemonic as messy and emergent. Transcorporeal memory is seen as specifically focused on the way memory works between and through bodies to produce narratives. For Heidegger, mood and recollection is generated 'only' through social experience, always via a 'mingling' with others (Highmore, 2017). This paper proposes that transcorporeal memory takes Heidegger's invocation further in feminist new cultural geographies. It suggests that moods and recollections of place are generated through 'technological experiences with other (human and non-human) materiality in a landscape. This attends to how utopias can be experienced, longed for, and regarded across vast time scales. Even in 2019 Harlow's utopianism continually drip feeds the senses of place which are established by residents.

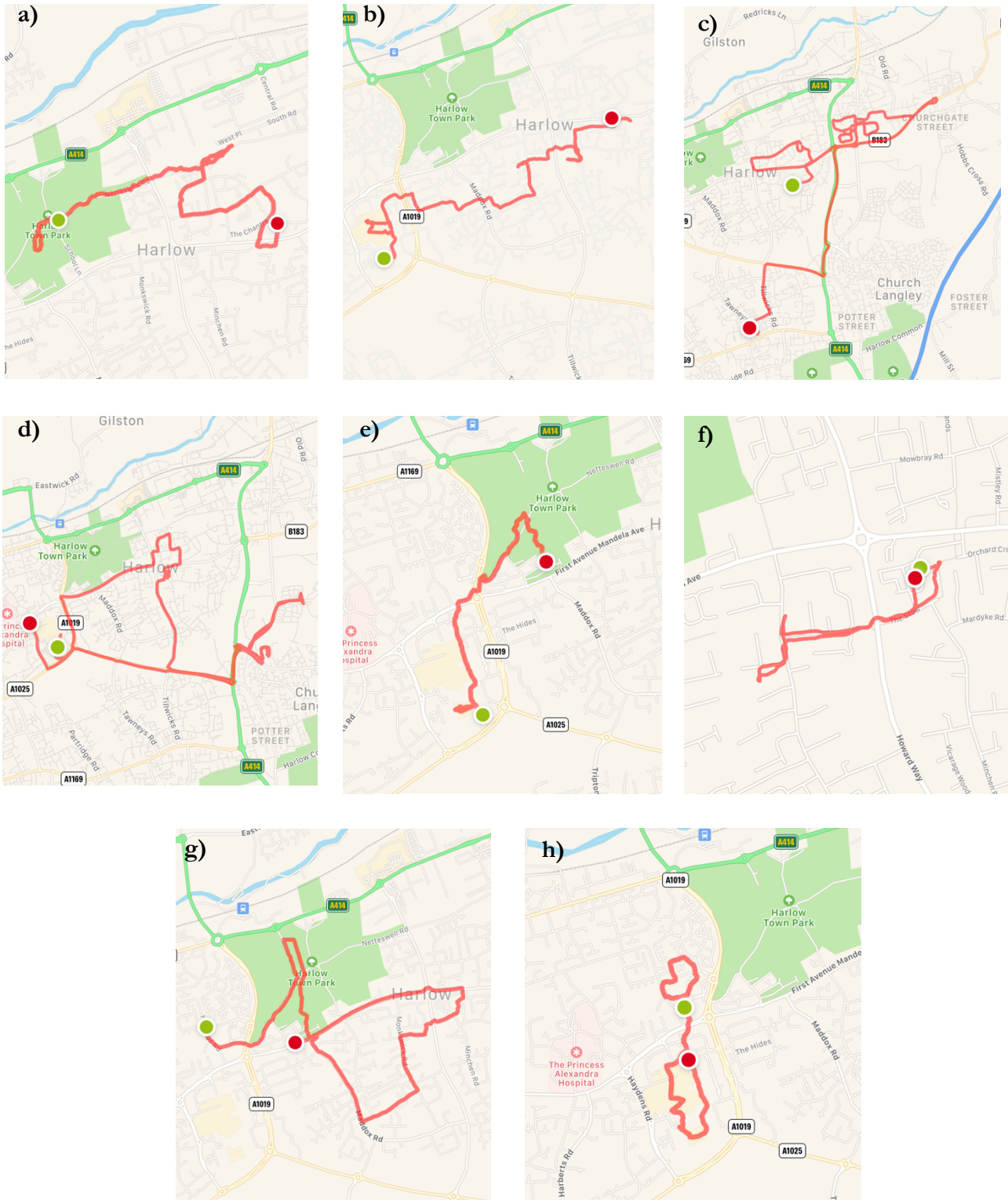
It is only through remembering, that we begin to see how messy things really are. The practice of which is complex and avoids location. But what I do know is that it helps if it begins with a step, and an embracement of those moments we, as geographers, researchers, residents, neighbours regularly cast aside.

Appendix A – Table of Informants

All informants gave names with permission. Ages are approximate at 5-year intervals.

Name	*Residency Status*	*Age*	*Misc.*
Lesley	Current	55	Childhood visitor. Resident ~2 years.
Jane	Current	60	Resident ~64 years.
Kevin	Current	60	Resident ~60 years.
Sheila	Current	60	Resident ~50 years.
Samuel	Current	25	Resident ~25 years.
Ruth	Past resident	60	Born in her home in Harlow.
Shannon	Current	25	Resident ~21 years.
Ashley	Student/semi-resident	20	Lives between London/Harlow.

Appendix B – Maps of all 8 walks in Harlow
Green: Start
Red: Finish
Tracking by MapMyWalk iPhone app



a) Sam b) Jane c) Ruth d) Kevin and Sheila e) Lesley f) Lesley cont. g) Shannon h) Ashley

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