Pursuing the

Post-war Dream

Aled Mark Singleton

Submitted to Swansea University in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Swansea University

2020

Abstract

Pursuing the Post War Dream offers methods to uncover the 'rhizome' (Thrift, 2000) which lies below the surface: offering ways to understand the role of the past in the present day. This inquiry arises from gerontology and develops a methodology which explores how the everyday – such as stories about houses, streets and neighbourhoods – allows people from different generations to build empathy in research relationships. The work uses Caerleon, south Wales, as a case study to consider what economic, technological and social changes through the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s mean for contemporary ageing populations. Caerleon is a suitable site as statistics from Newport City Council (2017) convey that a fifth of citizens are aged 65 and above. On a theoretical level, this study uses walking interviews to explore how spaces act as thresholds to memories and levels of unconscious which may not otherwise reveal themselves – connecting to phenomena considered to be 'non-representational' in the work of Thrift (2008) or Anderson and Harrison (2010). This thesis uses relevant literature from gerontology, human geography and environmental psychology to develop a methodological framework which focuses on space more than time, particularly by using walking interviews. We also bridge between the disciplines of social science, literature and performance by following Solnit (2017, p. 5) where she advises that artists can '...open the doors and invite in prophesies, the unknown, the unfamiliar.' The case study therefore involves a practical collaboration with a performance artist to make public site-specific performances based on the interview materials. The findings are presented as a guided walk where interview materials, public walking tours, responses to performance, and other contemporary materials are mapped on a specific geography. The main philosophical contribution of this study is a methodology which better understands space as unconscious maps or indexes to more deeply-held memories and affects.

Declarations

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

Signed..... ███████████████ .... (candidate)

Date ....21/10/2022...

STATEMENT 1

This thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. Where correction services have been used, the extent and nature of the correction is clearly marked in a footnote(s). Other sources are acknowledged by footnotes giving explicit references. A bibliography is appended.

███████████████.............. (candidate)

Date ....21/10/2020..

STATEMENT 2

I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available for photocopying and for inter-library loan, and for the title and summary to be made available to outside organisations.

███████████████................. (candidate)

Date ....21/10/2020..

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

Tables

Figures

Introduction to Pursuing the Post-war Dream

Pursuing the Post War Dream is a study of life in Caerleon, south Wales, which sits within the framework of a research method (Part One) of walking interviews, group walking tours and site-specific performance. In particular this thesis explores how the built environment and outdoor space act as thresholds through which people connect with their own biographies and earlier times in the story of the place itself. To that end archaeologists have long dug trenches in Caerleon to reveal a vast Roman amphitheatre and therefore understand daily life from the brooches and coins they find. Our approach differs as we dig into more recent life to better understand the post-war generation – the so-called 'baby boomers.' This latter cohort, including large numbers born in Caerleon (Figure 43), has formed a population-level bulge which has carried through time; lots of middle-age people at the turn of the Millennium and now many people entering retirement. Indeed, the number of Caerleon citizens aged 65 and above grew by a third between 2001 and 2015 (Table 5).

A significant part of this work is to reassess the places we think we know well – see Rebecca Solnit's *A Field Guide to Getting Lost* (2017). The method developed is iterative: interviews are linked with performance events and public walks. Gradually we build a narrative which centres on a time and place: Caerleon in the 1960s and 1970s. This work is not autobiographical in any great sense, but I did use my own story to start a series of conversations with other people. This written format also uses poetry from 2018 and 2019 as well as streams of consciousness from my childhood to illustrate my own responses to the place. The following is an example from November 2018.

Poem: Our bodies; gardens and prunes

Nearly two months of cutting and pruning is done.

Today brown spots on my thumbs where thorns went in;
Painfully – from what I remember;
Though they seemingly left without a sign.

But it wasn't my garden which got tidied up;
It was the one given to me;
After forty years of development by my parents;

Pursuing the Post-war Dream

Looking again today at my own back yard;
I see that the rose went leggy;
Its roots held firm but it missed the summer's sun;
And failed to flower.

How easy it is to hold a garden in our minds;
And think we are trapped behind the hedgerows;
Being pricked again by those thorns;
Which only actually entered the skin once.

Like most of the poems this was tapped into my smart phone screen – which determines the length of sentences. They came as I sat in the garden of Pillmawr Cottage or found inspiration whilst doing something else. As such they are probably quite visceral responses to what was happening to me at the time. I have generally not done much editing.

As a result I found 'a close but uncertain connection'– chiming with Raymond Williams' description of the relationship between the County of Dorset and writer Thomas Hardy (1973, p. 289). My relationship with Caerleon puts me in a similar situation to Hardy who came from a small hamlet on the edge of Dorchester. My father came from southern England in 1976 to teach in Caerleon Comprehensive School. The following year my Mum also moved to Wales and together they bought Pillmawr Cottage. I arrived in 1978 and my brother was born in 1979. We spent our childhood and teenage years in Caerleon. Our parents divorced in 2003. Dad died in 2018. My brother and I sold Pillmawr Cottage in July 2019. The final event of the research took place on Saturday 7 November 2019.

The ridge rising from the Pillmawr is where the post-war estates of Lodge Hill were built and where many older people live today. Etymology is important. For example, Pillmawr has an interesting meaning – Pill being an Anglo-Saxon term for a river inlet or creek and mawr equating to big in Welsh. Archaeology shows that the Romans built their road to the Pillmawr around the raised landmass rather than settle on the top of the Lodge. The ridge of Lodge Hill does have attractions: almost perfectly aligned to follow the sweep of the day's light, running east to west; on the top is an ancient hill fort and its side slopes are laced with hundreds of modern houses.

Within Part Two of this work we use dreams to inspire two psychogeographical 'dérives' – explained later in Coverley (2008) – which guide us through Caerleon's physical spaces. The first takes us to a hill fort on Lodge Hill which may – or may not – have inspired Arthur

Machen's semi-autobiographical fantasy story *The Hill of Dreams*. By seeking out the hill we start to encounter a second dérive; one which follows the families who uprooted between the late 1950s and the 1970s and moved to new housing estates in Caerleon. This second dérive allows us to sense the post-war aspiration: renewed industry, acquiring freehold property, buying a first car, and the next generation to attend a new comprehensive school. The six stages of our journey around Caerleon will show how both the fantastical dream (Machen's story) and unremarkable dream (stories of family life) can be found in the same geography. To put these two dreams into context we refer to what Stewart Lee (2016) wrote and said as when he walked up to Lodge Hill for the Locus art project:

>...the surreal threaded through the mundane.

Lee's use of the word 'mundane' seemed provocative when I heard it enunciated on repeats as part of Cardiff Contemporary art festival (Western Mail, 2016). Perhaps I felt that this outsider, though a Machen fan, had no right to give a patronising label to a place where he had barely scraped the surface. Lodge Hill was personal as I had been schooled there. Though I had not spent much time on the hill for fifteen years, I visited my Dad often in 2017 and 2018 and I walked the hill on many occasions. That June my brother and I spent three intense days in Pillmawr Cottage – taking care of Dad's bodily functions like he had done for us as babies. I saw him being carried through his garden in a folding chair and taken by ambulance to the hospice. No words were said as he left his beloved home. I cut roses from the trellis by the garage and took them to his bedside. He had only just made 68; the age I must reach to claim a state pension.

After Dad's death we wrung the house dry of any Singleton meaning. My Mum and I took the chance to share what we could: we gave away thousands of books and CDs and made potash for future gardeners by burning a few chosen wooden objects. With help from friends I also found new owners for Sheffield-cast tools, three British classic cars and a patched-up Mirror dinghy. Altogether it took a year from my father's death to finally pass on the stewardship of a slightly wobbly house and a well-composted garden full of bulbs. I was also gently persuaded by one of my father's friends to see Caerleon as a case study for the ageing population; Caerleon has the highest proportion of over 65s in Newport.

Number	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Aged 0 to 15	1,346	1,265	1,212	1,194	1,186	1,226	1,310
Aged 16 to 64	5,047	4,950	4,865	4,796	4,680	4,574	4,536
Aged 65 and over	1,668	1,764	1,826	1,874	1,900	1,950	1,955
Total	8,061	7,979	7,903	7,864	7,766	7,750	7,801

% increase	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Aged 0 to 15		6.02%↓	4.19%↓	1.49%↓	0.67%↓	3.37%↑	6.85%↑
Aged 16 to 64		1.92%↓	1.72%↓	1.42%↓	2.42%↓	2.26%↓	0.83%↓
Aged 65 and over		5.76%↑	3.51%↑	2.63%↑	1.39%↑	2.63%↑	0.26%↑
Total		1.02%↓	0.95%↓	0.49%↓	1.25%↓	0.21%↓	0.66%↑

Table 1 – Proportion of over 65s in Caerleon increases

Source: (Newport City Council, 2017)

Through 2019 my visits to Caerleon were both to reduce or 'thin' – see more in Casey (2001) – our former family and also to study how the increasing rate of ageing in the local population had been so significant. Looking back this was a therapeutic and reflexive phase: my snippets of childhood memory – and the experience of recent loss which I include as poems – became tokens of trust to enter other people's emotional space. My close, but uncertain, relationship led to this larger piece of writing about a place shaped in the two decades before the Singletons ever touched the soil of south Wales. For some the whole life course had been shaped by Caerleon: in no particular order we explored births, marriages, jobs, dinner dates, grandparents, divorce, death and teenage drama. My family connection seemed less important the more that I met other people. We quickly got beyond the reverends that came to school assembly and – for some – the pubs where transitions were made from child to adult. Some of these individual stories are developed in Part Three.

Returning to the personal, I can be sure that one baby boomer – my father – was to fulfil his own dream by coming to a place that he loved and where he had his own family. It was through one of his pupils at Caerleon Comprehensive that the name Aled came to him. Aled is the name of the river and reservoir near Mynydd Hiraethog in modern day Conwy County. Singleton is a village in Sussex whose name derives from the Anglo-Saxon word for a burnt clearing in the woods: a 'sengel'. English and Welsh combine. This work is dedicated to the memory of two generations above me: my Dad and his mother who died in 2020. Grandma's detailed stories of life as a young mother after World War II gave me a foothold in the 1950s. As such this work fills in the years between her accounts of Birmingham and Hampshire with memories of my own childhood in the 1980s. And the story of Caerleon will build from here for the 'baby boomer' residents who live longer than my father.

Part One: Literature Review & Methods

Literature Review

A method which uses an exploration of everyday space to develop empathy between people from different background and generations

Three epistemological factors

- Intergenerational research – space and built environment as mediator and connector
- Subconscious connections to space: uncovering pleasure and pain
- How place represents cultures and times – potential for psychogeography.

The literature review takes a three-stage approach based around three factors:

(1) To explore the nature of research between people of different generations and therefore distinct cultures, social norms and structures – within which some exploration of ageing as a societal concept. Positionality and reflexivity are to be developed in the methods section.

(2) How an exploration of space connects with an individual's embodied biography, such as unconscious emotional attachments to rooms, houses and wider place. Explain how the ontology complicated by changes in mobility towards a car-centric society from the 1950s. A short history of urban changes in the UK during the late 1950s and through 1960s, 1970s and into 1980s – move away from inner city living to suburbs.

(3) Opportunities for psychogeography, walking and performance to connect with place and explore deeply-held societal experience of given periods of time – such as France in late 1950s to 1970s. Outline the notion that place branding (for example tourism or business) complicates the individual's ability to make and maintain social connections to place.

The literature review concludes with the opportunity to embrace the liminal nature or space (e.g. individuals will have different emotional attachments to space) and, from this point, move on to methodology built around psychogeography and performance. The methods pay attention to the following ontological considerations and axioms.

Ontology

Perceptions of space, place and time

The potential for walking to connect with space and place (and how we forgot)

Performance and (re)creating place and time

Axioms

Biography and position of interviewer to interviewee

Psychogeographic practice and power of performance to interpret and enhance

Inductive cycle to refine focus

Factor 1 – Time: Intergenerational research

This first part of the literature review presents research between people of different generations. In doing so we argue that there is an opening for study where the focus – or narrative – of biographical inquiry is led by space rather chronological time. This wider argument centres on the concept that two people – let us call them the interviewer and the interviewee – who have grown up some two or three decade apart will have lived through transformations in cultures, expectations and social norms that are not always apparent to the other party. Specifically we ask whether space can be a unifying factor which helps to develop more open and productive research relationships. We start our exploration by considering the existing body of work in gerontology before moving on to reflexivity. By the end of this first part of the literature review we will be ready to focus in more detail on the study of space and therefore bridge into human geography.

Researching older people: towards a 'methodological bricolage'

The academic discipline of gerontology emerged in the latter half of the twentieth century as the study of older people and ageing. As the field has grown its adherents have been able to criticise and reflect on their practice. Chris Phillipson wrote about the need for gerontology to better represent 'older people as agents' (p. vii) in his introduction to *Critical Perspectives on Ageing Societies* (2007). As such he cited the influence of feminism, biographical and life history perspectives, and humanistic perspectives which had started to ask questions of gerontology. Building on Phillipson's opening Bernard and Scharf (2007, p. 22) call for a 'methodological bricolage' which is open-minded, and:

> Means not ruling knowledge that is gained from personal narratives, fiction, poetry, film, qualitative investigations, philosophical inquires, participatory action research and any other method of inquiry we may discover that yields insights into fundamental questions about how, and why, we experience old age in very particular ways. We need to worry less about large-scale generalisations and more about getting the story right.

The word bricolage comes from the French language and is often associated with what we call 'do it yourself' in English: meaning that we do not a take the ready-made product from the shelf. Similar ideas are found in the *Sociological Imagination* of C. Wright Mills (1959), where sociology allows us to grasp 'history and biography and the relations between the two within society' – cited in Nehring and Kerrigan (2020, pp. 22-23). Returning to critical

gerontology, other contributors to Miriam and Bernard's 2007 work add further detail – particularly in terms of studying narrative.

Ruth E. Ray focuses on this latter subject of narrative and makes three substantial arguments (2007, p. 60). Firstly stressing that the general population has not fully grasped how ageing at a population level is a long and slow process. She therefore makes the case for the story of ageing to be told in new and imaginative ways. Secondly, Ray cites how feminist perspectives on research include a degree of action, which helps participants to be 'change agents' rather than informants. Thirdly, she points out that narrative(s) are intertwined or nested, meaning that they '... never occur in a sociohistorical vacuum; thus, narrative change can, and often does, lead to social change.'

Ray's arguments influenced the methods used to carry out this research project. For example the series of interviews concluded with a public event about the gradual ageing of the 'baby boomers'; growing up between the late 1950s and early 1970s and now reaching retirement age. Within the latter event, we responded to Ray's second demand: older people are the guides as we walk through their own experience. The third argument – about the collective story of the individual and society not being in a 'sociohistorical vacuum' – is a key element of the epistemology. Deeper into this literature review, particularly as we introduce human geographers such Doreen Massey, we will appreciate how different ways of looking at the relationships between space and time can help to address Ray's concerns.

Having grasped some of the arguments for a more open epistemology within gerontology we now move on to an investigation of the specific research field concerning older people, ageing and the environment. The literature will help us to get closer to the study of human geography; the latter discipline being the lead for our methodological approach.

Environmental gerontology and the life course

The field of environmental gerontology centres on older people and their relationship with spaces such as the home, neighbourhood and care settings. The field developed first with influence from the Chicago School of Urban Sociology, through to embracing economic and medical factors and environmental psychology in the 1970s (Peace & al, 2012). The latter authors explain how 'ecological perspectives' of ageing were formed. The three constituent theories include: (1) whether the environment fits to meet the reducing 'competency' of the ageing body; (2) whether the ageing person concentrates on their 'basic needs' so as to match the existing environment; and (3) the social aspects of how people help or hinder other people's relationships with the environment.

Peace et al (2012, p. 136) write that the ecological perspectives are an objective paradigm, meaning that they are designed to be framed around quantitative or positivist approaches. However, the same authors point out that environmental gerontology has bridged into concepts of attachment, such as how ageing individuals form 'affective, cognitive and behavioural ties' to their physical surroundings. This latter subject is the main focus for the second part of the literature review. Before moving to that stage it is important to understand how attachment concepts developed in environmental gerontology. Perhaps the most-cited early work is *Prisoners of Space* (1978), prepared by Graham Rowles, a British gerontologist who has mostly worked in America. Pearce et al (2012) illustrate how Rowles helps us to sense spatial attachment as 'autobiographical insideness', meaning something which is personal to the individual and their psyche. For example, Rowles explores how space for older people is a tableau for memories and also a site of identity.

A broad range of gerontologists have built upon Rowles' early work. However, a recent distinction is to clarify that the spatial arrangements of emotional and psychological attachments change at different points of the lifecourse – see *Critical Perspectives on Ageing Societies* (Bernard & Scharf, 2007) or *Critical Gerontology Comes of Age* (Wellin, 2018). Although psychological and emotional attachments to space are explored later in this study, it is worth explaining how a study of the life course helps to frame our understanding (Holland & Peace, 2012). Taking a chronological approach we understand how humans make gradual increases in their spatial range through the early years: small children are nurtured in the home; older children start to live in the wider neighbourhood; and teenagers explore the wider town and city (or equivalent rural area). Early to middle adult life is where spatial attachments can potentially diverge, such as leaving home to attend higher education, work, marriage and having children. The empirical chapters involve the biographies of people who have moved for some, all or none of these reasons. Importantly we learn how cultural norms – such as transport and housing choices – and public policy changed over time.

Linked to the previous line of thought, the spatial level of home seems to be significant to many studies of attachment. For example, Holland & Peace (2012, pp. 147-148) include three 'housing histories' based on Peace's 2006 study of environment and identity in the UK. It is useful that the latter authors give a descriptive context to housing in the twentieth century. They open in the early 1900s with an era of private renting, moving to a social housing boom after World War II, social housing decline in the 1970s and then close with mass home ownership growing through the 1980s and 1990s. This context suggests that the 'baby boomers' as a broad cohort grew up in a period of flux: the oldest will have reached eighteen in the mid-1960s – the social housing boom – whilst the youngest came of age in

the early 1980s – a time of vastly increasing housing ownership. By studying this historical cohort we therefore confront some challenges which make it hard to compare them with the preceding or following generations.

The second part of this literature review includes extensive background to the changes to the British home and neighbourhood from the 1950s to early 1970s, as well as what happened in the following decades. We continue the focus on gerontology and the environment to consider research at the neighbourhood spatial level. Making the step to a larger space reveals more nested – see Ray (2007) – and inter-related attachments. Whilst the home is a space with meaning to the individual and their co-habitants, the neighbourhood belongs to many people and is more complex to study (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001). Moreover, the larger the space the more it can be part of outward 'branding' exercises (Kavaratzis, Warnaby, & Ashworth, 2015).

The neighbourhood

A global movement towards 'age-friendly' places has grown following efforts from the United Nations and the World Health Organisation (WHO). We learn that the WHO founded a global network for Age-Friendly Cities and Communities (AFCCs) in 2010 (Remillard-Boilard, 2019). More than 500 cities and communities had joined this network by 2017 (p. 21). Remillard-Boilard writes that countries in Europe and North America have also worked to meet the 'age-friendly' challenge.

However, not all AFCCs are cities; indeed much attention has been given to 'communities' (Thomese, Buffel, & Phillipson, 2019). The word 'community' is put within inverted commas as grouping people together in terms of kinship and social networks is contested. On an even more problematic level, the latter authors write that 'community' has become a shortcut to describe social connections, at a spatial level, which are outside of the private home and family (p. 35). Many accounts shared in this thesis back up Thomese, Buffel and Phillipson's assertion about the meaning of 'community'. Tim Ingold writes about *Anthropology: Why it Matters*, and asserts that 'nothing repeats' within social life (2018, p. 81).

> Whenever you try to pin society down, social life runs through your fingers.

Ingold implicitly puts social life in terms of time, but he could also be referring to space. From the perspective of urban studies or human geography we can grasp how time relates to the way in which spaces and places change in size and meaning (Imrie & Raco, 2003), also that

spatially arranged social connections are complex (Kearns, 2003). In short, this thesis explores how we should not try to fix space and place in a given time.

Building on the latter paragraph, the work of this thesis is to focus on space and to develop specific methodology which has a sense of time, therefore linking to narratives of ageing – Ray (2007, p. 60). Before moving on to space and place it is important to explain why the neighbourhood complements the home in the study of ageing (Peace et al, 2012). The neighbourhood is important in a dementia and social care context according to an extensive literature review of dementia in the health and social care context (Keady, 2012), and, more prosaically, Thomese, Buffel and Phillipson write that the neighbourhood provides everyday life with 'proximity' in terms of social connections, shopping, public services and access to recreation. The latter authors also repeat that that people have emotional and affective connections to places, made by Peace et al (2012); morever they cite other supportive arguments in the work of Krause (2004) and Oswald et al (2011). However, Thomese, Buffel and Phillipson point out that public policy, such as regeneration strategies, can lead to inequalities. More importantly for the ethics and method of research, they argue that older people are rarely given agency to shape how neighbourhoods are developed.

 As a taster of the methodological considerations linked to the latter work on 'age-friendly' neighbourhoods we will briefly introduce work on long-term research relationships with older people (Attuyer, Gilroy, & Croucher, 2020). Their own empirical experience propels them to push for greater 'reflexivity' in practice; particularly to go beyond the formal consent of the ethics committee (p. 1070-71) and to see each research relationship as a caring process and one in which to deepen trust. The methodology chapter explores the concept of reflexivity in terms of trust and collaboration (Benson & Nagar, 2006), understanding position of the researcher to the researched (England, 1994; Rose G. , 1997) and the problems associated with trying to be overly reflexive (Lynch, 2000).

We now put the challenges and opportunities associated with research about ageing and older people to one side, to be picked up again in the methodological chapter. We now give more attention to concepts of time and how they complicate studies of space.

Space: relationships between time, temporality and historicity

Academic discourse often refers to disciplines making a 'turn' from a prevailing orthodoxy towards different positions or theories – such as the previously-cited changes in environmental gerontology (Peace et al, 2012). This study follows the turn in geography away from the physical components of the home, street or care home – referred to as the 'objective environment' in Peace et al (2012, p 136) – to a more humanistic understanding. Although these 'turns' in certain academic disciplines offer new thinking, making these changes is not without complications (Massey, 1999, p. 265):

> As is now being ever more frequently argued in a range of fields, the move from an assumption of simplicity to a recognition of complexity (with openness, feedback, non-linearity and a move away from simple equilibrium) can change the picture entirely, to the point of thoroughly undermining many of the conclusions arrived at through the analysis of simple systems alone.

This statement points towards the 'methodological bricolage' for critical gerontologists (Bernard & Scharf, 2007). Although Massey's paper seems to demand that we are open to ambiguity, she does develop the paper to make clear points about physical space and time. She writes that the history of spaces is often told by putting them into a temporal sequence – such as whether one place is more advanced or less developed than another (1999, p. 271). There is perhaps a read across to ageism where people make judgements in terms of one person is chronologically older than another. Effectively Massey stresses that geographical narratives too often centre on finding difference rather than being open to the empirical detail. Massey builds upon this premise to suggest a different way of investigating space and time (p. 274), such that:

> Rather, for time genuinely to be held open, space could be imagined as the sphere of the existence of multiplicity, of the possibility of the existence of difference.

What Massey refers to above is a desire to re-think the study of phenomena from a perspective of where they sit on a time continuum. Instead she puts forward physical space as the starting point from which we can explore multiple times. The following lines run on directly from the previous sentence and start to connect with the biography:

> Such a space is the sphere in which distinct stories coexist, meet up, affect each other, come into conflict or cooperate. This space is not static, not a cross-section through time; it is disrupted, active and generative

Massey's thought develops the possibility that any given space will connect to experience and therefore open up the past, present and future. Massey's proposal about foregrounding space over time helps us to conclude the first part of the literature review. To reiterate, one of the foundational positions developed by this thesis is that space has the power to reveal accounts that connect with many people and with multiple – and overlapping – times. As we move towards space and place it is worth remarking that this idea can help an older interviewer relate to a younger interviewee as much as it can work the other way around. For example, some of the literature about places considers young people as they make sense of spaces in Vancouver, Canada (Duff, 2010). We now move to consider writing on individuals and their connections to space: starting by paying attention to some psychological factors.

Factor 2 – Space: Individuals and attachments

This thesis is underpinned by concepts and methods which allow the researcher to study both unconscious and explicitly emotional relationships with space. Although elements of psychology appear within this project, the main theoretical and methodical influences derive from the 'emotional turn' in human geography (Nayak & Jeffrey, 2013). To explain this approach we consider how individuals have relationships with space that exist in an unconscious or affective dimension – referred to earlier in terms of ageing (Peace & al, 2012; Thomese, Buffel, & Phillipson, 2019). Affect is defined by referring to Pile (2010); wherein we find a concept that is intellectually complex, particularly as many consider affect to be 'non-representational' (Thrift, 2008) due to being held deeper within the unconscious body and therefore not easy to sense. The potential for affect and non-representation is explored by geographical thinkers such as Anderson and Harrison (2010).

Before defining affect it is important to explore how this concept became part of geography. Nayak and Jeffrey (2003) consider *Geographical Thought* turning from social constructivism towards culture and embodied human relations in the 1970s (p. 283). In particular, Yi-Fu Tuan's *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* was published in 1977 and helps to understand how this change of approach occurred. Tuan debates approaches to why people attach meaning to the way that they organise space; for example '...the social scientist is tempted to rush to culture as an explanatory factor' (p. 5). Tuan asserts that the latter approach '... overlooks the problem of shared traits that transcend the cultural particularities and may therefore reflect the general human condition.' Tuan's broad argument is that 'experience' (p. 8) – comprising sensation, emotion and thought – is deeply connected to space.

Whilst Tuan's language from 1977 is different from that which writers such as Pile used thirty years later, his central idea of 'experience' does translate into the way that Nayak and Jeffrey have 'a concern with performance, practice and affect' (p. 284). The latter two authors felt that methodology – such as interviews, large-scale surveys and ethnography – and even 'words are never enough' (p. 285) to capture the empirical richness. Existing approaches were:

> … always missing something – the tone in which a particular phrase was used, a reassuring gesture of welcome, a cold look of disdain, or an unfinished sentence foreclosed by a shrug of the shoulders and a downcast gaze. These brief examples reveal a discursive reliance upon text and transcripts may fetishise the world.

For Tuan's part he describes the ontological problem (1977, pp. 200-201) as follows:

> A geographer speaks as though his knowledge of space and place were derived exclusively from books, maps, aerial photographs, and structured field surveys. He writes as though people were endowed with mind and vision but no other sense with which to apprehend the world and find meaning in it.

Tuan's argument is that we neglect the whole capacity of the body as a source of knowing. He builds on this statement to argue that the social scientist is 'blind to experience' and therefore uncritically accepts the concepts taken from the physical sciences. In an attempt to better sample experience – and to interpret people and their relationships with space – the empirical chapters of this project make efforts to capture elements of dance, short performance and poetry along with still photography and film making. We now return to Steve Pile and other authors to explore the emotional turn in detail – particularly looking at the subtle but important differences between emotion and affect.

Defining emotion and affect

Emotion and affect are part of a continuum of relational ontologies – relating to that which distinguishes subject from subject, subject from object, or object from object. Ruddick (2011) writes in his paper on the politics of affect emerged from writers such as Spinoza in the seventeenth century, Freud's psychoanalysis in the early twentieth century and more latterly Deleuze in the 1970s. Pile (2010) explains that these relational ontologies had become part of geography by the late 1990s. Pile refers to 'affect' more as a noun than a verb form.

More specific to our project, Pile (2010, p. 10) explains the mechanics of affect working on three 'levels' within the human body. The top level is 'conscious', the middle is 'pre-cognitive' (where feelings are not expressed but tacit and intuitive), while the bottom level is 'non-cognitive' (non-psychological and the site where flows of affect between bodies). Affect enters the body at the pre-cognitive level and flows up through to consciousness. Because affect enters at the bottom level, it is potentially less susceptible to manipulation than what Pile calls 'socially-constructed' emotions. Bringing us back to the relational ontology, Pile cites Ben Anderson's (2006) description of the *'transpersonal capacity'* of affect upon a body and as *'always interpersonal, but inexpressible'*. Attempting to visualise the flows of energy between human bodies – for example dance or a musical performance (Nayak & Jeffrey, 2013) – is potentially a good way to understand affect. Through dance or music the body unconsciously opens up towards others – and connects.

It may seem that we have gone a long way from the original subject of the individual and their relationship with space. However, the concept of affect has huge potential for understanding what has happened in the past if geographical space is seen as an object to which the human body has unconsciously opened itself and made a connection. Steve Pile works with Paul Kingsbury to develop these ideas in *Psychoanalytic Geographies* (2014, pp. 1-38). For example Pile uses Freud's concepts of transference and drives to explain how spaces – ranging from Freud's very own couch to the street and wider landscape – connect with the deeper levels of cognition and subconscious feeling held in the body.

The emergence of affect as a concept has created an opening within human geography (Thrift, 2008). For example, the latter idea provides potential for the individual to reveal the subconscious when they are embodied – or connected to space – through the body more than the conscious mind. An early empirical application of 'more-than-representational' approaches to older people (Barron, 2019) centres on stages of the life-course (Katz, Peace, & Spurr, 2012): effectively how different periods of time converge into 'now'. Barron's empirical research was carried out for her PhD fieldwork in and around Manchester between 2014 and 2016. Connecting to Pile's work on psychoanalytic geographies (2014), Barron's finds that space holds connections to an individual's biography. The methodological section of this thesis gives more attention to the body, particularly through the use of dance and performance favoured by Thrift (2008). Looking ahead to the empirical chapters, it is worth noting from Barron's work that people have a range of capacities to be open to affect.

Closing the definition of affect, it is useful to note that Steve Pile (2010, p. 7) puts emotions and affect into an ethical dimension. For example, he cites Sharp (2009) stating emotions to be 'how the world is constructed and lived through pain, love and so on'. Pile criticises this latter list of emotive words as having their own hierarchy. To be clear, Pile has concerns that voiced emotions do not convey the whole meaning. Therefore potential exists for people to be manipulated by the idea of experiencing emotions. Whilst Pile's argument does seem to deconstruct language itself, the 'elusive' concept of affect and its links to space (2010, p. 8) provide an intriguing opportunity to develop methods.

Space and the individual

Georges Perec was a French writer who kept detailed accounts of spaces. For example, his 1974 work *Species of Space* includes short lists, long lists and essays. In particular he is interested in how spaces scale up in size. The first of his lists considers the page upon which he gazes, then he considers – in turn – the bed, the bedroom, the apartment, the apartment

building, the street, the neighbourhood, the town and onwards to finish with the world. Perec is conscious of the world in terms of space (p83):

> Space seems to be either tamer or more inoffensive than time; we're forever meeting people who have watches, very seldom people who have compasses.

> We always need to know what time it is (who still knows how to deduce it from the position of the sun?) but we never ask ourselves where we are. We think that we know: we are at home, at our office, in the Metro, in the street.

Perec's latter thoughts about space and time underpin this thesis. We think that we are in control of time – such as the wrist watch as an everyday item – but we very rarely pay attention to space. Perec follows the paragraph above with other factors that complicate space; namely weather, the time of day as well as the actions of humans themselves.

Perec develops his argument to give space a relational dimension (p. 84), for example asking: who did what and when in that particular geography? Although Perec's wrote in the 1970s he conceptualises space and its relationships with subjects and objects similarly to Pile (2010, 2014) and others. Indeed, much of Perec's writing reveals space to be a trigger – or index – for memories and emotions. For Perec space connects with both past playfulness and pain. There is more pain, however, such as (1974, p.91):

> My spaces are fragile: time is not going to wear them away, to destroy them. Nothing will any longer resemble that what was, my memories will betray me, oblivion will infiltrate my memory.

The first sentence above makes reference to time and suggests that Perec will never forget the past. However, the second sentence suggests that the memories will tend towards the negative. Georges Perec's biography reveals a mentally-troubled person who died relatively young. However, he developed a useful technique of tapping into deeper levels of consciousness by using space. It is also worth remembering that Perec's meticulous method was occasionally employed by architects to help them prepare for building projects.

One could speculate that Perec could have undergone psychoanalytic therapy using his own written material. If so the root of his emotional problems mostly seemed to happen during childhood. Melissa Holbrook Pierson (2007) revisits various stages of the lifecourse – and the connections made to space – in the study of moving house *The Place you Love is Gone: Progress Hits Home.* She writes about the age at which such connections are made:

It has been observed that it is the non-literate who become the most attached to their homes: the Australian aborigines, the American Indians who wasted away in grief when forced to leave the places they had inhabited since prehistory. And who is non-literate if not a child?

This latter idea makes us wonder whether an individual experiences the power of connection to space if they are not old enough to be literate, or perhaps so old that they can no longer communicate. As an aside, it was hard to construct that latter sentence in English without using the term 'emotion'. The reason to avoid 'emotion' connects back to Steve Pile's criticism of language as he makes an ethical distinction between emotion and affect (2010). Later in this literature review we reference J. G. Ballard's 1973 novel *Crash* as he seems to write prose in an affective fashion.

Language is useful however. We now consider how words make us think about spaces and the relational dimensions which Perec wrote about in the 1970s.

Language, affect and space

American professor of anthropology Kathleen Stewart wrote the paper *Regionality* (2013, p. 275) about New England – where she comes from. She describes that region's space as follows:

> October is saturated in colour. The air is biteable. In May it swells.

The first idea above, about New England in the fall being full of colour adds nothing new. However, being able to sense the autumn air in your mouth adds texture. The third idea compares the same space seven months later and senses that it has grown. Using these thirteen words, spread across three sentences, puts a large picture in the mind.

The purpose of referencing Stewart's work is to open up the possibility of literature and a more subtle approach to tap into the affective dimensions of space. Stewart introduces the potential for *Ordinary Affects* (2007, p. 1) with the following paragraph:

> ... an experiment, not a judgement. Committed not to the demystification and uncovered truths that support a well-known picture of the world, but rather to speculation, curiosity, and the concrete, it tries to provoke attention to the focus that comes into view as habit or shock, resonance or impact.

The latter work contains many beautifully described scenes and it is easy for the reader to dip in and out. Related to our previous demand for reflexivity (Attuyer, Gilroy, & Croucher,

2020), Stewart's work advocates that the researcher pays attention to the small detail and also to confront their own position. For example, the *Regionality* piece (2013) allows Stewart to question spending time in spaces where she was brought up: specifically how her use of language, and ways of being, allowed her to negotiate 'regional' life when outsiders may not know these codes. Broadly speaking, this connects with the 'insider' or 'outsider' debate within qualitative geographical research (Mullings, 1999). Mullings writes (p. 346) that the 'outsider' position made her '...symbolically reminded of my status as a seeker of information...' and therefore dependent on gatekeepers. However, the position of the 'insider' – specifically being familiar with the given space – can also be complicated. One can assume that they understand a space from their own empirical experience. However, people who have lived at different times to the interviewer – whether older or younger – will have other approaches. Similar findings are seen in Amy Barron's work around Manchester as she meets older people.

On a philosophical level the answer to the challenge of feeling too much of an 'insider' may be to make the familiar become fascinating again. The literature related to psychogeography is particularly useful in this regard. In the first instance we explore how American writer Rebecca Solnit connects with Kathleen Stewart's work to sample the affective nature of space through the use of literature. Solnit makes the case for being open to new experiences in *A Field Guide to Getting Lost*, writing that (2017, p. 5):

> It is the job of artists to open the doors and invite in prophesies, the unknown, the unfamiliar: it's where their work comes from, although its arrival signals the beginning of the long disciplined process of making it their own.

Solnit makes particular reference to German writer and philosopher Walter Benjamin. The latter lived much of his adult life in Paris and is one of the influences of psychogeographical thought discussed in the third part of this literature review. She describes how much of Benjamin's time in Paris was spent wondering around the city, particularly for his *Arcades Project* (1927–40). Solnit (2017, p. 6) highlights the importance of this latter work.

> In Benjamin's terms, to be lost is to be fully present, and to be fully present is to be capable of being in uncertainty and mystery. And one does not get lost but loses oneself, with the implication that it is a conscious choice, a chosen surrender, a psychic state achievable through geography.

We can connect Solnit's last sentence to Kingsbury and Pile (2014) in their study of psychoanalytic geographies. Solnit argues that if we lose our self (conscious mind or cognition) we can connect through space to harness the psychic state (affect and the

unconscious.) These are certainly big and complicated ideas, but their promise has excited the human geographers who feature in *Taking-place: Non-representational Theories and Geography* (Anderson & Harrison, 2010). The third section of this literature review explores the power of psychogeographical drift to get lost and therefore help the body to enter such spaces. The empirical chapters of this project make great use of Arthur Machen's 1907 novel *The Hill of Dreams* as the text which help us to lose our conscious selves.

We will soon connect space with the specific post-war era in which 'baby boomers' grew up. Before concentrating further on geography – and bridging into literature and the arts – there are some elements of social and environmental psychology which help to understand attachments to space.

Space and affect: considering psychological approaches

Most of the 14,000 peer-reviewed articles on attachment to space and place come from psychological disciplines rather than geography (Brown, Raymond, & Corcoran, 2015). We focus on two papers: firstly research prepared in Santa Cruz de Tenerife, a town on an island off the Spanish mainland (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001); and secondly predicting behaviour based on attitude and identity with lakes in rural America (Stedman, 2002).

 As we investigate this work we must accept that psychology has a less nuanced understanding of space and place than geographers. Fred Schaefer made a methodological examination of geography; as such he reminds us that the main aim of the profession (1953, p. 1954) is to:

> …pay attention to the spatial arrangements of the phenomena in an area and not so much to the phenomena themselves. Spatial relations are the ones that matter in geography and nothing else.

Hidalgo and Hernandez come from the perspective of environmental psychology. Their work pays attention to spatial relations – suggested by Schaeffer above – as they design questionnaires which test resident satisfaction against three spatial levels, namely the house, the neighbourhood and the city. The 177 participants were asked to agree on a scale from 1 to 4 with statements such as: 'I would be sorry to move out of my neighbourhood, without the people who live there' (p. 275).

Hidalgo and Hernandez open up the possibility that attachment to different spatial ranges depends on age. Broadly they find that the city holds great attachment at a younger age, whilst for intermediate ages it is the house and for the older age group no differences were

found between the three spatial ranges. These concepts are useful for the analysis of the interviews in the empirical chapters; specifically enabling us to consider the stage of the life-course to which a research participant is referring. For example, we can compare the different generations and their relationship to the spatial range of the neighbourhood. However, though spatially-focused, Hidalgo and Hernandez' method is purely quantitative and does not give the participants a chance to add their own accounts – or get close to Tuan's sense of (1977) 'being there'.

The second quantitative example is Stedman (2002) with place attachment research from a social psychological approach. He writes of place attachment research as falling into camps of either positivistic hypothesis-testing approach or the 'phenomenological' – where he cites human geographers such as Relph (1976) who explore social relationships over physical attributes of space itself. Stedman's work centres on the former 'camp' and he prepares surveys to test how people feel about places. In particular he considers geography – specifically the rural American lakes – in terms of symbolic meaning and satisfaction levels that individuals attach to them. He was confident that his work helped to understand the relationship between place satisfaction and other individual factors. However Stedman points to a deficiency on the attachment level (2002, p. 577):

> …the source of cognition is a mystery using this framework and data. More research is needed on the source of symbolic meanings, and the search for understanding may need to move beyond conceptions that are based so completely in the agency of the social actor.

This latter statement perhaps confirms Pile's concern (2010) that a lack of understanding results from ignoring the subtleties between emotion and affect – or indeed merging the two concepts. Another example from environmental psychology (Rollero & De Piccoli, 2010, p. 199) has different ideas to Pile about 'affect' and 'emotion', saying that '…an affective dimension, that is the emotional bond toward places (place attachment), and a cognitive dimension, related to the cognitions about the self as a member of a physical space (place identification)'. To make sure geographers such as Anderson, Harrison, Pile and Thrift are not outliers we consider the perspective on affect from sociologist Maria Tamboukou – particularly through the reading of French philosopher Gilles Deleuze. Tamboukou explains why it is important to differentiate affects from emotions (2003, p. 210):

> While emotions are embedded within dominant linguistic codes and highly territorialized social practices and institutions, affect follows "lines of flight", escaping planes of consistency and following unpredictable directions – they are forces of deterritorialization par excellence.

This statement is initially complex. However, the word 'territorialized' links to space and the use of the words 'planes' and 'directions' convey movement rather than something solid. Could this sense of 'flight' partly explain Nigel Thrift's writing (2008) that affect is not necessarily represented in visual form? Could affect be something that moves too much?

Beyond writing about the dynamism of affect, the feminist sociological perspective of Tamboukou (2003) shares the same desire for ethical practice and politics of care earlier explored in human geography by Pile (2010, p. 13). Furthermore, there seems to be a repeated aspiration to follow the 'unpredictable' which is found in Tuan (1977, p. 200-202) or that Solnit (2017) finds in Walter Benjamin. The third part of this literature review explicitly embraces psychogeography, performance and walking as ways to prioritise the affective over the emotional.

Before focusing attention on place, is it important to consider space from an ontological perspective and the specific time period in which the 'baby boomers' have lived. From the 1950s onwards many everyday spaces in the UK and other Western countries change towards a car-centric society and lives spent in the suburbs rather than the inner city.

Space changes1950s to 1970s: inner-city and suburban life

So far we have given significant attention to how the individual has an affective relationship with space. We have highlighted the thinking of writers such as Pile (2010) and Tamboukou (2003) and accepted that emotions are not always exactly how we feel. We also sense that deeply-held relationships with space can take time for us to resolve or understand (Barron, 2019; Pierson, 2007; Perec, 2008). As much as time can help make sense of an individual's affective or emotional connections to space, the post-war era in Britain coincided with many structural changes to everyday space. The need to redevelop so many British towns and cities bombed during World War II led to urban policies (Cochrane, 2003).

These urban policies changed the built form of many well-established neighbourhoods. Indeed over 1.1 million dwellings, particularly the inner-cities, were cleared by local authorities in England and Wales between 1955 and 1974 (Yelling, 2000). Over the same period 28 new towns were established and 3.1 million Britons were re-housed from poor quality homes to new modern dwellings (Tallon, 2010, pp. 31-36). People moving away from houses and neighbourhoods was not a simple choice; indeed the temporal depth of affective ties with inner-city areas demolished in the post-war period are articulated in *Rescue Geography* (Jones & Evans, 2012) and *Walking with Ghosts of the Past* (Adams & Larkham, 2015). In particular the Jones and Evans work is explored in the methodological chapters.

From the latter numbers of houses demolished, and people who moved, we can grasp that this was a structural change. Furthermore, population levels in England and Wales increased greatly over three post-war decades: by 2,347,000 (5.4%) between 1951 and 1961; 5.7% between 1961 and 1971; followed by a levelling off at 0.54% between 1971 and 1981 (Hamnett & Randolph, 1982). What is most striking from the latter accounts of 1951 to 1981 is how people moved to different locations and broke away from centres of habitation established at the end of the nineteenth century. For the purposes of our larger argument, we are saying that the 'baby boomers' grew up in different space to their parents.

Hamnett and Randolph illustrate population change through Greater London (p. 273) contracting from nearly 8 million in 1961 to just below 6.7 million in 1981 (16%). There were low single digit declines for the industrial areas of the North, North West, Yorkshire and Humberside. However, the three regions which grew the most were ranked as: (1) the wider South East area of England (excluding London) – which acquired two million more inhabitants (increasing by a quarter); (2) the South West – which grew by 17%; and (3) East Anglia. The authors write (p. 279) of a new pattern determining where people lived:

...with an emphasis on environmental quality for those able to make the move. The improvement of road communications in particular has led to the greater exercise of choice in residential location.

The focus on the private car and road transport is critical to understanding the world in which the 'baby boomers' grew up. On a cultural level it is useful to revisit Jack Kerouac's 1957 novel *On the Road* and J.G. Ballard's 1973 novel *Crash*. The former represents the opening-up of America by the private motor car (Kerouac, p. 291):

> So in America when the sun goes down and I sit on the old broke-down river pier watching the long, long skies over New Jersey and sense all that raw land that rolls in one unbelievable huge bulge over to the West Coast, and all that road going, all the people dreaming of the immensity of it...

Whilst the latter is an expansive stream of consciousness, *Crash* is intimate and centres on two characters (Vaughan and the narrator) whose psyche and sexuality becomes connected to cars and motorway crashes. In some ways *Crash* can be read as two characters who tap into the affective or unconscious through the car. For example (1995, p. 39):

> The crash was the only real experience I had been through for years. For the first time I was in physical confrontation with my own body, an inexhaustible encyclopaedia of pains and discharges, with the hostile gazes of other people, and with the fact of the dead man.

In the latter sentences the narrator finds something deeper in himself following the crash, potentially connecting with Tuan's (2010, p. 8) idea of sensation being at the base of 'experience'. Beyond the morality of *Crash* the author (Ballard, 1995, p. 6) reflects that his work has a cautionary role about the space in which the book was set, namely:

> ... a warning against that brutal, erotic and overlit realm that beckons more and more persuasively to us from the margins of the technological landscape.

The word 'realm' is used in this context to describe the public space of the concrete and tarmac motorway: a landscape made possible by the technology of that period. We will later explore Rebecca Solnit's argument in *Wanderlust* that people in the post-war era learned to read the world through their use of the car, rather than by foot.

New housing was closely related to rising post-war car usage. For example, nearly two million new houses were constructed between 1965 and 1969; of which approximately half were built privately and the remainder by local government and housing associations (Lund,

2017). The case study in Caerleon allows us to explore a housing estate built during the 1960s. An interesting account of how attitudes towards publicly-built housing change is *Fall and Rise of Social Housing* (Tunstall , 2020).

Everyday space from the 1980s to the modern day

Chronologically-speaking the youngest baby boomers – that is to say those born in 1964 – reached early adulthood in the early 1980s. Reflecting on the UK as it entered the early 1980s, Imrie and Raco (2003) report that urban policy had altered: for example community development programmes which had started in the late 1960s – and which had strong links to university research – had been abruptly stopped in 1978. Urban policy in the 1980s to late 1990s period is broadly described as moving from social welfare to redressing failures in land or property market (Judd & Parkinson, 1989, p. 2; Land Economy, 2007). One of the components of this policy change was the right for local authority tenants to buy their homes. Effectively proportions of private to public housing (see Lund, 2017) moved towards private.

The passing of time during the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s allowed people to settle into the spaces built in the post-war era, establishing attachments and family connections. Lynsey Hanley's book *Estates: An Intimate History* (2007) provides an account of her grandparents and parents relocating from inner-city Birmingham to a suburban social housing estate. As an adult herself Hanley moved to an inner-city social housing estate in East London. She gives an account of inner-city estates in London being neglected in the years after focused urban community development had been sidelined – as explained by Imrie and Raco (2003).

Specific urban policy returned to the policy agenda with the incoming Labour government of 1997. In particular sociological terms such as 'social exclusion' were used to define needs at a geographical level (Land Economy, 2002, p. 1; Kearns, 2003). The UK Government formed a Social Exclusion Unit and modified Neighbourhood Statistics model to incorporate a quantitative measure of 'social exclusion' (Land Economy, 2002, p. 3). Data sets henceforth measured people's perceptions of the places where they lived alongside age, occupation and macro levels of an individual's educational attainment or health. Some of this neighbourhood data is explored in the empirical chapters of this thesis.

Has the relative situation of the city and the suburb changed over time?

A focus of resources and attention on the urban – or inner city – from 1997 corresponded with respective population levels significantly climbing. We will recall that London had lost 1.3 million residents between 1961 and 1981 (Hamnett & Randolph, 1982). The English capital only started to grow again from the mid to late 1980s according to *People in cities: the numbers* (Champion, 2014). For the wider UK the latter source shows the inner cities areas of Manchester, Liverpool and Glasgow returning to growth in the 2001-2011 after population declines in the 1981-1991 and 1991-2001 periods (p. 22). The same report, albeit written in 2014, suggests that all of the latter cities will continue to grow in population size.

To repeat one of the central aims of this thesis, we are interested in the process of ageing. To this end Champion's report gives two insights: (1) population growth in larger cities is mostly attributed to younger people moving to study or work and new families forming; (2) the growth of older people – at least between 2001 and 2011 – is concentrated on small towns and rural areas (2014, p. 44). Smaller places have seen 15% population increases for both 50-69 and 70+ age groups. There seems to be a direct link to the places (namely southern, western and eastern England) which expanded during the 1960s and 1970s – as illustrated by Hanmnett and Randolph (1982).

Alongside the headline numbers deeper research reveals trends and signs of demographic change in the cities. For example, Paul Watt researches how long-standing residents are being displaced from social housing in some larger cities; note that this argument also appears in relation to age-friendly cities (Thomese, Buffel, & Phillipson, 2019). Watt interviewed people at the Carpenters Estates in East London as the council were preparing a large 'regeneration' programme. He found 'a frequent refrain' amongst older residents that people had lived in their housing since they were built four decades earlier; they did not want their homes to be demolished (Watt, 2013, p. 109). There is a slight echo of the 1950s and 1960s urban change described by Lund (2017), albeit people are not being re-housed in social housing. For some international comparison there has been a similar displacement of older residents as parts of Berlin have been 'gentrified' (Dale, Heusinger, & Wolter, 2019).

Returning to statistics found in the Census and other public data allows us to sense that the suburbs and small towns of Britain, rather than cities, are the locations with the biggest increases in the median age of residents (Champion, 2014). The case study in this thesis responds to such emerging correlations between ageing and geography. Moreover framing the interviews within a given space helps us to go beyond the statistical concept of ageing, which in itself is, dare I say, non-representational as it conveys movement.

As we learned previously from Tim Ingold (2018), society keeps on changing and 'social life runs through your fingers'. Recent work on social divisions in later life (Gilleard & Higgs, 2020) propose that post-war British society moved from a collective identity formed around class and occupation to one based around consumption. What this means is that people have come to demonstrate their identity in some ways that are interesting to geography, for example in terms of holiday and shopping destinations and the preferred types of houses. David Goodhart's book *The Road to Somewhere* (2017) seems also to have identified a correlation between geography and some of the ways that the 'baby boomers' identify themselves.

Somewhere and anywhere

Goodhart argues that modern Britain is divided between tribes of *Somewheres* and *Anywheres*. The former are rooted somewhere by lower-paid jobs and social (perhaps affective) connections. The latter group have higher educational qualifications and want to live in neighbourhoods which more closely represent their values and identities. There are certainly people who fall between these two positions and spaces which do not confirm to the 'somewhere' or 'anywhere' model. However, Goodhart's work is important to ageing and relationships with space and place because he sees the 1960s – specifically when the 'baby boomers' came of age – as a period of liberalisation and expansion of higher education. The latter phenomena is also referred to in Gilleard and Higgs (2020, pp. 13-15) as they follow the ageing process of the same birth cohort.

Goodhart argues that educational opportunities of the post-war era facilitated the rise of the *Anywheres* and changed Britain from a nation where the vast majority of British people had previously been *Somewheres* (p. 6). As Goodhart brings the story from the 1990s and through to the early 2000s he suggests that the proportion of *Anywheres* had stopped growing, and perhaps was now in reverse. The following insight following the 2016 EU Referendum seems to represent the slowing down (p. 19):

> In the immediate aftermath of the Brexit vote there was a long wail of dismay at how Britain had broken into two nations. Those who voted Leave were said to be Britain's losers: the left behind, the white working class of the Midlands and the North, but supplemented by older people from everywhere and Tory southerners. Their experience and worldviews diverged radically from the core Remain voters, who were winners: optimistic, young, educated and middle class, living in the big metropolitan centres and university towns.

Goodhart explains that 'Tory southerners' supplemented the 'left behind'. This geographical reference connects to the three English regions which grew the fastest in the 1960s and 1970s (Hamnett & Randolph, 1982): Southern East England outside of London; South West England; and East Anglia. Putting the Brexit vote to one side, it is worth noting these three locations as concentrations of the ageing population (Champion, 2014). After population growth during the post-war decades, could it be that people born in the 1940s, 1950s and early 1960s own their suburban and small town homes and do not want to move? Thanks to security of tenure they are in a different position to their contemporaries in the inner-city urban East London (Watt, 2013), who are forced to move because they do not own property.

We have reached the end of the literature concerned with how individuals develop relationships with space. Within this body of work we have considered perspectives from human geography and psychology. Although we follow the former, environmental psychology has proposed that people change the significance of their attachments to the spatial levels of home, neighbourhood and city over the lifecourse (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001). On a more challenging level we have uncovered the ethical reasons to tap into affect more than emotions: both from a geographical perspective (Pile, 2010) and a sociological angle (Tamboukou, 2003). There are some intriguing proposals from Solnit (2017) – and to a lesser degree Tuan (1977) – that to lose our sense of self in space can help us gain a better understanding. The methodological chapter explores all of the latter proposals.

The relationships between time and space appear to be more complicated by focusing on Britain in the late 1950s through to the 1970s: we sense that everyday space changed for millions of people compared to the pre-war era; namely a move to the suburbs and different types of housing. The same period time also saw a liberalising of values and the role of higher education. However, there are signs from Goodhart (2017) that this stage of aspiration has slowed down. These topics are explored further through a series of interviews in *The End of Aspiration* (Exley, 2019) and also in *Slowdown* – a study which suggests that economic growth stopped in the 1970s (Dorling, 2020). We now consider how to understand places which emerged in the post-war era.

Factor 3 – Place: potential for psychogeography and walking

We have cited many disciplines through the exploration of individuals and their connection to space: environmental gerontology; Perec's lists; Pierson's writing about the house; and more. Similar to our distinction between 'emotion' and 'affect' Pile (2010), there has been a deliberate focus on 'space' and limited use of the word 'place'. Now is the time to explore the latter and so we return to Tuan (1977, p. 6) to appreciate the nuance:

> In experience, the meaning of space often merges with that of place. "Space" is more abstract than "place." What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value. Architects talk about the spatial qualities of place; they can equally well speak of the locational (place) qualities of space. The ideas "space" and "place" require each other for definition.

Similar to emotion and affect, we sense interdependence between space and place. Tuan helps us to distinguish that 'space' becomes 'place' when it is given 'value' and made different from other spaces. The study of 'place' is therefore a chance to move away from the individual; an opportunity for geography to reveal deeply-held societal experience. For example we will explore how psychogeography – and practices built around walking – connects space to different periods of time. On walking, Thrift (2008) writes that:

> To walk is to be affected by place and to simultaneously contribute to the ongoing co-constitution of self and place.

Thrift highlights the symbiotic relationship between the individual and place; and that place can shape us as much as we can shape place. Using theoretical concepts and empirical evidence we will see that the social construction of place is not only brokered by time, but also influenced by many other competing interests. In particular we will centre on France in the late 1950s and early 1960s to appreciate a time of great urban change, partly fuelled by politics and ideology. Returning to the UK we will sense how British attempts to map and explore social maps leant on literature. As we conclude this study of place we will explore the notion that branding, for example portraying a place as a tourism or business destination, complicates social connections. There is also a slight nod to factors that are out of the control of humans. First of all we examine the relationship between space, place and time.

Finding place from space

Tuan again offers an excellent distinction between space and place in the context of time and movement (1977, p. 6):

> From the security and stability of place we are aware of the openness, freedom and threat of space, and vice versa. Furthermore, if we think of space as that which allows movement, the place is pause; each pause in movement makes possible for location to be transformed into place.

Putting the latter into a relational equation, Tuan articulates that a 'pause' – or spending time – allows space to be fixed – or made 'secure' – and therefore become a place. Pauses do not last forever, however, if we refer back to the demolition of inner-city dwellings (Yelling, 2000) and the lives spent on the 1950s and 1960s housing estates (Hanley, 2007).

An interesting way to reflect on how space and place change over time – and how place can revert back to space – is found in (Casey, 2001). Casey argues that space can 'thicken' with more doing and making; with a useful counter effect that space 'thins' with less activity. The words 'doing' and 'making' connects to Michel de Certeau's (1984) work *L'invention du Quotidien* or *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984)*.* The latter work brought forward the concept of space gaining meaning through practice. Another perspective on the act of place thickening, though perhaps a mixed metaphor, is Nigel Thrift's idea of 'soaking' (2008, p. 222); adding richness to the concept to the 'space between' (Pile, 2010, p. 10). Cameron Duff, whose work with younger people is discussed later on, offers some other perspectives on the latter concepts.

Duff broadly agrees with Pile's argument (2010) that geographical analysis should not be restricted to particular emotional expressions. Duff is strongly influenced by de Certeau, but argues that the latter missed an opportunity to connect these ideas with affect. Duff writes (p. 881) 'that 'to experience place is to be affected by place.' Here Duff connects with Nigel Thrift (2008) asserting place influences the individual as much as place is made by the everyday practice of 'doing' and 'making'. Effectively Duff writes that (already) 'thick' places present opportunities for affective experience. He also criticises Casey's method (p. 882):

> Casey provides few insights into the character and organisation of thick places, how they might differ from one another, and the various means by which they are produced, accessed, and contested.

Duff therefore sets himself a challenge to improve on the ontology of affect and place attachment provided by de Certeau (1984) and Casey (2001) in research with young people.

Thick and thin place

Duff's research involves the ethnographic study of an equally gender-mixed cohort of thirty-six participants aged fifteen to eighteen and split into groups of nine across four different sites in the city. This work explores affect at the spatial level of the city – as do the previously-discussed Hidalgo & Hernandez (2001). Duff presents the way that young people 'negotiate and transform places' and the 'impact these practices have on the characteristic orientations of self and belonging' (p. 882). The research method centred on walking tours around the city – which he describes (p. 887) as facilitating:

> …analysis of a range of practices and their role in the negotiation and transformation of place, while remaining sensitive to the affective dimensions of this place-making.

Duff's findings are that young people in Vancouver develop attachment to familiar places such as cafes and parks. They also make efforts to establish ownership of spaces – even seemingly unappealing sites like the underneath of a stairwell. There is a particular focus on spaces which allow for performative activities such as skateboarding, free running and break dancing (p. 889). Duff later presents how young people describe break dancing using the words 'rush', 'buzz' and 'energy'; these 'spatial phenomena' (Schaefer, 1953) connected to specific places in the city. As Duff concludes his research, he argues that it is mainly affect rather than de Certeau's rhetoric of practice which holds urban places together. He writes that (p. 891):

> Although practice may well be the means by which places take on meaning, the motivating impulse that inspires young people to identify and maintain these sites in the first place is born in and of the affects and capacities they express.

What he importantly conveys is that young people have to firstly encounter the potential and atmosphere of spaces before they are able to 'launch' into place and practice through actions such as skateboarding, break dancing – see also (Nayak & Jeffrey, 2013, pp. 294-296). Duff's work brings empirical research to affectual geographies and explores the 'push and pull' of place (p. 893) through the eyes of a particular age group.

Duff makes a compelling case for place-making policy makers to sample young people's pre-cognitive ability to develop thick places. We now also consider the geographical experience of older people in places that are already 'thick' with affect but are at risk of 'thinning' or losing that embodied quality due to a redevelopment programme. Jones and Evans pursue *Rescue Geography* to capture affective geographies in the British city of Birmingham. Similarly to Duff they understand the perspective outlined by Pile (2010), writing of the 'importance of embodiment in transforming spaces into place' (2012, p. 2315).

Jones and Evans complement the other empirical examples by understanding how British urban policy in the late twentieth century (p. 2318) started to appreciate concepts of place attachment. They particularly cite how 'sense of place' came into policy and practice at the beginning of the new millennium. Their own research responds to a neglect of that 'sense of place' as a regeneration initiative threatens to destroy traces of inner-city Birmingham. Jones and Evans are interested in affect as a valuable concept because: 'it reminds us that place construction is fundamentally embodied' (p. 2320). Similarly to others (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001; Barron, 2019; Peace & al, 2012) they sense that this place construction happens over a 'lifespan' (p. 2321). For this reason they choose to study the way in which older people have affective connections with 170 hectares of the eastern side of central Birmingham.

This research uses walking interviews as Jones and Evans value these methods for their ability to access 'embodied connections to place' – explaining that physically being in space stimulated a reflection on 'place identity and value' (p. 2322). Geographical Information Systems were used to map the interviews, which allowed the researchers to return to the interview content and make specific spatial connections. The participants reflected on experiences in the place as it existed between thirty and seventy years prior. The authors report that many of the places that held affective connections for their interviewees are – to them as researchers – cleared or 'thin' spaces. Note in the last sentence that certain 'places' have become 'spaces.' These specific locations have hosted over a hundred years of industry and their physical fabric was changed through bombing during World War Two, slum clearances and much more. It is useful to think back to Tuan's (1977, p. 6) idea of the 'pause' as making it possible for location to be transformed into place. As such this part of inner-city Birmingham represents overlapping and layered pauses. It is by virtue of time and experience that older people are able to articulate these 'pauses' in more detail.

Looking from a perspective of an outsider, by both age and geography, it is easy to criticise *Rescue Geography* as an exercise in nostalgia and a rejection of the argument for considering how young people 'thicken' spaces (Duff, 2010, p. 893). However, by interviewing people who are chronologically older we sense substance in the theories of

geography and 'non-representation' (Thrift, 2008; Anderson & Harrison, 2010): that there is no material sign of phenomena that people describe. Jones and Evans also make a political point that publicly-funded reconstruction projects should not 'erase the embodied relationship between the individual and the environment.' In terms of an alternative approach, they cite Relph (1976) and the desire to embrace the 'authentic' so as to mediate the evolution of places (pp. 2326-2328). The latter is an intriguing proposal: to purposefully retain features in the environment which anchor people to affective connections.

Other research considers cities that have undergone post-war reconstruction. Adams and Larkham (2015) explore Birmingham and nearby Coventry. In terms of affectual geographies, the latter authors see non-representational helping in terms of the 'interaction between materiality, memory/forgetting and affect' (p. 16). They also play to non-representation by describing their research as 'walking with ghosts'. Given the context of Duff's research into young people and the city (2010), it may be possible to revisit research by Adams and Larkham (2015) or Jones and Evans (2012) to trace the affective connections made at early points in the lifecourse.

Beyond the psychological factors, it is worth considering the specific qualities of the 'erased' places which feature in both *Rescue Geography* and *Walking with the Ghosts of the Past*. Adams and Larkham write that bringing time into the equation allows an analysis of the urban developments which work well and those which do not. To be clear, the built environment where people live in terraced houses next to pubs, small shops, railway lines, factories and other places of work is very rare in modern Britain. Furthermore, the number of people with living memory of such places diminishes as time goes on: those interviewed in Birmingham experienced the tail end of such a way of life. For example, one account recalls being a teenager and experiencing excitement, bustle and energy as new space emerged in the 1950s (Adams & Larkham, 2015, p. 19).

It is tempting to pursue Relph's desire for the 'authentic city' – cited in Jones and Evans (2012). To that end a proliferation of writing in the post-war era allows us to understand if this kind of city existed until the1950s. We make a trip across the English Channel to engage with the writing of French urban theorists. Our first point of call is to knock on George Perec's door again.

France: psychogeographic methods of the 1950s and 1960s

We will remember that Perec thought about different spatial scales. As the individual senses themselves within a bigger geography Perec offers the following advice (1974, p80):

> Don't be too hasty in trying to find a definition of a town; it's far too big and there's every chance of getting it wrong.

Although Perec's comments are slightly mocking, he does connect with a wider interest in the politics of space during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s amongst French writers and thinkers – particularly those influenced by Marxism. Alongside the already referenced Michel de Certeau and Gilles Deleuze it is important to mention Henri Lefebvre, who lived between 1901 and 1991; a theorist and teacher who wrote about the city, urbanism and everyday life. During the late 1950s and early 1960s he collaborated with a group called Situationist International [SI] – within which Guy Debord took a prominent role.

Lefebvre revealed in a 1983 interview (Ross, 2002) how Guy Debord and others has developed some interesting ways of interpreting the city. The SI mission was partly protesting against the 'brutal urbanisation' of cities such as Paris (p. 276). Note how the word 'brutal' connects with the 1970s environment described by J. G. Ballard (1995). Returning to Lefebvre, he pinpoints 1960 as the year when urbanism become ideology and so changed the city (2002, p. 279):

> In the course of its history the city was once was once a powerful organic unity; for some time, however, that unity was becoming undone, was fragmenting...

Although Lefebvre and SI may well have had a nostalgic vision of the city, they sensed that places were changing in France and elsewhere. Lefebvre explains how Debord and SI helped to develop a practice which revealed such fragmentation. Although the SI movement only existed for fifteen years they contributed terminology and practical ways to understand, chart and explore social space. Of note, the SI considered themselves to be psychogeographers. Guy Debord, the leader of SI, defined psychogeography as the 'study the specific effects of the geographical environment, consciously organized or not, on the emotions and behaviour of individuals' – cited in Richardson (2015). This latter definition appears concise by using the word 'specific', yet is also open in terms of being able to consider space and place. The word 'individuals' also opens the chance to reflect on one individual or perhaps many.

Part of the SI psychogeographic practice was to take a *dérive* – or 'drift' in English – in order to find the form or shape of these spaces. These drifts included playful elements, such as dice games or alternative maps, to help decide how and where to take a *dérive* – and which is developed in the methodological chapters. To be clear a *dérive* is about movement and often in the form of a walk. Lefebvre commented that these methods often sought a 'unitary urbanism'; albeit that such unity disappeared during the 1960s and mass urbanisation (Ross, 2002). We understand that the lessening of the *dérive* was called the *détournement* – see more in *Psychogeography* (Coverley, 2018, pp. 119-132). SI dissolved in the early 1970s without a scientific psychogeographic method; and much of the momentum was lost.

Moreover, the accompanying political mission against the urbanisation of France was also unsuccessful. In the 1960s and 1970s motorways were being built, suburbs were advancing and the architecture of inner-city urban space was becoming more routine and with a tendency towards 'banalisation' – to use the SI's own words (Coverley, 2018, p. 147). Much of the resulting environment was described by French writer Marc Augé as 'non-places' – which he explains (1995, p. 78):

> If a place can be defined as relational, historical and concerned with identity, then a space which cannot be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity will be a non-place.

He goes on to hypothesize that 'supermodernity' produces non-places and spaces which are not anthropological places and which do not integrate the earlier places. To some degree this suburban aesthetic is depicted well in British author J. G. Ballard's 1974 *Crash*. Referring to the latter work allows us to hop across the channel from France – perhaps taking our vehicle on a hovercraft – to understand how psychogeography reappeared with a British twist.

Psychogeography across the English Channel: four examples

A re-emergence of psychogeography occurred in the British from the 1990s. Coverley (2018, pp. 142-162) argues this new direction had been slowly emerging for a couple of decades; and from works of literature more than politics. He provides examples paving the way towards this renaissance, comprising: works by J. G. Ballard in the 1970s – including *Crash*; Iain Sinclair's *Ludheat* (1975); and Peter Ackroyd's *Hawksmoor* (1985). According to Tina Richardson (2015, p. 3) one should think of 'psychogeographies' rather than one form of psychogeography. To this end she writes about a 'bricolage' of approaches in a similar way

to how critical gerontology was described by Bernard and Scharf (2007). Although recent British psychogeography includes multiple disciplines (Richardson, 2015; Coverley, 2008) we will consider the shape and form of four different works, namely: (1) *Rings of Saturn* by W G Sebald (1999); (2) *Real Cardiff* (2002) by Peter Finch; (3) *Edge of the Orison* (2005) by Iain Sinclair; and (4) *Under the Rock* (2018) by Benjamin Myers.

In the first case W G Sebald compiles *Rings of Saturn* by taking a linear walking route through Suffolk, eastern England. Sebald finds a place and landscape that it is largely unpopulated. There is an honest observation that the mind wanders – or drifts – during long and solitary journeys taken on foot. For example, near Southwold he finds himself as if 'in a deserted theatre' (1999, p. 76). His thoughts alight upon accounts of a Dutch fleet of ships coming to the shore. To be clear, many accounts which he links to space are related more to books he has read rather than empirical experience. For example, he makes a diversion to China based on the remains of a narrow gauge railway found in Southwold. However, Sebald successfully uses space to bring multiple times into the present moment. This book is also a useful audit of the *dérive,* with spaces and records of conversations with people encountered en route.

The second work, *Real Cardiff* (2002)*,* is a rewarding engagement with urban life by Welsh poet Peter Finch. Finch's study of his hometown relies on memories from the 1950s onwards and biographical accounts. The concept is an explicit revival of psychogeography in terms of space leading the narrative; as a result the accounts move back and forward in time to satisfy the location. Although Finch benefits from being a Cardiff 'insider' (Mullings, 1999), there is a notion that time passing puts pressure to represent the place (Finch, 2002, p. 6):

> Cities are the most post-modern devices in the way they mix, re-write and over-write their histories. The present is only as real as the past which gets dubbed onto it. Could the city of this book still be Cardiff?

Rather than the extended journey described in Sebald's *Rings of Saturn*, Finch's work could be seen as elements of life (and not just his) spent in a specific place. However, Finch develops a very readable format that can be easily replicated. Indeed this book spawned other Cardiff sequels and a 'Real' franchise extended to other places and taken up by other authors.

The third example, *Edge of the Orison,* is one of the many and various psychogeographical adventures of Iain Sinclair. Rebecca Solnit's advice to lose oneself, but not get lost (2017), is evident as he follows John Clare's 1841 route from London through the Essex countryside to Northamptonshire. The work has a fairly rigorous methodology. For example, Sinclair

provides a good description of the route. In an ethical sense he references John Clare's contemporary descriptions of everyday life; and therefore compares the nineteenth century and the present day. There is also a case that John Clare spoke for an under-represented group. Indeed Raymond Williams (1974) cites Clare's 'peasant poetry' as a rare example of Victorian country life from the working person's standpoint. Social science can learn from Sinclair's use of space to unify accounts of everyday life between two different times.

The fourth example is Benjamin Myers *Under the Rock* (2018); an autobiographical study of the author moving to Mytholmroyd in the Upper Calder Valley, England. The book includes extracts of poetry and photographs to support a (generally) chronological narrative of Myers' making a deep map of his new home. What differentiates this work from the others is his decision to develop his walks as a sphere of connection around Mytholmroyd, rather than walking a line. Similar to Finch's realisation that the city is a kind of post-modern palimpsest, Myers realises that walking 'the Rock' has become a physical form of writing (p. 276):

> I have written a signature across the land. I have made my mark. *I have made a path.*

As the author desired, the second line is purposefully left in italics. In many ways this aptly summarises Myers' method: laying a path which explains how connections to certain spaces and the wider place 'thicken' – see Casey (2001). Given that he is an 'outsider' (Mullings, 1999) Myers is notably generous in the way that he brings other people into the story.

Taking these approaches towards a practical application

The four approaches described previously have been selected because they have different qualities which contribute to the methodology. However, they cover very different spatial levels and different types of space, for example: the small town and a valley landscape in *Under the Rock*; the city in *Real Cardiff*; a sparsely-populated countryside in *Rings of Saturn*; and the space between London and the country in *Edge of the Orison*. The common factor is to explore space and place on foot.

American writer Rebecca Solnit helps us to explore some nuance in *Wanderlust: A History of Walking* (2004). Solnit's writing is a well-researched and detailed overview of the philosophy of walking which supplements Tina Richardson's *Walking inside Out* and Merlin Coverley's *Psychogeography*. Solnit also sees a difference between the countryside and the urban, arguing (p. 111) that the former is more akin to finding solitude whereas walking the streets in urban space is about the chance of the encounter.

Rebecca Solnit underlines the embodiment – or the physicality of 'being there' – which comes from walking and connects to the earlier psychoanalytic geographies (Kingsbury & Pile, 2014). An important part of Solnit's argument is to explain how people lost the regularity of covering every inch of the ground by foot. She writes that the coming of train travel in the nineteenth century led people to lose sense of space and time (p 257, 2014). Solnit argues that 'the spatial and sensual engagement between here and there began to evaporate.' The critical period of finally losing touch happened during the 1950s and 1960s – as articulated in the interview with Henri Lefebvre (Ross, 2002). Much of Solnit's thinking supports the idea that we can reflect and relocate our emotional experiences if we slow down and walk.

Solnit introduces the well-established format of the walking pilgrimage on a fixed route to put the individual into a 'liminal' state; that is to say between the past, present and future (p 51, 2014). This latter form of work is of interest to this thesis as much of the literature seems to suggest that we can explore the past through the present if we stop to concentrate on space (Massey, 1999; Ray, 2007; Peace & al, 2012). This does not mean that we need to dispense with some of the more playful methods developed by SI, nor the art of losing our sense of self that Solnit herself explores in her later work *A Field Guide to Getting Lost* (2017). We remember how Tina Richardson (2015) writes that psychogeography is a bricolage of different approaches. Related to ideas of pilgrimage, Merlin Coverley explains that psychogeography in its current phase 'closely resembles a form of local history as it does a geographical exploration' (2018, p. 17). For example, a guided walk could be a way of sharing space that has already been walked and 'thickened', after Casey, with social meaning – after de Certeau.

Our final segment of literature is to consider some of the other factors which have a push and pull on place identity. Earlier sources have explained that places change in form, for example: the post-war redevelopment of Birmingham and Coventry in the 1950s (Adams & Larkham, 2015); the 1960s 'brutal urbanisation' around Paris (Ross, 2002); the 'non-place' concept (Augé, 1995); and the twenty first century gentrification of estates in London (Watt, 2013) and Berlin (Dale, Heusinger, & Wolter, 2019). Increasingly these changes are accompanied with marketing exercises which outwardly 'brand' these places. The following literature gives a little context.

How branding and other factors change social construction of place

The academic discipline of place branding is relatively underdeveloped according to Aitken and Campelo (2011, p913). However, researchers are in general agreement that place branding relates to competition between places – see Massey (1999). Others write that branding is a 'managerial effort to align the expectations people have of a place with the actual place reality' (Kavaratzis, Warnaby, & Ashworth, 2015, p. 4). The division of labour to manage place brands has always been complex and is described (Anholt, 2010, p. 3) as follows:

> The state or region is generally responsible for the overall place image, leaving the marketing of specific services to the end-user to private operators.
> If the private operators are the dots, the job of government is to join them up in the end-user's mind.

This latter model is perhaps evident from Victorian-era tourism brochures made by the town hall and complemented by railway company posters. The actors involved in a branding exercise are not always obviously commercial however: Raymond Williams' 1973 study of *The County and the City* shows how popular author Jane Austen's writing came to shape the perception of life in parts of nineteenth century Hampshire and Berkshire which feature in her books.

As tourism has become more global there is a notion that brand communication lacks reference to specific local culture and norms (Anholt, 1999). Are places therefore designed in the image of the potential investor or visitor rather than those who live there? For example, Efe Sevin (2011, p. 156) is interested in the role of social networks in place branding and argues that a place is defined by its history, culture, religion and previous power struggles. The latter author questions the authority of brand managers and asks whether residents have the right to voice their concerns.

Leading on from Sevin's thought, the brand is seen by some as a process of communicating a 'holistic' social construction of places (Hankinson, 2015, p. 13). For others the brand includes behavioural factors, culture and values as well as the visual (Zenker & Braun, 2015). Unifiers make a case for 'co-creation' – Aitken & Campelo (2011, p. 915). Despite this contested field, the internet and social media potentially brings the individual back into the equation according to research by (Hanna & Rowley, 2015), albeit a participatory model which fully acknowledges the role of all stakeholders is still lacking (p. 110).

This diversion into place branding introduces the factor of outward portrayal which is slowly gaining significance in the way that people sense place in the twenty first century. Moreover, it has been important to show the degree to which reflection exists in every academic discipline. However, these ideas had to start somewhere and it is useful to look back to Guy Debord, latterly explored in terms of Situationist International and psychogeography, to see what was written about the use images in the late 1950s, and through the 1960s.

We know that Debord protested against the deterioration of 'unifying urbanism' in the city – as explored in the 1984 interview with Henri Lefebvre. In 1967 *The Society of the Spectacle* made a wider commentary, of 221 statements or thesis, whose general purpose is to reveal how society tends towards an accumulation of spectacles where 'all that once was directly lived has become mere representation' (Debord, 1995, p. 12). For example:

> 4. The SPECTACLE IS NOT a collection of images: rather it is a social relationship between people that it mediated by images.

Debord tells us that our own social relationships are being brought into a centralised system of images. The following idea captures how Debord saw the wider effect:

> 28. The REIGNING ECONOMIC system is founded on isolation; at the same time it is a circular process designed to produce isolation. Isolation underpins technology, and technology isolates in its turn; all *goods* proposed by the spectacular system, from cars to televisions, also serve as weapons for that system as it strives to reinforce the isolation of "the lonely crowd." The spectacle is continually rediscovering its own basic assumptions – and each in a more concrete manner.

Many of these ideas are quite prophetic in terms of forecasting the internet and the isolation that many people feel in the modern economy. The idea of the 'lonely crowd' is particular intriguing; that we can be alone even if we are with other people. In many ways there is a link to the idea of the 'brand' which collects images of the social to make one idea that is universally portrayed (Kavaratzis, Warnaby, & Ashworth, 2015).

As we close this literature review, it is important to mention that it is not just humans which shape space and place. For example *Actor Network Theory* (Latour, 2005) articulates how objects, natural phenomena and non-human animals are also part of the equation. Other writers discuss 'the force of things;' how social phenomena occur without – or independently – of direct human involvement (Bennett, 2004). Another paper (Lorimer, 2006) describes how people used clues left by animals to understand how reindeer had previously lived in Scotland. Such evidence led to the successful re-introduction to the habitat of the animal.

As the Caerleon case study develops we reference natural features of the place, such as lapwings, trees, ferns, hills and the river: all of which help us to sense why humans have responded to this location. In terms of the past human habitation, Caerleon has been very well-documented through different periods of time. For example, much of Caerleon is built on the remains of the former Roman fortress. As such much of the present-day place is attached to a brand related to this past.

Not only is the brand a tourism product based around archaeological remains, the local authority established, in 1970, the Caerleon Conversation Area which has strict control of changes to all property within the boundary of former Roman settlement, including the appearance of listed buildings and controlling whether any new development can take place. Tensions between this conservation approach and business needs were revealed in 2019 following the desire for a private land owner to convert a listed building from a betting shop into a gin bar.

As we develop a method we find a way that cuts through the spectacle of place branding images. As such we find a way to understand the seemingly mundane housing estates of the 1960s and 1970s where everyday life takes place. These latter spaces are the sites which help us to understand how the 'baby boomers' grew from teenagers into adults, and the values and attitudes which they now bring as older members of British society.

Figure 1 - Scale model of Pillmwawr Cottage

Developing a method

This chapter sets out a methodological approach exploring how a place and its population changes over a given period of time. As such it combines elements of: (1) the individual connection; and (2) the wider social relationship with space. The existing literature has helped to consider how geography is significant to the individual's biography; and we have explored differences between emotional and affective dimensions of space (Kingsbury & Pile, 2014; Duff, 2010). Although the case to explore early stages of the life-course amongst older people had been made (Peace & al, 2012; Barron, 2019), there are few examples of methodological explorations. We consider this in terms of the individual, where there is both academic research – such as Rowles (1978) – and thought-provoking personal writing – such as Perec (1974) and Pierson (2007) – which explores the room and the home. At the wider level of the neighbourhood and city there are place attachment studies from psychological angles (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001; Stedman, 2002) and qualitative ethnographic studies taking on wider issues such as urban gentrification and displacement (Dale, Heusinger, & Wolter, 2019; Watt, 2013).

Bridging from the individual to wider society is one of the key differences between psychology and sociology or anthropology. Tim Ingold (2018) writes from the angle of social anthropology that it is hard to definitively pin down society; the ways that people bond, link and share common practice keep on changing. Moreover, the idea of a given 'community' representing individuals at a geographical level is seen to be a question of who is included – and who is not – for those researching *Age Friendly Communities and Cities* (Thomese, Buffel, & Phillipson, 2019). However, we know that elements of demography can be measurable. For example, the census statistics in the UK show an appreciable upwards movement of the median age at a spatial level. Why do some places contain ageing populations and others seem not to do so?

In this case study we focus on a settlement of nearly 8,000 people, where 20% of residents are aged 65 and above (Newport City Council, 2019). The total number of people in the latter age category has increased by a third in fifteen years. The method articulated in this thesis uses walking interviews and stationary walks of the mind to touch on emotional attachments to space. The wider picture is slowly revealed by phasing the interviews in two blocks. At the end of each phase we shape the underlying narrative into a public event which comprises a group walk and site-specific performances. The events helped participants – including people who were there in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s – to challenge, and therefore enhance, the narrative. The relationship between location, the prepared material

and the encounter with the public is documented – similarly to the term 'grounded encounter' from *Theatre/Archaeology 1993-2013* (Pearson & Shanks, 2013).

Before going into the detail it is important to stress that this method could apply to building a place-based narrative which addresses many factors aside from ageing. To that end the openness of this method helps us to see how ageing in this location is not just about a sustained high birth rate in between the end of World War II and the 1960s. There were some significant industrial changes, technical innovations and housing policies which also come through from the accounts shared. This method is therefore a study of dynamic movement over time which relies on assemblage of both the individual and society. To be clear, this research is about living memory rather than the more distant past.

Methodological considerations

Three factors were important to the chosen methods and the ontological position

Firstly, the literature review showed that the everyday spaces – such as houses, streets and neighbourhood in the UK – context changed in the latter part of the twentieth century. To better understand the 'baby boomer' cohort we may need to comprehend spatial features which may no longer exist in physical form.

Secondly, psychogeography provides useful elements which complement existing theories of place attachment. For example, walking and 'performativity' open the body to affect (Thrift, 2008) and the dérive allows people to lose their sense of self 'with a purpose' (Solnit, 2017).

Thirdly, my personal circumstances changed during the project. My father was diagnosed with cancer in the early autumn of 2016. I suspended what would have been my second year – October 2017 to September 2018 – and he died in June 2018. My father's death changed the reflexive element of this study quite profoundly.

(1) The field of study: how everyday space changes

Methodology needs to recognise how spatial arrangements of emotional and psychological attachments change at different points of the life-course (Bernard & Scharf, 2007; Wellin, 2018). However, the history of housing Britain in the five decades after WWII suggests that teenagers in the 1960s grew up in very different spaces to their children in the 1980s.

Many of the 'baby boomers' were teenagers in a time when urban Britain changed: 1.1 million dwellings were cleared in England and Wales between 1954 and 1974 (Yelling, 2000). Qualitative accounts show long-standing affective connections to some long-demolished inner-city neighbourhoods (Adams & Larkham, 2015; Jones & Evans, 2012). Consequently, we need methods which allow us to sense that 'non-representational' quality of space (Anderson & Harrison, 2010; Thrift, 2008).

This same post-war period included an enormous change in the ownership of housing. In 1951 half of the British population lived in a privately rented house. By 1991 those who paid a private landlord represented just under one tenth of all cases and nearly two thirds owned their own homes (Lund, 2017, p. 46). Our method needs to be aware of the emotional implications of owning a house rather than renting privately or through the local authority.

Much of the change from leasehold to freehold was due to an intensive phase of building, particularly that which occurred between 1965 and 1969, when nearly two million new dwellings were constructed (Yelling, 2000). The majority of these homes were new towns, extensions to smaller towns, and suburban living around existing cities (Government Office for Science, 2014). We are therefore aware that everyday mobility may have changed during the life-course of an individual and that they may have left the place where life started.

(2) Approaches that go beyond place attachment

The *Age Friendly Cities and Communities* study (Buffel, Handler, & Phillipson, 2019) gives an introduction to the field of gerontologically-focused neighbourhood research. However, the potential of the life-course model (Katz, Peace, & Spurr, 2012) is given practical attention in the *Mobility, Mood and Place* (MMP) programme led by the University of Edinburgh between 2013 and 2018. Within this latter programme of work there was an ambitious proposal to link the extent of available green space with health outcomes contained within the Lothian Birth Cohort dataset (Pearce, Shortt, Rind, & Mitchell, 2016). We will discuss this work in more detail during Stage 5 of the empirical chapters.

Wearable electroencephalography (EEG) technologies

Alongside Pearce et al (2016) much of the *MMP* research tests the difference that green and busy urban space makes to mental health in older people (Cherrie, et al., 2017). One specific project used wearable electroencephalography (EEG) sensors to analyse brain activity. The EEG experiments involved participants walking a given route from Edinburgh University, down to the northern edge of the Meadows and then along a relatively busy shopping streets (Aspinall, Mavros, Coyne, & Roe, 2013). The findings suggest that (p. 275):

> ...the transition zone 1 to zone 2 (urban shopping to green space) is in line with restorative theory, with reductions in arousal, frustration, and engagement (i.e., directed attention), and an increase in meditation

The broad statement above states that being in green space reduces arousal, frustration and engagement. Whilst this may help to draw some conclusions about the qualities of green space it does not help us to understand the potential qualities of urban space. Moreover, all the buildings and streets in this location were built in the nineteenth century: they are the type of spaces that the Situationist International wanted to protect from creeping urbanisation and destruction in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

There is more qualified criticism of the EEG methods from geographer Justin Spinney, who writes an interesting paper (2016) about mobile methods, (post)phenomenology and affect. He is positive that the Edinburgh research allows 'bodies to speak for themselves' (Spinney, 2016, p. 239) and has tapped into the affective pre-conscious – refer back to the three layers of consciousness (Pile, 2010, p. 10). However, Spinney goes on to criticise what may have caused the stimuli: such as whether participants were related to personal factors which had nothing to do with the various urban spaces through which they walked (p. 240). Since Spinney's paper the Edinburgh research team (Neale, et al., 2020) have developed their EEG research with an enlarged group of 95 participants: all aged 65 and above. Importantly they chose to factor in 'quiet urban' alongside the previous two categories of 'urban green' and 'urban busy' spaces. Broadly speaking they find that there are few differences between 'quiet urban' and 'urban green'. Without criticising this approach further, it is worth establishing that the EEG research does not aim to understand how affective connections are made. Instead the research is aimed specifically at the 'here and now' for people who have already reached the age of 65. For example (p. 103):

> In an increasingly urban and ageing population, it is important to have cities that encourage and support people in maintaining pleasurable walking into very old age.

This 'real-world' research offers the opportunity to better understand how different urban contexts are experienced and responded to in ways that may be supportive of well-being or potentially hazardous.

The use of the words 'pleasurable' and 'hazardous' confirms that this research is connected to a health and wellbeing agenda. Indeed, the latter authors add that future EEG research could help to understand how '...some environments engage attention without being over-demanding, while others can quickly become exhausting'. It is slightly frustrating that a well-resourced research exercise is not able to help us explore the role of practice in everyday space (Duff, 2010, p. 891) or how spaces take on meaning and become places (Jones & Evans, 2012, p. 2315). However, the realisation that this latter quantitative research does not measure an affective connection to specific spaces is helpful to our project; we are free to collect many subjective explorations of individual spaces and build a wider narrative of a place (Caerleon) over time. We can therefore be confident that the qualitative methodology behind *Pursuing the Post-war Dream* does not ignore existing research. The pilot walking interview (Method 2) gives us a chance to explore the biography of one particular space.

Having discussed the quantitative and more psychologically-focused EEG elements of the MMP project in some detail, it is worth referencing the complementary ethnographic work. Effort has been made to meet future health and well-being policy and practice with an *A-Z of Co-Design* and a 13-part architectural design guide for intergenerational work. Another piece of *MMP* research uses the walking interview – a methodological foundation within *Pursuing the Post-war Dream* – but seems to focus on whether a place is 'walkable' (Brookfield & Tilley, 2016) rather than taking the opportunity to explore unconscious connections to space and the 'psychoanalytic geographies' (Kingsbury & Pile, 2014). Altogether, the bulk of *MMP* is designed to meet the health and well-being demands of an ageing population. However, much of the work suffers from overly positivist positions and seldom takes the chance to stand back and give older research participants a chance to set the agenda. Moreover, the work is potentially more focused on the needs of the generation who were already elderly when the work started in 2013: those who came before the 'baby boomers.' The architecture of the MMP research programme seems therefore to be built accordingly.

Stepping away from MMP, there seems to be a problem of older people lacking agency in academic research (Buffel, Handler, & Phillipson, 2019; Attuyer, Gilroy, & Croucher, 2020). This lacuna could potentially be answered by an ontology which gives people the chance to reveal and discuss topics that the researcher may initially know nothing about – such as specific to values and attitude – by virtue of age difference. We seek a multi-disciplinary approach which fuses social science and the arts, following Rebecca Solnit argument for us

to lose our sense of self and to allow '...artists to open the doors and invite in prophesies, the unknown, the unfamiliar' (2017, p. 5). For example there some literary examples of writing resulting from long walks which we have already explored (Finch, 2002; Myers, 2018; Sebald, 1998; Sinclair, 2005) and the wider concept of psychogeography (Coverley, 2018; Richardson, 2015). In terms of specific methods, walking is central: Karen O'Rourke (2016) writes that people open themselves to what is explicitly emotional and potentially below the cognitive level when they take a walk. In a different approach to the EEG experiments (Aspinall, Mavros, Coyne, & Roe, 2013; Neale, et al., 2020) we let the participant choose the everyday route that they want to walk. The walk outside method is detailed in Method Two.

We still need to find a way of walking for those unable to visit specific geographies due to age, illness, distance or a pandemic. Although not being embodied may limit the scope of our work, the accounts that people share whilst sat down may still support the demand of critical gerontology for narrative as agents of social change (Ray, 2007). To that end a well-respected guide to *Autobiography Groups for Older Adults* (Birren & Deutchman, 1991, pp. 67-79) includes themes which the authors found to be successful in stimulating narrative. The eleven propositions include family, money, body image and aspiration. Though time is referenced consistently, none of the themes centre on space and place. In order to stimulate and connect with geography outside the researcher's knowledge there is potential to start the conversation with literature that is rooted in place and place-centred biographies. For example, it is possible to see the well-known literary work of Jane Austen, Charles Dickens or Thomas Hardy as geographically-focused. Indeed cultural theorist Raymond Williams argues in *The Country and the City* (1973) that these authors provide critical sociological accounts of a time before the modern age of social science.

The role of literature to stimulate accounts of space is part of the group event method, outlined in Method 3, and explored in detail in Stage 2, 3 and 4 of the empirical work. Another opening which Williams makes in the latter 1973 work is to stress the biography of the writer (or researcher) in the work of building a place narrative. Tina Richardson makes a similar point from perspective of the social sciences (2017), which we discuss in more detail in Method 2. The role of the researcher/author in the process of inquiry demands that we now move consider 'reflexivity' as a topic.

(3) Giving attention to reflexivity

I would lead the research project and so the choice of location – or site – would be important. Between October 2017 and September 2018 I had taken a suspension away from

my PhD research; spending increasing amounts of time with my Dad during his cancer. Slowly his condition worsened until the end of his life was in sight. My father had wanted to die at home. One day my Dad fell over in the bathroom and was never able to stand again unaided. New memories and emotions were being overlaid on the same spaces that my brother and I had associated with us being helpless children. My father died in the middle of June 2018; and thankfully in a hospice. I had the job of clearing away four decades of family life, including many of the schoolbooks, drawings, toys, videos, music and other objects. I was reacquainted with elements of my own biography as I went from room to garage to garden. Similar to Perec, not all of these memories were positive.

The potential to base my research in the place where I grew up became apparent after a suggestion from one of my Dad's friends. The latter, a social worker and local councillor, offered to connect me to Village Services, which provides home care and social support to older residents in Caerleon. Statistics (Newport City Council, 2017) show Caerleon has a population of approximately 7,800, including both the highest percentage of over 65 year olds of all the wards in Newport and the second lowest percentage under 16 year olds and 16 to 64 year olds. Statistically speaking Caerleon has an ageing population – Fig. 2.

	2001	2011	2015	% Diff	
Newport	137,014	145,736	147,769	7.85	⬆
Caerleon: All Age Groups	8,708	8,061	7,766	-10.82	⬇
Caerleon: Age 0-15	1,623	1,346	1,186	-26.93	⬇
Caerleon: Age 16-64	5,647	5,047	4,680	-17.12	⬇
Caerleon: Age 65 and over	1,438	1,668	1,900	32.13	⬆

Figure 2 – Proportion of over 65s in Caerleon
Source Newport City Council (2017)

There was a positive exploratory meeting with Village Services in November 2018. For both parties it seemed that my phase of having grown up in Caerleon, and now losing attachment to an important personal space, would help me to empathise with older residents in the same location. This biographical position, coupled with the following research design, formed the core of an ethical application that was made to Swansea University's College of Health and Human Science. Consent was granted in January 2019.

So far we have briefly explained why Caerleon is suitable for the study of ageing and how a relationship with a local intermediary could allow access to interviewees. However, it is important to explore reflexivity, defined (Creswell, 2014, p. 186) as the way in which

> …the inquirer reflects about their role in the study and their personal background, culture, and experiences hold potential for shaping their interpretations, such as themes they advance and the meaning they ascribe to the data. This aspect of the methods is more than merely advancing biases and values in the study, but how the background of the researchers actually may shape the direction of the study.

This latter definition from Creswell is comprehensive; indeed it is a warning to anybody undertaking social research. By investigating the place where I grew up, I would always be getting close to 'advancing biases and values' which were important to me. For example, the work could have explicitly explored the grief involved in clearing the family home or been a tribute to my recently-dead father as a local character.

I decided to be up front about my position: I would explain to interviewees that I was from Caerleon, that my father had died in June 2018 and that I was in the process of confronting my own emotional connection to the place. Furthermore, I decided that I would take some of the recently-uncovered artefacts from my Caerleon childhood and adolescence in the 1980s and 1990s along with me to the interviews. For example, I would take diaries, poetry and drawings. In other words I would be making myself vulnerable. Kim England (1994) would translate this vulnerability to the frequently-used feminist position of being 'supplicant,' where relationships are based on empathy and mutual respect and support reciprocal relationships – see also 'nonthreatening demeanor' in Lofland, Snow, Anderson and Lofland (2006, pp. 68-69) or Parry (1998). In my case I could be sure that some of the spaces in Caerleon would reveal experiences from my own childhood and teenager years.

Exploring biography and reflexivity in literature

Beyond social science, literature holds a broad cadre of writers who use their biography to chronicle times in specific places. For example Raymond Williams (1973) critiqued many such writers and felt that Thomas Hardy (1840-1928) was (p. 289) 'closely yet uncertainly connected' to Dorset as his subject, where he was '...an educated observer and passionate participant' (p. 294). I felt close to the former statement. My attachment to Caerleon did not develop much after adolescence. I went to university aged 18. I then had some short stays at home in the early years of the new millennium. With the perspective of time I could ask myself, deep down, how strong a bond did I really have with this place? Consequently, I would be happy to consider myself partly an outsider, but also a slightly bruised insider.

Figure 3 – Pillmawr Cottage, sale agreed in April 2019

Apart from being an insider or not, feminist researchers such as England and Rose consider terms such as 'privilege' and 'positionality'. Broadly speaking positionality refers to whether the inquirer researches 'down' to those less powerful or researches 'up' to the elites. In the case of Caerleon as site for *Pursuing the Post-war Dream* I would choose to let the interviewee lead the direction and length of the walk – as detailed in Methods One and Two – and therefore try not to research up or down. The debate about the relative position of the interviewer to the interviewee – which was the main concern about research with older people (Attuyer, Gilroy, & Croucher, 2020; Buffel, Handler, & Phillipson, 2019) – can be countered by what Benson and Nagar (2006, p. 584) define as collaboration: where research

is arrived at through constructive argument as well as agreements between parties. They explain that authority is shared and that neither narrator nor interpreter is necessarily in a privileged position. They write of the need to embrace (p. 585):

> … the challenges of finding acceptable research methods for chosen audiences, a clear conceptualization of accountability, and a conscious destabilizing of or dominant assumptions about who can produce knowledge.

According to Benson and Nagar the academic world of universities is not designed to be collaborative: they explain how the opinion of peer reviewers on subjects such as homelessness seems more valuable than that of the homeless themselves (p. 586). Conversely, they write that the epistemological breakthroughs – essentially when collaboration in research starts to become evident – are often of little interest to those being researched (p. 588). Taken together they find that (p. 590):

> The territory of (re)imagining collaboration is infinitely vast and full of creative possibilities, and cannot be contained within subheadings.

The two events which helped to shape the overall narrative – Method Three – were organised through two local organisations: the first in July 2019 through Caerleon Arts Festival and the second in November 2019 with Village Services. For the latter event we brought an audience of supposedly 'powerful' academics and others to the community. Moreover, a film was produced for this event which helped to demonstrate the work done by Village Services. The walk which we took through Caerleon was led by a member of a local community organisation.

To finish on reflexivity it is worth stating that some who share doubts whether to be reflexive is even a question of methodology (Lynch, 2000, p. 34):

> Reflexivity is often claimed as a theoretical or methodological virtue that distinguishes a contemporary intellectual movement from its outmoded predecessors.

There is certainly an argument that time allows us to learn and therefore develop better practice. However, in the same paper Lynch is quite mocking of the 'pain' that researchers – such as the radical feminists – may encounter in trying to be reflexive. Moreover, he considers that there is no guarantee of insight or revelation in reflecting on the moral consequences of one's action. Altogether Lynch considers that knowledge production is more of a product than a process. However, many would argue that research is a question of practice (England, 1994, p. 244; Benson & Nagar, 2006, p. 585), especially when it is carried out within a 'landscape of power' (Rose G. , 1997, p. 312).

In conclusion we should not cripple ourselves by being overly critical of practice. Some advocate including honest 'methods stories' in the write up of research (Lofland, Snow, Anderson, & Lofland, 2006, p. 233). The latter authors describe these as containing '…the dilemmas, deliberations, and actions that guided the data-collection process.' There are some refreshing accounts about 'failures' experienced by some researchers, such as how England (1994) explains how she had set unrealistic timescales, and made a slightly patronising choice of research assist; and Rose (1997) who regrets showing her privilege by making a joke about the social class of people that she was interviewing. The empirical chapters, particularly Part Three, are presented with a degree of commentary and methods stories, such that different approaches are criticised.

Three methodological elements

The research benefited from pilot interviews. The walk of the mind pilot, in January 2019, found an individual who had both affective connections to the childhood home and strong emotions about the place where they had grown up in the 1960s. The pilot outdoor interview, in May 2019, revealed emotional connections which seemed to belong to deeper family stories. There were also affective connections to a childhood space. These interviews captured the 1960s-1970s in a different place to the main research site and therefore helped find meaning from the Caerleon interviews. In all cases the participants were from the same age group as the interviewees from Caerleon.

Method 1: Walks of the mind – conducted inside

This method involved individuals who were unable to go outside. For example, some participants were perhaps physically unable to take such a walk due to age or physical impairment; the same applies to Covid-19 lockdowns. Some were also geographically remote from the places concerned within their memories. Two individuals were housebound and valued the interview as contact with the outside world – see more research about the importance of a view outside for those with limited mobility (Musselwhite, 2018).

This technique involved shaping the conversation around space – with examples such as a childhood walk, family life at home or journeys to and from work. As such, this format required some initial prompting from me as the interviewer to start the conversation; once underway occasional effort was needed to move the topic back to geography. In relation to the earlier reflexive position of being 'supplicant' (England, 1994) I took along photos, books and maps of Caerleon which were important to my own biography. In one case an interviewee offered original writing that her late husband (born in 1919) had compiled during the 1930s and the late 1950s.

Participants were interviewed and auto-recorded for approximately an hour: mostly in their own houses, whilst others met in cafes or public outdoor spaces. A trial was also conducted on the web-based platform Zoom and could be developed for the future. Attention was paid to the way in which people told their biography, following some of the distinctions between concepts such as biographical interpretive method, oral history, narrative analysis and how memory is a source of 'pastness' (Bornat, 2008). The words used by the interviewee are

analysed to consider whether connections to space fall into more of an emotional or affective dimension – see more detail specific to older people in Barron (2019).

Participants were offered written vignettes resulting from the accounts shared during interviews – see example in Appendix B. Seven such vignette accounts contribute to this research project. The case of reviewing the written account of stories shared by a person who had dementia helped to clarify and enhance memories; this case is explored in Part Three of the empirical chapters.

Pilot Interview: description and initial analysis

The interviewee was female, living in the West Country and 60 years old. She had read the project documentation ahead of the interview and had brought some photographs along. We met in a cafe at 10am. The conversation lasted one hour and the audio was recorded.

The interview flowed after I asked her to explain space and place related to her biography.

> I was brought up in a pit village in South Yorkshire... which was predominantly two large housing estates; one of which was owned by the coal board and the other was a council estate. But, it didn't really matter because everybody that lived there was the same.

The observation that everybody was the same conforms to Goodhart's proposal that most people in British society had been 'somewheres' (meaning that identities were generally tied to a fixed location) up until the end of the 1960s (2017, p. 6). Of note, her father worked for the National Coal Board and the place where she was brought up is always referred to as the 'pit village.' There were intense descriptions of the house, including different rooms and how the coal dust got everywhere.

> We were never in the house. We were either playing outside on a patch of ground, well it was in front; our house was part of a crescent you see. There was a patch of ground in the middle. And we used to play before cars were around really.

The portrayal of space outside the property conveys some of the differences between newer post-war homes and the terraced properties that they had replaced. There is a sense that primary school age was a happy time for her. However, life changed when she passed her eleven plus exam and was offered a place at grammar school some distance away. Very few children in the 'pit village' went to grammar school:

> The distance from the school – which was where my new friends were – was a big issue in my teenage years. Growing up, you know. So I don't have great fond memories of the location of where I lived at that time.

The wider description of the 'issues' involved in the everyday journey to the bus stop includes references to other children making fun of her: 'I had to wear a uniform which was maroon and yellow. And I stuck out like a sore thumb.' The statement that she did not have 'fond memories' suggests that trauma was (and still is) attached to the space between the home and the bus stop.

Figure 4 – Photograph of the Lake District

As a teenager she developed a strong bond with the Lake District in Cumbria – see Figure 4. A significant story is connected with that first trip away to the Lakes as a teenager. The openness of the vistas conveys a general widening of horizons in her life; in a social sense and perhaps related to aspiration – see more in Gilleard and Higgs (2020, pp. 13-15). Many of her 'strongest lifelong friendships' remain connected with the Lake District and holiday jobs with the Youth Hostel Association. She described this wider landscape as her 'happy place' and located exactly where she would want her ashes to be spread.

She moved away to University in Bristol aged 18 and has stayed in this area for over forty years. At the time of the interview she and her husband had been considering where to live as they both approached retirement. Initially they had strongly favoured a move to be close to the Lake District. However, affordable properties would be hard to find and access to shops, leisure and health services would be limited. Moreover, they realised that they had developed strong connections in the West Country which met their everyday needs.

Towards the end of the interview we reflected back on south Yorkshire. Her parents lived in the 'pit village' until the end of her lives and had remained council tenants in the same house. There was an interesting detail about a door handle that had not been fixed in many decades. However, she retained a connection to her birth place through her brother.

> Whenever we go back to see my brother in south Yorkshire, my husband loves it; he becomes quite attached to it; whereas, as far as I'm concerned, the sooner we get away the better. So my attachment to that pit village in south Yorkshire is a negative. I don't want to have to go there, but I do because my brother is there; but I'm so glad to be on the M1!

These negative teenage experiences of spaces around the 'pit village' have been retained for over four decades. The note that her husband has become attached to the place means that the social relationships which had caused trauma in the 1970s no longer exist in the present. Because the specific phenomena are no longer visible to others this account of revisiting the 'pit village' suggests a case on 'non-representation' connected to geography.

Analysis: walk of the mind

There was a general tendency towards a chronological narrative which connected to stages of the life-course (Katz, Peace, & Spurr, 2012), albeit most of the story was centred on childhood and teenage years. There was some detail about life once she had moved to the West Country e.g. aged 20 to the present day, but they were mostly references back to the early years and comparisons with the area around the Lake District. My being twenty years younger, and not knowing the specific geographies to which she referred, meant that I did not have a stake in the place narrative (Richardson, 2017). Therefore, I could only take a phenomenological approach (Bornat, 2008, p. 346) to interpret how the interviewee accounted for their experience.

This interview was a chance to understand how deeply an individual connects their identity to certain spaces. The story featured many emotional descriptions of the Lake District, such as it being 'my happy place' and the desire to spread the ashes. Moreover, there is a rich and detailed description of the very first bus trip to the Lake District which suggest that this was a significant biographical 'life event' – see more in Bornat (2008, p. 346). However, the descriptions of teenage life in the 'pit village' are at the other end of the emotional scale.

Although the Lakes and Pit Village are the emotional poles in her life, she nevertheless has lived all of her everyday adult life somewhere else: in the West Country.

There are some interesting observations when we consider the affective level. To connect with the affective we seek language which is not specifically emotive (Tamboukou, 2003; Pile, 2010), such as the words 'happy' or 'delighted.' Instead we seek language which is perhaps more visceral. Kathleen Stewart outlines offers some definition of how the affective is captured in everyday life (2007, p. 3):

> At once abstract and concrete, ordinary affects are more directly compelling than ideologies, as well as more fractious, multiplicitious, and unpredictable than symbolic meanings.

We use Stewart's ideas and return to the pervasive nature of coal in the 'pit village' house. Initially the description seems to be abstract, but it does deepen when coal becomes the subject of the conversation. For example, the interviewee remembers the dusty process of moving coal from the outside bunker, through the house, and how the coal was lit by her mother every morning to feed the back boiler required for heating. The interviewee adds words such as 'smoke', 'soot' and 'grime' to the aesthetic of coal in the family house. There seems to be no intended symbolism in the way that she describes the coal. However, she does use the more emotive word 'dirty' to describe the aesthetic of coal in the house.

The relationship with coal is perhaps an example of the generational difference: in the 1960s coal was an everyday technology; indeed her father was a miner and was partly paid in coal deliveries. The idea of coal as a 'technology' helps to connect with how Justin Spinney develops his '(post)phenomenological' argument (2016, p. 234): he explains 'the role of technologies/non-humans in the assembling the social and cultural.' Spinney also links to Non-Representational Theory and suggests that some experience may 'escape thought'. Could the coal – coupled with the description of her place of birth being known only as the 'pit village' – be something which is below conscious thought? Stewart adds some other ways to identify ordinary affects (2007, p. 3):

> ... they don't lend themselves to a perfect, three-tiered parallelism between analytic subject, concept, and world.
> They are, instead, a problem or question emergent in disparate scenes and incommensurate forms and registers; a tangle of potential connections.

Returning to the interview, the more affective connection to coal can perhaps tell us a great deal about how life was different for a child born in the 1960s compared to parents born in

the late 1920s. We take on board the potential to foreground the often marginalised everyday and 'fleeting' relational experiences' (Spinney, 2016, p. 241). Consequently, Stage Five of the empirical chapters includes a site-specific performance which aims to portray a phenomenon which occurred in everyday life in Caerleon during the late 1950s and early 1960s, but has not re-occurred since. The performance is made without descriptive words and emotions and is designed to connect on an affective level with those who were there in that time and place.

As a final observation, this interview gave some interesting accounts about holiday destinations and provided a wider context of British life in the late 1960s and early 1970s:

> If you wanted, erm, a quiet type of holiday then you would go to the Yorkshire coast. You went to Scarborough or Bridlington or Filey. Filey had a big caravan park and that's where a lot of my friends used to go. If you were up a bit from that, in scale, you went to Skegness in Lincolnshire. But if you really knew what holidaying was about, then you went to Blackpool.

Similarly to the descriptions of coal and the home, there is a sense from the descriptions of time when the British seaside towns were places made 'thick' in terms of atmospheres and a weight of human activities (Casey, 2001).

Method 2: Going outside for a walk

The case for walking to engage with the deeper psyche is made by Nigel Thrift (2008). We also appreciate that going outside and moving on two feet was significant to the political work of Debord and Situationist International (SI) in the 1950s and 1960s. Furthermore, there was a scientific element to SI; using the walking drift or dérive as a method to explore 'precise laws and specific effects of the geographical environment' (Coverley, 2018). We learn from the latter that these scientific efforts did not bear fruit. However, more recent social science research has developed practice and contributed to a walking methodology.

The latest research on electroencephalography (EEG) technologies and walking in urban space (Neale, et al., 2020) suggests that quantitative research methods are some way off understanding how people make affective connections to space. In time there may be opportunities to connect quantitative EEG methods and ethnographic studies on the role of affect and practice in the production of space – such as developed by Duff (2010, p. 887), who uses walking methods of participation and observation similarly promoted by Pile (2010, p. 11). Such work is not without its own field of theory and practice (Richardson, 2015; O'Rourke, 2016). There is some useful guidance from Evans and Jones (2011) – party based on their continued experience of *Rescue Geography* – especially as they identify a typology of practice (p. 850).

The typology is contained within a range of positions where either the interviewee is more familiar with the area, and it is they who choose the route, or it is the interviewer who is the more familiar and therefore has more control. The type of walk which gives the most agency to the interviewee is where the interviewer 'shadows' and may only observe, rather than participate. However, the most common approach is for the interviewee to lead and to be asked questions as they 'go-along' (Carpiano, 2009). The next rung up the ladder towards the route being determined by the interviewer is called 'participatory walking interview.' This perhaps best represents the type of interview that we choose for this project. Questions are 'framed' by place (Evans & Jones, 2011, p. 849) and the nature of the accounts. At best the data is semi-structured.

It is also worth noting that Evans and Jones' 'walking tour' – where the interviewer leads – and is deployed for Method 3. In this latter case the route is partly determined by the interviewer to keep people on a public event safe. The other reason for the fixed route is to bridge to the previously-cited literary work which has been inspired by walking (Finch, 2002; Myers, 2018; Sebald, 1998; Sinclair, 2005). In a different sense there are artists who use the walk as a 'deep mapping' technique; Karen O'Rourke advises in *Walking and Mapping*

(2016) that 'way-finding' can be a way of storing learning and memories (p. 112); and stresses the importance of boundaries and emotional territories (pp. 113-117). The walking tour is led by space and therefore takes us backwards and forwards through time.

The aim of the walking interview is to give the individual an opportunity to explore spaces important to their biography. The walk was discussed beforehand over the telephone or email and we agreed a meeting point, end point and type of terrain. The participant decides on the location and the entire route through local streets, lanes and neighbourhoods. The latter approach was approved by Swansea University Ethics Committee in January 2019 and the information supplied to interview is on the Participant Information Sheet – Appendix A. The desire to let the interviewee decide is partly to overcome the tendency of interviews to solicit stories which do not naturalistically occur in everyday life – as noted by Ken Plummer cited in Bornat (2007, p. 349) With prior consent from the participant some routes are mapped for further analysis and some photographs and short films were taken where appropriate. All data is potentially useful.

Example walk: meaning in 1960s and 1970s

This was the fourth walking interview, but the first away from Caerleon. As such some of the technical issues of recording sound had already been overcome and the format of the interviewee leading the route had been tested. As this interview took place away from the main case study it was an opportunity to gain wider context about growing up in the 1960s and 1970s. The descriptions are analysed in terms of whether specific spaces reveal connections to emotion and affect.

The interviewee was Stuart, a male born in January 1960 and who had been raised in Porthcawl, a coastal town in south Wales. We met on a clear-but-windy day in the middle of spring. We checked the consent forms and information sheets over a coffee overlooking the sea at the Cosy Corner Cafe. The interview was filmed by a third party who did not get involved in the conversation.

From the cafe we walked round a corner to the Square. The pub which used to be there – The Knights Arms – inspired many memories of the sixties and seventies: a space which would fill with motorbikes; and a wider town animated by half a dozen night clubs and a trio of cinemas. We learned about the Stoneleigh Club which was a bit deeper into Porthcawl:

> Some of the big acts come down: The Three Degrees; Bruce Forsyth and Jimmy Tarbuck; big comedians. And that closed; and that died; and the whole dynamic of Porthcawl closed. It was strange how it all suddenly dissipated.

On that day we saw three linked cottages where the Knights Arms once stood; all coloured sky-blue coloured except for white patches which showed the silhouettes of removed porches. Stuart explained that he had been away in the eighties and nineties when the place had struggled to reinvent itself. He returned to live in Porthcawl in the late 1990s.
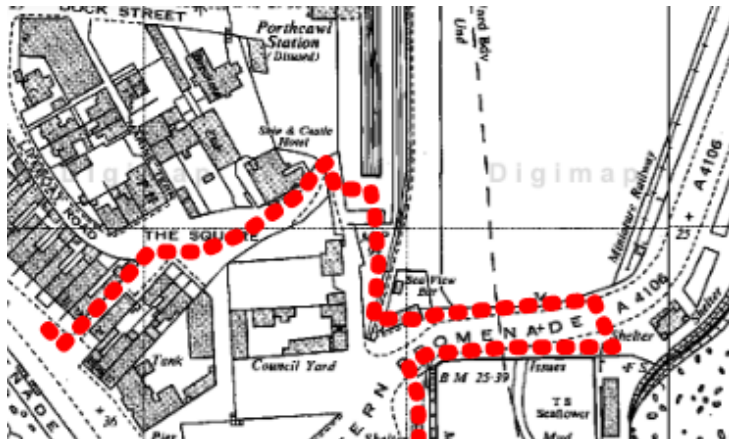
Figure 5 – Part of walk in Porthcawl (overlaid on 1960s map)
© Landmark Information Group Ltd and Crown copyright 2019

Our route is shown in red and overlaid on a mid-1960s map – see Figure 5. The 'PH' marks the Knights Arms on The Square. The top centre shows 'Porthcawl Station (Disused)', but the rails still seemed to be in place. There is a place called the 'Sea View' bar.

In May 2019 we walked for a minute from the Square until we emerged on a fairly wide road: 'Right, we are on what's called the Portway; and if you look north and to the left-hand side, that's where the railway station used to be.' By this time Stuart had stopped walking and explained: 'And this was; on the right – by the car park – the Salt Lake; and this was the inner dock.' Being on the site of the railway seemed to stimulate early memories:

> And as a boy I used to love it; I loved the steam coming in. My mother used to give me hell for getting sooted up; because I used to stand on the footbridge and watch the trains coming in.

Stuart calculated that he was about four years old when the railway line into Porthcawl was closed (he would have been 3 years and 9 months). We are about to suggest that the memories of a young Stuart standing on the footbridge are more likely to be his mother's memories which were passed down. He added that:

> You would see the people coming in on the carriages. Hanging out the carriages; really looking forward to coming to Porthcawl for their holidays. And the real draw was the fairground; and the caravan site.

Stuart explained that the image of the holiday makers arriving in Porthcawl by train also figures in literature: in the works of Welsh writer Gwyn Thomas; and also a Dylan Thomas piece called *The Outing* which features a charabanc trip to Porthcawl. What we suggest is that some of Stuart's memories may have been enhanced by third party material.
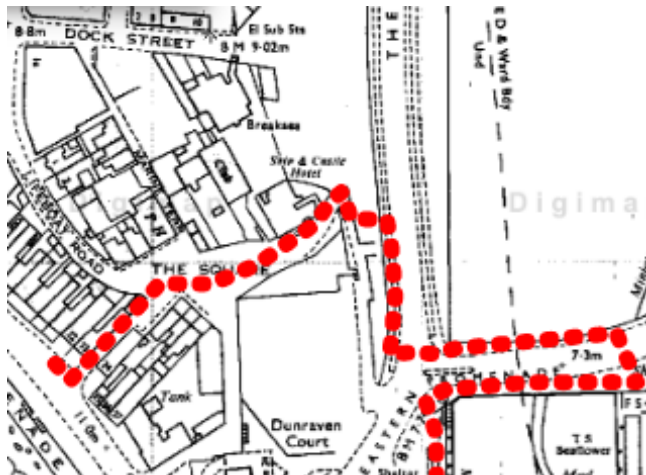
Figure 6 – Part of walk in Porthcawl (overlaid on 1970s map)
© Landmark Information Group Ltd and Crown copyright 2019

The line of our walking route in red dots is overlaid on a map of the same space as it was in the 1970s – see Figure 6. There are no signs of the railway station and the tracks have been replaced by a new road called 'The Portway'. The Sea View bar has gone and there is a building called 'Dunraven Court' where the 'Council Depot' has been in the 1960s.

With the perspective of age Stuart explained how industrial workers, perhaps some of whom may have visited forty years ago, look upon Porthcawl in 2019 as a retirement place. Stuart's descriptions conveyed many decades of Porthcawl's connections to the people of the hills to the north and the people from the metal works to west. As we walked closer to the harbour Stuart cited the simple sensual pleasures which bring present day visitors to Porthcawl. On the day we walked – for example – there were halyards clacking away at the mast, the smell of the sea and the sight of working trawlers in the harbour. Being near to the lookout tower, by the sea wall, elicited details of life in the middle of the twentieth century:

> I think my grandmother used to work selling faggots and peas as well as working down on the railway station ticket office. And she used to feed him [Stuart's grandfather] whilst he was at work – out on the lookout tower. He was a real character. And he appeared a few times to save people's lives.

Again, these were accounts outside of Stuart's empirical experience and which must rely on stories having been passed down through the family. We walked away from the lookout

tower and passed in front of the doors to the modern RNLI station and onwards to 'Cosy Corner', the site of the future Maritime Centre. Incidentally Stuart, as an architect, has been heavily involved in the latter project and prepared the initial designs for the new building.

Being in the space where the new building will be constructed revealed some interesting and more personal perspectives. Stuart explained how there used to be some fountains, a paddling pool and a putting green within this small space on 'Cosy Corner.' He added that:

> As a boy I used to play football down here; and play merry hell with our mates the Sidolis and the Tedaldis.

The description 'merry hell' potentially may have more meaning than first meets the eye; and may be a case of a more affective connection to space than what was revealed at the site of the railway station or at the lookout tower. Referring back to some of Steve Pile's writing about affect and emotion (2010), he cites Anderson's (2006) description of affect as the 'transpersonal capacity' on a body and as 'always interpersonal but inexpressible'. Let us break down and analyse the scene of the boys playing football.
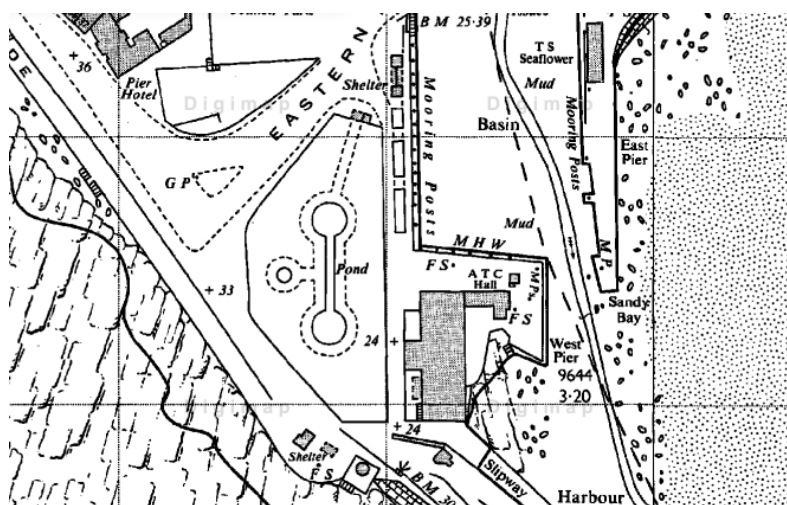
Figure 7 – Cosy Corner, Porthcawl, in the 1960s
© Landmark Information Group Ltd and Crown copyright 2019

There is nothing inherently disturbing about boys having a game of football. However, looking at the map of 'Cosy Corner' from the mid to late 1960s (Figure 7) one can see how the circular ponds dominate the site. The space to run around and kick a ball would have been relatively small; quite likely boys playing football here would have disturbed other people. Because Stuart sensed his body, and those of his friends, in relation to other bodies: this is potentially more of an affective connection to this space.

Let us reflect on Stuart's role as an architect. Another designer would have the same access to historic maps. Indeed they could have consulted photos or looked up the site in the 1940s (see below) and found that there had been a cinema and a bandstand. They could also have sensed from the very same 1960s and 1970s maps that there was some kind of formal park area with fountains and then ponds. The evidence in May 2019 revealed that these same shapes still existed. The patches of grass were the same and the footprint of the ponds and fountains had been filled in to create flower beds.

Stuart's response to the space was more 'authentic' – connecting to the previously-cited *Rescue Geography* work (Jones & Evans, 2012) – because the embodied and performative 'merry hell' memory of himself in relation to other people (bodies) makes a difference. We therefore propose that the football story falls into Thrift's realm of *non-representation*. I asked Stuart whether memories of this space had informed the amphitheatre designs. Stuart seemed to slightly dodge the question by responding as an architect:

> I'm always taking photographs of wherever I go, no matter where it is; always taking photographs of things that interest me; and stir an emotional connection.

The reference to photographs is perhaps a clue to how Stuart's own memory works: by retaining images. Throughout the interview there was a sense that Stuart was retelling stories which had been shared many times; perhaps by his parents, grandparents, other family members, friends and other people that he knew.

Analysis: outdoor walking interview

The Porthcawl interview provided further context to the social and economic circumstances of the 1960s and 1970s. In many ways the narrative of Porthcawl as a holiday destination for the industrial valleys of Wales links to the relationship between the Yorkshire 'pit village' and places like Blackpool. The accounts of the different popular acts at the Stoneleigh, and their subsequent decline, also tell a story which is applicable to other places.

There is perhaps a distinction emerging between this and the 'pit village' interview. For example, the spaces in the 'pit village' were described in a more visceral sense, such as the pervasive nature of the coal. Furthermore, the 'pit village' is rejected and aspirations are linked to the Lake District. The concept of the individual and their identity separating from a 'somewhere' place such as the 'pit village' echoes the argument in Goodhart (2017). Moreover, aspiration seems to be a characteristic which Gilleard and Hicks (2020) attach to those who benefited from the 1960s expansion in higher education. Connected to the latter

point, Stuart had a deep family connection to the spaces in Porthcawl which references his heroic grandfather and his two parents – both of whom were still alive and read the vignette produced after the interview and added some detail.

Stuart mentioned that he took photos as a way of storing places which 'interest' and 'stir an emotional connection.' For the other interviews it will be important to consider if people visualise space, rather than being embodied within space.
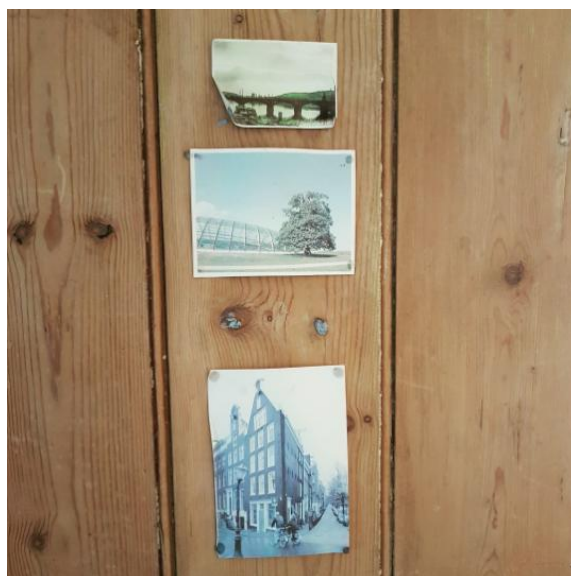
Figure 8 – Photos on my bedroom door, Pillmawr Cottage, 2019

As an aside, I found printed photos (Figure 8) still attached to my bedroom door as I cleared the family home in 2019. These were taken between 2002 and 2003; a period living at home and were visits (top to bottom) to Prague; Botanical Garden of Wales; Amsterdam.

Stuart described the spaces in Porthcawl that we walked through according to meaning at different times – connecting to the concept of memory as a source of 'pastness' (Bornat, 2008, p. 352). For example the description of the space at 'Cosy Corner' existed between the 1960s (Figure 9) and 2019.
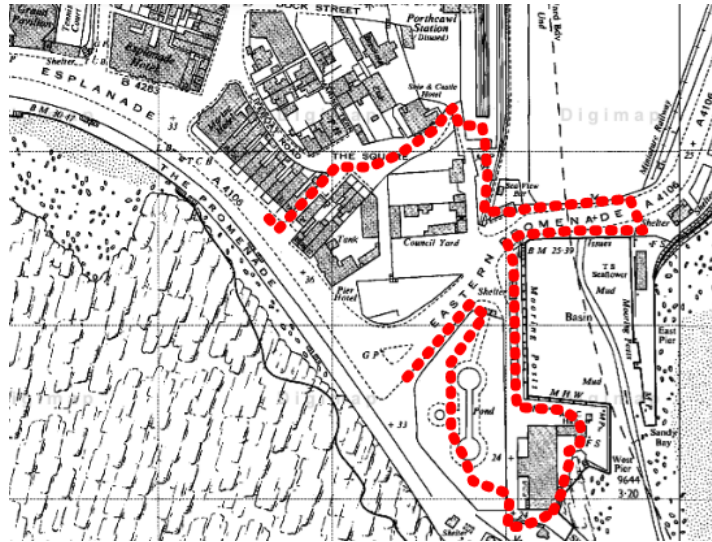
Figure 9 – Entire Porthcawl Walk (overlaid on 1960s map)
© Landmark Information Group Ltd and Crown copyright 2019

The complexity of geographical space is described in *Schizocartography* (Richardson, 2017). In particular urban space is described as a 'palimpsest' (p. 2), where certain features on the surface are rubbed out and then new ones engraved upon the same surface. Maps of Porthcawl – such as Figure 10 in the mid to late 1970s – reveal that the basic urban form had not changed a great deal in a decade. Indeed, the walk that we undertook in May 2019 was through an urban form largely similar to that which existed forty years earlier.
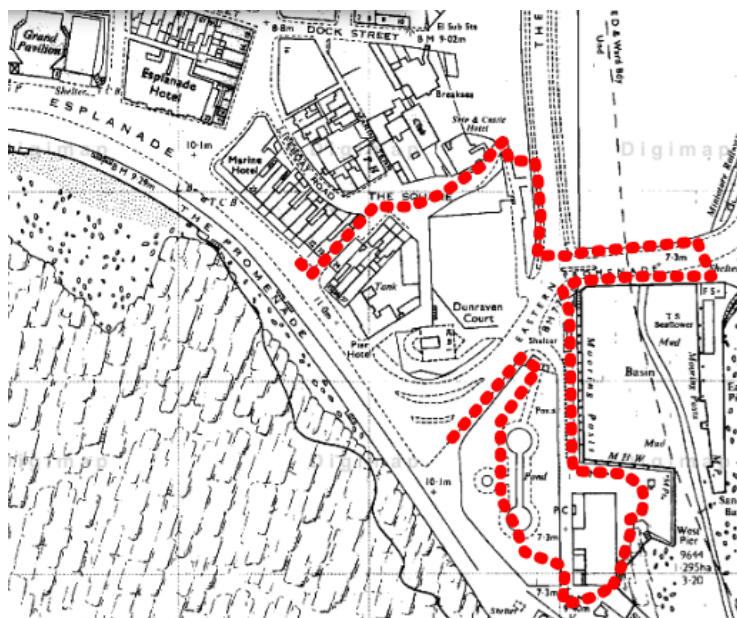
Figure 10 – Entire Porthcawl Walk (overlaid on 1970s map)
© Landmark Information Group Ltd and Crown copyright 2019

Returning to Tina Richardson's work (2017, p. 2), she makes the case that many postmodern urban spaces in Britain have suffered a 'homogenising' effect, giving the

appearance of having been the way they currently are forever. In effect, this kind of cloned space is what Lefebvre describes Debord and SI as protesting against in the 1950s and 1960s (Ross, 2002). Given such homogenized everyday spaces *Schizocartography* advocates a 'bricolage' method of inquiry, including a position where the practitioner-analyst is not distanced from the space under examination and therefore also a subject. Richardson additionally demands (2017, p. 4) 'transparency in regards to validating the narratives available on place, either historic ones or newly formulated ones.' This request connects with an overall ethos which seeks to 'uncover elements such as social history, creativity and the alternative voices that become revealed under examination in concrete space' (p. 12). In response to both a demand for transparency, and the palimpsest nature of Porthcawl as revealed by Stuart and old maps, we incorporate the public events (Method 3) as a means by which the public can validate or dispute the narrative.
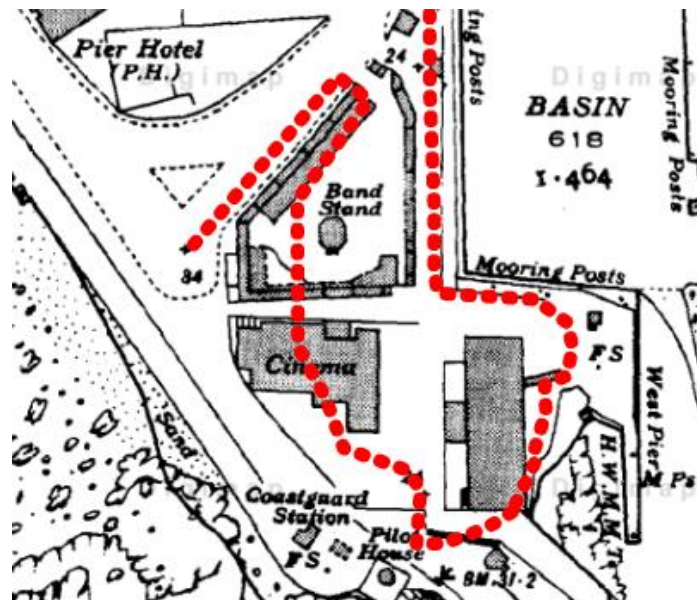
Figure 11 – Walk around Cosy Corner (overlaid on 1940s map)
© Landmark Information Group Ltd and Crown copyright 2019

As we finish with Porthcawl, maps from the 1940s show us what type of space our footsteps (overlaid in red) may have taken us through – see Figure 11. We can locate the 'Cosy Corner' cinema which gave its name to the site as it stands today. There is also a bandstand on the location of the current flower beds, which were fountains in the 1950s and ponds in the 1960s. The walk that we took in May 2019 was potentially a line that Stuart may have taken as a boy in the 1960s. However, he may have used a different line had he been born in the 1940s when the cinema had existed.

Method 3: Events with group walks and site-specific performance

The most complicated, risky, ambitious, and potentially innovative element of the methodology was to include two public events. These events produced material from the interviews into a public walk and some site-specific performance. To this end we support a few proposals discussed earlier: Tuan's desire to follow the 'unpredictable' (1977, p. 200-202); Solnit's advice to work with artists (2017); and also proposals to test the 'transparency' of the place narrative (Richardson, 2015).

In many ways the group event uses the same methods to capture spoken language, so as to analyse the affective connection to space, explored in both Methods One and Two. However, having more people present means it is much harder to capture all responses. These 'methods stories' (Lofland, Snow, Anderson, & Lofland, 2006, p. 233) are given more attention in the empirical chapters – including limitations in Stage Two and some imaginative practice in Stage Three.

Beyond the practice of data collection, this method includes some sound examples of artists being part of the research process. In the first instance we explore an example closely related to an individual's biography. Mike Pearson, who was about to reach the age of fifty, returned to the countryside of Lincolnshire in 2003, where he developed a series of site-specific performances which connected to his own earlier biography. He analysed these dramatic interventions (Pearson, 2006, p. 22):

> What such performance stimulates and elicit is other stories, and stories about stories. It catalyses personal reflection and the desire on the part of the listener not only to reveal and insert her own experiences, but also to re-visit communal experiences. It works with memory, raking over enduring ones, stirring half-suppressed ones.

It is important to stress that these performances took place in everyday public spaces such as the street corner and the park rather than a theatre; factors which 'catalyse' an environment of openness such that many more stories come forward. This notion connects with how Jonathan Darling (2016, p. 241) advocates the use of space: '…for the cultivation of ethical sensibilities which value moments of generosity and open engagements with difference.' Darling was specifically writing about space which allows for people to connect

with the 'non-representational' (Anderson & Harrison, 2010). As already stated, we seek to explore the unconscious.

Let us return to the latter quote from Mike Pearson and note how he skilfully uses raking as a metaphor for uncovering 'half-suppressed' communal memories. In many ways the image of something being uncovered connects with Pile (2010) as he describes the three layers of consciousness. The lowest level of consciousness is nearly unperceivable, much like seeds in the ground, and only comes to the top when stimulated. We therefore note the promise of outdoor performance, in spaces that are familiar to people, as a methodological element which may allow people to tap into affective – or unconscious – connections. The empirical chapters explain how the site-specific performance not only elicits 'other stories' (Pearson, 2006, p. 22), but also helps to raise awareness of the project, encourages other people to get involved as interviewees, and shapes the overall direction.

There is much within the methodological techniques of *In Comes I* (Pearson, 2006) which guides us to social understanding of place. To consider the 'communal', in particular sharing accounts which belong to other people, we consider *performing the micro-social*, work carried out in the geographical setting of south Wales (Byrne, Elliott, & Williams, 2016). Over three years the latter team of researchers used a multi-generational approach to collate stories of the 'everyday', such as one person's efforts to find work and another person who was living with depression. The following principle is the heart of the 'micro social' (p. 719):

> ...use of participatory arts practice and art-based research to generate forms of knowing that go beyond descriptive text. Further we developed these methods with "audience" in mind. The dramatic performance of data at the end of the project was "emplaced" and the dialogues that we generated became part of the collective form of place, sense and knowledge making.

We can regard the term 'audience' as the people who live in the place being researched. It is interesting to note the word 'emplaced' – meaning that the people within the given locality learn from the process and potentially shape the future story about their place based on the performance. The whole collection of accounts was developed towards a piece of theatre that they call *The People's Platform* (p. 720); including one actor creating a persona which combined monologues from multiple characters (p. 723). Due to the limited financial resources of a PhD research budget – that is to say only able to employ a performance artist for one day – I decided to use the latter idea of a persona with multiple characters. I would then be able to curate the overall event and links between texts and short site-specific

performance. This approach broadly describes the first event, which took place in July 2019. The second event took place in November 2019 with a specific focus on the concept of an ageing population; also better-resourced due to funding offered by the ESRC for the Festival of Social Sciences.

This event in November 2019 was the culmination of my research on the ground. We would give what Flyvbjerg (2001) calls a 'proper context' for the research project – namely one in which the immediate meaning comes from small and local and the significance from a larger background. The empirical chapters give attention to this event and the methods used to collect data. In particular the extra financial resource allowed feedback forms to be printed and to employ a film maker, whose raw audio-visual material was useful for the analysis and which was produced into a set of professional films to convey the benefits of the research. With regard to wider dissemination for the purposes of influencing policy, Byrne, Elliott and Williams (2016, p. 728) debate whether this means that the aesthetic quality of the 'micro-social' performances in *The People's Platform* is stripped down or lost. For my project it is not yet possible to know whether media, including the film made in November 2019, have the power to articulate the method and influence policy. However, I wrote a 3,000 word essay based on this work for the Design Commission for Wales *Place for Life II* publication in 2020. The latter organisation has a role to 'champion high standards of design and architecture to the public and private sector in Wales' (Design Commission for Wales, 2020).

The final consideration for the work with an artist was to sense how people from separate disciplines experience phenomena in different ways. I chose to collaborate with performance artist Marega Palser. As we opened the event in November 2019, Marega and I explored the term 'social science'; which she described as follows:

> Aled uses this word on me: "social science." And I have to say to him: "Aled, I don't really know what this word means." Because...coming from a world of making and moving and stuff. Very often in that world we just do stuff. We don't have a big language that's attached to it all. So when I meet people like Aled; people who come from a more academic background, they have a totally different vocabulary for all these things I might know in my body, but I don't know in my intellect.

The word 'body' is important; particularly the notion that Marega as the performance artist holds knowledge in her body whilst the social researcher (me) holds it in their intellect. There is perhaps a good case of Marega having awareness of her body's capacity to be affected (using the verb form of the term affect), and also to impart affect to others. For the first event

(July 2019) Marega had outdoor space in which to dance and deliver site-specific performances. However, the second event (November 2019) took place inside where space was restricted. Marega led the group on the 'walk of the mind' using mindfulness techniques to help people connect with knowledge held within the body. As such her technique was different to that which I had used for the interviews, where my knowledge of local geographic allowed me to follow people through their memories. More practice using the body includes *Mythogeography* (Smith P. , 2010) and *Walking Bodies* (Billinghurst, Hind, & Smith, 2020)

Epistemology: Story Cycles and a Six Stage Process

The analysis of the interviews and other data was primarily led by compiling the story of a place – in this case the settlement of Caerleon. The overall epistemological approach builds a place narrative around a collection of what I call *stories about spaces*: for example the individual in relation to the pervasive nature of coal in the 1960s *Pit Village*, explored in Method 1, or boys playing football in a 1960s Porthcawl park – from Method 2.

These stories challenge existing ontologies as they include subjects which cannot speak, such as coal or the Porthcawl ponds. No doubt this pushes conventional epistemology. However, the promise of that which is non-representational (Anderson & Harrison, 2010) has made some progress in human geography, where the latter authors argue that we consider: (1) background hum; (2) everyday human activity; and (3) the contingent practical context of the relations between 'the actor and the acted upon' (p. 7). These approaches lead to a (post)phenomenology (Spinney, 2016) in which we have to try and capture more than just what the interviewee says. Phillip Vannini outlines five qualities which help connect non-representation into ethnography, factors of: vitality, performativity, corporeality, sensuality, and mobility (2015, p. 318). Some of these elements were covered in the pilot interviews, such as the *mobility* of the teenage journey to the Lake District. Interestingly the pilot walking interview held more accounts about other people in relation to space; such as Stuart's grandmother serving faggots to the watchtower. Though it is not something that I specifically sought from the interviewee in Porthcawl, we can speculate that a degree of performativity was involved in passing these stories down the generations.

This project set out with a mission to be inductive in the way that data was gathered and analysed. The original design included two phases of ten interviews; and to use group workshops or focus groups to check the validity and accuracy of the work (Creswell, 2014, pp. 201-203). The plan also factored in collaborations with artists and literary writers to elicit and explore data, such as the production of the vignettes based on an interviewee's accounts – see example in Appendix B. In January 2019 I gained ethical approval for the latter and agreed a Participant Information Sheet – see Appendix A.

All interviews were carried out using the same approach as outlined in Methods One and Two. However, there were cases which tested the methods in unexpected ways, and where I was able to improvise my approach – more detail in Part Three. For the walking interviews I was mindful of theoretical concepts, for example advice from Vannini (2015) to capture:

> ...events, practices, assemblages, affective atmospheres, and the backgrounds of everyday life against which relations unfold in their myriad potentials.

In some cases I made short video clips of the spaces involved as people shared accounts – practice which was detailed in my ethics application. However, other ideas came to me as I developed my practice. I was mindful that other background sounds were being recorded alongside our voices, such as traffic at a road crossing or other people talking. Where appropriate I asked the interviewees to clarify these noises, which potentially add a visual element to audio recordings.

The greatest scope to innovate and develop new approaches relates to Method Three. Both of the events were contingent on factors which were not initially available to me when I submitted the ethical application in December 2018. For example: the Caerleon Literary Festival event depended on both a clear artistic focus and having interview enough material to share; the second event relied on strong relationship with community organisations and raising funds through a competitive bidding process. However, both opportunities were taken and I worked with writer Jon Gower (one of my two supervisors) and artist Marega Palser to produce public events which included a walk and site-specific performance.

The practice of using public events went beyond my own analysis of the interviews and opened the process up to elements which go beyond representation (Anderson & Harrison, 2010), such as background, everyday human activity and the contingent practical context of the relations between actors. To capture the first event in July 2019 I took some notes, made a few short films and invited a photographer to accompany us. On reflection I perhaps undervalued the potential for this event as a source of data. Consequently half the budget for the November 2019 event was spent on employing a film maker, which produced more rich data to analyse. The analysis of this video footage features in Stage Six of Part Two and makes reference to hand gestures, facial expressions and the dynamic of the group. Altogether these two events make a move towards the 'more creative and more performative' practice which Vannini (2015, p. 319) demands for us to counter the 'methodological timidity' of most qualitative research.

Ontological factors: a focused case study on place and time

The empirical elements of this project are presented as an extended case study where the focus is one geographical place. John Creswell (2014, p. 14) defines the case study as:

> ... a design of inquiry found in many fields, especially evaluation, in which the researcher develops an in-depth analysis of a case, often a program, event, activity, process, or one or more individuals.

This latter definition seems to give the researcher a great deal of latitude. However, the same author adds that a case study is bounded by time and activity. Wendy Olson (2012, pp. 183-5) adds some other components to the case study, including a diversity of data sources, external statistics and others contemporary accounts. Our case study has a significant attention to the study of ageing; the empirical chapters therefore include statistics such as historic birth rates, more recent demographic movements and some interesting inclusions from the Office for National Statistics' data sets.

The case study also provides an opportunity to study the theory of non-representation. To remind ourselves, this means paying attention to the slippery concepts of background, the everyday and contingent practical context. Olson advises us that (p. 183):

> There is also richness in the way things are theorised, the meanings found in data, and the interpretation placed on events.

Olson also adds that the case study is about giving a wider argument which is not just about causality. However, the counter point to a deeper qualitative account is to pay attention to both a reflexive stance and hermeneutics. Significant attention has already been given to the former (England, 1994; Lynch, 2000; Lofland et al, 2006), however it is important to understand the latter. Olsen offers us the following (2012, p. 52):

> In hermeneutics we distinguish the etic meaning from the emic meaning of something. The etic approach is to take an outsider's view and explicate the meaning of something to others outside.

Getting the correct balance between the insider and outsider position is a challenge to any piece of social research. Flyvbjerg (2001, p. 32-34) adds a little detail more when he cites what Anthony Giddens calls the 'double hermeneutic': comprising firstly the researcher's understanding (after Max Weber) of what they study; and secondly how the inquirer is also part of this context. Flyvbjerg (p. 33) goes on to state that:

The researchers' self-understanding and concepts do not exist in a vacuum, but must be understood in terms in relation to this context. Context both determines and is determined by the researcher's self-understanding.

Given my own personal connection to the case study, I wanted to make sure that my position was clear to the people I interviewed. For example, I briefly shared my own story at the start of each conversation. For the written output for this project I have added some of my own drawings, poetry and snippets of recollection about spaces in Caerleon. These lapidary elements add texture to the overall work, but do not attempt to skew the overall story. In some ways my own perspectives explain the type of bias that may have existed had I not made efforts to be reflexive. For example, my poetry from the age of twelve described the view from the hill above Pillmawr Cottage where I lived.
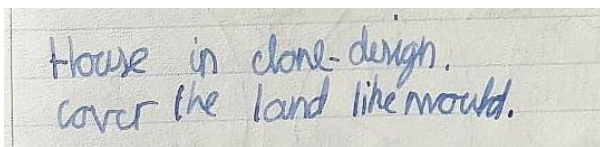
In many ways the line 'house in clone design cover land like mould' represents the privilege and power of the researcher in relation to the researched (Rose G. , 1997). To be clear, I was brought up in a middle-class household where my Dad drove a ramshackle Morris Minor and where we spent foreign holidays that went nowhere near to a beach. This project therefore allowed me to confront my own long-standing perceptions about the place where I had grown up. I was reunited with the above poetry when I cleared out the family house in early 2019. As such, it reminded me that I had perhaps learned to set my position as an outsider to Caerleron. However, this project in 2019 made me open myself to how this place had shaped me in some ways. Other examples of the writer or researcher reflecting on their own background can be found in *Ordinary Affects* (Stewart, 2007), *In Comes I* (Pearson, 2006) and *The Country and the City* (Williams R. , 1973).

Building on the *double hermeneutic*, I wanted the empirical elements of this project to be accessible to the people who had taken part in the interviews and the events. As a result the stories about spaces are written more like a literary psychogeography – see previous examples from Peter Finch, Benjamin Myers, W. G. Sebald and Iain Sinclair. In a significant gesture towards social science, my work includes detailed maps of the spaces involved and photographs. I also decided to give a name to this book within a PhD thesis: it is called *Pursuing the Post-War Dream*. Using the word 'dream' allows us to consider the unconscious and the affective (Pile, 2010); the 'post-war' element gives us a timeframe and context (Flyvbjerg, 2001) and to be 'pursuing' alludes to the movement of that which is *non-*

representational (Anderson & Harrison, 2010). As a final point, this whole case study helps to show that 'ageing' is a concept constructed around cultures and the trajectory of the median age within a given population; as such it never reveals itself as a single phenomenon. The result is a six-stage approach which is detailed as follows:

Stage One was a standing survey of Caerleon High Street, compiled mostly from interviews. We found a space with Roman remains, a Normal castle and a quaint village centre. Stages Two to Four featured interviews and also ethnography from the group walk – 'placing the body in space as a critical tool' (Richardson, 2015, p. 191). Stage Three also considered ontology: asking whether people lost the ability to explore the world on foot in the 1950s to 1970s, when private motor vehicles become more popular and shaped urban space.

Stages Five and Six centre on the event in November 2019; a fairly ambitious attempt to represent a 'place narrative' (Richardson, 2017) about Caerleon in the 1960s and 1970s as a Raymond-Williams-like 'structure of feeling' – partly introduced by Vannini (2015, p. 318) and detailed later on. Referring back to collaboration, this project advocated that people own the knowledge produced – responding to demands for older people to be 'change agents' (Ray, 2007). Consequently those who attended in November 2019 will have their own impressions, perhaps complemented by a three-page evaluation report and a 3-minute film about the day https://vimeo.com/373090583, both of which were released shortly afterwards

Following the six stage approach, Part Three decouples from the format of building a narrative around public events and explores some other elements. For example, we reflect on whether some spaces were easier to read than others and also how space linked some people to personal identity. Some interviews challenged the methods, such as meeting one person who had visual memories and one individual who have dementia. The end of Part Three concludes the process of shaping the narrative about Caerleon as the site of an ageing population: the movement of people in a given place over a specific time. This final stage reflects on some other parts of the relationship between phenomenology and non-representation. For example we reflect on the 'trans-personal circumstances that bring things into being' (Lorimer, 2010, p. 74) such as the role of the hills and river influencing the way that people have lived in Caerleon.

Producing the Six Stage Approach

The interviews and ethnographic elements from the public events were collected between April and November 2019 and in two distinct phases – research timetable Figure 15. This inquiry was led by space rather more than chronological time, as argued by Tuan (1974), Massey (2009) and others. I had considered presenting a general chronology of the place through the late 1950s to 1970s and so on, but this seemed hard to achieve as the participants' accounts had moved backwards and forwards between decades. As such, I ordered the various data from interviews, ethnography and other sources in terms of the geography to which they belonged with dates and times put to the background. Of note, the pilot interviews which feature in Method One and Method Two are treated as separate data.

To set a path I followed the psychogeographical principle of taking something external to the self; choosing *The Hill of Dreams* as a text, Arthur Machen's semi-biographical novel partly set in and around Caerleon in the 1870s and 1880s. The line started at Machen's birthplace on Caerleon High Street and took an old route up to the Iron Age fort on Lodge Hill. Stages Two and Three centre on a dérive followed by the event from July 2019. By Stage Four the initial dérive had lost its power once people had reached the hill fort. We were then influenced by desire lines which emerged from some of the interviews, such as the route taken by teenagers in the 1960s walking to the school bus stop. Stage Five involves staying in the same spot and Stage Six is the route walked by a different group in November 2019 from Lodge Hill to the centre of Caerleon. The route is overlaid upon a contemporary aerial photograph in Figure 12 .
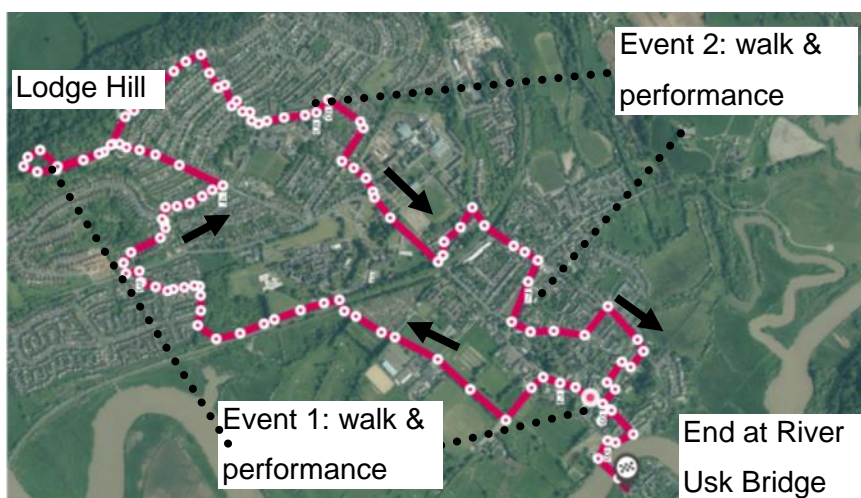
Figure 12 – Spatial arrangement of events
© Landmark Information Group Ltd and Crown copyright 2019

Anthropologist Tim Ingold's fascinating work study *Lines: A Brief History* (2017, pp. 42-53) provides a taxonomy of lines based on the two main classes of 'threads' through space or 'traces' on a surface. The data gathered from Caerleon felt more like a collection of threads in the shape of a web or maybe a net – see Figure 12. Using Ingold's way of thinking a future walker could follow the outside of the web, but also be able to traverse the threads to concentrate on a particular location.

Ingold's lines and threads also potentially connect with the psychogeographic concept of the *dérive* (or drift) as a desire line. For example, stepping off the line could be comparable to the psychogeographic practice of détournement; where the current dérive (or drift) ends and something new emerges (Richardson, 2015, pp. 118-119). In Stage Four we will sense how a détournement happened at a specific location during the July 2019 event. Another perspective is revealed when the route is plotted as a topographical line and broken down into the relevant stage – Figure 13. The middle of Stage Four was the point at which the first dérive started to lose its potency amongst the walking group in July 2019. Of note there are clues from Arthur Machen's introduction to *The Hill of Dreams* which suggest that the hill represented a point of realisation, rather than a destination in its own right.

1	2	3	4	5	6			
-	2km	0.5km	2km	-	1.3km	1km	0.5km	0.2km
Survey		Event 1			Event 2		(Part Three)	
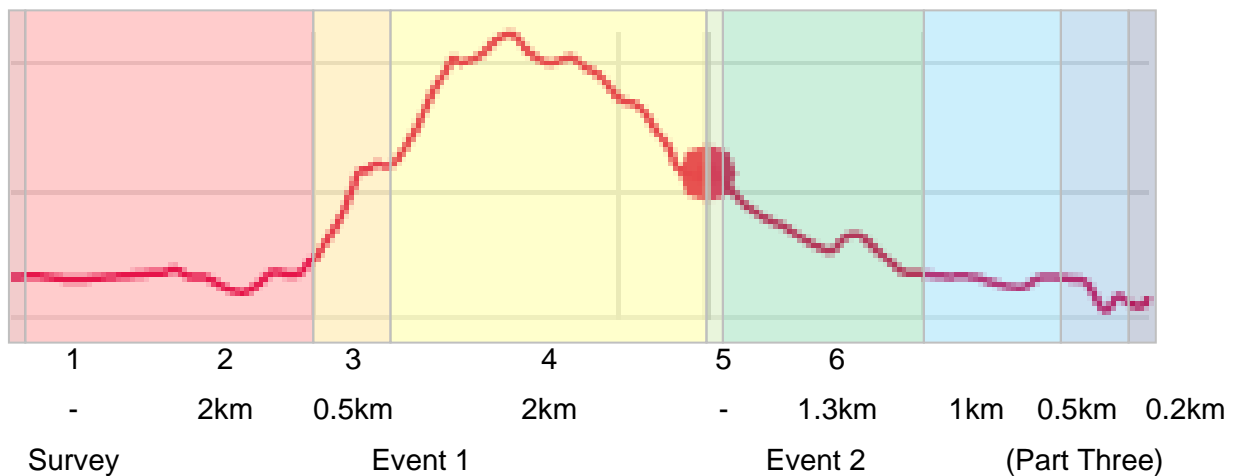
Figure 13 –The six-stage process a topographical arc

Note that event in July 2019 bridged from Stage Two through to Stage Four; also that the second event bridged Stages Five and Stage Six. The data used to inform each of the phases is shown in Table 2. For example the initial stage combines interviews with historical source material, whilst Stage Two combines interviews and ethnography from the first event.

Table 2 – Stages with corresponding interviews

	General theme	Data source	Elev	Location
1	60s/70s preserved?	Interviews + history books	16m	Caerleon High St
2	Follow Machen	Event 1 + interviews	16m	Priory > Home Farm
3	Walking ontology	Event 1 + interviews	18m	Trinity View > Augustans
4	Theory & context	Event 1 + interviews	60m	Lodge Hill, 60s estate
5	Group walk of mind	Event 2 + interviews	53m	Community Hub
6	Group walk outside	Event 2 + interviews	56m-16m	Hub > Caerleon Common

NB Elev. refers to elevation about sea level in metres

In a final reference to ontology, the underlying narrative started to change during the first walking event. The planned route was very similar to the eventual path of Stages Five and Stage Six. However, the middle of Stage Four was the point at which people seemed to lose interest in the initial idea. Perhaps another way to reflect on the situation was that members of the walking group had seen the hill fort as the objective; and so started to put forward their own stories thereafter. Up to that point we had aimed to be open and playful. Putting the group walk into philosophical terms, we could say that it was inductive, meaning that it was:

> ...based on the belief, as with empiricism, that we can proceed from a collection of facts concerning social life and then make links between these to arrive at our theories (May, 2001, p. 32)

Related to this latter definition, the group walking together was potentially proof that elements of psychogeographic practice had promise as an inductive method. In the following section I propose a model for shaping and grounding stories about a given place and time.

Using a cycle to produce and analyse stories about spaces

The model comprised a three-phase cycle as follows: first collect, transcribe and analyse a number of biographical interviews about 'everyday life' (see Methods 1 and 2); secondly develop walking tours and site-specific performances which add background and context to the latter interviews (see Method 3); and thirdly follow up with a period of reflection. In practice this first stage of reflection also coincided with presenting work at conferences and getting insights from other people.
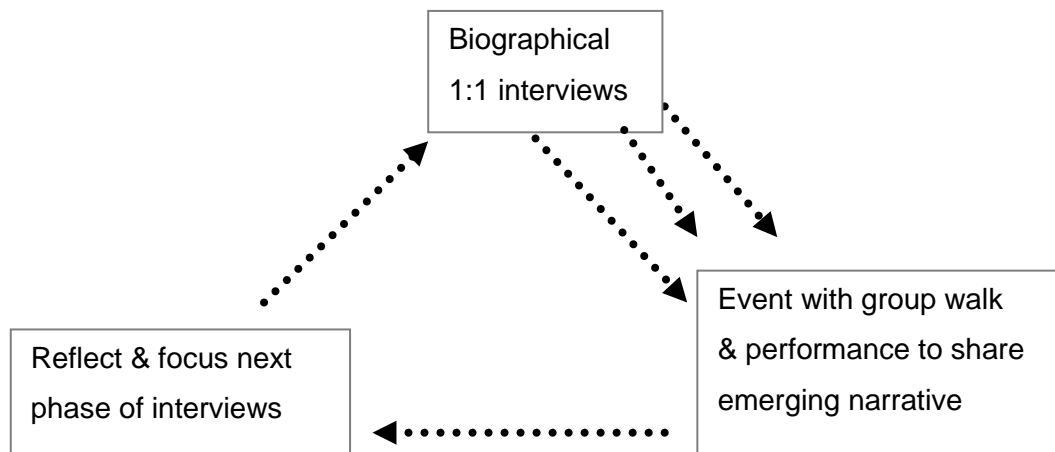
Figure 14 – Stories about spaces: cycle of biography, performance and reflection

The first cycle started with interviews held April to June 2019; conversations broadly focused on emotional attachments to space, but otherwise gave the interviewee freedom to lead. The first event was prepared from these interviews and the walk guided by Arthur Machen's text. Once the group had reached the hill fort (middle of Stage Four) some people turned home and others seemed to focus on different thoughts: the original line of flight seemed to have ebbed away. Perhaps this change in atmosphere could be described a détournement – explored in detail within the *Schizocartography* method (Richardson, 2017). Of more interest, this change made a significant contribution to the method because the next phase of the work shifted from what had been broadly inductive to one which was more deductive. Deductive meaning to gather evidence to test or refute theory (May, 2001, p. 32)

After the July event there was a noticeable, albeit unconscious, turn towards more deductive practice in subsequent interviews, leading to the performance in Stage Five and public walk in Stage Six. Principally the focus was to gain a deeper understanding of lives for those who moved to the post-war housing estates. As such, this focus started to determine the type of people that I chose to interview. Another pressure on the event was being part of the UK-

wide ESRC Festival of Social Sciences. As such the title and message had to be decided three months in advance. There is an argument that this second event was higher quality than the first one, but perhaps less open because it was always going to focus on Caerleon in the 1960s and 1970s.

Part Three puts the psychogeographic practice of group walks and events to one side. The most complicated parts of our journey are complete: we have climbed the hill; developed evidence to support grounded theory through the first event and made some initial efforts to test them in the second event. We can explore the limits to the methodological approach. This stage of reflection on the wider narrative closes the second cycle shown in Figure 14.

Table 3 – Main characters interviewed

Name	Short biography	Stage(s)
Chris	Born 1940s and moved to Caerleon in 1980s. Former housing officer. Involved in Caerleon Civic Society.	One, Six Part Three
Coralie	Born late 1920s and moved to Caerleon in 1950s. Late husband Wilfred and daughter Lindsay also mentioned.	One Part Three
Denise	Born in late 1940s. Came to Caerleon from Ebbw Vale as a teenager in 1960s. Lived in various houses on Lodge Hill until moving to countryside in 1979.	Four, Five, Six
Dorothy	From Newport, born in the 1940s and involved in Village Services. Moved to Caerleon in the late 1960s.	Two, Three, Six Part Three
Helen	Born mid 1970s and has lived in Caerleon whole life. Daughter of Lyn and has two children.	Three, Four, Six
Jason	Born in late 1960s and originally from north Wales. A trained social worker and parent.	One, Two, Six
Jeff	Born in 1950s and from Maesteg. Went to Caerleon College in late 1970s.	One, Six Part Three
Lionel	Born mid 1920s and from Beaufort. Former steelworker who came to Caerleon in 1960s.	Four, Five, Six
Lyn	Born late 1940s and has spent entire life in Caerleon. Father of Helen and grandfather.	Three, Four
Nigel	Born in 1950s and spent teenage years in Caerleon during 1970s. Parents stayed until their death in 2017.	One, Six Part Three

Data collection timetable

The approach included three different methods: (1) walk of the mind interviews; (2) going outside for a walk-along interview; and (3) events centred on group walks and performance. In a few cases these interviews involved more than one person. Apart from three pilot interviews the majority (20 of 23) were centred on Caerleon. Interview participants were largely sourced through specific collaborations with local care provider Village Services and Caerleon Arts Festival. The data collection lasted from January to November 2019 and comprised a total of 23 interviews with 20 different participants.

The project (Fig. 5) involved an initial piloting stage, followed by a first phase of 8 interviews which led to the first event. As such this event facilitated further participation (Olsen, 2012, p. 77) as more people came forward to be interviewed for the second phase. The second event was staged as part of the 2019 ESRC Festival of Social Sciences. The first part of the event focused on the group taking a 'walk of the mind' and the second part involved a group walk. There were six interviews carried out during and after the group walk, and which are included with the empirical chapters.

Setup Feb to Mar 2019	Phase 1 April – June 2019	Event 1 July 7	Phase 2 July 8 – Oct 2019	Event 2 Nov 9
Pilot and setup Bath: 1 walk of the mind; 1 participant	Caerleon 4 waking interviews 4 walks of the mind 6 participants	Caerleon Art Fest	Caerleon: 5 walks of mind;4 walking interviews; 8 participants	ESRC Festival Social Sciences
Porthcawl: 1 walking interview 1 participant			Bristol: 1 walking interview; 1 participant	
Audio recordings Photographs 1 vignette written	Audio recordings Photographs 3 vignettes written	Photos Short films	Audio recordings Photographs 3 vignettes written	23 feedback forms Film of event Film 6 interviews 6 participants Photographs
Focus on life story and emotional attachment	Focus on life story and emotional attachment	Guided by Hill of Dreams	Focus late 1950s-70s – slightly more deductive approach	Ageing focus Two local guides

Figure 15 – Timetable for data collection stage

Part Two: Pursuing the Post-war Dream

Format

This research project is presented as a six-stage walk of 5.8km (Figure 12) around the geography of Caerleon. As such individual accounts (see main characters in Table 3) are placed alongside group responses to public events, statistics and quotes from other sources; all are purposefully cut up and laid upon the relevant geography. This writing intentionally prioritises the unfurling of space, rather than the passing of chronological time, as a means to nourish the seeds of emotion and memory, some of which are unconscious or affective. Having compared and criticised the work of other writers in Part One these six stages are purposefully written in a more literary style.

Using psychogeography to build a collective biography

The social science element of this work goes beyond the individual. By assembling multiple accounts at the level of a place we can better understand the trajectory of everyday culture experienced in a given geography. For example, the space of Caerleon High Street sparked some interesting responses. One interview looked again at Curro's eatery on Cross Street and reflected on the 1960s and 1970s. The interviewee theorised that business deals in the steel industry were made over long lunches in such restaurant spaces. A few doors down the same street another interviewee explained how the William Hill book makers, which had closed in summer 2019, was proposed to be replaced by a prosecco bar. These two sites – Curro's and the former William Hill – capture how culture changes. Chris Gilleard and Paul Higgs' propose (2020) that the baby boomers differ from their parents' generation as they have identities based around consumption. For example, drinking prosecco rather than having collective identities formed around class and occupations such as steel making. Such ideas are articulated and developed over the course of the six-stage walk.

This work mixes individual interviews with two public walks or psychogeographical dérives. The goal of our first dérive (July 2019) was the fort at Lodge Hill supposed to have inspired Arthur Machen. On the walk we pass semi-detached houses and roads built between the 1950s and 1970s; we start to tap into the 'post-war' dream as a second dérive. The second dérive fully takes over in the middle of our journey. In many ways the spaces in Caerleon allow us to revisit the political fight of Situationist International to preserve urban unity in the 1950s and 1960s. We also sense that a connection to place through the body was lost: three generations from the same family illustrate how a contemporary child walks and plays much closer to home than her grandparents did in the 1950s.

Building and checking the narrative: public walks and performance

The two dérives were enhanced by working with physical performance artist Marega Palser to create small site-specific performances which were based on the interviews. As such we follow Nigel Thrift's advice (2008) that 'words alone' cannot express our connections to space. In terms of practical inspiration for using site specific performance to explore the past we refer to *In Comes I* (Pearson, 2006). Marega's performances in July 2019 helped to ground stories of the 1960s, such as the new comprehensive school, rising car usage and changing consumption habits.

Partly from the public responses to the performance, and from the analysis of the Porthcawl interview explored in the methodological chapter, we were able to let go of Machen and fully embrace the emergence of the 'post-war' dream. As a result, the second round of interviews between July and the October 2019 (Figure 15) focused on the wider story of industrial development and new housing. In particular we explore how one person described buying a freehold property in the 1960s as 'giving up now for then' – effectively forsaking holidays and nights out in exchange for mortgage payments. At the fourth stage of our journey we linger a while on the slopes of Lodge Hill. The second public event involved a performance from Marega which represented the foundations of new life laid from late 1950s and solidified through the 1960s and 1970s. On a public walk we link to housing policies of the 1980s and the work of Village Services, a local social enterprise which provides home care and to support their neighbours. This material allowed one participant to bridge into his own memories of growing up on a similar estate near Birmingham during the 1970s. He recalled how families had moved from different locations, and that 'kids were all thrown in together'. Our walk takes us from housing estates to reach the older parts of Caerleon.

As we stand near the walls of the Roman fortress there are fewer signs of the place shaped from the 1950s through to 1970s: unconsciously we let go of the second dérive. Part Three of this thesis is therefore complementary to *Pursuing the Post-war Dream;* it is a less intensive stroll down to the river where we stop less often. However, it is chance to reflect on the limits for space to reveal memories and emotions. For example, one interviewee realises that there are boundaries to his memories of space, whereas for another person it is dementia which holds memories at a certain time. At the very end, stood by the Ship Inn, we bring nature and topography back in the equation and sense the wider context of a place with at least two thousand years of continuous habitation.

Beyond the dérive: other principles from psychogeography

This work broadly studies ageing and the passing of time. However, rather than a linear chronology the format is driven by geographical space 'as the sphere of the existence of multiplicity' Massey (1999, p. 274). Beyond the dérive, we take two other elements from the Situationist International psychogeographic practice discussed in Merlin Coverley's *Psychogeography* (2018, pp 119-32). As a first principle, we never go out alone: not the solitary 'flâneur' such as Walter Benjamin who is cited by Rebecca Solnit (2017). Secondly, we lose the self (Solnit, 2017) as the line of our dérive is shaped by an external influence. Our walk imagines Machen in the 1880s preparing to write *The Hill of Dreams*: he sees a route from his birth place on Caerleon High Street up to Lodge Hill.

Although *The Hill of Dreams* has many references to geography in and around Caerleon, Machen provided no cartographic map to accompany his novel. However, we also note from Sinclair (2005) that psychogeographers can take some liberties: the latter deviated into his wife's family biography once he had completed his pursuit of the poet John Clare from London to Northamptonshire. Following Sinclair's example, we descend from the hill to linger at sites which would have caught Machen's attention, such as the (former) railway station and the Goldcroft Common. However, we use maps from the 1880s and walk the cartographic line as closely as possible.

By the end of the walk we do create a cartographic map to accompany these words. We know that Stephenson sketched out his *Treasure Island* and that Tolkein included cartographic detail within *The Lord of the Rings*. By the end of our journey we will have traced out a map of Caerleon that is available to download as a digital GPX and read on any GPS device. The previous methodological section has one example of a walking interview with some analysis of the role of emotion and affect in these connections to spaces.

Plan of the walk

The walk is split into six sections which represented by a written chapter.
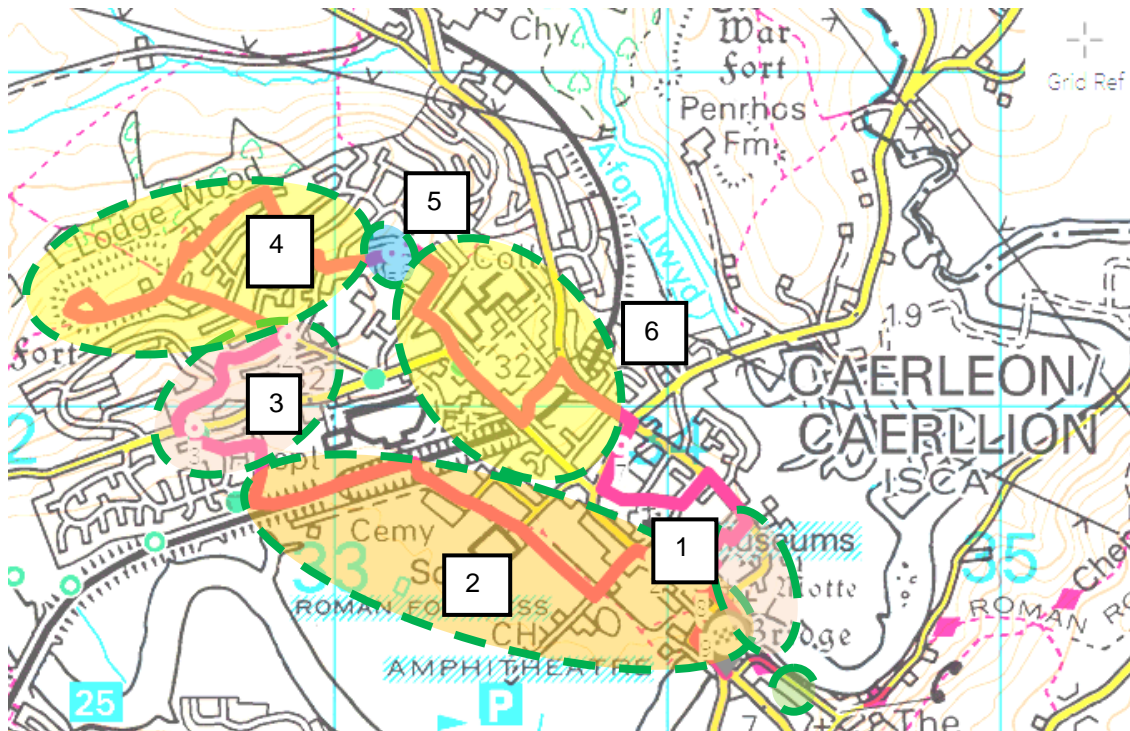
Figure 16 – Overview of the route and sections
© Landmark Information Group Ltd and Crown copyright 2019

1. Space and conservation   Caerleon High St (standing survey)

2. Pursuing the hill: dreams and performance   Priory Hotel to Home Farm Estate (2km)

3. Forgetting to walk   Trinity View to Augustans (0.5km)

4. Building the dream   Lodge Hill Fort and 1960s estate (2km)

5. Ageing: stories and stats   Village Services Community Hub (event)

6. Feeding off the foundations   Return to Goldcroft Common (1.3km)

1. Space and conservation

We are on Caerleon High Street and stand at the bus stop. We will show how the essential characteristics of this space have changed little over past fifty years. The map (Figure 17) shows the location around High Street as it appeared at some point in the early 1970s. The street includes some of the places which appear in this account, such as the Priory Hotel; a PO (meaning Post Office); two buildings with P H (public houses); and a bank.

A – 33 High Street
B – Priory Hotel
C – The Bull PH
D –1 Cross St
E – 2 Cross St
F – 6 Cross St
G – 7 Cross St
H – 9 High Street
I – 10 High Street
J – 28 High Street
K – White Hart PH
L – Post Office
⭕ Bus stop
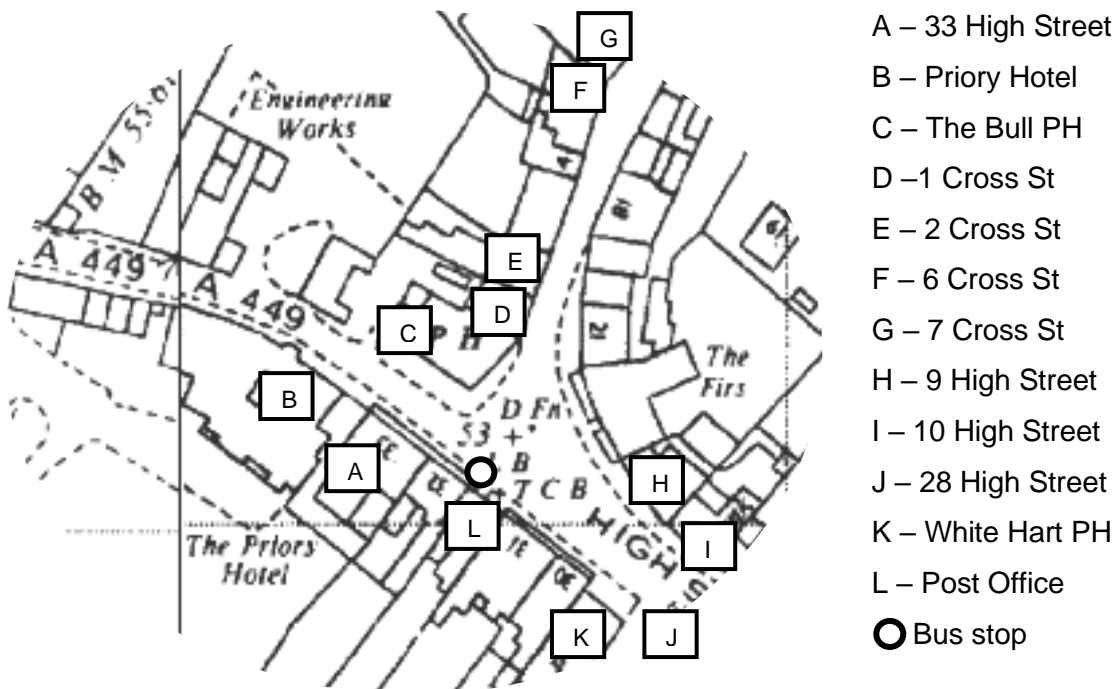
Figure 17 – Arrangement of buildings based on 1970s map
© Landmark Information Group Ltd and Crown copyright 2019

Twelve different buildings are given a specific capital letter so that we can identify them alongside the map. Looking through the eye's camera we find number 33 High Street (A). This is the house where Arthur Machen was born in 1863. Immediately afterwards is the Priory Hotel (B); and then the street narrows and snakes off to the left. Rotating a half circle clockwise a huge tree dominates our view before we see the sixteenth century Ye Olde Bull Inn (C) on the opposite side of the road. From the corner of the Bull is Cross Street – a narrow road which bends to the left, then to the right and then escapes our view. There are four commercial properties (D, E, F & G) on Cross Street.

We continue to pan around and more properties come into view: roof lines go up and down and no two buildings have the same form. Many of these buildings are Grade II listed and are painted in white or just-off white. Back on High Street there is another establishment (H)

where you can go for a refreshing drink, albeit this has never quite been a pub with a hatch outside and a cellar in the basement. In the foreground is a fairly large space – what we understand to be the site of an old market. Moving the eye further to the right there is a gents' hair dresser (I) and a pedestrian crossing where the street narrows. In the final sweep we take in another commercial property (J), the White Hart public house (K) and a building with two large protruding wooden-framed windows before we return to the Post Office (L).

As with all sections of this volume we use evidence gathered from walking interviews and 'walks of the mind' – effectively sat-down conversations with geography framing the overall discussion. In some instances, this empirical evidence – that is to say gained by observation and experience – is supplemented by the four editions of Caerleon books with words, photos and postcards collated by Norman Stevens. The first Caerleon book is faithful to its title *A Walk Through History* (Stevens, 1997). There is a coherent journey on foot which starts at the bridge over the River Usk and enters spaces such as Caerleon High Street. For the first edition in 1997 Stevens invited Councillor Jim Kirkwood (page 3) to provide an introduction. Kirkwood welcomed the readers and gave some useful context:

> In the early 1960s the Caerleon Urban District Council played an important and active role in housing part of the large influx of the personnel who were to work at the newly constructed Spencer Works Steel Plant at nearby Llanwern.

Tracing the lives of the people who came in the 1960s is central to our journey of Pursuing the Post-War Dream. We acknowledge that figures such as Jim Kirkwood and Norman Stevens, born in 1926 and 1934 respectively, were already adults by this time and were therefore heavily involved in shaping this new world. However, both of these men are now dead and the generation who remember World War II is thin in numbers. That said we do meet two people born in the 1920s whose accounts do feature in this work.

This walk around Caerleon benefits from three significant factors: firstly, people interviewed for this work could reflect on many decades of life; secondly literature such as Norman Stevens' books of old photographs; and thirdly that the author has a biography connected to Caerleon, but is a child of the 1980s. I would argue that the bus stop is a portal or threshold to other times or a liminal space: many times in the past are represented all at once. Mark Fisher writes about portals and thresholds in his book *The Weird and the Eerie.* For example, he describes how film-maker David Lynch uses opening and closing curtains as a 'frequently re-occurring visual motif' to signify portals into different worlds (2016, pp. 53-59). Let us concentrate on the bus stop, where we started earlier on, to explore how the use of space was shaped in the 1960s and 1970s.

Caerleon High Street: Space shaped in 1960s and 1970s?

People have long stepped off Newport Transport buses on their way to Usk and Monmouth. Since the 1950s routes have extended to Cwmbran and the estates at Lodge Hill and Home Farm. There are some small but obvious changes from fifty years ago. For example, somebody with limited vision or reduced mobility would now sense the tactile paving and a built-up kerb. The post office remains as a place to send letters, to take out money and to buy cards and sellotape. However, the telephone in the tall red box outside has been replaced with a defibrillator.

The seemingly-unchanging nature of the view from this spot is partly due to the whole streetscape, including listed buildings, being part of the 1970 Caerleon Conservation Area; a local planning authority policy to protect the characteristics of the built environment. In many cases Norman Stevens' books help to sense what has changed. For example, at the corner of High Street and White Hart Lane (J) there was a butcher, which in turn became a hardware store and is now called Burlesque hairdressers. The building next to the White Hart pub (K) used to be a general store to buy newspapers and sweets and has become Bar Piazza (L). In a unique twist, the front two rooms of 33 High Street (A) is now a retail outlet called Machen Interiors.

Figure 18 – July 2019. Outside the Post Office

The format in which we tell the overall story is to chop up the different walking interviews, performances and texts and re-assemble them in one coherent walkable line. I spent some on Caerleon High Street with Nigel on a sunny July morning in 2019. Nigel came to Caerleon in 1971 and he spent all of his teenage years living in the same house. Nigel never returned to live in the place, although his parents lived in Caerleon until they died in 2017. After an hour of walking Nigel and I arrived at The Red Fort curry house (E) at 2 Cross Street.

Nigel was very receptive to the process of tapping into the drift of memories: generally, he would fire off many thoughts, names of people and little anecdotes when we arrived at a given building. He remembered that this used to be a small supermarket:

One time we bought bread rolls and garlic sausage – which a lot of people thought was appalling. You know, we're at that stage when people said: 'Oh, I don't like greasy foreign food.' And another time, I think for a week, we just ate carrots, raw carrots! And another occasion we just came here and ate black pudding. And we're eating cold, uncooked black pudding for lunch. This sort of fitted with our self-image of being edgy and out there.

The above memory helped to show that teenage priorities were changing; bits of the school dinner money are nibbled off to be spent on more important things – namely beer. A few doors further down this narrow road is Curro's Restaurant (F). Nigel explained that this latter restaurant had started up in the mid-seventies and that it specialised in weekday lunchtime business. He said:

And that was business people coming out from Newport and Llanwern. Business lunches, you know. And this was seen as part of the business process.

Nigel recalled that his future father in law – Alan – would have been out dining and drinking in Caerleon with people from Llanwern. Alan was a production manager at STC – Standard Telephones and Cables. The steel works at Llanwern, as described by Jim Kirkwood (Stevens, 1997), was established near Newport in the early sixties. Eventually STC was taken over by a better-known company called Pirelli which used cables to make car tyres.

Nigel's recollections help us to understand the wider industrial landscape around steel production. The works supplied steel for other businesses – such as STC. Nigel articulated his own theory that business people from the interrelated ecology of steel businesses took each other out for a 'slap up' lunch. Nigel backed up his argument with his own experience of holiday jobs washing up and waiting at The Hanbury – a prominent old pub next to the River Usk. He said that the latter did a similar type of trade for business people:

And this has just utterly disappeared. I just don't think the idea that you would take people out for a three-course lunch works now. You know: a bottle of wine, coffee and brandy; and then go back to work; is just bizarre. But it was a big thing.

In many ways this example is one of the opportunities revealed by the walking method, where the interviewer lets the conversation flow rather than pushing specific questions. Nigel's observations from forty years ago combine with other perspectives and help to convey a specific time or époque. Curro's still being there puts mid seventies Caerleon into some kind of geographical, economic and social context: it was a place over the hill from an industrial Newport where managers of different companies would come to do their deals. In

more recent times it has become generally unacceptable to have a boozy lunch, as Nigel observed, and such close physical industrial agglomerations are now rare. However, Curro's menu remained similar to four decades earlier: starters including Melon and Parma Ham, main courses including a combination of chicken and seafood that is Paella Valenciana.

We leave Nigel for a while, but stay focused on Cross Street. We meet Jeff, who came from a Welsh valley town called Maesteg and was a student in Caerleon during the late 1970s. The college and halls of residence were up the hill from the centre of the old village. As Jeff's memories drifted from the pubs and a little supermarket (D) – at that time called the 'Maid Marion' – we arrive at the fruit and vegetable shop (G) at Number 7 Cross Street. Jeff could not precisely remember the name of the business owner. However, he recalled someone who looked like rock star Rod Stewart in the era of 'spiky hair and leopard skin pants.' For my part I remember childhood visits to the shop in the 1980s; my first encounter with plastic grass upon which fruit and flowers were displayed. I know that the owner was called Pete. Jeff supplied an interesting anecdote that the 'Super Fruiterer' owner also came to the parties and social events up at the college. Apparently, the girls used to invite him.

The story supplied by Jeff illustrates how the college became a significant part of Caerleon's life in the twentieth century – particularly from the early 1960s when the college started to admit female students. By the 1970s Jeff explained that men and women were sharing blocks of student accommodation, called 'hostels' which numbered one, two, three and four. We took a little geographical sidestep as described the make-up of the hostels:

> Hostels one and two were ladies only. And three and four were mixed. But they were mixed floor by floor. So in hostel three it was men on the ground floor and women on levels two and three. And then in hostel four it was men, women, men.

The deeper I got into these walking interviews the more that I could sense that my own connection to this space was through my experiences of being a child in the 1980s. I thought about Jeff's description of the hostels mixed floor-by-floor and visualized it as an allsorts' sweet with coloured coconut layers horizontally upon black liquorice. Three different colours layered on top of each other represented the mixed hostels with both men and women. To count the floors up we realise now that the majority of the inhabitants must have been female. This is one of the really valuable facets of walking and talking: people come forward with lots of stories and anecdotes which gives context to other times such as the gender composition of the student halls.

Recollections from both Nigel and Jeff seemed to be mundane, but were crucial to the task of exploring the post-war dream. At a basic level all of Norman Stevens' much cherished

books were crowd-sourced efforts compiling photos of shops and street corners which most people may not have placed in a family album. A thoughtful volume praising the collection of such *Mundane Methods* was written in 2020 by Helen Holmes and Sarah Marie Hall, including methods which can help to capture everyday life. As already articulated, Caerleon has a history of archaeology and features in writing from the past. Fortunately elements of life Caerleon are covered in Arthur Machen's 1907 novel *Hill of Dreams*. Throughout Machen supplies much context from daily life in the late Victorian period and – importantly – it is a tale largely told at the pace of a walk. Let us investigate how this helps us to further contextualise life today.

Introducing the *Hill of Dreams*: Portal to more recent life?

The *Hill of Dreams* follows the main character Lucian as he explores deep imagination, power of place and the surreal. From the next stage we will start to walk a route towards a hill of dreams – being Lodge Hill – and explore what this journey through space and time reveals. For the moment we remain at the centre of Caerleon: a place for the practicalities of posting parcels, getting off the bus and – increasingly over time – for consumption based less on immediate necessities.

There are many autobiographical elements to *The Hill of Dreams*. We know from the foreword that Machen completed the book in 1895; when he was in his early thirties. Machen often steps back from the fantasy to glimpse how contemporary political, cultural and economic life was changing at the tail end of the nineteenth century. The following example (p. 149) reveals some detail:

> When, now and again, he voluntarily resumed the experience of common life, it was that he might return with greater delight to the garden in the city refuge. In the actual world the talk was of the Nonconformists, the lodger franchise, and the Stock Exchange; people were drinking Australian Burgundy, and doing other things equally absurd.

These small details help to capture the time and the social class of Machen's upbringing. We will not pick up on the political elements, but instead consider how red wine produced in Australia, and shipped thousands of miles, as a cultural marker. We pick up with Nigel comparing the pubs of 1970s Caerleon, where the White Hart (K) was a favourite as:

It was a lot edgier than other pubs around here: pool room in the back; the bar in the front; very good jukebox. My two favourites at the time would have been 'Silver Machine' by Hawkwind and 'Knights in White Satin' by the Moody Blues.

To build up the story of contemporary consumption Nigel and I looked over High Street to a two-storey building. On the top floor is a Chinese restaurant called Phoenix Garden IV and a bar called The Doghouse on the ground floor (H). Nigel explained that there had always been some kind of cafe or pub at this location. The narrative of his mid to late teenage years developed as we explored memories connected to this spot.

Nigel was part of the Caerleon Comprehensive school rugby team and grateful for the hard work of Phil James, the games teacher. There are memories of James organising a rugby playing tour and night out in Narberth, West Wales. Memories of the rugby team connect with an important time during Nigel's adolescence. He recalled Caerleon Rugby Club – the establishment to which older and stronger boys could graduate, he then looked at the opposite side of the road again to the White Hart. Nigel recalled the element of fear when the ominous gang 'The Big Feet' were occupying the pub. He explained that he played rugby with Caerleon Rugby Club for a while. As the Big Feet were also members, Nigel said that this gave him '...brownie points: a little bit of protection.'

The previous response seemed to reveal deeply-held emotions; showing that there were more than facts and figures locked up in this space for Nigel. As we pursue the hill we will explore what happens when a group of people are guided through a space that they are not familiar with. For now, we add more sensory detail to the story of the centre of Caerleon.

Figure 19 – July 2019. Street narrows from Bull Inn towards former hardware store

Butchers and brass: Not just visual sensations

Nigel recalled the smell of cigarette smoke as he re-imagined pubs such as the White Hart during the 1970s. We now close our eyes and engage our ears and sense of smell as we turn our heads towards the pedestrian crossing. On the corner – at 29 High Street – is a hairdresser called Burlesque (J). Coralie Wilson explained how her husband Wilfred used to live above the property in the 1940s when it was William Skuse's butcher shop. Coralie is in her early nineties and now has short-term memory loss through dementia. Speaking from her sunny garden-side room, and with help from her daughter Lindsay, she told me that she originally lived in Longhope in Gloucestershire and spent World War II with her grandmother in Cardiff. In the 1950s she met Wilfred Wilson and they settled long-term in Caerleon.

Coralie's memory was, using her own words, a little 'skewiff'. However, one of the things that she was certain about was that she met her husband Wilfred through a man called John Brown who lectured at Caerleon College. Her husband had trained to be a draper at Saville Row in London. After the war he returned to south Wales and eventually managed the Henry Cordy clothing stores in Newport. Both Coralie and Lindsay explained that Wilfred had always been a keen observer of daily life. He painted many Caerleon scenes and also contributed many words to *Caerleon Past and Present*, a book published in the early 1980s by Primrose Hockey. Wilfred's words and observation are used later to depict the *Post-war Dream* – particularly as he conveyed both the 1930s and changes in the late 1950s.

With Lindsay's help Coralie was invited to take a geographical memory tour and return to Caerleon High Street. Coralie remembered John Skuse the butcher, the Post Office and a grocer called Jones. In truth Coralie was reflecting on nearly seven decades of living in this place; anybody would struggle to hold a coherent impression. So we consult Norman Stevens' books to look for clues. The second Caerleon book *Scenes Revealed*, from 2003, demonstrates that John Skuse had moved his butcher business to the end of Caerleon Common by the 1970s. Our walk will pick up again with John Skuse at the new business location: we sense how he moved with the times and the role played in selling meat for his customers to freeze and store in their own homes. In particular we meet Nigel's mother who was an early advocate of the chest freezer.

Returning to Caerleon High Street, Nigel himself offered memories of the ironmonger store which came after John Skuse left. Nigel recalled his 1970s adolescence and described it as:

> One of those places you could go in and say: "I need a number five, three inch, brass, flathead screw. I only need three". And he would get a box out.

Nigel captured a quaint space. Maybe a business model connected with a time when Caerleon's expanding population were taking on their own home improvements and modifications. Some deeper memories of the same store came from Jonathan, one of Nigel's childhood friends. Jonathan and I met on a different day and we took a 'walk of the mind' as we sat in a café. He named the hardware store owner as Mr Jenkins and recalled a counter with a brass ruler used to measure ropes or anything else sold in lengths. He remembered how metal chains left scratches on the glass counter surface. Through these sonic memories Jonathan theorised that shops in the seventies had a larger sensorial depth compared to modern day. He recalled particularly the smells of the different products on offer. For my part I remember that Jenkins' used to have the kind of pets that my parents would never allow, such as little budgies and mice. These were accompanied by smells of bedding and droppings.

Thinking back to the common ground of pubs Jonathan remembered how the White Hart, adjacent to Jenkins, was the preserve of bikers. He described a pool table in the back with red and yellow balls. And so we move to look at the space as it was in the 1970s through a different lens. We ask was it a differently gendered to how it became four decades later?

Social Construction of Space: Gender, Age and more

Doreen Massey was interested in the human elements of geography. Her well-respected 1994 work *Space, Place and Gender* argues that there are many relationships which constitute space and place, including gender. Essentially what this means is that the physical size and structure may be one thing, but it is everyday use and factors such as politics which shape space. Caerleon in the 1970s with its rugby club and pubs – as articulated by Nigel – was perhaps a space more occupied by men than women. However, Jeff's accounts of the halls of residence at Caerleon College suggested that space had started to become less dominated in the 1970s. We will now look at an interesting case study which reveals a further move from that masculine aesthetic.

In July 2019 Nigel and I noticed that the betting shop at Number 1 Cross Street had recently closed. The end seemed abrupt and swift: all signage had been removed. We were therefore left to speculate which specific brand of bookmakers it had been. Nigel suggested William Hill; part of their big announcement of shop closures in July 2019 (BBC, 2019). Looking at *Scenes Recalled* by Norman Stevens we can deduce that a butcher's shop on this location closed in 1972 and then it became a 'Turf Accountant.' By 1978 the shop was shown in a photograph as being 'Now under the management of William Hill' (p. 22).

Returning to July 2019 Nigel and I speculated how bizarre it was that a building we had both probably passed tens thousands of times could seemingly become so invisible. Nigel commented that the bookmakers' closure was: '…no loss to me: that it didn't do anything for me'. As such this articulates the argument from Doreen Massey (1994) that space is not only shaped by gender, but also connects with our sensibilities and values. In this regard Nigel gave an interesting response to a question about whether the nationwide closures of William Hill outlets were a sign of the times:

> I mean this area hasn't changed very much at all really [since the 1970s], surprisingly: the Bull, the Priory; much, much better. We used to have eighteenth birthday parties in the Priory: shabby.

Terms like 'shabby' are judgments about style, values and quality. The comparison made by the words 'much, much better' conveyed change over the past five decades. The relative state of the local hospitality industry back then was revealed by Nigel's observations: the 'real dive' had been a place called the Cwrt Bleddyn – four miles away from Caerleon – with what he described as: '…a semi-derelict warren of rooms downstairs.' Perhaps this latter venue was a place for young men with their motor cars to meet up with young women. This place became a countryside hotel in the 1980s with tennis courts, health spa and a Laura Ashley tea room. Nigel marshalls his memories at the Priory to contextualise the economic times of the 1970s:

> But the thought of them allowing one hundred sixteen, seventeen, eighteen year-olds in there; it just wouldn't happen now. But it suggests they were struggling back then.

The Priory Hotel on Caerleon High Street has since adopted something of an upmarket feel with its range of wine and Spanish food. On the outside the Priory's stone wall is well pointed and looking secure for the future. At this point we introduce a character who knows about buildings and who I joined for a walk lasting more than two hours on a sunny August weekday in 2019. Chris moved to south Wales thirty-five years ago and came to work for the housing service within Newport local authority. He has two children who went to Caerleon Comprehensive School in the 1990s and is now a grandfather. In recent years he has been involved in the Caerleon Arts Festival and also Caerleon Civic Society. This latter organisation seeks to protect the heritage of Caerleon and has the power to get involved in planning applications. Some specific planning detail emerged as our walk goes along Roman Way – particularly the future of the Caerleon College site post closure in 2016. In the meantime we reflect on our current focus on the High Street.

Standing outside the recently-opened 'Machen Interiors' shop Chris had to scratch his head to work out how this change of use planning application had slipped the Civic Society's attention. Chris explained that the Machen Society (membership including Stewart Lee of the 'surreal threaded through the mundane' fame) had been 'rather affronted' that this building had become a commercial property for the first time. Nevertheless, we both agree that business on the High Street had to be positive. The conversation then drifted to another planning issue: the White Hart newly-painted in dark green with lettering and detail in black and white. Chris explained that the change of colour was a case of 'two fingers' to Newport City Council and the Conservation Area. We note that shops have changed, but what power does this conservation area have over culture?

Buildings and conservation

The White Hart (Figure 20) illustrates how well Caerleon High Street adheres to the Conservation Area policies such as keeping buildings simple in colour. However, the closure of the William Hill betting shop at 1 Cross St (building D) potentially triggered a more meaningful investigation of what such a set of policies mean.

Figure 20 – July 2019. White Hart Public House

Being in the know through the Civic Society, Chris told me that the shop belonged to the Bull Inn. Moreover, the owners wanted it to become a gin bar. Was this an 'Australian Burgundy' signifier for modern-day Caerleon? Or potentially was the public face of Caerleon making a move away from the male-oriented space of pubs and bookies? Speaking of Bordeaux gives the opportunity to introduce French philosopher Pierre Bourdieu and his concept of 'habitus'.

The latter hypothesis, partly formed by fieldwork in Algeria in the late 1950s, is defined in 7th edition of *Sociology* 7th (Giddens & Sutton, 2013, p. 881) as 'the learned dispositions, such as bodily comportment, ways of speaking or ways of thinking and acting, that are adopted by people in relation to the social conditions in which they exist.' As such structures and cultures exist outside of the individual – particularly at a geographical level – and which we learn as we grow up, and fall into, as we become adults.

In this case for example, we could connect the habitus steel making industry with the types of leisure activities on offer. We now extend Massey's argument about space as a series of relationships to explore the August 2019 planning application for a change of use. The planning application (ref 19/0820) proposed a change in use of the betting shop for it to become an adjunct to the Bull. All relevant documents are publicly-available from the 'Planning Portal' on the Newport City Council website. Within the plans and reports one can find the responses submitted by the public. The owners of a bed and breakfast on Cross Street did not object to the planning application, but listed concerns including that clients should enter and leave by the two main entrances onto High Street and adjoining car park.

The comments revealed community knowledge of a dedicated 'gin/prosecco' bar. These perhaps more female-oriented types of alcohol drinks support the idea that the wider space – in a nod to Doreen Massey's work – is becoming less masculine. Of note the local planning authority did not grant planning permission because of the 'significant harm to interests of acknowledged importance' which would result from this proposal – including the proposed door which led onto Caerleon High Street. The report cited the special character and appearance of the listed buildings and – more specifically – the Conservation Officer objected to people passing between the Bull Inn and 1 Cross Street via a knocked-through wall – that is to say a new door. Effectively the report asks why create a portal if it never existed when these were two separate properties? On the one hand a door onto a street respects the integrity of an old building, but the community is saying it is more likely to cause noise in an otherwise mostly-residential location. Who has the stronger argument? Time will tell how this debate ends and so we return to the specifics about what this new usage says about the place and the change in times.

The fact that a gin bar was earmarked as the replacement for a betting shop helps to understand that the use of space – rather than the shape and form of the buildings – has been evolving. As such we can see that a new order is emerging to replace the culture of book makers and boozers which we earlier traced back to the early 1970s. At this point it is worth returning to the habitus (after Bourdieu) which Jim Kirkwood described in the 1997 Caerleon book. Kirkwood referred to the local response to an 'influx' of people who came to

work at the newly constructed steel works. Later on, we will meet some of these people to understand how their tastes, spending power and children came to set the culture of the place. To some degree we already have Nigel's perspectives.

Does Caerleon now have a different local habitus?

On our walks in summer 2019 there was relative surprise and shock to the book maker closing and the Machen Interiors shop opening (Figure 21). The closure experienced with Nigel in July; and the opening witnessed with Chris in August. My response to these observations was not passive either. The advantage of writing up these accounts some time after – and being to assemble them alongside other narratives and theories – is that we can explore some meaning or symbolism.

Figure 21 – Machen Interiors at 33 High Street, August 2019

Chris put forward the proposition that Caerleon can be perceived in three ways. The first mode is what he calls the 'proper old village' – Ultra Pontem. The latter name derives from the Latin for 'over the bridge' and connects back to the Roman origins. The second Caerleon is 'the village'; where we stand now with its Roman remains, some mediaeval buildings and a physical streetscape and shape established in Victorian times – this would be what Anholt (2010) refers to as the 'place image' and which is managed by the state and private operators. The final element is what Chris called 'The Lodge': the housing estates built from the 1950s onwards. Related to the latter, Chris explained that:

> Some people in the village had never been up there; know nobody from up there; and never wanted to go there.

According to Chris there was a sentiment that some in the old village felt terrified about 'The Lodge'. Note that 'The' has been added to its name. This tension is felt as we take a group of people – including 'old village' residents – on a guided walk from the hill fort down to the original council estates on Lodge Hill. For the time being Chris asked me to reflect; as somebody who had spent my childhood and adolescence in Caerleon. As a commentary this latter facet of Caerleon's identity is what Kavaratzis, Warnaby and Ashworth (2015, p. 4) would describe as the 'actual place reality' which sits alongside the 'expectations' managed through a 'managerial' branding effort.

Returning to our conversation, I told Chris that I had been to primary school on Lodge Hill. However, my life had been experienced through the lens of a middle-class family who spent their money on holidays to rustic parts of France and Italy rather than having the latest consumer products. I also had no roots here as my extended family had never lived anywhere near to south Wales. Furthermore, my father was careful spending leisure time in Caerleon as he had taught the vast majority of the children born in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. By extension he had relationships with many parents also.

In terms of local pubs, I explained to my walking companion Chris that I had most often been to the down-to-earth White Hart, but probably eschewed the Bull due its sporting connections. Long ago I had come to the view that Caerleon was a schizophrenic place which existed between the conservative – with small c – centre with its pubs and the families who lived on the estates. This work is not really about my voice and so it is worth bringing Nigel back to this debate. Nigel had not been very involved in local life for four decades, but was able to theorise how and why Caerleon was changing in 2019. He said that:

> I do wonder what's going to happen to Caerleon. The Bristol impact now that the tolls are gone. And the fact that Caerleon is on the right side of the bridge for Bristol; how big an impact that will have?

For context the Severn Bridge from England to Wales charged a toll since opening in 1966 until its abolition in December 2018. The change meant not just a financial boost of £6.70 to cars or £20 to lorries (its peak in 2017), but also motorists no longer had to slow down and stop at the toll booths. The result has been that workers in Bristol can potentially get more value for money from their housing if they move a little bit into Wales. Nigel commented about Caerleon:

It is not as pretty as Usk or Monmouth or Abergavenny. But it's got a lot going for it and it's probably cheaper.

To this argument I bring evidence from my own biographical perspective. In July 2019 my brother and I sold the Caerleon house where we grew up to people coming over from Bristol. As explored deeper into this work, the end of my own family connection to Caerleon merged with the period when I went on walking interviews with different people. Through the first-hand accounts from 2019 it is possible to sense how bigger forces were at play. For example, the subtle move away from a predominantly male space is typified by Machen Interiors and the proposed gin and prosecco bar at the betting shop. There is more to find out from many other contributors and now time to start walking through to the Priory Hotel and then move from this spot towards a hill of dreams.

2. Pursuing the hill: dreams & performance

As with the previous study of Caerleon High Street this next section allows past and present to jostle alongside each other. However, we now add movement to our approach and cover the land which leads towards what Chris had previously referred to as 'The Lodge'. Our overall mission remains to explore the dream which emerged from the late 1950s and to see how this relates to life in the present day. However, we broaden our range of source material from interviews to include the responses from a group of people who attended a public event held in July 2019. We will see how this event allowed us to build a collective story from the individual accounts of people interviewed between April and June 2019.

This leg of the journey also introduces the potential of psychogeography to connect with more deeply-held emotions and memories. At certain points we ask you – reader – to lose some control so as to connect deeper into the subconscious. To this end three psychogeographical principles are used: firstly we are guided by the geography glimpsed through Arthur Machen's 1907 novel *The Hill of Dreams*; secondly we use text from the latter work to move backwards in time; and thirdly brief performances led by artist Marega Palser allow us to go beyond words.

We start by walking a few paces along Caerleon High Street to number 33. On the third of March 1863 a baby was born at this spot and named Arthur Jones. Today a blue heritage plaque marks the house. We understand that Arthur later chose to be known by the name of his mother's family – that is to say Machen. On passing the house in July 2019 Nigel had explained the significance of that family name. Nigel related that the latter were the Princes of Caerleon who got 'booted out' by Marshal William, the Norman Earl of Pembroke, in the twelfth century. They retreated to a castle in the settlement of Machen – approximately 12 miles away. We can therefore speculate that the choice of name Machen rooted Arthur the writer more deeply into his inherited landscape than the family name Jones.

Arthur spent his childhood in a vicarage near to Llandegfedd – some miles away into the countryside – where his father was a rector of a small church. Moving specifically to *The Hill of Dreams*, the story centres on the life of Lucian Taylor, a young man raised in the countryside near to the town of 'Caermaen.' The latter place is easily identifiable as Caerleon, with multiple references to Roman history and its setting in Wales. Lucian's is an only child who lost his mother at an early age; a father who is a rector at a remote church; and a family whose financial prospects seem to decline as time goes on. There are many parallels with Machen's own biography.

The novel has an underlying message about the constraints put on Lucian by his father's ever-reducing social status. Lucian has to drop out of a fee-paying school away from home and he is seen to fall out of favour with the respectable boys and their families. Lucian gradually gets lonelier and takes to wandering the local area. The following lines (p. 75) open the novel:

> There was a glow in the sky as if the great furnace doors were opened.
> But all the afternoon his eyes had looked on glamour; they had strayed in fairyland.
> The holidays were nearly done, and Lucian Taylor had gone out resolved to lose himself, to discover strange hills and prospects that he had never seen before.

Throughout the work Lucian keeps returning to the hill – which is the site of the glow in the sky and the furnace doors. Machen reiterates Lucian's desire to lose himself: in this sense the words 'glamour' and 'prospect' have some value. Perhaps Lucian is trying to find status no longer available in real life? The more he enters himself the more he takes solitary walks. For example, there is a particularly disturbing sequence in his childhood where he comes across some local boys who kick a puppy to death (p. 137-139). Chapters 5, 6 and 7 of Machen's work follows young Lucian as he walks the unfamiliar spaces and places, including his twenties spent in London. The solitary figure walking or – flâneur – described in Solnit (2014, pp. 198-201) – is a constant motif throughout the walk.

Socio-economic status and the desire to dream

As our journey develops we will see how people moved to Caerleon from the late 1950s to pursue their dreams. We now put Machen aside and introduce a new character – Jason – who is able to articulate what that the post-war dream may have been. In March of 2019 I went for a walk with Jason – some time before meeting Nigel, Chris or any of the other characters previously mentioned. Five minutes before arriving on Caerleon High Street we had passed a group of bungalows at Myrtle Cottages – designed for older people. We revisit the site of these bungalows in the Part Three.

Reflecting on older people led to a conversation about 'choice'. Having multiple gas suppliers, many pension options and the role of the internet was cited as being very challenging for those in their late 70s and 80s. Jason reflected on his membership of 'Generation X'; born towards the end of the 1960s. He considered the generation that came after him; effectively the school year who turned 18 at the start of the new millennium. Jason

worried about their university debts and how they could attain their desires for the future.

> It's about having their castle; having their home.
> They're much more mobile in the sense that there's no need to be fixed as maybe our parents would have been. And there's almost that sense of disengagement; it's so severe that in some senses they don't care what happens anymore.

There is a notion of Jason seeing that different generations have their distinct relationships with movement. For example, he is maybe suggesting that the baby boomers were the ones who 'fixed' their location; and created stability with the idea of the 'castle' for a home. On the streets such as Caesar Crescent and Larkfield we will meet people who set up their houses and families in Caerleon during the 1960s and 1970s. From these accounts we will learn how the Government and local authorities – represented by men such as Jim Kirkwood – made great efforts to develop the 'fixed' infrastructure in terms of places to work, schools and – significantly – houses in which to live.

Returning to Jason, he seemed to outline the perspective of people born in the 1990s. To place them in the context of time, these could be the children of the youngest baby boomers e.g. born in the 1960s or the grandchildren of the oldest baby boomers e.g. those born in the 1940s. We note that the word 'engagement' has multiple uses in modern British society – ranging from being aware of politics to brand loyalty to giving attention to their studies. As such it is difficult to pin down. However, Jason clarifies this a little by saying a bit more about behaviour:

> So I don't see the young adapting and it's worrying. And it's that middle generation; people in their fifties really aren't preparing.

The word 'adapting' suggests that he is talking about young people's awareness of their economic and social selves. Given the average cost of housing in Caerleon was towards a quarter of a million pounds (Rightmove, 2020) it is no wonder that younger people have little room for manoeuvre. He later extended his point about the 'middle generation' to explore the types of castles – or three-story town houses – that people in this age category aspire to live in. Jason wondered if these properties can be financially sustained once people are no longer working and earning. Spending time on Roman Way links to accounts of the 1980s when the fixed nature of the Post-war Dream started to be dismantled: represented in terms of Llanwern Steelworks losing half of its workforce and the right for tenants of social housing to buy their properties at a reduced price from the council.

As a general point, we reiterate the desire to explore how people have lived through the past six decades rather than setting to critique contemporary politics of ageing in British society. To that end we acknowledge how Jason used the terms 'fixed' and 'mobile' to frame the socio-economic life of three generations through their relationships with housing. After walking a mile or so (1.5km) we will see the similarities between the expansion of Caerleon in the 1960s and 1970s with Machen's depiction of his character Lucian in 1880s and 1890s London. The subsequent climb up Lodge Hill is a chance to reflect on cultural norms as the aspiring middle classes lived through the 1960s to the modern day.

Shortly we will go back to Caerleon High Street and step through to the Priory Hotel back garden where we join a psychogeographic group walk and some curated performance from July 2019. Firstly we explore a little about psychogeography and how it applies to this case.

Getting deeper into psychogeography

Merlin Coverley's excellent 2018 edition of *Psychogeography* provides a useful timeline: starting with eighteenth century writers who were fascinated by geography (such as Daniel Defoe); through to the solitary Victorian flâneur (including Machen) who aimlessly wandered the streets of newly-expanded cities; and through to Guy Debord and the more political Situationists of the 1950s and 1960s. Bringing the story up to date Coverley (p. 17) suggests that contemporary practice: '... as closely resembles a form of local history as it does a geographical exploration.' We will accept that our mission is a social, economic and cultural biography (*The Post-war Dream*) and partly about the methodological implications of bringing space into the research.

Whatever conclusions we make from this study, we will probably still find that psychogeography is both an inexact science and an art form. However, Guy Debord probably best sets the aim:

> The study of the precise laws and specific effects of the geographical environment, consciously organised or not, on the emotions and behaviours of individuals.

The above definition was cited in American writer Rebecca Solnit's *Wanderlust* (p. 211, 2000). We will reference her work once we have got to Home Farm Estate – particularly in terms of the cultural significance of car usage in the 1950s and 1960s, and suburbanisation

more generally. Returning to Guy Debord, the laws and effects of the 'geographical environment' (or space) were described as including ambiances, edges and zones. The act of walking is part of finding a 'dérive' (or drift) which helps to give some form of shape to the edges and zone within space – and which we will soon attempt. Coverley's work also reveals that Guy Debord and the Situationists failed to develop a coherent methodology. However, they did set down a number of principles for the walk (or dérive) that we will adhere to: firstly set a mission that seems in some ways is random; secondly include some form of artistic or political subversion; and thirdly walk with a group of at least two people.

Preparing to take a group for a walking trip

We had planned to take people on a walk to the Lodge Hill fort as part of the 2019 Caerleon Arts Festival. The event was described as follows (Celf Caerleon Arts, 2019):

> On this walk we tap into the flows of Caerleon: how the river and hills inspired romantic writing and what housing estates and pavements mean for everyday life during the past half century. Aled will locate parts of his own Caerleon childhood of the eighties alongside the experiences of people who moved here in the sixties and seventies. Come and wander with us, we'll consider how people are attached to place in their emotions and memories.
> As Raymond Williams wrote: 'W*e are closely yet uncertainly connected.'*

We had a group which numbered nearly 40 people – aged from eleven to late in their seventies and with an equal gender split. I knew about a third of the group through my work in the preceding weeks to promote the event. However, the remainder of the group were attracted by the Caerleon Festival programme and were unknown to me on initial arrival, albeit some individuals revealed themselves as people that I had not spoken to for nearly three decades, such as parents and siblings of school friends and local 'characters.' There is a good account of local characters and figurer in Felder's (2020) study of apartment blocks. In sampling terms, this group was not 'purposefully' assembled to represent the general population; rather it was a kind of 'convenience sample' which Bryman (2008, p. 183) defines as being acceptable in social science terms when the opportunity is too good to miss. Of note, only a few members had grown up – or were presently children – in Caerleon.

Due to an element of prior promotion I understood that one potential attendee would be coming along in a wheelchair. In order to make the experience more accessible we included

a reduced version which lasted up to one hour – the focus of this stage – and at a mostly shallow gradient; following National Cycle Network Route 88. Another person had hearing difficulties and followed my commentary via a Bluetooth microphone system. From the start I was aware that some people would not climb to Lodge Hill fort (Section Three and Four) as it would to too steep and along narrow footpaths. In research terms this first hour was a bit like 'focus group' where people talked to each other rather than having questions directed at them (May, 2001, p. 125). Some audio-visual records were taken by me as short video clips and some still images by photographer Jo Haycock. As an aside – the second public event, which took place at the Community Hub on Lodge Hill and the streets leading down to the Common, was recorded on film by a professional in November 2019. An account of this walk in detailed in Stages Five and Six.

The documentation made my position clear: both a native of Caerleon and a PhD researcher staging this event with support from Swansea University and the Economic and Social Research Council. I sometimes played the role of 'participant-as-observer' and 'observer-as-participant' – definitions made by Gold (1958) and cited in *Social Research Methods* (Bryman, 2008). For example, I played the former role when I shared by own experiences of growing up in Caerleon. I was in the latter category when I took photos or made short films. Significant consideration had been put into the logistics – as detailed earlier. In conceptual terms the event was constructed as an exercise to explore the dérive (or drift).

1. The mission was set with a well-thumbed copy of *The Hill of Dreams* as a text. The route that we would walk to the hill was based on what remained from the 1870s route from Machen's birthplace at 33 Caerleon High Street – for an example see Figure 22. Marega and I had walked the path during the previous week and had started to tune into its ambience.

2. Marega had prepared some playful subversive acts based on the Machen text, the route and also the contemporary accounts that I had gathered in 2019. In advance I only knew a little of what she had put together.

By using Machen's text, and the space itself, I wanted the group to 'creatively' let go – see Solnit's *Field Guide to Getting Lost* (2017) – and open themselves to the experience. To clarify, only Jason, Jonathan, Jeff – and the soon-to-be-introduced Dorothy – had been interviewed prior to this event in July 2019. The attendees were therefore not given the perspective of Chris, Nigel, Coralee or Lindsay. At this stage in the research, the event

aimed to explore the potential of walk and performance: there was no deliberate attempt to generate any theory – see May (2008, pp 414-416)
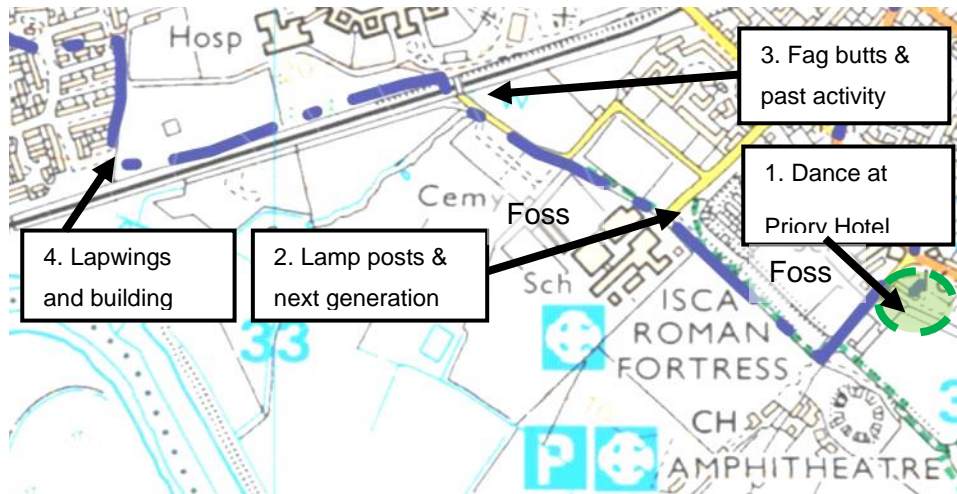
Figure 22 – Plan of route from Priory to Home Farm Estate with performative elements
© Landmark Information Group Ltd and Crown copyright 2019

Setting the scene: July 2019

It was a warm morning: the first Sunday of the month. People started arriving in dribs and drabs – some quite early – so Marega and I set an exercise that would get people talking. We had already decided that we would decorate a recently-deserted bus stop on the route – discovered on the previous week's reconnaissance mission – as a shrine to public services past. As such we invited people to write down their message on a piece of Japanese prayer paper. The placing of the messages is detailed when we reach the specific geography on Trinity View. This slightly subversive element also helps to sense Caerleon and its streets from the perspective of older people and their mobility.

Once the wider group had completely assembled I introduced the outline of the walk (Figure 22) and the principles. In particular we would be using our imagination and playful side to engage with Caerleon and the spaces en route. To that end I read parts of *The Hill of Dreams* to show how Lucian's fascination with the Romans was linked to archaeological remains (p. 142, 2006):

> And he lingered in the museum where the relics of the Roman occupation has been stored; he was interested in the fragments of tessellated floors, in the glowing gold of drinking cups, the curious beads of fused and coloured glass, the carved amber-work, the scent-flagons that still retained the memory of unctuous odours, the necklaces, brooches, hairpins of gold and silver, the other intimate objects which had once belonged to Roman ladies.

I explained to the audience that a Roman museum had existed in Caerleon since the 1850s – so all of Machen's life. As such the same objects which many of us had seen could have also inspired the text that I was reading from. Beyond this base of material relics and remains, I explained how the power of the imagination is critical to *The Hill of Dreams*. Lucian is described as spending time in a Roman villa of his own imagination (p. 152):

> Throughout these still hours he would meditate, and he became more than ever convinced that man could, if he pleased, become lord of his own sensations.

And so, we were ready to set out on our walk. Instead of giving people a visual map of the dérive (or drift) Marega sketched out the route through a dance – Figure 23. Marega represented the part about the cigarette smoking by pretending to smoke. She was cheeky, slightly provocative and got very close to some people – most likely encouraging the group to get involved – Figure 24.

Figure 23 – Marega stomps the shape of the walk
(c) Jo Haycock

Figure 24 – Marega gets close to some attendees
(c) Jo Haycock

From the Priory we turned out through the gates and walked in a south-westerly direction along a road called Broadway. Effectively this follows the long, straight and wide way between the centre of Roman Caerleon via the South Gate and the amphitheatre which lies outside the walls of the fortress. Most tourist visitors to Caerleon will follow Broadway to park their cars. This is also the route taken by school buses and local people use when going to play golf, football, cricket and rugby.

We will pick up on some of the Roman connections throughout this work. In the meantime, we focus on memories unearthed as people walk through space. Next to the amphitheatre we introduced a walk with Dorothy from March 2019. At one location she pointed at a church on the hill above Caerleon, roughly to the south-east, and recalled her memory of the building being on fire. From this initial observation Dorothy explained why she had moved to Caerleon in the late 1960s. We will build from her story because it helps to capture both the era and of a growing place.

Lamp posts and the next generation

Dorothy's earliest memory is of seeing the church on fire. She was about five years old and lived on the other side of the hill from Caerleon; off the Corporation Road on the eastern side of Newport. The conversation quickly moved through important stages of her life. We learned that she had got married in 1964 and lived in a brand-new house in Caldicot – to the east of Newport. She described why they decided to move in 1968:

> And, then, we decided that we would move to a little village – so that we could start a family. I felt that going to school where you live is a really important base for young children. Rather than catching the bus or being picked up

Caerleon was the chosen village and she was specifically referring to the secondary modern school which opened in 1965. People like Nigel were students at this new school: the children of parents who moved for jobs at the steelworks. Returning to Dorothy, it is interesting to note that she stressed the importance of being able to walk to school. Dorothy lived in a house on Home Farm Estate for four decades. We now connect to the winter of 1969 and share the experience of a twenty-something Dorothy returning to her new home from work at Lydia Beynon maternity hospital.

Dorothy explained that their house was on a new estate on the edge of the countryside and half a kilometre from the nearest bus stop. These were dark evenings and she would get off the bus and then run to the first lamp post. In effect each light was a shelter from the potential danger of being caught unaware. She also remembered that the lamps were gas-fired. Although explained with accompanying laughs, this was most certainly a time when she felt scared.

We now return to the group walk. We had turned north-west from Broadway to the Fosse which marks the ditch alongside the edge of the Roman fortress walls. When we were at the western corner of the old fortress Marega picked up on Dorothy's story. She ran between the lamp posts next to the secondary school – see Figure 25. Without words Dorothy's memories were recreated: running; then stopping for a breath at the lamp; and then running to the next light.

Dorothy's words

'And I think the first light was roughly where we are now.
So I would stop there and have a breath. [laughs]
And then run to the next light'

Figure 25 – Marega runs between the lamp posts
© Jo Haycock

On top of Marega's physical performance I added a paragraph from *The Hill of Dreams* where Lucian walks through London in the dark in a neighbourhood which was under construction (p. 186-7). Machen describes a man who alights from a bus:

> He was stumbling uncertainly through the gloom, growing a little nervous because the walk home seemed so long, and peering anxiously for the lamp at the end of his street, when the two footpads rushed at him out of the fog.

The fictional story concludes with one assailant catching our bus passenger from behind, whilst another struck him with a heavy bludgeon. The poor man was left unconscious and relieved of his watch and money. His assailants fled through the dark and across the field. The purpose of mixing Machen's words with Marega's interpretation of Dorothy's story was not to alarm people, but to invite them to consider the contested nature of places that are under construction. In many ways these spaces were yet to have developed rules or a sense of *habitus* – referring back to Bourdieu. Closer to the estate we will learn more about the destructive effect on nature when new houses are built. For the moment we reflect on how members of the walking party responded.

One man remembered a Christmas Eve when his aunt accidentally pinned a decoration through the gas pipe in the kitchen. He remembered that this would have been a council house in Birmingham and sometime in the 1960s. Fortunately the Gas Board man was able to come around and festivities were back on track. Another person was able to confirm that the street lights in Caerleon were all powered by gas. This latter contributor, called Denise,

explained that her family had come from a steel-making town called Ebbw Vale to live in Caerleon. As such the story of the steelworks had not been a feature of the day. In fact, I had never really thought about its significance and it had not obviously featured in any of the five interviews prior to that day.

Before getting back to the walk it is important to recognise how observations shared by our fellow walkers deepened the overall study. For example: that many had been brought up in council houses; that there was only one Gas Board; that street lamps were not powered by electricity; and that decorations were put up the day before Christmas. On top of this, the Ebbw Vale connection shared by Denise would later open a rich seam of stories: specifically the social and historical context of how the shape and urban form of Caerleon expanded. On a methodological level this event facilitated the type of further participation – a technique explained in Wendy Olsen's accessible book *Data Collection: Key Debates and Methods in Social Research* (2012, p. 77): Denise was interviewed at a later date and her story is detailed as we build the dream on Lodge Hill. On a deeper level, I would later ask how we consider the social history of our own places. Peter Finch had a similar desire to find *Real Cardiff*; namely one which is '...above, below and beyond the surface' (2002, p. 9).

So far Marega and I had been the interpreters of another person's connections with time and space. For example: Marega's interpretative performances came from Dorothy's memories from the 1960s; and my reading of late Victorian Britain via *The Hill of Dreams*. Referring back to Debord's aim, were we failing the space where we were currently situated? Were we helping to study 'the precise laws and specific effects of the geographical environment'?

After half an hour we were still perpendicular to the Roman fortress walls. Archaeology tells us that the Fosse had been walked for at least two thousand years. A few hundred metres up the pathway we started to read space and take a first foray into Nigel Thrift's theory of non-representation and how it has influenced human geography – more in Ben Anderson and Paul Harrison (2010) *Taking-Place: Non-Representational Theories and Geography*. We will briefly explain Thrift's concept of non-representation, then introduce an example of human action not present on that day in July 2019 and then consider how the walker can sense space in different ways. The following paragraphs are potentially complex. This is when you will need to relax a little and loosen up. In the end these concepts will prove to be very rewarding and will make the rest of our journey more pleasing.

Cigarette butts: markers of past activity

Nigel Thrift was one of the first human geographers to write extensively about value of that which cannot be represented in visual form – publishing papers from 1996. Some of his clearest analysis came as he reflected on the death of this father. The resulting paper was published in 2000 and called *Afterwords*. This latter work positioned the continued influence of his father as a rhizome-like form which was permanently away from view and beneath the surface. I like to think of the rhizome as the subterranean plant stem that sends out roots and shoots from its nodes, such as the rhubarb in my garden which retreats in winter.

Returning to Thrift's *Afterwords*, he asked himself if his father's influence still existed? Yes, undoubtedly so. But was his presence visible? No, not immediately. This is a very reduced definition. However, the important distinction that Thrift subsequently made, and since taken up by figures such as Ben Anderson and Paul Harrison (2010), is the value of practice and human action. In particular Thrift advocated the value of performance – that's to say more than words – to convey and explore the less visible meaning that space holds.

We take a relevant example from on a weekday morning walk in March 2019 with Jason, who we met earlier on, and who said about the space at Fosse and Cold Bath Road that:

> There's a lot happening here. And that only becomes sort of obvious when you live here. And that becomes clear at the weekends when you realise just how many people use it.

Without doubt there was hardly anything going on that day. Large patches of grassy space were empty and there were only a few teenagers in their white shirts and maroon ties wandering the streets. In fact, you had to trust Jason and wait for the upcoming weekend for any of his stories to make sense.

It is interesting to note how Jason put the latter description in to the present tense. Jason went on to describe how this space was 'the heart of Caerleon', citing the role of the local football club in the community or the games of pétanque (French boules) played in the corner by the rugby club. How would it be possible to convey this idea to the people on a Sunday morning in July?

Figure 26 – Walking the Fosse between the football pitch and school.
Above image (c) Jo Haycock

The space off the Fosse – Figure 26 – was empty of the meaning that Jason had described. The school was closed for the weekend and the football season had ended. Marega took out her phone and played a sound recording of school children playing which she had taken just a few days before, and at roughly the same time of the morning. Of note there is an above-head-height hedge – Figure 26 – between the path and school playground. Effectively there was no way to see the children from our vantage point. Maybe some subversive type had been playing a recording from which Marega had taken her sound sample? How can we trust that this activity was ever associated with this space?

We are not going to take you down a blind alley of confusion and so will try to bring all of this down to earth. Much of the Situationists' practice involved ludic ways of interpreting space: for example throwing dice, using maps of one space and trying to make them translate to another. Some playful practical ideas can be found from Morag Rose's contribution to the previously-mentioned *Mundane Methods* (p 211-229, 2020). Morag organises walks every first Sunday of the month in Manchester with the Loiterers Resistance Movement. For example, she advocates walking up a street one way whilst looking at the roof lines and then walking back looking at the ground. We did not specifically make ask people try to do anything so adventurous our group walk in July 2019.

Walking past the far corner of the school playground one of our walking party explained that

this had been a spot where teenage school students had come out to smoke. This spot was called 'The Scully.' This name does not appear on any maps, but looking at a website of crowd-sourced definitions (Urban Dictionary, 2005) we get:

verb... to attempt to rationalize a seemingly irrational event or occurrence.

Maybe we are on to something... This 'Scully' space could always have been a portal to those slippery concepts that are so hard to convey? We should maybe invite Nigel Thrift to come here. The deeper one looks into the *Urban Dictionary* definition, then we realise that Scully relates to the fictional character from the *X-Files* science fiction detective TV series. Unfortunately the X-Files was first on air from 1993. I know for a fact that the term 'The Scully' existed at least in 1989. However, the seed of the cigarette smoking idea was something that we had already thought to play with. These days the gates are locked and no school pupils sneak out of the school for a sneaky fag. However, a little further up the way we came to a site where we found a collection of fresh cigarette ends. We were stood at the end of a bridge which extends the Fosse and carries walkers and cyclist over the railway line. At the corner where the path turns westwards towards Newport there is a gateway which allows an entrance to St Cadocs Hospital. We find that it is the naughty health workers who are now leaving their enclosed space to have a cheeky fag.

Figure 27 – Cigarette ends by the hospital entrance.
(c) Jo Haycock. July 2019

Marega did not miss the opportunity to give her own interpretation. She produced a see-through plastic bag from her backpack to show the audience. Within the bag were some cigarette brands which existed in the 1960s and no longer around today. As such we connected with the era that we were trying to explore: this promoted memories of a time when smoking was more commonplace and when names like 'Cocktail' and 'Consulate Menthol' had a certain cache. Connecting with this era was important as we were about to turn the corner and walk to the Home Farm estate which took shape from the late 1960s.

We note that this change of direction meant that we had to slightly step off the dérive which connected us with the very walk that Arthur Machen could have taken from his birthplace at

33 High Street to Lodge Hill. Figure 28 is a map from the end of the nineteenth century which shows how that the track crossed over the railway and continued in the same straight direction up Lodge Hill. At a certain point it joined a track which is mapped with the words 'ROMAN ROAD.' We can assume that the Victorians had carried out enough archaeology to know where the remains were.
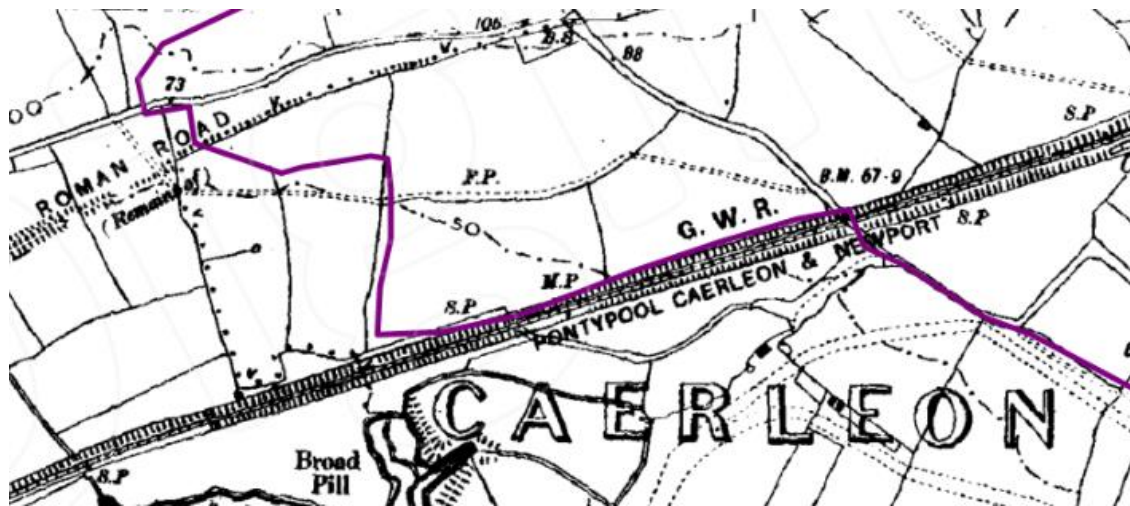
Figure 28 – Map of track over railway line circa end of 19th century
© Landmark Information Group Ltd and Crown copyright 2019.

We had to leave that path in July 2019 – shown in purple Figure 28 – as the hospital was built in the early twentieth century. As such the route which we took is still very close to many hedgerows and paths which existed over a century before. We can also assume that young Arthur Jones, from a respected local family, would not have trespassed. And so we will not either.

And so we walked down a long straight tarmacadam pathway: generally the route is two metres wide in order for bicycles to safely pass each other. During our walking event, we asked people to consider how this path which is straight for about four hundred metres – allows two people to easily walk alongside each other. It was along this stretch, albeit walking in the opposite direction, that Dorothy and I had a deep conversation in March 2019 about her decision to leave the established family home that she had inhabited for four decades. Some of the issues about leaving a family home are picked up on Lodge Hill and when we return to the bungalows at Myrtle Cottages.

This cycle path environment had some qualities which allow people to concentrate on a conversation. For example, there are no immediate concerns about navigating corners or gaps or a steep gradient requiring people to take breaks for a breather. Some of these

considerations are discussed by James Evans and Phil Jones in their 2001 paper on the walking interview method. As an important aside, Evans and Jones extend their method to undertake some 'deep mapping' exercises for their *Rescue Geography* project. This latter work largely centred on older residents walking – and revealing – the parts of inner-city Birmingham which were about to be destroyed (or regenerated) in physical form. Such work builds on the idea of non-representation. However, they differ from us as they had an explicit mission to concentrate on, being '… the archaeological traces which are threatened by new building are recorded before development.'

Our project has never specifically asked people about nostalgia or to record things which are about to disappear – such as *Rescue Geography* explored in Birmingham. However, we have presented everyday activities which you the reader cannot see and which are unlikely to happen again: Nigel's stories about the supermarket on Cross Street in the early 1970s; and Coralie's memories of her husband living above Skuse the Butcher's shop just after World War II. However, the buildings in which these activities took place still stand and, in principle, we could turn back culture to the 1950s to the 1970s. To be clear Caerleon is not comparable to an older inner-city area which had population and significant buildings taken away. Moreover, the Caerleon that we walked through is a place that grew through the 1950s and 1970s.

Looking at the map, we are now towards the end of this long stretch of cycle route. We will go through a gateway and meet underneath a tree. Where nature gives way to houses we will refer back to Machen, to poet Waldo Williams and to the people who remember these fields from late 1960s and the early 1970s.

Lapwings and new buildings

So far on this walk we have included more passages from *The Hill of Dreams* which refer to the days that Lucian Taylor spent in London than those located in Wales. The last example, as tram stopped, conveyed the lawlessness and distress of the newly-created neighbourhoods. This other geography – namely London – has been included because this is where Machen spent virtually all of his adult life. However, Machen's roots were near to Caerleon and commentators on his work argue that he continually referred back to unconscious maps of that old landscape as he explored London (Coverley, 2015). Indeed we make two references on the edge of Home Farm Estate. For the moment we find out what this specific location meant to some people before the houses existed.

Sitting in the garden of a café back in spring 2019, Jonathan recalled the land just west of the hospital and close to the railway tracks during the mid 1960s. There was a memory of ponds and wetlands with lapwing birds. In fact he remembered 'loads' of lapwings flying around all the time, how he innocently took a lapwing chick back home once, and how his father told him to take it straight back. More details emerged about this location from an interview with Coralie and her daughter Lindsay when I met them in early autumn 2019 – some months after the walking event. Lindsay remembered the same period as Jonathan had described: adding that the land by the railway always used to freeze over in the winter. She said that it was not necessarily ice that you could skate on. However, we get the notion that the land was water-logged all year.

The lapwing is an interesting case as it reveals a lot about the changes in land use since the middle of the nineteenth century. The RSPB have a dedicated section on their website which focuses on the decline in their numbers since this time. We learn that legislation was passed in 1926 which prohibited the collection of their eggs. So Jonathan's father was right that his son should return the young chick. Aside from eggs being taken, we also learn that lapwings raise their young in the spring time and close to the ground rather than nesting in trees. Lapwings therefore desire 'unimproved land' that has not been drained and where cattle do not live. Recent research cites from the British Trust for Ornithology's finding that British lapwing populations declined by at least 40% between 1970 – effectively when this estate was being expanded – through to 1998 (RPSB, 2020). We will return to the lapwing after we read how Machen laments the loss of nature (p. 168):

> On every side monotonous grey streets, each house the replica of its neighbour, to the east an unexpected wilderness, north and west and south the brickfields and market-gardens, everywhere the ruins of the country, the tracks where sweet lanes had been, gangrened stumps of trees, the relics of hedges, here and there an oak stripped of its bark, white and haggard and leprous like a corpse. And the air seemed always grey, and the smoke from the brickfields was grey.

I read these words out loud in public: a description which referred to London. Machen seems to show distaste for the destruction of nature, using the words 'haggard' and 'leprous.' We could perhaps say this had no relation to the time and place where we were standing. However, on closer examination there were elements of Machen's description which could also have applied to our location shown in Figure 29 – with Jon Gower at the centre.

Figure 29 – Jon Gower reads poetry at the edge of Home Farm Estate

Architectural critics may say that the semi-detached family houses next to us were similar in design to their neighbours; and that they were also generally monochrome. There was somebody [in pink] sat on what looked like an old tree stump. As an aside, the remains of sweet lanes – shown in Figure 28 – were glimpsed later on and we heard stories about locally-cast bricks from our event at the Community Hub on Lodge Hill. The dominant smells were something missing from our sensory experience. Returning to the lapwings, Jon read out some of Waldo William's 1956 poem 'Mewn Dau Gae' (In Two Fields). For context the poem recalls the experience of a young Waldo Williams (born 1904) relaxing in two fields belonging to a neighbour in Pembrokeshire (Williams W. , 2010). First in Welsh:

> Oddi fry uwch y chwibanwyr glow-wib, uwch callwib y cornicyllod,
> Dygai i mi y llonyddwch mawr.

Poetry – and particularly its enactment through a public performance – would fit into Nigel Thrift's scheme of how to engage with – and represent – the deeper meanings of space. Jon enacted the flight of the bird with his hand squiggling and moving through the air. Poetry is perhaps untranslatable in its own right, so to convert from Welsh into English is perhaps even more difficult. However, Jon offered the following:

> High up, above the sparkle-billed pipers, above the wise flight of the lapwings,
> It brought me the great peace.

Jon stressed that the last line refers to 'the great peace', rather than a general sense of great peace. We can stop, imagine a field with no obvious signs of human 'improvement' and think

about this for a while. Or perhaps try to think of nothing at all.

Much of the last few hundred metres have explore what has become absent from the immediate environment. In the case of the cigarette butts in Figure 27 we reflected on activity which we presume to have recently missed. Going back twenty years these cigarettes could have been smoked and stubbed out on ashtray inside an office, pub, cafe, shop or even in very close proximity to hospital. Smoking in the workplace became illegal in 2007 and the presence of lapwings at this location takes us back half a century; perhaps this knowledge will be helpful to future archaeologists?

The deeper we get into this work the more we consider phenomena which previously had great meaning to everyday life – particularly as Marega created another short performance for the second public event at the Village Services Community Hub. In Part Three we consider the edges of remembered space, such as what it may mean when people lose their short-term memories – for example through dementia. Whatever the reason, taking this dérive has hopefully allowed us sense the world as it may have been minutes or decades before. However, we are about to spend time in a place as it grew and evolved: to sense how people became attached or 'fixed' – using Jason's term.
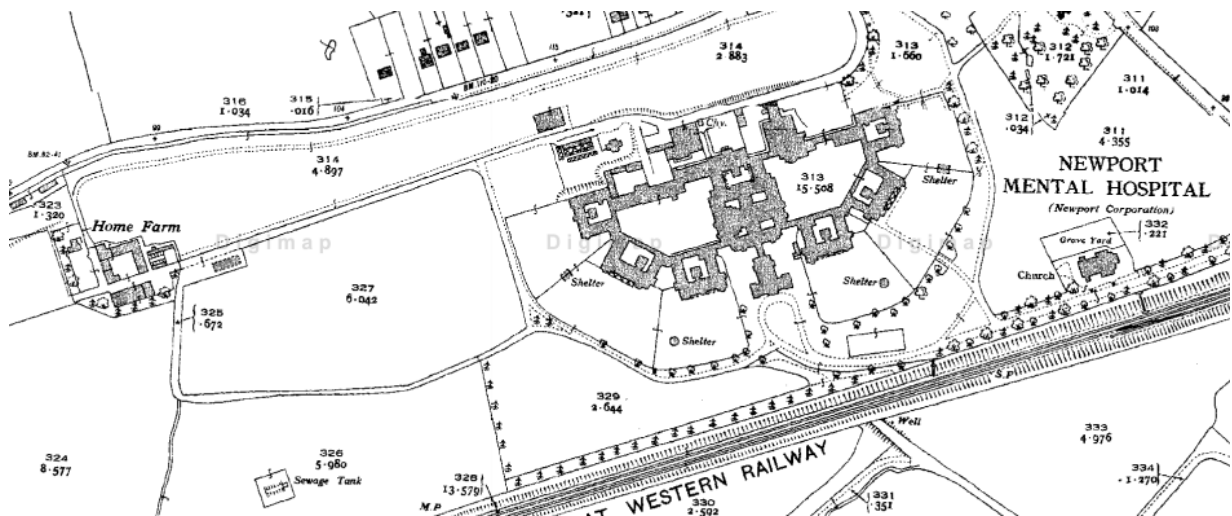
Figure 30 – Plan of Home Farm to the west of Newport Mental Hospital. circa 1920.
© Landmark Information Group Ltd and Crown copyright 2019

Home Farm has a Crescent, Close and Green. Along the latter road we came across an old brick house at odds with every other property on the street. Dorothy told me that this property, Number 3, was the original house at Home Farm built to serve the hospital to the east – see Figure 30. The farm was closed in the 1960s and the land was sold for housing.

Making emotional connections to a place

We had first met Dorothy as she recalled memories of the church fire and to find out that she moved to Caerleon to start a family in a village in reach of a school. Dorothy recalled moving to Home Farm in 1968 and explained that the first years were not so easy:

> I think we were the third family on the whole estate; sixty two houses that were built. And the builder went into liquidation, so obviously – in a sense – we lost out because we paid the builder. And, erm, the company that took over – whether it was the bank – they certainly didn't want to do anything for us.

Given that the original developer had gone bust, the remainder of the estate took two years to complete. Dorothy recalled that professional and semi-professional people made up the population on the housing estate. She added some further detail: 'Just down the road here there was a husband and wife and they were professional ballroom dancers. And they would judge competitions. And – as you know – Blackpool is the place. And they were judging competitions in Blackpool!'There is something poetic about the birds leaving and dancers flying in, especially the notion that the dancers would migrate to Blackpool for a certain period. Dorothy explained how she lived through teething problems, such as not having a proper front door for some years. However, the same house became a 'nice home' for forty years and she said that having a child there was wonderful.

We are nearly at the end of our first exploration into a psychogeographical dérive. We have attempted to study the 'laws and specific effects of the geographical environment' through walking, performance, *The Hill of Dreams*, poetry and the interpretation of first-hand accounts. We have started to reveal how space has overlaying meaning for different people. For example, a summer holiday visitor to Caerleon's Roman remains would never appreciate how the same space is the 'heart of Caerleon' that Jason referred to. Spaces take time for everyday practice to become deeper associations – such as the uses of Caerleon High Street explored earlier on. Let us reference to Machen to consider how he captured the dynamics of a newly-built space in 1890s London (p. 229):

> So they passed and repassed each other on these pavements, appearing and vanishing; each intent on his own secret, and wrapped in obscurity. One might have sworn that not a man saw his neighbour who met him or jostled him, that here every one was a phantom for the other, though the lines of their paths crossed, and recrossed, and their eyes stared like the eyes of live men.

The spaces that Machen described are now London's inner suburbs of Acton. People have lived in these places for many generations and they have become established places. Returning to Home Farm, Dorothy is testament that people will get to know each other and that new community can emerge. However, her experience of running between the lampposts in the dark does convey that this place was originally on the edge of the countryside and took its time to develop.

We have emerged from the paths through this residential estate and stand on Lodge Road. We will next explore how estates of the late twentieth century were built in a time of rising motor car use. To illustrate the story, we include the case study of three generations from one family who have always lived on the edge of Lodge Hill. Through their accounts the concept of spatial range is introduced. We also consider what living on a hill could mean for older people who rely on bus routes.

Poem: I can't see myself here anymore

You walk in and feel a sudden,

But subtle,

Change

And I can't see myself here anymore.

The mirror has gone from the hallway;

The one with a pirate badge on it;

Where a comb used to sit a top

Used by my father all those years;

But really a thing of childhood for me;

In the days when I had enough hair;

And its metal would scrape my infant skull.

And moving through the house;

The dining room mirror gone also;

It feels like the energy has dropped;

The space has hardened.

It's not easy to take a house apart;

To deaden those spaces that kept you alive;

To lose the chairs which welcomed your weight;

After life's hard knocks.

To let go you need the help of others;

Who will boldly take an object;

Whose significance they could not imagine;

But whose absence is,

In many ways,

Liberating

You can see yourself in your mind's eye;

But your reflection in glass,

With the light coming back to you,

Well that is a magic trick worth knowing.

This poem was written in May 2019; during a very intense period of trying to find the right ways of disposing with the everyday objects that had been important to the Pillmawr Cottage in Caerleon – the house where I grew up.

3. Forgetting to walk

Thus far we have discussed spatial theories developed by Debord in the 1950s, Massey in the 1990s and Thrift in the 2000s. As such we have presented a positive case towards the 'art of walking' and how it enables people to sense place and culture in depth. However, the following section will help to sense a time when people stopped seeing the everyday world

from the pedestrian perspective. As such we dig into Rebecca Solnit's research cited within *Wanderlust* and which pinpoints the post-war decades as a time when a car-focused ontological position took hold; that is to say seeing the world from a moving vehicle. For example, Solnit writes about how the car was glamorised in popular culture from the 1950s (2014, p. 191) and how suburbanisation (p. 249) led to car dependency.

Firstly, we return to where we had previously stopped on our walk. From this location we build on some of Solnit's argument about cultural change and illustrate with four accounts from the streets of Caerleon. This stretch is shorter than the previous one: in distance we walk 500 metres; and in time we concentrate on approximately six decades. Spatially we walk from the edge of Home Farm Estate, up the hill of Trinity View and via a pedestrian cut-through to return Lodge Hill Road. Once back on this road we rejoin the dérive that connects us back to Machen's Caerleon of the 1880s.
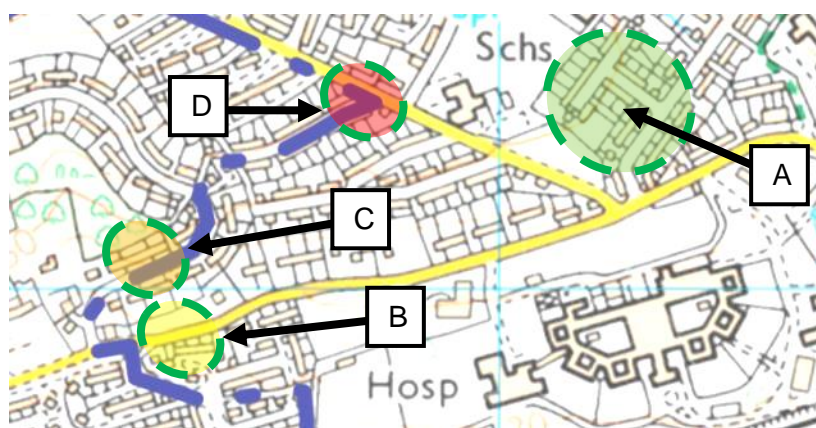
A. First social housing
B. Site of car accident
C. Bus stop shrine
D. Looking at Lodge Hill school

Dotted line represents walk

Figure 31 – Location of events

© Landmark Information Group Ltd and Crown copyright 2019

This walk is a chance to explore the relative geographical area within which everyday lives have been led. Research into emotional attachment to place suggests that the size of this space – or the range in which we live – increases through teenage years and early adulthood. The range reduces to a space closer to home when people become parents with their own children. In older age the range increases again as people need to find resources within the neighbourhood. This walk allows us to see that the culture of the post-war era planning, rather than the process of ageing, has changed people's sense of space.

We are introduced to this space (Figure 32) by sharing a walk of the mind during September 2019. Lyn was born in 1947 at the Lydia Beynon hospital, where Dorothy worked and has lived on the same street in Caerleon for his whole life. Furthermore, Lyn's daughter Helen and his two grandchildren live within a hundred metres of where Lyn lives. His family is one

of the first to have moved to Lodge Hill, albeit before the start of World War II. These houses were built by Caerleon Urban District Council (A) to replace houses cleared from Church Street in the centre of the village in the 1920s. It is worth learning a little about how this community grew as there some distinctions with those who came later on – connected with the new steel works – from the late 1950s.
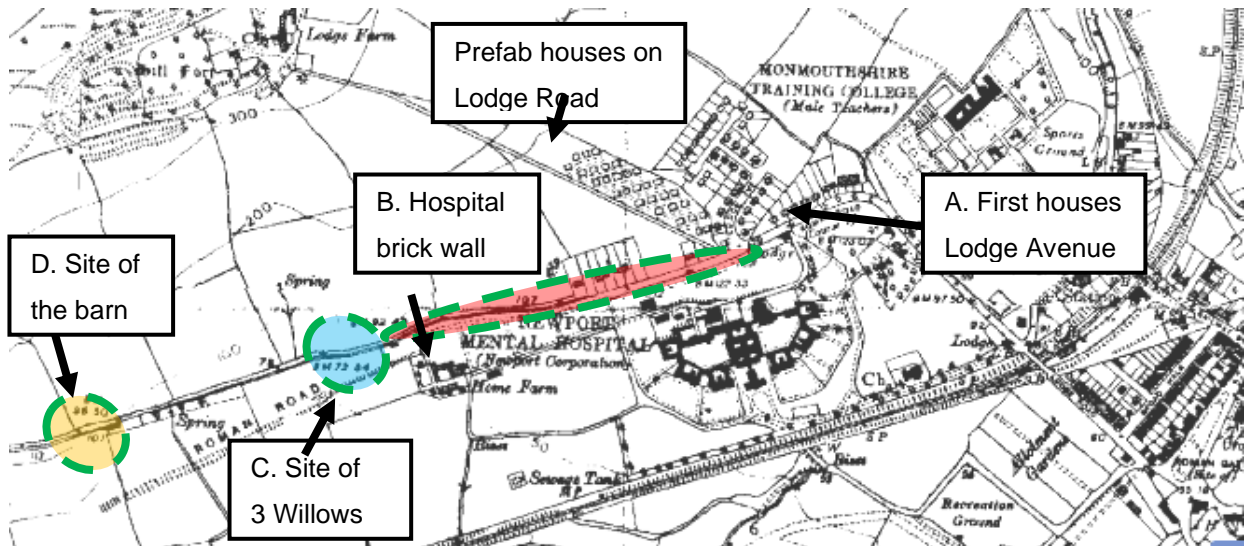
Figure 32 – Childhood walk from 'The Lodge.' Map circa 1950s.
© Landmark Information Group Ltd and Crown copyright 2019

Lyn explains that the original sash windows of these 1930s red-brick semi-detached houses were made by his own father – using a wood called red deal. Each property had a Welsh dresser built in to the recess either side of the glazed enamel 'Yorkist' fireplace. A pair of semis cost two hundred and fifty pounds to build in the mid thirties.

A sense of a close community emerged from conversations about houses and the street. Lyn explained that these houses on Lodge Avenue – as it was originally called – were built with two main doors. Generally it was the back – or side door – through which friends and family came to your house. The front door was only used by the doctor; or as Lyn's daughter Helen said: 'If there was trouble.' Lyn explained that his older sister, who lives over the road, still only ever uses the side door. Another local convention between neighbours and friends – and which will be discussed in more detail when we focus on Helen (Figure 39) – is that people were allowed to take short cuts through each other's back gardens. Effectively these permissive agreements allowed some people's sense of the space, for example between home and school, to be much smaller than it was for others.

We will now leave the house and accompany Lyn through his memories of walking past Caerleon's boundaries towards Grove Park and the part of Newport where his mother's family had lived. The route is shown in Figure 32 with some features labelled A, B, C and D.

Childhood walk from the 1950s

Lyn took a walk of the mind from his armchair and recalled going a mile and a half-away from his home (A). He and his friends would follow landmarks along the way: such as the high red brick wall next to St Cadoc's Mental Hospital (B) until it reached the road to Home Farm, with the 'Three Willows' opposite (C). A bit further used to be what was called 'The Barn' (D). Lyn then traced the route up 'The Big Hill' to a collection of houses just over the brow. A farmer called Bill Pintches lived in Pillmawr Farm Cottage and Mr Houtchen lived over the road in Mount Pleasant. Water rose in wells at each of the two properties and it was possible for boys to get a cup to quench their thirst. Lyn also remembered a grey tin fence which they used to bang as they went past and a short cut down to the red brick bridge over the river. On a personal level I was interested to hear about the cottage on Pillmawr Road as it was where I grew up. The Singleton family had made home at Pillmawr Cottage for forty one years and the tin fence was opposite my bedroom.

Lyn added rich details about the destination at Grove Park. Children could hire bats and play a type of tennis. There were also terraced flower beds, seats and some swings. Just beyond Grove Park was the Newport neighbourhood of Crindau, where Lyn said that goods trains used to go; and also to (the now demolished) Hewertson Street where his mother grew up. Lyn explains that this park was slightly out of their range as kids so he would sometimes ask his father to come and pick them up. His father is described as always having a car: makes such as Singer, Ford, Morris; and also AJS motorbikes. Lyn described the return journeys 'sailing along' Pillmawr Lane in his father's Morris car. There were deep memories of the additional bumpers welded on top of the car's frame – giving a sense of security to his father, but leading to a driving style described by Lyn as 'hair raising.'

What made these memories more than just a collection of stories is how Lyn remembered the means by which he navigated space – that is to say through landmarks that he and his friends could easily identify. There is also a notion of the sensorial experiences connected with spaces – such as drinking water or banging on the tin fence. As with other accounts, for example Dorothy's lamp posts, there was a sense of danger associated with the cars.

Lyn's memories chart the end of the 1950s and the start of 1960s; around the time that the Spencer Steelworks were built to the east of Newport. As he riffed on his recollections, Lyn asked me if I knew about the 'Shirley Bassey Shale Wagons.' I had to say that I no idea what he was talking about. From the ensuing story it transpired that shale was material used to

stabilise the ground beneath the seven-mile long Spencer Steelworks. Lyn says that the shale wagons were 'notorious' as they drove though Caerleon; and were often driven by 'maniacs' who were paid by the lorry load. The famous Cardiff-born singer was associated with them because she was known to have owned some of these stone-moving vehicles. Lyn added that she probably made more money from this business then she did from her early singing career. As an interesting cultural aside, the 1957 British film *Hell Drivers* is based on aggregate lorries racing around small roads such as these.

To sense these lorries coming along the small roads of Caerleon is dramatic and the Shirley Bassey connection is amusing. However, it also felt that Lyn was revealing something more visceral: a story which applied to the wider community in this place. As neither Helen nor I had ever heard this story before I wondered if these were emotions held within the land for over sixty years. As such, I felt that the shale lorries could be the key for us to tap into a dérive – or psychogeographical drift – that would connect us to the *Post-war Dream*. This story is taken up in within the second public event.

In the meantime we have strayed from the larger walk. We imagine that Lyn has wandered most of the way back home and is stood near to the 'Three Willows' – as shown in Figure 32 (C). From this location we can see one of the few sections of the brick wall from the hospital (B) which has survived through to the twenty first century. We are also at the turning to the Home Farm Estate. Once again, we rejoin Dorothy's memories. She recalled a time in the late 1960s and early 1970s when the hillside – which we climb later – was a collection of fields with 'a few bits of hedges' where she and her husband went for 'lovely walks' through the fields. As the shale lorries had been recalled on Lyn's memory walk, Dorothy recalled a dramatic incident with a motor car when we visited in March 2019.

The car accident

Looking up Lodge Road one can see what remains of the wall which used to surround St Cadoc's Hospital and the Home Farm – Figure 34 (B). The wall is greater than head height and made of brick. For reference the street lamps are approximately 5 to 6 metres in height.

Figure 33 – Remnants of hospital wall, Lodge Road looking east, April 2019.

Figure 34 – site of the car accident (looking west), April 2019

As with all walking interviews, the locations were not determined by me. Dorothy showed the site of a car accident from when she lived on the Home Farm Estate – circa early 1970s. We recall from Dorothy's account that the builder went bankrupt during the building of these houses. Consequently, there were many unfinished elements, including an absence of any fence between perimeters of gardens and the main road – Figure 34. Effectively nothing substantial had replaced the old hospital wall – Figure 33. Dorothy shared the story of a car which came through next door's garden:

> And the one night, we'd gone to bed and there was a terrible bump – or crash. And I jumped out of bed. I think I come down. And, a Mini car had come across here. This was mostly mud. And right into the lounge window. And I was out first. And I found a man. He must have been thrown out – as he was sat on the steps in a daze.
> And I remember asking 'Is there anybody else in the car? Anybody else?' He said 'no'. And I said 'right, can you walk'? Yes. And then I said, right, hold on to me and I took him in and laid him on the settee.

The specificity of details suggests a story retold many times. We can speculate this was a coming-of-age experience in terms of Dorothy taking responsibility for the situation. To that end it was interesting how she described the driver: 'He wasn't that young. He may have been 25, I suppose.' Beyond the value of this memory to Dorothy's own life, there is something symbolic about the car crashing. Was this a time when more young people were getting driving licences and also able to afford motor vehicles? Statistics show that 1970 was the year when the more than half of UK households owned a car (Department for Transport, 2017). I remember my Dad sharing his own driving experience from the early 1970s when he

was doing his teacher training in Southampton. His misadventure was to crash his Morris Minor into a residential brick wall. To repay the damage my father had to rebuild the demolished structure over a number of weekends.

To sense when cars became more significant to daily life we consider 'The Solitary Stroller and the City' chapter from Rebecca Solnit's *Wanderlust*. Solnit pays attention to the representation of travel in popular culture, for example the writing of beat poets like Ginsberg and Snyder (p. 191, 2014):

> They caught the tail end of the 1930s romance of freighthoppers, hobos, and railroad yards, they led the way to the new car culture in which restlessness was assuaged by hundreds of miles at 70 m.p.h. rather than a dozen 3 or 4 on foot, and they blended such physical travel with chemically induced ramblings on the subject of the imagination and a whole new kind of rampaging language.

The adoption of the car within counterculture does make you reflect. Solnit adds that country ballad lyrics – representing the more conservative end of American culture – also moved towards car culture in the 1950s. The pace of the journey is important to Solnit's argument: the faster one travels the less able one is to sense what it is around. We will briefly look back at Machen's writing about the suburbs of late-Victorian London – as we did around Home Farm Estate – to sense how he writes about space. Machen created the following image to convey what was in the mind of Lucian Taylor as he sat in his room (p. 218):

> But he could imagine his street, the rain-swept desolate curve of it, as it turned northward, and beyond, the empty suburban roads, the twinkling villa windows, the ruined field, the broken lane, and then yet another suburb rising, a solitary gas lamp glimmering at a corner, and the plane tree lashing its boughs, and driving great showers against the glass.

Let us imagine that Machen had written the same work a century later. Could he have put his protagonist at the wheel of a little Mini car: the unfamiliar road with a lonely curve, sparse street lighting, the loss of control, the crash, a slide down a bank? We cannot answer this last question so easily, but we restate how important imagination is to our pursuit of the post-war dream. For example, High Street involved liminality and we have recently introduced some psycho-geographical concepts. Towards the end of the journey we will explore the edges of remembered space, including how stories of a family home from the 1960s generated many lucid memories for somebody with dementia. For now, we take our minds back to our walk, near to 'Three Willows', where we start to climb up to Lodge Hill Fort.

Poem: Muscle Memory

Cars are like muscles;

They have the power to move us;

In the heart;

And in the loins.

This one is called Vitesse;

From Triumph's sporty collection;

In the nineteen sixties;

When my Dad was a teenager.

Disc brakes on the front;

Overdrive gearbox;

French name;

Italian styling;

And all made in the 'pre-ee-yoo' Britain.

Bob says it was one of the fastest things going;

And he knows;

As he still rues the day;

When he let his last one slip away.

Vitesse is a feminine word;

Because of the 'e' at the end;

And we were all men back then anyway.

Pursuing the Post-war Dream

Sixty years ago

When these things were conceived.

She has a lovely stainless steel exhaust.

But after a thirteen year rest in the shed.

The largest muscle has become knotted

So Ceri removes the spark plugs;

All six of them;

To access two whole litres of memory;

And the potential.

And he pours the diesel;

The oily poison for petrol cars;

Through a plastic funnel;

Direct into the steel ventricles.

Though there are no strict medical procedures;

We have two qualified doctors by the patient;

Who have read their Haynes manuals;

And one who is smoking to keep calm.

We all distract ourselves and hope;

That the sclerotic chambers;

Will take this medicine;

And free up the pistons.

Ceri moves to the midriff;

Her bonnet is off;

And a little fan can be seen;

To decorate a belt.

He cradles her and teases;

The belt loosens;

And it slowly turns her head;

Something moves deeper inside.

There is a still long way to go;

Before she leaves her bed;

But Bob has perked up now;

Sensing life in this sister of an old flame

This poem is a response to a visit to Pillmawr Cottage by Ceri and Bob in November 2019. Ceri is a former colleague of my father who helped the sale of the Triumph Vitesse to Bob.

Ghostly bus stop

Our group of walkers in July 2019 had been reduced to about thirty people as we climbed a street called Trinity View. Some were not able to climb the hill and some did not have enough time. The street is effectively a large u-shaped road which climbs 60 metres vertically. In fact, Lodge Hill Fort is just a 100 horizontal metres directly to the north of this housing estate. The road has four stubs which come from it: Park Wood Close; Priory Close; Pollard Close; and Abbot Close. The vast majority of its houses maximise views of the River Usk. As such many gardens are south-facing and take in the full sweep of the sun as it rises from over Wentwood in the east and settles in the direction of the Pillmawr in the west. A desirable place to live: perhaps meeting the dream of a 'castle' which Jason had mentioned at the start of our walk along Caerleon High Street.

Figure 35 – Ghost bus timetable

As explained at the Priory Hotel, Marega and I had done a reconnaissance of the July's group walk. We had both noticed a ghostly bus timetable as we climbed up Trinity View. This object was painted the same shade of dark green as all things which belong to Newport City Council, such as railings, benches, maintenance vans and covered bus stop. As such, this object connected with knowledge that the bus route had been curtailed in late 2018. Similar to the empty football pitches and cigarette ends by the hospital gate, it was the absence which was remarkable.

Back in March 2019, some months before the group walk, Jason had explained the rationale for Newport Bus stopping this element of the bus route:

> There might be that first generation who depend on the bus. But there might be a splattering of them. Nine or ten people, but not enough to keep the bus service going.

The term 'first generation' connected me to people who moved to Lodge Hill in the late 1950s and early 1960s. In the short term they could find lifts or taxis, but surely this lack of public transport would make life harder as people got older. Marega and I decided that the empty frame (Figure 35) would be a good a shrine to the bus service past and a place to affix the messages created on Japanese prayer paper– Figure 36.

Figure 36 – The bus stop shrine. July 2019.

'I do not drive and rely on the bus services. Please do not cut them. Thanks'

'We need bus services for both senior citizens and children. Without them, to be able to get around we need to keep too many cars.'

'Don't take our buses away. So important.'

'How can villages and cities ever connect and how can the climate ever improve with cuts to public transport of this kind? Appalling.'

This was the first time that our group had gathered close to private housing, which is to say not in a larger public space such as when running between lamp posts on the Fosse (Figure 25) or the poetry recital on the edge of Home Farm Estate (Figure 29). A big group gathering on a street felt a little bit Situationist: perhaps the group were connecting with Solnit's political walking message. The location is roughly at Point B in map shown in Figure 31. The group left the newly-dedicated shrine and climbed further. The views from this point – half the way up to the hill fort – were pretty impressive on a sunny summer Sunday afternoon. Unfortunately, there is no footpath to the top so we took a pedestrian cutting from Trinity View through to Augustan Close. We would soon be able to connect with a remnant of Machen's 'sweet lanes.'

As an architectural aside, it is worth reflecting on the layout of Trinity View in Figure 37. Most of the roads were designed to follow the contours of the hill – or at approximately four five degrees from horizontal. We can reflect how this street layout contrasts with Baneswell in the middle of Newport – Figure 38. This latter neighbourhood of terraced houses existed from the 1860s. The 50 metre slope is navigated by three distinct streets – West Street, Bailey Street and North Street – which are nearly exactly on the north-south line. Most houses are perpendicular to these main axes – such as along Jones Street and St Mary Street. Some exceptions were made to align with the railway or pre-existing roads. Note how Baneswell's houses are tightly-packed together.
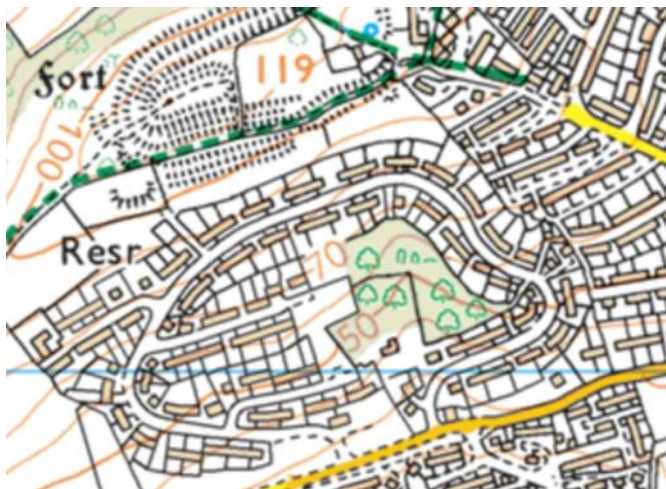
Figure 37 – Layout of Trinity View
© Landmark Information Group Ltd and Crown copyright 2019

Figure 38 – Layout of Baneswell

We could describe Trinity View as suburban, typified by the amount of space and the distance from the city and places of work. We return to Rebecca Solnit and her critique of suburban life in chapter 15 of *Wanderlust*, where she assesses suburban dwelling to have taken precedent over urban life in American towns and cities from 1970 onwards. As such she describes suburbanisation as being not only a metamorphosis on the ground – such as demonstrated by the street layouts above – but also a 'transformation of the mind' (2014, p. 249). The argument is extended by Solnit throughout the latter book with examples of how the suburb developed in different parts of the world.

Her clearest suburban example is of Manchester in the 1830s. The middle classes wanted their families to live in places where they could get away from dirt and pollution of the factory. Interestingly she cites evidence that the workers' housing was also moved away from the city centre. Many of the places where they lived were converted into offices and shops. As a result, the urban core became less populated. Climbing Lodge Hill we will learn how British inner cities – to which Victorian workers moved – were extensively depopulated through clearance programmes in the 1960s and 1970s: effectively encouraging relocation to places like Lodge Hill at the edge of Newport.

The common factor between Solnit's Manchester example in the 1830s (2014, p. 251) and Wales in the twentieth century is that people desired family life in separate places to their work. What differs is that the Victorians developed significant transport systems such as trains and trams to move people between home and work. Solnit argues that the car was the key for people to move further out of the city (p. 251). To be clear Solnit is not a fan of the 'homogenous' suburb. Some of her arguments are political, for example she describes

suburban life as being the antithesis of the 'public life, cosmopolitan mix and free expression' which come from dense urban living. However, her most developed arguments are philosophical: that to be connected to places through walking is profoundly important to humanity. Walking around the centre of Caerleon in Part Three of this thesis will build on aspects of embodiment and the theories outlined by Thrift and others.

Before meeting the people who built the dream on Lodge Hill, we will reflect further on how the motor vehicle – and the places built around car culture – has changed the physical environment and streets in which children grow up. Rebecca Solnit noticed that curving streets and cul-de-sac made walking distances much further than a crow would fly (p. 253). For an example, refer back and compare the two street layouts shown on page 138. To consider a real-life example we will return to the corner of Augustus Close and Lodge Road – Point D shown in Figure 31 – where we see how the space available to children has contracted over three generations or sixty years.

Space has changed

I stood facing Lodge Hill Primary School with Helen and her ten-year-old daughter on the same day as we had met her father Lyn in his house. The school was opened in 2018 as a combined facility to replace separate infant and junior schools. Helen explained how the new primary school had fenced off the public playing field. As such she sensed how space had changed from the mid 1980s when she was at a similar age to her daughter – see Figure 39.

Helen explained that she played on a field adjacent to the school (B), which was accessed via informal 'cut throughs' (A) offered by neighbours. In particular, a family friend called Donald Dally permitted Helen and her brother access through his back gate and directly through his garden. Such a trip would save about two hundred metres walking to and from Lodge Hill Junior School (D). Over the past thirty years people have moved and – moreover – the field itself (B) is no longer available to the general public. Effectively children now have to go a mile away 'down Caerleon' – meaning the space where Marega ran between the lamp posts – to have a game of football or rugby. To my mind the environment looked very similar to how it was thirty years ago when I was at this school. However, Helen described the immediate environment for her daughter as 'narrower' than the one she grew up in.
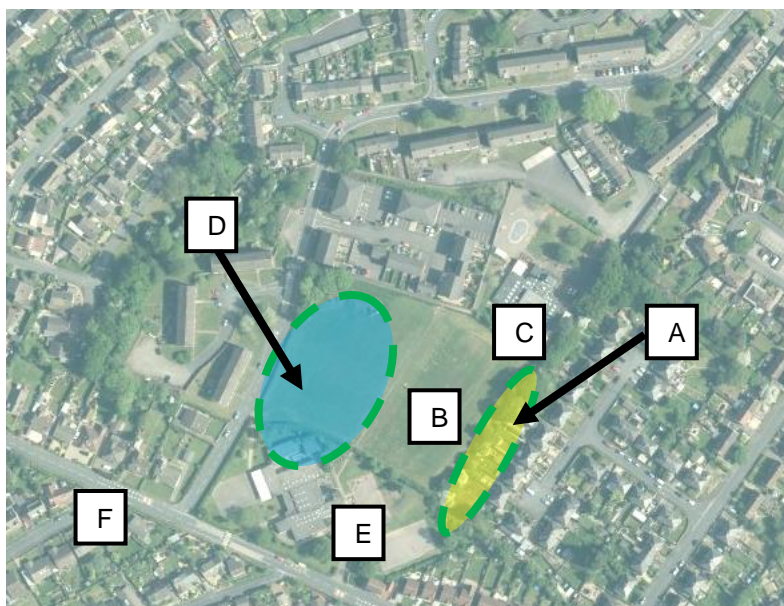
A. Properties on Lodge Avenue with scope to 'cut through'
B. Former public playing field
C. Site of infant school
D. Site of junior school
E. New combined school
F. End of Augustan Close

Figure 39 – The lost 'cut through'

This empirical case gives us a chance to reflect on the relative size of a child's 'spatial range.' The later term refers to the geographical space within which people live their daily and emotional lives. A study from Tenerife by Hidalgo & Hernandez (2001) suggests that specific age groups have different relationships with space and place. For example, the house is important to younger children. Further into teenage years the neighbourhood (such as Lodge Hill) becomes important, then the city and the wider region – such as for leisure and work. When people become parents, they revert back themselves to the home as the most important space. Towards older age the neighbourhood becomes more important again; this is why we concentrate on ageing at the half-way point of our trip.

Let us take a moment to reflect on Lyn's story from the late 1950: navigating by landmarks and with cups of water from wells. Based on Lyn's map (Figure 32), we imagine a world of play spaces that is bigger than the version passed down to Helen and then her own daughter. Let us not forget that we are referring to exactly the same set of two streets. When they discussed the issue of the environment narrowing over time Lyn explained why he had not wanted his children to wander so far. He simply stated that the roads were much busier in the 1980s than when he was younger. Without the benefit of a large cohort study, it is hard to detail the impact of a smaller spatial range over an individual's life. However, there is an argument that reducing these exploratory phases in childhood and teenage years will have a longer-term impact on our emotional connection to space. To this end an interesting piece of research was carried out in the Canadian city of Vancouver by Duff (2010).

Duff explored how young people 'negotiate and transform places' and the 'impact these practices have on the characteristic orientations of self and belonging' (p. 882). Duff found that young people from his case study developed attachment to familiar places such as cafes, parks and made efforts to establish ownership of spaces – even if they were as seemingly unappealing as the underneath of a stairwell. There is clearly a difference between Vancouver, a fairly large city in Canada, and Caerleon. However, Duff identified a particular quality of space which allows for [contemporary] performative activities such as skateboarding, free running and break dancing (p. 889). In Duff's work there is a sense that teenagers have a certain edge to their space: effectively that their environment has its own geographical limits. This latter idea is explored on Station Road, particularly as we find that Nigel's model of Caerleon is based on his regular teenage walking route. Memories and deeply-held emotions can be triggered by space even after four decades.

In conclusion this relatively short walk has indicated how rising car ownership – broadly from the 1950s – had various impacts on society, urban design and also changed how people walked about everyday space. Solnit's work (2014) illustrates how car culture gained traction within popular culture and later spread to how residential streets and suburbs were planned and built. From the example of Lyn, Helen and her daughter we have started to explore some psychological consequences. In another case focused on one person's psyche, it was remarkable how Dorothy highlighted the car crash story from our walk in April 2019. Altogether these accounts generate a sense of acceleration – to use a motoring term – from walking to car dependency in the sixty years since new housing estates were built. What will be the mobility options for ageing residents following the removal of bus stops from Trinity View? The visceral nature of motor vehicles is explored later with a performance based on the 'Shirley Bassey Shale Wagons.' In the following stage we meet people who built the dream on Lodge Hill.

4. Building the dream

We will now follow the straight road named Lodge Hill to the fort. After a breather we then drop towards the shops on Roman Way. At times we will be amongst the walking group from July 2019. However, the greatest amount of attention is given to the accounts which were shared through one-to-one walks on this hillside; supported with other sources at times.

The main purpose of this 2km stage is to define *The Postwar Dream* in more detail. We will be walking past streets such as the Augustans to reflect on the new houses constructed throughout the 1960s. These privately-built houses reflect a period of time when many people bought their own homes. As such Lodge Hill connects us to the context of a bigger plan for this part of Wales – based around the promise of good jobs at the Spencer steel works in Llanwern. Once we get to the top of the hill there is a chance to reflect what Machen was really trying to achieve with *The Hill of Dreams;* and consider how space allows us to connect with the subconscious. Having reached the peak, we start to consider how attachment to place affects how we spend time at the very end of life. We also start to tap into a new drift as we follow cut-throughs and residential streets that children in the 1960s and 1970s took on their route to catch the school bus. Surveying this hill we start to explore how the private housing meets the Council-built estate which preceded it.

The Augustans

We had left our walking group on Augustan Close at the junction with Lodge Hill. Let us take some time to gain first-hand insight about this location from Lyn. We move back to the 1960s and join him in memories of the new housing estates growing up the hillside which leads to Lodge Farm. For five years Lyn lived in one of the 1960s council-owned blocks of flats, named in ascending alphabetical orders after counties in Wales and England; Anglesey, Brecon, Cardigan, Devon, Essex, Flint, Gloucester, Hereford and then skipping I and J to Kent. It is notable that the street names also pick up on Roman connections, such as Hadrian, Caesar, Flavius and Julius. All of these streets comprise the original Lodge Estate – see C from Figure 40 – were built by the local authority in time for the steelworks opening in 1962. Alongside the council-built areas there was a collection of streets named in respect of another ancient emperor. Lyn describes the Augustans as being self-build plots which were developed 'piecemeal' over many years.
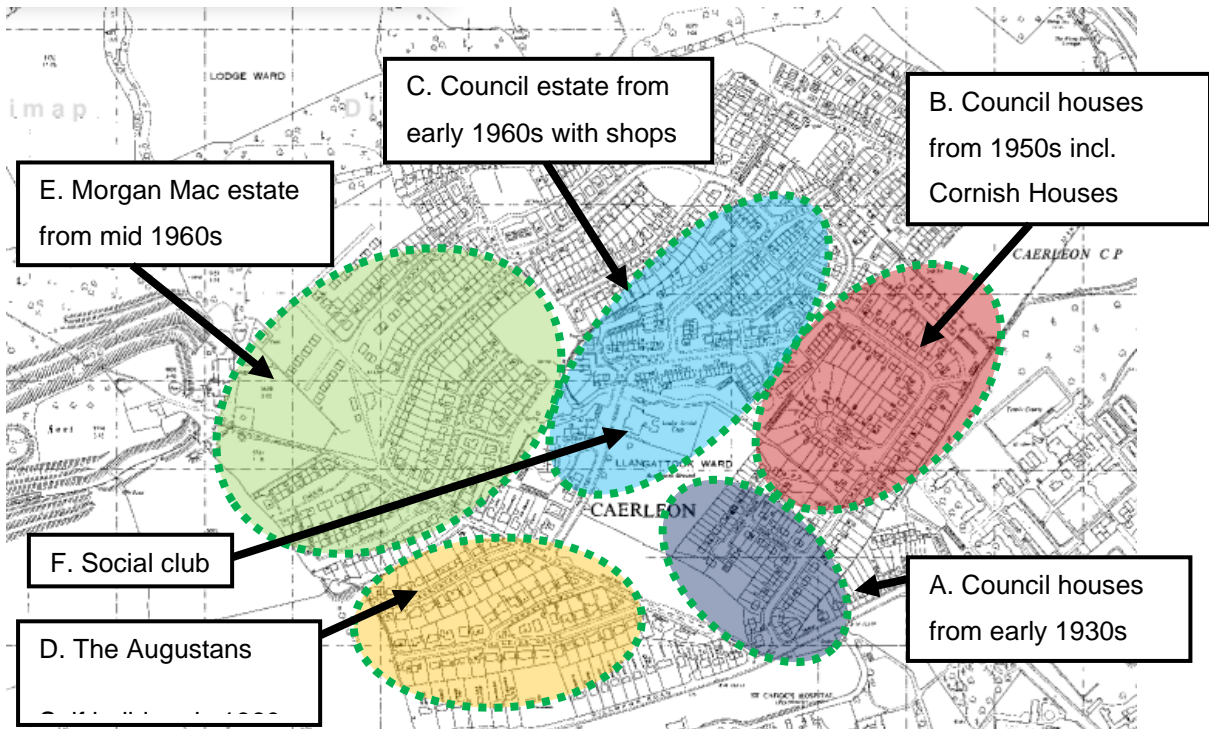
Figure 40 – Lodge Hill as it developed in the 1960s
© Landmark Information Group Ltd and Crown copyright 2019

We then reach the nearly-English sounding street called Anthony Drive – which seems to link many streets together. A new estate of houses was built to the north of the Augustans and over towards Anthony Drive from Lodge Hill Road. The streets were slightly more descriptive, giving a slight nod to nature with names such as Greenfield, Fairfield and Oakfield. This development also led to Lyn finding seven years of work. He describes his time up there as:

> I loved it up there. I loved the buildings.
> It was the best place I've ever worked in my life.

Lyn remembers that these houses were built to different design specifications, such as T2 Bungalows and T14 semi-detached family houses. He recalled that he worked for Dalton and Hayward – who also built other developments across the County of Monmouthshire. Lyn explained that the site was run by a business called Morgan Mac Developments, which included two businesses which still have a local presence: surveyor Leonard Morgan alongside Gordon Gartside Solicitors. Lyn says that they ran the site, not only marketing the houses, but also having a longer-term interest: Morgan Mac kept the ground rents due to the houses being leasehold.

For context it is worth exploring the British relationship with freehold property as this helps to understand the home-ownership aspiration which is a central pillar of the Post-war Dream. We leave Caerleon for a moment and consider *The Secret History of Our Streets* as a deep study of six residential roads in London by the BBC and Open University – some background information is available (Open University, 2014). Each of the hour-long television programmes from 2012 puts historical information, such as plans and charts from Charles Booth's 1886 *Survey of London*, alongside family photos and contemporary interviews with past and present residents.

The edition on Reverdy Road (BBC, 2012) in Bermondsey, south of the Thames, was shown in July 2012 and is particularly insightful with regard to ground rents. We learn that the West family owned the land under nearly 800 residential properties, alongside many shops and factories. It is important to stress that the private companies and individuals paid for the construction. They would then pay a ground rent which included a legal arrangement designed by land owner James West meaning that the buildings would also become the West's property after 70 years. These houses fell into disrepair as people drifted towards becoming 'normal renters' with little incentive to maintain what would soon no longer be their own property. Bomb damage from World War II also contributed to the problem. The 1951 Census revealed that 48% of houses did not have access to the four basic amenities of a WC, cooking stove, piped water and fixed (Lund, 2017, p. 34); two thirds of houses in the South Wales valleys did not have access to a fixed bath.

However, various acts of legislation from the 1940s and 1950s changed the perspective for the landlords also. There were changes to the way that rent was charged and – significantly – more duties put on land owners to improve their housing stock. Reverdy Road is interesting because the descendants of James West put their land and housing stock up for sale in 1960. We learn that Bermondsey Council bought them; and thus the tenants became local authority tenants.

	1919	1939	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991
Owner occupied	10	32	31	43	49	57.6	66.6
Private landlord	90	57	50	30	19	11	8.5
Local authority	0	10	18	26	31	29.2	21.8
Housing association	0	1	1	1	1	2.2	3

Table 4 – Household tenure in the UK

The Bermondsey case links to a general story of how housing tenure changed through the twentieth century. The numbers in Table 4 come from 2016 Department for Communities and Local Government figures cited in Lund (2106, p. 46): they show us the proportion of households – which could comprise one or many people – in each type. One remarkable change is the ratio of households who privately rented. The latter group formed nine tenths of the market in 1919. However, in just over seventy years the proportions completely reserved, with 8.5% renting from a private owner by 1991. The most significant long-term transition was towards owning a house: connecting with the phrase 'property owning democracy' being coined in the 1920s. After a big push in the 1950s and 1960s (see table above) the chance for British people to be home owners was a reality. On the supply side over 2.8 million private properties were built in the two latter decades (Lund, 2016, p. 110).

We return to Lodge Hill as Lyn gave his perspective on the 'property-owning democracy.' Whilst working on the building sites in the late sixties he was offered a Type T14 house for £3,000. Lyn was in his early twenties, but not able to afford such a price. When asked about who did live in those new houses, Lyn offered some context about the values of the day:

> Everybody felt good about buying their own house compared to living in a Council House. Everybody naturally felt that.

The interviews with everybody that I met in 2019 were designed to understand emotional attachment to place and space. However, to buy a house was to take a financial leap and commit to paying a mortgage. Lyn specified who those Sixties house buyers may have been:

> They were probably slightly better earning. They were people who were, you know; there were a lot of people who were prepared to give up now, for then.

The second sentence is intriguing. We can understand that 'now' was a time in the 1960s, but the word 'then' could mean any time in the future. The 'then' could mean the moment when Lyn and I were talking – fifty years later in 2019 – when virtually all of the people who moved in during that time will have paid off all their mortgages and be in retirement.

We will now meet some people who recalled coming to Lodge Hill in the early 1960s: firstly, the then-twelve-year-old Denise whose parents were quickly able to buy one of the new private houses; and a couple called Lionel and Betty who were in their thirties and moved to a rented local authority house that they would stay in for over two decades. Taken together these accounts, albeit separated by two different generations, allow us to ponder when the 'then' moment arrived.

Giving up now, for then?

Denise moved to Caerleon in 1962 at the age of twelve. Her mother was originally from Greece and her father came from Beaufort; near to the steelworks in Ebbw Vale where he worked; and approximately 20 miles from Caerleon. The family was part of the workforce which Denise described as being 'imported to serve the opening of Spencer works' – later known as Llanwern – near to Newport. The family lived in one of the larger Council houses on Caesar Crescent for a year or so. The Caesar Crescent residents all worked at the steel works and came from Swansea and all over. As such her family arrived in Caerleon with some assets: her father had bought a good-sized double-fronted end-of-terrace property during the 1950s. Denise recalled the story of her father agreeing to buy the house after a deal struck in a pub where an agreement was signed on a stamp.

From a child's perspective Denise had been happy before moving to Caerleon. She had lived between Ebbw Vale and Beaufort and was able to take walks over the mountain to see her grandmother – sometimes being chased by geese. The town of Ebbw Vale itself had a cinema and she would sometimes go with her mother on a Saturday morning if there was a film starring Elvis Presley. Her mother was a fan of the Memphis-born singer. However, the move to Caerleon was appreciated by her mother – who had moved to Ebbw Vale from Greece aged eighteen and after meeting her Welsh husband-to-be on the steps of the Acropolis during World War II. Denise remembered her mother describing her arrival in the valleys, on a rainy day and with slag tips on the hillsides, as feeling 'like the end of the world.' More importantly Denise mentioned that the Welsh were not that friendly to foreigners in the years immediately after the war. As they were planning to move towards Newport they were given the choice of different estates, including Llanmartin and Caldicot – where we recall that Dorothy had initially lived with her husband. However, her mother immediately loved Caerleon and the choice was made. Denise added some of her perspective of the local aesthetic qualities:

> I remember walking along by the Priory and thinking what a nice place this is. It has a nice kind of feel of oldness about it, which I took to.

Denise explained that her older brother stayed with his grandmother in Ebbw Vale to finish his last year in school and then go off to Art College. For her part there were no significant emotional problems moving; and that she settled in well at the old school in the centre of

Caerleon. Let us take a diversion and reflect how significant a scheme the steel works was for the wider County – an area shown in Figure 41

> Eastern side: pastoral land and rolling hills. Significant Roman settlements. Apart from very early industrial developments in the 18th century, this part of the county remained mostly agricultural through 19th and 20th centuries.

> The western side sits within the geographical area known as the South Wales Coalfield. Ebbw Vale one of Europe's largest iron and steel making centres through 19th and 20th centuries. Coal mining across this area.

> Site of Spencer Works

Figure 41 – County of Monmouthshire before 1974 local government re-organisation
© Landmark Information Group Ltd and Crown copyright 2019

An illuminating contemporary (1960s) perspective of preparation towards the steelworks is told by the Chief Planning Officer of Monmouthshire County Council (as was) in a curious three-minute film which is accessible from the website of the local newspaper (South Wales Argus, 2012). During the post-war era the administrative centre of Monmouthshire County was the town of Newport, a place which had grown around its docks on the River Severn. To the north and north-west of Newport are Ebbw Vale, Pontypool and Brynmawr which had been focused on iron, steel and coal. The steel works were planned to sit in the coastal strip to the east of Newport, close to the railway and main roads. As such Monmouthshire Council planning committee had a new challenge as they:

> …grappled with the problems that the works would present to the area. We were anxious with how such a large plant could be assimilated into the countryside.

The film tells us that 'thousands of men were coming to work, many of them family men'. The planning committee asked themselves if existing towns and villages could become 'steel towns?' This rhetorical question referred to lessons learned during the economic hardship during the 1930s Great Depression with monocultures centred on one main industry. Such places like Ebbw Vale and Brynmawr had been overly-reliant on iron, steel and coal. The

film reports deciding 'certainly not!' to steel towns and so the established settlements at Caldicot, Chepstow and Llanmartin to the east of Newport were expanded. The small valley town of Risca and Cwmbran New Town would also be extended; and also Caerleon..
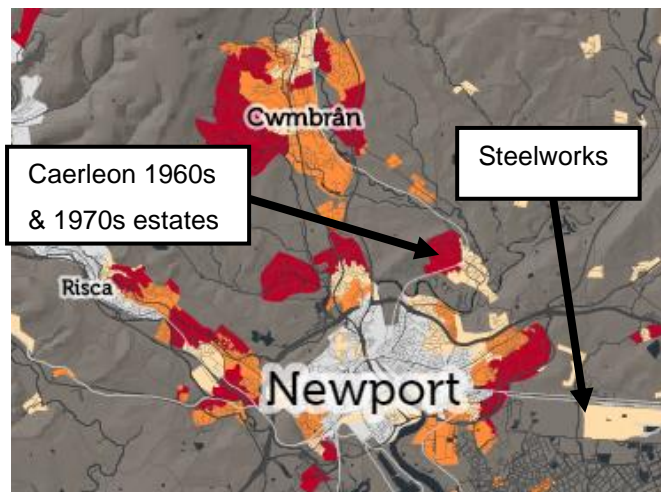
Deepest red are places where 90% of dwellings were located after 1945. Note Caerleon estates are deep red. The rest of Caerleon is 50-75% built after 1945. Much of Newport is white, meaning that it was built before World War II. Large amounts of Cwmbran are deep orange, meaning 75%-90% built after 1945, or deep red. Source (c) UK Data Service (2020).

Figure 42 – Dwellings built post 1945

The film explains that communications had to be improved: '… by means of new bus services to and from the new works, although many workers would have their own car.' The routes to work are shown with dotted lines. It is interesting that the railway – marked as a continuous line with perpendicular strikes through it – is shown in terms of its industrial potential, but not for carrying people. As such this connects with the rise of car culture explored on Trinity View. It is interesting to note that Caerleon had its own railway station until April 1962. The infamous *Beeching Report*, which cut many railway services across Great Britain, was published a year later in 1963.

We are about to move our focus back to Caerleon. However, there are few more lines from the 1960s film that are worth referencing. The narrator tells us that:

> In County Hall things sometimes got out of hand.
> Housing estates meant children and children needed schools.
> The County Council had to do more new building than the company.

The last line about the amount of building carried out by the County particularly resonates. Under the two-tier local government system – which existed until 1974 – Monmouthshire County took care of major roads and schools whilst Caerleon Urban District Council built and looked after local streets, the gas lighting that Dorothy remembered and – significantly – public housing. Refer back to Cllr Jim Kirkwood's pride in *A Walk Through History* when he

stated the '…important and active role of Caerleon Urban District to house the large influx …' who came to work at the steel plant (1997, p 3). We can visualise the local authority-built housing estates on Lodge Hill in Figure 42.

The accounts shared by the people we have met so far – and the build environment – that we have encountered reveal a general trend of growth. The number of Caerleon-registered births between 1910 and 1973 supplements this story – see Figure 27. For example, the 1911-1936 average was 31 births a year, stepping up to 75 in 1946-1954 and reaching 121 between 1964 and 1973 (A Vision of Britain through Time, 2020). This latter decade was much higher than the preceding 18 year 'baby boomer' period from 1964 and 1973 where the average was 64 births per annum.

Figure 43 – Births in Caerleon Urban District 1910-1973

1936-1945 = 457 (av. 46 PA);

1946-1954 = 679 (av. 75 PA);

1955-1963=481 (av. 53 PA);

1964 –1973 =1,212 (av. 121 PA)

Source: Vision of Britain through Time (2020)
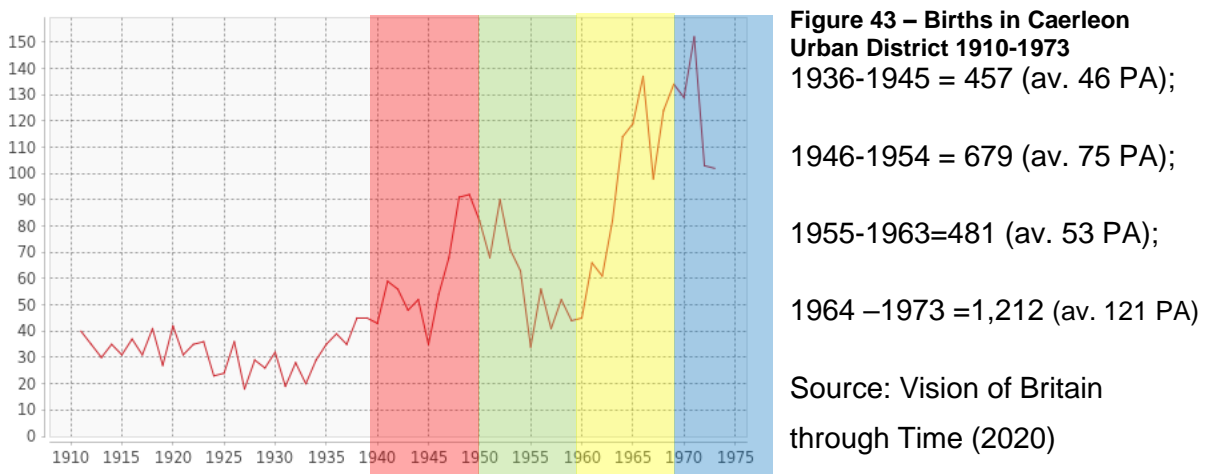
In Figure 43 we find that 2,372 babies were registered in Caerleon from the start of 1946 to the end of 1973. It is not possible to get such rich statistics from 1974 onwards as the Caerleon registry office was closed and the function was carried out at a Newport Borough level. We will hear how hard working the Caerleon registrar was in the late 1960s when we meet up again with Dorothy in Part Three. In the meantime, we rejoin our walking group from July 2019 as they reach the top of the hill.

Reaching the top of the hill

Our walking group has gone all the way up the paved road and they now face Lodge Farm. This white-washed stone building, and the set of pathways next to it, would have existed when Machen was a boy in the 1870s. Since starting to move we have imagined Machen's 'walk of the mind' in his own head as he planned the writing of *The Hill of Dreams* during the 1890s. His father had died on 20 September 1887 and so there would have been no family

connection to the rectory where he had grownup. We therefore propose that he started in the centre of Caerleon. Let us recap how Machen could have got to Lodge Hill on foot; and note where we have been able to follow such a route.

Machen could have started from his place of birth, the former house of his grandfather Daniel Jones, at 33 High Street and stepped northward. He would have passed the Priory, then turned left down Broadway adjacent to the Museum of Roman Antiquities, St Cadoc's Church, past the Roman South Gate, then turned right along the Fosse (making sure to follow the straightest route possible rather than taking a slight kink by the playing field) and then crossed over the railway. We were able to follow exactly the same route – even using a bridge which had re-appeared a century after the previous one had gone. However, the majority of our route up the hill was different to Machen's. We had to walk around the edge of Home Farm Estate and then up Trinity View to rejoin his route at Augustan Close.
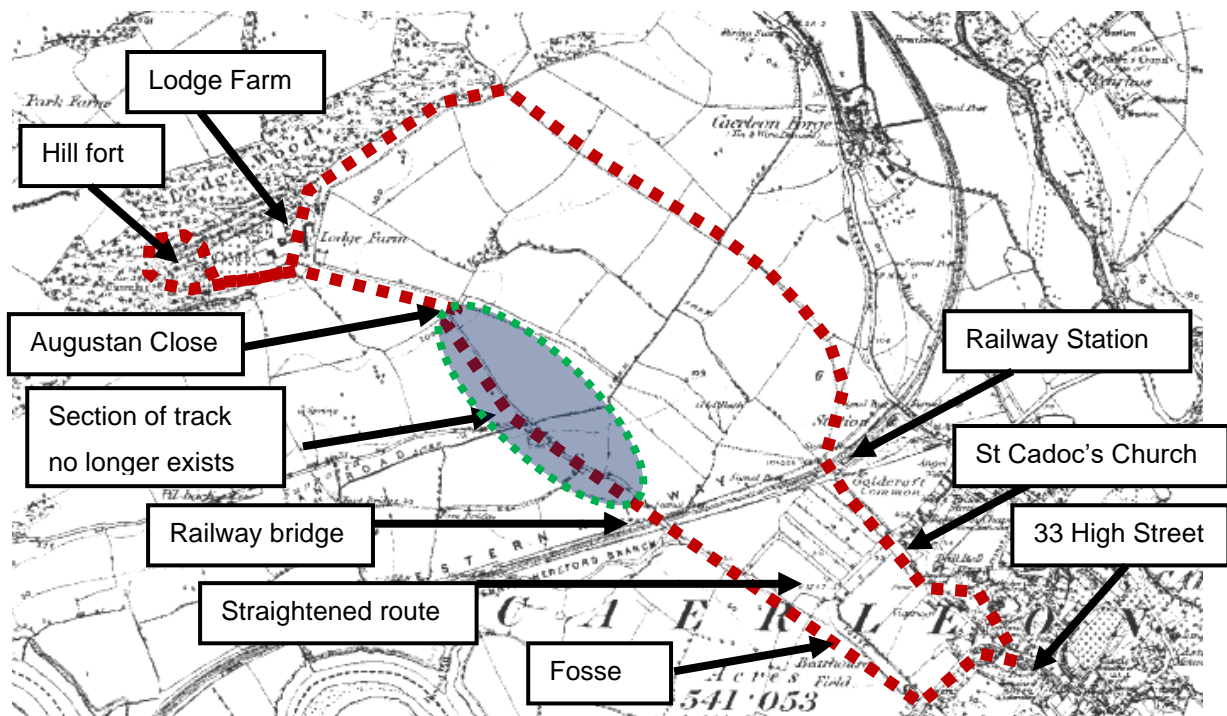
Figure 44 – Machen's 'walk of the mind' based on 1880s map
© Landmark Information Group Ltd and Crown copyright 2019

At this point we return to *The Hill of Dreams;* after all many people out walking with us were attracted by the literary element of the event. We reference the way that Machen structures the tale over seven chapters. Lucian's visit to the hill fort comes just twenty pages (2006 edition) into the first chapter. Machen's description of the hill is fairly sparse and only covers a few pages. The character Lucian was exhausted after a long walk to the mysterious hill and fell asleep. He woke to find that the 'wood was alive' with flames and a 'strayed faun.'

The remaining six chapters explore the long-term effect on Lucian's psyche from the experience of the hill. As an adult he seems often to be in two spaces at one time. For example, in the first kilometre of our journey we explored how Lucian saw the 'sweet lanes' from the countryside of his youth as he walked the streets of London. In effect, this is one of the underlying messages: that space can be a portal to liminality; at the very least it connects to the past as well as the present. To a degree it helped Machen to have the material of Roman archaeological remains of Caerleon to inspire him. In the fourth chapter of *The Hill of Dreams* (2006, p. 152) he describes Lucian inhabiting his imaginary world:

> Often he spent the night in the cool court of his villa lying amidst soft cushions heaped upon the marble bench. A lamp stood on the table at his elbow, its light making the water in the cistern twinkle. There was no sound in the court except the soft continual plashing of the fountain. Throughout these still hours he would meditate, and he became more than ever convinced that man could, if he pleased, become the lord of his own sensations. This, surely, was the true meaning concealed under the beautiful symbolism of alchemy.

Beyond the specifics of the cushions and the fountain, it is the statement about mastering one's own imagination which resonates. Upon reaching Lodge Farm back in July 2019 Marega and I asked that our walking group of thirty or so be silent as we made the final steps – see Figure 45. The aim of silence and contemplation was to put people in the right frame of mind to experience the space of the hill fort and – potentially – find that sense of wonder which Lucian had discovered. Quietly people walked along the narrow footpath, thick with waist-height bracken on each side and big mature oak trees above. The remnants of the hill fort were obvious for those who knew the signs: abrupt slopes which form concentric rings of defence ditches around one central mound.

Figure 45 – Negotiating slopes at Lodge Hill Fort – July 2019

At the top a few people used a blue tarpaulin to park themselves down for a rest. As an aide, Marega had noticed that this same sheet had formed part of a tent on our reconnaissance trip. Maybe some other people had been trying to channel Arthur Machen? Whoever they were, they were now gone and had left the remnants of a fire and some litter.

The general mood at the top of the hill was of people wanting to take a rest and eat their lunch. The views down to the valley were completely restricted by the trees and the place did not feel terribly inspiring without some kind of interpretation or stimulation. Marega produced some more 'relics' from her plastic bags – as she had done with the cigarette ends. These objects kept the group amused, but there was something about this approach which did not quite resonate. Machen described words as the 'indefinable inexpressive images' to stimulate Lucian's mind (p. 156):

> As the chemist in his own experiments is sometimes astonished to find unknown, unexpected elements in the crucible or the receiver, as the world of material things is considered by some a thin veil of the immaterial universe, so he who reads wonderful prose or verse is conscious of suggestions that cannot be put into words, which do not rise from the logical sense, which are rather parallel to than connected with the sensuous delight. The world so disclosed is rather the world of dreams, rather than the world in which children sometimes live, instantly appearing, and instantly vanishing away, a world beyond all expression or analysis, neither of the intellect nor the senses.

This latter idea is dense and complicated, but could be simplified to say that people can live in parallel worlds: one of the senses; and one of material. To a degree our journey to pursue the post-war dream has used walks of the mind (senses) and walking in space (material) to stimulate memories and emotions from the past. Within Machen's description of Lucian it is both space and literature which can connect between these states: to be the 'chemist of his own experiments.' In the extensive passage above Machen suggests that dreams are beyond analysis of the intellect or the senses. Does this mean that to act on dreams is to accept that we can tap into the affective layer of consciousness? Certainly Machen portrays Lucian as succumbing to the power of his unconscious. Deeper into his early twenties Lucian is described as becoming a writer himself.

Machen's text has been important to guide us along the route from Caerleon High Street. Effectively we have been carried to Lodge Hill on a psycho-geographic drift through fields, lanes and past houses. The route has been a frame to pin memories from the 1950s and 1960s and create a bus stop shrine. Aside from the route itself, there is something deeper in the way that Machen used the idea of the hill. In his own introduction to *The Hill of Dreams*, he writes that the novel was started in 1895 when the author was thirty-two years old and 'to some degree a literary man' (p. 67) – or that he was making a financial success from his writing. He had wanted to write about the theme of 'solitude, loneliness, separation from mankind' of somebody lost in the modern London; a place which was constantly expanding and which we referenced by Home Farm Estate. Machen decided to trace the story of his lonely London man back to an earlier period in the character's life. To do so Machen took inspiration from adventures in his own 'native' country (p. 71). He writes that:

> I thought of these and wrote them and so got the opportunity of dwelling a little longer among the dear woods and the domed hills and the memorable vales of my native Gwent, of trying once more to set down some faint echoes of the inexpressive song that the beloved land always sang to me and still sings across all the waste of weary years.
> Then I found somewhere or other; the recipe for the "Roman Chapter," and attempted recreations of the Roman British World of Isca Silurum, Caerleon-on-Usk, the town where I was born, and soaked myself so thoroughly in the vision of the old golden city – now a little desolate village…

We can speculate whether Machen spent time in his childhood territory of Caerleon undertaking research. The fact that both his parents were dead by then, and the judgments made about the 'desolate village', suggests that he probably did not. From Machen's own

notion that the land had its own way of communicating we can suppose that he engaged through his memories by taking a walk of the mind. The memories centre on a character in his middle teens as the text tells us that summer holidays were nearly over (p. 75). Machen's rich memories of his early life – superimposed upon Caerleon – connect with Rebecca Solnit's proposal that people create a 'memory palace' as an imaginary house of many rooms and where they store thoughts upon items of furniture, paintings, walls and rooms (2014, p. 77). Solnit explains how a memory palace is explicitly created for Sherlock Holmes, but it can also be a subconscious exercise. As such to walk through the memory palace is to consider the power of geography and space to stimulate memories and emotions.

Returning to site of Lodge Hill and teenage memories, Lyn recalled Lodge Farm as a place in the 1950s with wells on the hill and of peacocks, guinea fowl and chestnut trees. Could the descendants of these exotic creatures have been there during the 1870s when Machen was a boy? Lyn explained that farmer Tommy Till had gradually sold his land on Lodge: firstly, to the council and then to various private buyers. By 2016 a visit to Lodge Hill Fort was described by Stewart Lee as: 'the mundane threaded through the surreal'. Had Stewart Lee visited six or seven decades earlier could he have called it the 'surreal threaded through the surreal' or simply 'surreal?' There are too many questions here that we cannot answer with satisfaction. However, relating to Lyn's story there is a slither of magic and wonder connected with Lodge Hill; enough about this place to inspire emotional attachment of different sorts. We now return to our walking group in July 2019. In a bizarre twist of fate, our group of thirty-or-so was able to stop to get a cup of water – as Lyn had done as a boy. Following land sales Lodge Farm become an evangelical church which opened in 1969 (Lodge Farm Church, 2020).

Purely by fluke we had come to the church on their summer open day – Figure 46. Everyone appreciated somewhere to rest for a while, use the toilet and drink some squash. Pastor Phil explained that he had been brought up at the church. Of note this is not a community or neighbourhood church from the more established Church in Wales (Anglican), Roman Catholic or Baptist forms which had existed for centuries in Caerleon. This was perhaps a new place of worship connected to the car culture and servicing a wider area?

Figure 46 – Michel Faber (L) and Chris Thomas (R) at Lodge Church

The group left the church and journeyed back down the hill. Some members of the group took the opportunity to walk back to Caerleon High Street. For those who remained we had the chance to walk through the estates built in the 1960s – see area A from Figure 40 **Error! Reference source not found.** – and towards the Council estate; area C as before. I later realised that this was the psychogeographic détournement: the pursuit of Lucian and *The Hill of Dreams* was reaching its end and we were giving way to something new. Tina Richardson offers a good explanation of this phenomenon in her *Schizocartography* work (2017, pp 188-189).

The weakening of the first dérive gives us a chance to explore an interview which took place in the same geographical spot, albeit three months later than the walking event. We return to Denise, who first arrived on Lodge Hill in 1962, and to find out how she and her husband bought their first properties on the estate.

Coming down from the hill

Denise was very familiar with these streets. As a teenager she had walked from Greenfield Road – where her parents bought their house in 1963 or 1964 – via a number of cut-throughs to get the school bus. The bus went from street called Gwladys Place in the 1950s-built Council estate – Figure 40. It is interesting that the bus route eventually crept up the hill and passed along a street called Anthony Drive. The latter was described as the first private housing estate, and built around 1963. Interestingly there are some maisonettes – see Figure 47 – which are effectively single-storey flats on top of each other. I had thought to ask Denise whether such housing had been designed for some of the older residents who lived alone. However, the audio recording shows that I refrained from asking her that question. The art of the walking interview is to let space prompt conversation.

Figure 47 – Maisonettes from early 1960s housing estate

Denise and her husband Dave bought their first property when aged 20 and 22 respectively. The stories behind these purchases give useful context to the times. Denise explains that her husband had been brought up in a Council flat on the edge of Malpas – moving after World War II from Pillgwenlly in the docks area of Newport. As such she described a bit of a difference in values and aspirations between her family and Dave's family; the latter who expected the young couple to get a council property. She explained that this was a bit of a tense time because they wondered if they were betraying socialist values. In the end his parents were very happy for them to buy a house on Lodge Estate.

Denise explained that Dave had initially been 'more-or-less' knocked back on a mortgage application as the bank would not consider her income. As he was leaving, Dave mentioned that they had a savings account at the same bank. He was told to 'sit back down' and the mortgage eventually got approved. She worked in the sales department at the steelworks and Dave worked in Alcan – an aluminium factory of the west side of Newport. They signed to buy their house on Fairfield Road in 1969 and the place was completed in July 1970, a few months after they had got married. After a few years they moved to a bigger house on Oxford Close, which backed on to the woods. Denise explained that Dave had been brought up in a similar sylvan setting and had loved it. There was plenty of bird song about this latter collection of semi-detached and stand-alone houses. Denise described how the big white building by the woods was still called 'Till's Farm' by this point in the mid 1970s. They stayed for four or five years until their next move in 1979 – which was very much into the countryside and where they have stayed for four decades. What was the motivation?

The Seventies vibe had been the Good Life, living in your own bit of land and not being influenced by those around you.

The Good Life was a TV sitcom which ran between 1975 and 1978. Tom and Barbara Good live in a suburban house but try to connect with a wholesome life of self-sufficiency, with vegetables and chickens. The comedy relies upon a tension with their more conventional next-door neighbours who despair of the crazy schemes that come from the Goods. Returning to Denise, she explains that they developed a significant attachment to the property which had long been called the 'unfinished house'. She specifically used the term 'emotionally tied', for example describing the individually- leaded window panes which let in so much draught that the curtains used to move. She described how they had a hard decision to take when double-glazed replica windows became affordable. They decided to invest in new fenestration. She said that although the house got warmer, it was quite upsetting because the house did not look as nice.

Looking back, Denise reflected that the house they have lived in for the past forty years has become dear to them. Initially it was 'a money pit' with all the cash they had to spend installing floors and windows. However, they seem to have come a long way since buying their first house in 1970, which she said '…was a struggle because we did not really earn enough'. The figures are interesting as the first house was bought for £3,650 in 1970, and then sold for £8,500 a few years later. They paid £12,500 for the next one and sold it for £27,500 in 1979. The final house cost just under £40,000. It is interesting to reflect that my parents paid £10,000 for Pillmawr Cottage, a two-bedroom farm labourer's cottage, in 1977. Either housing-marketing inflation was high during the mid 1970s, or modern housing was worth a lot more than older properties.

Further down the hill Denise explained that their daughter, who was in my class at Lodge Hill Junior School, had similarly sought the 'Good Life' and had moved two miles into the countryside. However, Denise said that there was beginning to be a 'conflict' about whether the family should be in a place where there were more children. Thinking of her own parents, and their connection to place, Denise explained that they had split up in 1972. Her father then went into 'Caerleon village' to live in a house opposite Cambrian House on Mill Street. He was a 'character in the village' and lived there for a few decades. Denise described the two years of his life when she was 'in-and-out' of her father's house three or four times a day. He had slowed down in the last few months of his life, but was still going to the Red Lion pub on a Sunday for half a pint. She said that he had been able to do everything he

wanted and stayed in his own home until the end. Her father spent the last few days of his life at a hospice. She shared a touching memory of her father poking leaves with his stick as he left the house, not knowing that this was a last goodbye.

The connection to Caerleon seemed to be powerful in her mother also. She stayed in Highfield Road, then re-married and went to nearby Eastfield Road. Denise reflected that her mother had seemed old to marry again, but on reflection was only in her mid-forties. She lived for some time in a Council flat opposite Lodge Hill School until she was about eighty and had problems with her hips. Denise recalled that her mother was adamant that she did not want to leave Caerleon; and that 'the word nursing home filled her with anger and dread.' In the end Denise organised for her Mum to go to an ExtraCare facility over in Ringland, the estate right next to Llanwern steel works. She said:

> The place smelt fresh, the people seemed happy; roomy, good programmes for the people who lived there – classes and things. I have got friends who have got mothers there still. I can't speak highly enough; they are wonderful places if you are lucky enough to get in.

Further details were shared about how the efforts made by ExtraCare staff to encourage residents to share meals and mix with each other. Denise reflected on those few years when she and Dave were members of what is sometimes called the 'sandwich generation.' She did not use this latter term, but she was referring to having new grandchildren at one end and elderly parents at the other; and in the meantime, still being at work.

It seemed as if time stood still as we discussed the difficult emotional strains – and guilt – involved in making our parents move away from the place to which they had developed such a strong bond. I shared with Denise my experience of Dad leaving his house at Pillmawr Cottage and going to St David's Hospice for the last ten days of his life. The conversation had been building towards later life, but was there anything special or secure about the spot where we had been stood for ten minutes and sharing some difficult memories? The space was the meeting point of two fairly long no-through roads: Fairfield Road and Larkfield Close. Perhaps it was a route that Denise had taken many times before as she had walked between her house on Highfield Road and the bus stop: a safe space to chat to friend.
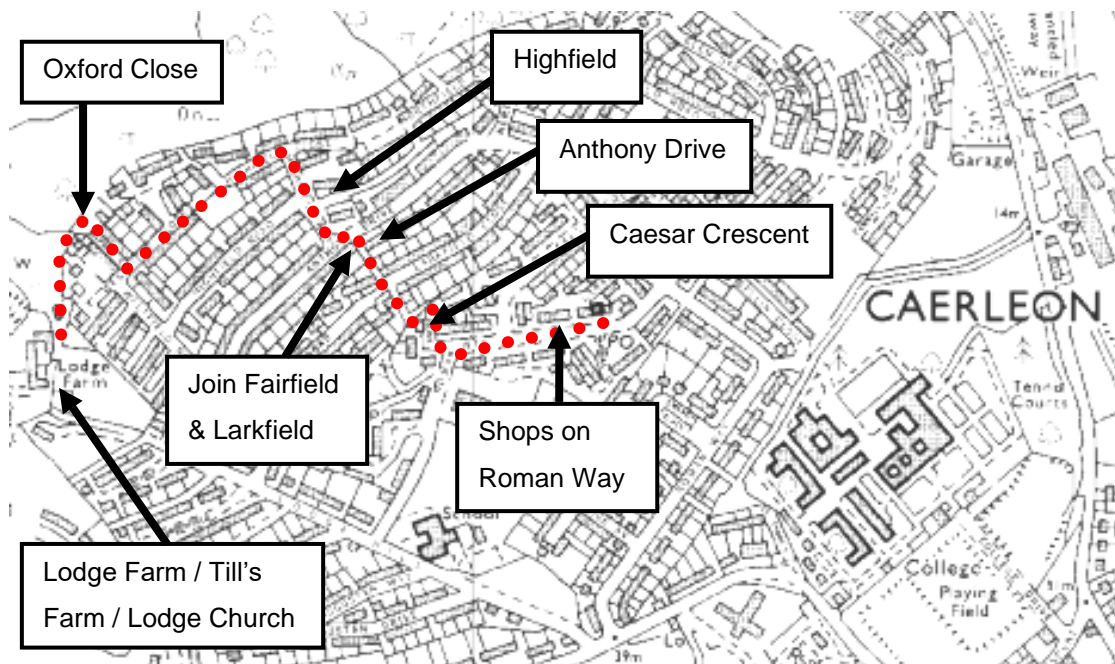
Figure 48 – Coming down the hill – map circa early 1980s
© Landmark Information Group Ltd and Crown copyright 2019

For my part I could look down the hill one towards the centre of Caerleon, the valley and the view over towards Christchurch. Below the church on the hill, the sight of the St Julian's pub on the banks of the River Usk triggered memories of a most sobering and significant conversation with my Dad. It was late April 2018 and we both accepted that he had a single digit number of weeks to live. Over a pint of bitter, him taking shade under a parasol, he asked me to be there with him for the last two days of his life; to which I agreed. He also wanted us to keep both the Morris Minor and the house in the family and to finish his book of walks in the local area. I told him that I could not promise to do either the first or second requests, but I was more than happy to finish his walking book. In a way, this work that you read now is part of that deep map of the local area. I shared the story of this agreement with my Dad with Denise and bridged into my father's last ten days at the hospice. There was an element of guilt that he had not been able to stay in his own bed.

As we discussed this difficult subject out in the open – in many senses – Denise shared the perspective that the hospice gives you – the son or daughter of the elderly parent – gain confidence to do what you want at the end of somebody's life. We both reflected on the calm and the serenity that hospice staff provide and took a moment to pause the conversation. This deeper dialogue lasted nearly ten minutes and was outside the remit of me being the interviewer and Denise being the interviewee: we had collaborated, and both shared vulnerabilities. We started to walk again and concluded the conversation about houses.

Poem: Promises and objects

It is a year and a day since my Dad accepted,

To me at least,

That his time was up,

And that his adventures were being passed on.

Sitting there at the St Julian's pub he asked me,

To keep Pillmawr Cottage in the family,

And to retain the Morris Minor,

And to finish his book of walks.

This conversation allowed us to plan for the imminent reality,

That time was ticking on his life,

And so I accepted to fulfil only the last of his three requests.

Seven weeks passed before he left his house,

And I don't remember him saying anything,

During the ten minutes that it took,

For two ambulance men to carry him,

In a folding leather chair,

Down stairs and through the garden,

To die elsewhere.

This was the day that an emotional man,

My father,

Let go of his desire to live,

And ceded his powers also.

Three seasons have completed their work,

And today it is Easter Sunday.

A green Mirror Dinghy will be turned,

To reveal itself,

The cavity stuffed with damp parts of an old car,

These items to be touched, again, by moving air and sunlight.

A spring green trailer moves also,

In its hold the wings of a Morris Minor

Hacked away from their mother,

Pursuing the Post-war Dream

Dismembered in the field opposite,
Maybe thirty three years ago,
And never used again.

I see now more clearly than ever:
Assembled and manufactured objects,
Like everything else,
Have always been broken down,
To be reformed,
Differently.

And today they leave my Dad's garage,
Along the tree-lined Pillmawr Lane,
On a lorry's back,
To a place that the Singletons will never know.

In exchange for these objects,
I did not ask for money,
Just a donation to the hospice,
Who helped Dad's lucid dreams subside.

We must be grateful to St David,
As maybe being at that place,
The hospice,
Stopped another conversation,
Between father and son,
About such objects,
Which could have tempted me to commit,
To promises that I could never keep.

Icons of my father's faith move further away,
New disciples cast their gaze,
And they are most welcome.

This poem was written in April 2019, recalling a conversation with my Dad from twelve
months earlier. The Morris Minor had recently been taken.

We now return to the group walk from July 2019. Navigating streets such as Fairfield and Larkfield lacked public space and it was difficult to find where to stop and gather as we had done along the Fosse – such as shown in Figure 25 or in the former home of the lapwings seen in Figure 29. Moreover, through there was a sense that our group of largely middle-class and middle-aged walkers was being observed – particularly by the Modern-day Centurions who guarded the balconies of the maisonettes on Roman Way. The atmosphere seemed to change amongst the group and people could tell that they were entering a space that was not their own: the land of social housing and a glimpse of how the origins of this place predated the private housing estates.

Parallel places: Return to the council housing estate

We recall that Denise lived in Beaufort, just near to Ebbw Vale, before the family briefly lived in a council house on Caesar Crescent, Caerleon, during 1962. Through Village Services I was fortunate to meet somebody who came from the same area and was born in the early 1920s. We explore the story of this man, Lionel, because he was a grown adult who made the move to Caerleon in the 1960s. Furthermore, he provided living memory from before World War II. From his Lodge Hill arm chair in October 2019 Lionel provided significant economic and geographical context – see Figure 41 – for people living in this corner of South East Wales during the 1930s.

Before hearing Lionel's story it is important to sense that flat terrains – such as where the Spencer steelworks were constructed in the late 1950s – are very different places in which to live and work than in the valleys where snow falls more regularly, wind drives the rain and steep hills have to be climbed in most directions. William Least Heat-Moon conceptualised his deep understanding of Chase County in Kansas, USA, by moving his water-filled palm, mimicking the flow of rivers (Heat-Moon, 1992). Heat-Moon's latter work, *PrairyErth*, took on an extraordinary study of a sparsely populated land.

Figure 49 – Plastic Relief Map (1964)

Fortunately, the geography that we study features in the 1964 *Plastic Relief of Cardiff and South Wales*. The item is 17 inches wide by 11 inches high and each inch square represents 6 miles. Once you have visually located a place with an index finger try to close your eyes and move your finger around. With some training you can correctly locate a few places. Navigate around the valleys and flat lands to find other known places. We will now deepen our concept of the space between Beaufort and Caerleon by using this plastic map.

For example, go to the 'N' of Newport. Keep a plastic ridge on the left-hand side and move an inch and a half north. The first opening to the west appears at Pontypool. Traverse left about an inch over a little ridge and then you reach the valley of the River Ebbw. Promise to keep your eyes closed. Sustain a bit of pressure and follow the dominant line upwards. Most likely you will be taken slightly north-north-west. After nearly two inches you will find an indentation where the fingertip can rest. Open your eyes and you will see a place called Beaufort. Trace the line west and you find a significant town – just off the map shown in Figure 49. You will note the big and bold letters which spell **Merthyr Tydfil**; a place as important in the 1960s as Newport. Move east from here and you will leave the raised area to reach Abergavenny. The 1964 map shows a fairly significant road linking these latter two towns. Until 1958 a railway called *The Heads of the Valleys* ran between Merthyr and Abergavenny to transport steam coal to the English midlands and further north to where the British Navy kept its battleships off the coast of Scotland.

Lionel explained that his father worked for the railway company in the 1930s: on the patch from Brynmawr via Beaufort and Nant-y-bwch to Tredegar. Eventually the family ended up living at the station house in Trevil, north of Ebbw Vale and just next to Rassau. Lionel recalls four signal levers to pull at Trevil Station. His father was often found sitting on a stool punching out tickets to Govilon and Abergavenny. Lionel said that his father satisfied the roles of signalman, porter and also ticket conductor. The work was not well-paid, but it was as good as a job for life in the immediate period after the Great Depression. In a time of high unemployment the railway uniform meant that his father was given a status similar to that of the village policeman.

Figure 50 – Heads of Valleys Railway (red) with connections

Lionel recalled day trips on the train from Trevil to Brynmawr with his twin brother. They would have lunch with their aunt, then watch a penny film at the Market Hall, then go home with their father in the afternoon. Lionel provided an excellent memory from approximately nine decades into the past. Furthermore, he was very comfortable taking a walk through his recollections. As such, he said that his destiny was shaped by the connections made possible by the railway. From the spine between Abergavenny and Merthyr there were little steam trains which went down the valleys to what he called 'stopping stations at Nantyglo, Blaina, Crosskeys and Abercarn.' Moving forward to 1947, newly married to Betty, and finally de-mobbed from World War II, Lionel explained that it was hard to find a place to live.

Having worked on communications through World War II, Lionel recalled his desire to get a job at the new Heathrow Airport rather than return to the 'grim reality' of the steelworks at Ebbw Vale. As a young couple they only had £70 to buy the necessities required to start their lives together, such as a bed and kitchen table. At first, they lived with his parents, alongside Lionel's brother and his new wife. After some time, they were offered rooms in Brynmawr. As part of the deal, they lived with the brother of the recently deceased Jack Matthews – the latter a notorious local money lender. Lionel described Jack's sibling as a 'shadowy character' who had spent much of his life standing or sitting, with his dog, at Brynmawr Market Hall. In the late 1950s the couple 'graduated' to a prefabricated Council house in that same town. Lionel recalled a few summers digging the garden in their rented property. Life finally got better in a financial sense when Lionel and Betty 'emigrated down to Caerleon' in the early sixties. Betty had been unable to find work before that time.

The story centres on Lionel's words only as Betty was ill the day that I visited. He told me they initially lived in a council property on Caesar Crescent. Denise recalled that her parents had brought their family to the same street and which she described as all being completely occupied by people who worked at the steelworks. Unlike Denise, Lionel and Betty stayed on the same for two decades before moving to a detached house further up the hill. Lionel recalled that the flat had a good view of the rest of the estate and there were thirty steps to climb. He recalled that:

We were young and everything seemed possible.

For example, they took in students from the college in Caerleon as boarders during term times. They developed many friendships and a tight community emerged around Roman Way, the street which was extended in the 1950s and early 1960s. Lionel explained that the Lodge Social Club – see Point F in Figure 48 – was established by a few men who worked at the steelworks and with council help. There were snooker tables and a dance hall. Lionel did not understand why it folded so easily in the 1990s, and said that 'it would have been the bedrock of all our social lives if still here today.' Talking about the Lodge Social Club took Lionel back to Ebbw Vale and Brynmawr; a place of terraced houses where he said that the community was all round. He said of the leaving the community in Ebbw Vale that

We were blown apart when we moved down here.

Towards the end of my visit I asked if people like Lionel and Betty had shaped Lodge Hill. This former steel worker thought so. He told me that only a little bit of the estate on Lodge Hill had existed when they arrived; and that there has been a 'total transformation' since then with Home Farm and Trinity View also being built – both of which we visited earlier on. In some ways Lionel felt that the hillside had been 'overbuilt' and was 'overgrown' with so many houses. We are now close to the end of our third walking stage. We have met a few of the characters who have explained how the hillside developed in the 1960s from Caesar Crescent to the Augustans and the Highfields. At the top of the hill we sensed how this place, with its guinea fowl and beech trees, had been a special location; and maybe one that inspired Arthur Machen to write *The Hill of Dreams* during the mid 1890s. We recall that Caerleon registered 1,212 births during the period from 1964 to 1973 – Figure 43. Not all of these children lived on Lodge Estate, but there was certainly a need for a new primary school to be constructed.

The walking group was close to the Village Services Community Hub on Roman Way. We were almost certainly at the end of our dérive inspired by *The Hill of Dreams*: at a stage of

détournement. When I took group of people into the Community Hub four months later – in November 2019 – it was part of an event which had a different focus. For example, I had accepted that Machen had served his purpose: his story had helped us explore how being one space connects us to different times in our lives. We had to let him go and start to engage with social science; giving some attention to the stories which explained the statistical trend towards ageing in a population. This move from an open-minded approach to something designed to support the 'cycle of stories' concept which was discussed in the methodological chapters. As well as re-assembling the stories from the 1960s and 1970s, we will investigate the 1980s, and find out about the people who were now able to buy their council housing. Moreover, account from the latter decade represented a large fracture in the industrial dream that was the steelworks.

5. Ageing: stories and statistics

So far, we have established a format led by the unfolding of space. We have gradually introduced ideas and concepts, such as considering that which cannot be represented visually. Had this work been led by chronological time it would be a palimpsest with layers of notes scribbled upon it, much meaning scratched out. Nobody would have been able to enjoy either its creation or consumption. This stage in our journey benefits from that temporal loophole because it happened at the very end of the data collection stage. To be clear, no empirical evidence, through interview nor ethnographic means, has been added since that rainy Saturday morning in November 2019.

We centre on the *Walking through Caerleon in the 1960s and 1970s* public event, which was sponsored by a £980 grant from the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and part of the 2019 Festival of Social Sciences. The extra resource meant that I could turn off my microphone and leave the notebook in my bag; the flow of data could be captured by employing a film maker. The sponsors also compelled us to gather filled-in feedback forms. Both factors provided additional sources for further analysis and interpretation. Indeed, the author appears in a three-minute film made for public consumption online (ESRC, 2020).

This event was explicitly conceived as a work of social science. We would explore stories and explain how and why Caerleon had become a place with an increasing proportion of people aged 65 and above. This section presents an argument – albeit in a playful way – in which we tentatively hypothesise how a statistically ageing population emerged over time in Caerleon, see Table 5 (Newport City Council, 2017).

	2001	2011	2015	% Diff	
Newport	137,014	145,736	147,769	7.85	⬆
Caerleon: All Age Groups	8,708	8,061	7,766	-10.82	⬇
Caerleon: Age 0-15	1,623	1,346	1,186	-26.93	⬇
Caerleon: Age 16-64	5,647	5,047	4,680	-17.12	⬇
Caerleon: Age 65 and over	1,438	1,668	1,900	32.13	⬆

Table 5 – Demographic change Caerleon, 2001-2015

Planning the event: context and structure of feeling

Planning the event meant confronting the challenge of setting the larger context. How to convey and make accessible approximately six decades to people of varying ages, including many for whom this had been, and continued to be, their world? In particular the work of cultural theorist Raymond Williams seemed relevant. Williams was born on 31 August 1921 and came from a village called Pandy, near Abergavenny in the far northern end of Monmouthshire – see map in Figure 41. His father worked at the local railway station, which incidentally had direct passenger services to Caerleon and through which coal trains came via Trevil where Lionel had lived. Without wandering too far off subject, it was the basis of his upbringing in this border country between England and Wales, between rural and industrial, which gave him the base from which to theorise as an adult. In the 1973 introduction to *The Country and the City* (2016 edition, p. 3) he writes that:

> Before I had read any descriptions and interpretations of the changes and variations of settlements and ways of life, I saw them on the ground, and working, in unforgettable clarity.

He goes on to explain the perspective from Pandy; what three generations of the Williams family had witnessed. The complexity of sensing change is captured as follows (p. 11). 'The life of country and city is moving and present: moving in time, through history of a family and a people; moving in feeling and ideas, through a network of relationships and decisions.' There is a sense that different eras and ways of thinking bleed into each other through people and practice. Williams' 'structure of feeling' concept is described (Oxford University Press, 2020) as follows:

> Structure of feeling refers to the different ways of thinking vying to emerge at any one time in history. It appears in the gap between the official discourse of policy and regulations, the popular response to official discourse and its appropriation in literary and other cultural texts. Williams uses the term feeling rather than thought to signal that what is at stake may not yet be articulated in a fully worked-out form, but has rather to be inferred by reading between the lines. If the term is vague it is because it is used to name something that can really only be regarded as a trajectory.

The sense of momentum conveyed in the latter definition is important. Indeed, movement is a strong motif within his semi-biographical 1960 work *Border Country* (Williams R. , 1960).

The story centres on life in a place modelled on Pandy, between the 1930s and the end of the 1950s. The foreword in the Library of Wales edition of *Border Country* offers the view of Williams' writing that (Smith D. , 2006):

> ... the novel does what no history and little fiction has achieved: it shows the inescapable intertwining of individuals' lives and social conditions in the fluidity of lived experience that we all share.

Williams perhaps achieves the 'intertwining' that Dai Smith highlights by focusing on a specific time and place; as such there is a significant subtext about the transportation of people and goods, showing a change from train to bus and lorry. Raymond Williams' position as a relatively young man in 1960 gave him the perspective to see this transformation taking place and acknowledges the significance of the railways to the world in which he grew up. It is worth reflecting that Lionel had shared his childhood perspective, from the 1930s, that his destiny was shaped by railway connections – see map in Figure 50.

The point being made here is that there is a generational perspective of losses and gains. For example, the age cohort of Raymond Williams, Lionel and Jim Kirkwood lent their hands to rip up railways they had grown up with. For perspective, the Heads of the Valleys railway, also known as the Merthyr, Tredegar and Abergavenny Railway closed to passengers on the 6th January 1958. However, the same generation also helped in the building of new roads, steel works and housing estates and would have planned the society which emerged from the 1960s onwards, and so facilitated changes such as the 'right to buy' council properties from 1979 onwards. Could factors such as the end of the railway branch line, but the rise of motor vehicle use, the sinking of steelworks into the marshland and building the estates be the elements which underpin the structure of feeling which captures the years of *Post-war Dream*? The aim of our event was to construct an atmosphere that people who coming of age in the late 1950s and early 1960s would understand.

Putting the structure of feeling to one side, the event was about putting myself into the field and showing what I had learned from nearly twenty interviews. I would be open for the whole assemblage to be both criticized and grounded by the responses from the attendees – as Richardson (2017) asks us to do. Bent Flyvbjerg also advocates such practice in *Real Social Science: Applied Phronesis* (2011). One of the arguments which resonated from this latter work (p. 136) was to set a 'proper context', with both immediate meaning from the small and local and a sense of significance by outlining the larger context. As this stage unfolds we explore the 'small and local' through accounts shared by the people through 2019. For

example, we will learn from Wilfred Wilson's accounts about the train traveller at Caerleon railway station from the 1950s who wore a homburg hat; and other people who share stories about lapwings and frozen fields from the late 1960s. All of these snippets capture the edges of what was lost and gained as the 1960s and 1970s emerged.

This event was also a chance to go from the individual and psychological to consider wider society. On a philosophical level it was symbolic to have climbed the hill and found some acceptance; for example, to learn that Arthur Machen created *The Hill of Dreams* as a psychological scaffold upon which Lucian, the lonely man in modern London, could exist. Of note, there were ten people (including myself, Marega and supervisor Jon Gower) who came on both the walk in July and the event in November. In many ways these ten people embodied the project: '…moving in feeling and ideas, through a network of relationships and decisions' – as described by Raymond Williams (1973).

A large part of the event would be held inside the Village Services Community Hub on Lodge Hill. However, we would still deploy the walk as a metaphor, inviting us to slow down, to breathe, and to take notice of what is around. Rebecca Solnit writes in *Wanderlust: A History of Walking* (2014, p. 5) that there is a trinity of walking:

> Walking, ideally, is a state in which the mind, the body, and the world are aligned, as though they were characters finally in conversation together, three notes finally making a chord. Walking allows us to be in the world without being made busy by them. It leaves us free to think without being wholly lost in our thoughts.

Solnit's idea of making a chord between the triumvirate of mind, the body and the world, suggests that there is some kind of formula to find that sweet spot or set that structure of feeling. We will explain how such a harmony between the three elements was forged. In particular Marega would use Lyn's memory of the Shirley Bassey Shale Lorry as the basis of a performance to connect with the physical transformation of land and movement of people from places like Ebbw Vale.

There was some significant build up to the event on 9 November 2019. On Friday 1 November I had been invited to speak at the Cardiff University launch of the ESRC Festival of Social Science. On Saturday 2 November 2019 Marega and I presented our approach to the *Walking's New Movements* conference organised by Phil Smith and others at Plymouth University – for a collection of ideas and discussion from this latter conference see *Walking Bodies* (Billinghurst, Hind, & Smith, 2020). For me, the conference helped to fine-tune the

event as the attendees were either artists and/or researchers who used walking in their practice. All these efforts, combined with social media coverage from Swansea University and others, meant that our attendees would be broader than those who had come along in July 2019. I wrote a diary in the immediate few days before the event. The observations convey some of the tensions involved.

Walking through Caerleon in the 1960s & 1970s

The event

Like lots of places, Caerleon has many residents aged 65+. We go behind the statistics to discover how people grew up and reached adulthood during the 1960s & 1970s.

We invite you to join us. We use performance and personal accounts to create a feel for how Caerleon was shaped in past decades. Refreshments and WC available.

Where?

Community Hub, Kent Court, Caerleon, NP18 3FG

When?

Saturday 9 November

10am – Talk & Performance;

11am - Walk; 1pm - End

Marega, Aled and walkers at Caerleon Festival (c) Jo Haycock. Route overlaid on 1960s map - Crown Copyright (2019)

Format

Between 10am-11am talk and performance with artist Marega Palser at Community Hub. From 11am we invite you to join us on a gentle walk to finish 12pm at the Common. Short walk or public transport for the return. Refreshments and WC at Village Services Community Hub.

Contact details

Aled Singleton - 07976 230656

aledsingleton@gmail.com

instagram.com/walkingthe152

https://esrc.ukri.org/public-engagement/

Figure 51 – Flier for Walking through Caerleon in the 1960s & 1970s

Striking the chord

Over the course of Wednesday morning I finalised the four-page programme for the day, including the flier shown in Figure 51, and sent it off for printing at A-Print in Newport. I also emailed it over to Marega. At about 11pm Marega emailed me back with some nervousness about whether she had prepared a performance for the day. She wanted to describe it more as an activity. This had made me feel anxious about the day. In my sleep the word 'performance' seemed to trouble me.

I got up on Thursday and did a few things, then decided to go out for one of the walks near Caerleon that Dad had prepared. It was good to get into the countryside and clear my head a little. I knew that I was anxious about the event – the complexity of what we were trying to achieve and whether it would work. For me the word 'performance' was pretty critical because an event is about playing to the crowd. I had a sauna, steam and swim at the Cwrt Bleddyn Hotel (also mentioned in Stage One). On the sofa I sketched out a basic plan.

On Friday morning the one-page plan was typed up and three copies printed off. In the late morning I drove over to Newport and picked Marega up from her house. She had recently heard about a close friend who had died. This was clearly making her think a lot about things. We had a short chat about death and so on before going to A-Print in Pill. The A5 booklets for the event looked good – on glossy paper. I bumped into a man called Dave that I had known over ten years ago. In that same small space we also spoke to Benji Webb – a local musical celebrity – about keeping diaries. He said that his journals as a 30-something had contained quite a few untruths. He is now 52. Of interest Jon Gower is writing a biography about him.

After getting the leaflets I gave the script to Marega for her to read in the car as we went over towards Caerleon. It was a nice bright day outside and we went up over St Julian's via Victoria Avenue. Clear views of Caerleon's Hill of Dreams as we drove over the hill. Instead of going for a walk we went to the St Julian's pub for a coffee and a chance to talk through the plan. I think that we were both happy with the format. We came up with some fun ways of playing with the paper statistics about a place i.e. this is what your place looks like in two dimensions. Also, we agreed on a meditative technique to help people connect mind and body that Marega had practiced with people sat down at the conference in Plymouth – shown in Figure 52.

I produced a little model lorry that my Mum had found and the little bits of stone that we could drop into the lorry to convey shale. I left it to Marega to decide how she would interpret that and link to Shirley Bassey. Whilst chatting we met a woman called Marion who would be coming along to the event. We left the pub and went up to see Julie at Village Services. Over about an hour we discussed the plans for the event and whether it would be viable to do some of it outside. Julie and the other staff and volunteers had clearly put a lot of effort into the day. A big pot of soup was on the go. Julie said that they were doing it for Aled.

Figure 52 – Marega's technique to get people into their bodies

Later on Friday afternoon I went over to see Jon and run him through the plans. His only suggestion was to add some of the Office of National Statistics societal descriptions – like 'Hard-pressed living' or 'Suburbanites' – and which are given more attention when the event is described. I had a few beers on Friday evening and then went to bed reasonably early.

The day in Cardiff had started off dry, but then the rain started. Jon and I came in the car with Nigel – who lives just around the corner from the two of us. We were unlikely to have much clear sky. People gathered at the community hub in Caerleon. Julie and everybody else at Village Services had made a real effort to tidy the place up. There were about 6 different cakes on offer and soup had been prepared in thermos flasks. Waiting for the event to start I was invited to speculate why there was a Mill Leat which came off the Afon Llwyd – about a mile north of Caerleon? The questioner, David Jones, had thrown me into this debate without maps, such as Figure 53, to help me out. I was the teacher and educator for the day, so maybe he wanted me to think more deeply. Having fumbled a little, I made an educated guess and offered the right answer: it must have supplied the Roman fortress.
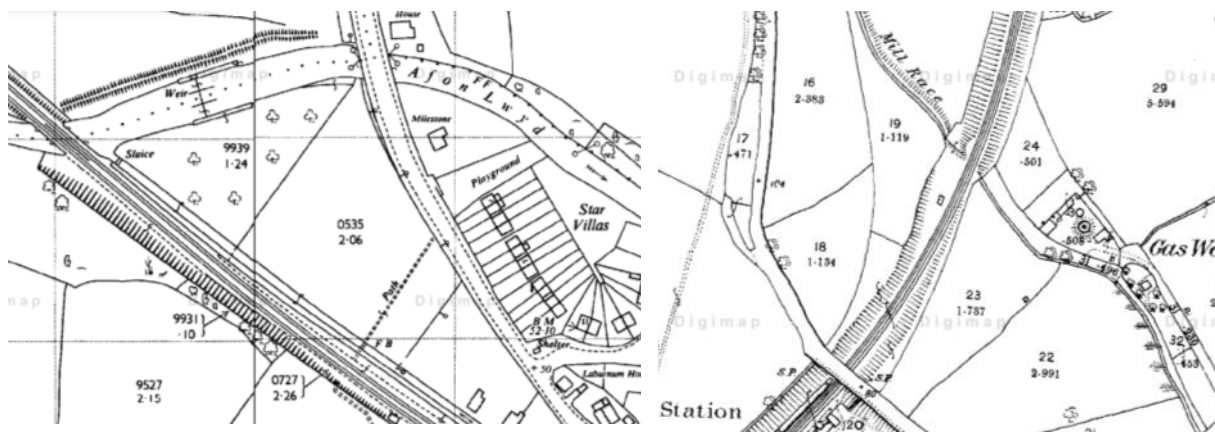
1960s map: leat leaves the Afon Llwyd next to the railway bridge and near to Star Villas.

1880s: water course was called the Mill Race. Note Station and the Gas Works

Figure 53 – The Mill Leat
© Landmark Information Group Ltd and Crown copyright 2019

Why was this relevant? I think that David was trying to tell me that infrastructure which had once been so important can end up being lost and forgotten. We will pursue this diversion a little further because historic maps tell us what happened. From the 1880s map we find a corn mill and a water course called a Mill Race which leads up to it. By the 1920s the corn mill itself is disused and the Mill Race erased. Through a century of further maps we see that the leat – meaning open air ditch – was gradually buried and the water then channelled underground. Where the modern-day Mill Street ends and Castle Street starts, there is a 1960s-built housing estate called Tan House Drive. We can therefore assume that the less potable water aided the cleaning and removal of hair from cow hides. It took some desktop archaeology to piece all of this evidence together. The evidence shows that the infrastructure developed by the Romans had a long-lasting benefit, even when Caerleon had, according to Machen, declined from a golden city to become a desolate little village (p. 71). Of note, the term 'Tan House Drive' shows that modern-day street taxonomists do value the significance of the past uses of a given location – even if it may not have been that pleasant! Returning to the event in November 2019, we would use a chronological narrative about how Lodge Hill had grown from the late 1950s onwards. In the event programme an introduction stated:

> We all get older. It is at the level of a street or village or town where we can sense what the 'ageing' population means. Between 2001 and 2015 Caerleon has seen demographic change: a 27% decrease in children under 16 and a simultaneous 33% increase in people aged over 65. Today we go behind the statistics and investigate the gradual process of an ageing population.

At about twenty past ten, I stood at the front and introduced people, including myself, Marega as the artist and Julie as our host. It was important to introduce Owain who was making film and taking sound recordings, and Jo who would be taking still images. Some people did not want to be filmed. I explained that our gathering was part of my PhD research, that I was representing Swansea University, and that the event was sponsored by the Economic and Social Research Council. Marega responded by saying that she came from a world of 'making and doing.' We played on the tension between the types of social researcher that we each embodied.
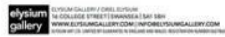
Figure 54 – Framing the Transient Now

We introduced Marega's 'deep mapping' project in Swansea called *Framing the Transient Now*. Through September 2018 she had spent a couple of weeks walking and talking people around Swansea High Street and finding out '…what makes a place; it's not just about its history, it's about its now.' The final piece included dance, drawings, collected objects and a film. Marega and I then entered a short sequence where we debated social science. This was the chance to set a friendly tone of the occasion and be sure that people felt comfortable.

Social science and stories behind the statistics

Marega explained her take on the term social science:

> Aled uses this word on me: "social science." And I have to say to him: "Aled, I don't really know what this word means" because, coming from a world of making and moving and stuff, very often in that world we just do stuff. We don't have a big language that's attached to it all. So when I meet people like Aled; people who come from a more academic background, they have a totally different vocabulary for all these things I might know in my body, but I don't know in my intellect.

Marega started to conjure and gesture with her hands as she finished this response to my questions. As such, Marega's idea of knowing things in her body was important; and it was completely unscripted. She was helping to explain part of the method that had been used to elicit the accounts shared through this work: that people were putting their bodies in certain spaces and places and then letting their minds follow such thoughts. I explained that just over a quarter of the estimated 7,766 people in Caerleon are aged 65 or above (Newport City Council, 2017). Caerleon is split up into six Lower Layer Super Output Areas (LSOAs). All places in England and Wales are split into LSOAs, so let us explore the concept.
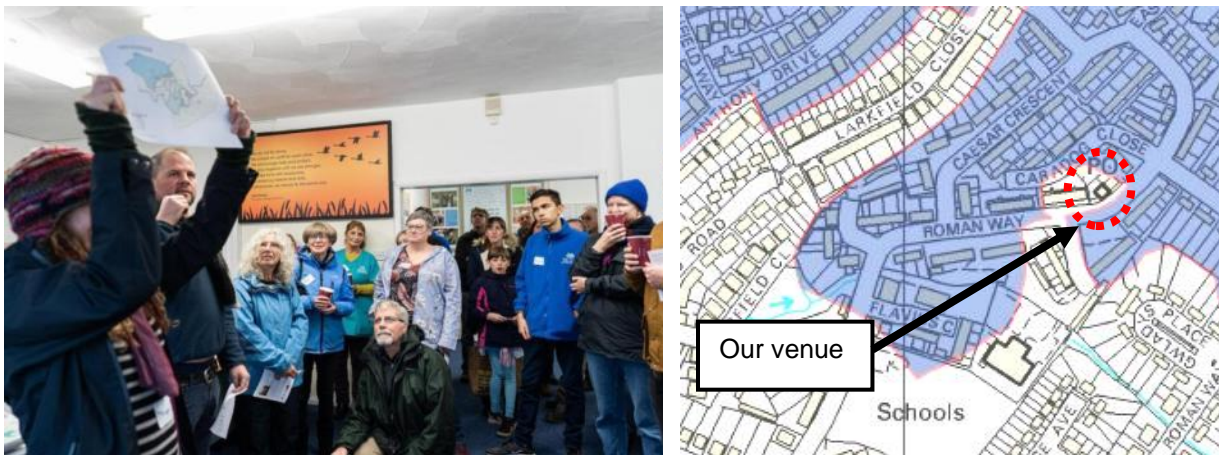
Figure 55 – Caerleon's LSOAs population density (left) and on a map for
© Landmark Information Group Ltd and Crown copyright 2019

Each LSOA has a population of at least 1,000 people and a mean of approximately 1,500. These LSOAs are used by the Official for National Statistics (ONS), incidentally which is based in Newport, upon which to assemble statistics from the ten-yearly census. Caerleon had its own registrar who monitored births – see Figure 43 – Births in Caerleon Urban District 1910-1973– until 1 April 1974. From that date Caerleon became a ward within Newport. As such we were interested in the sub-wards (or LSOAs) entitled Caerleon 2, Caerleon 3, Caerleon 4 and Caerleon 6 because these contain the housing estates from the 1960s and 1970s that we had already walked through. Marega held up a printed piece of A4 piece which represented the 5,085 people (2017 estimate) who were of most interest to us.

The exact position of the boundaries between LSOAs is interesting (Welsh Government, 2020). According to Figure 55 – Caerleon's LSOAs population density (left) and on a map forour venue is within Caerleon 4, but seems to sit within a statistical pocket of Caerleon 6. According to the 2015 population estimates Caerleon 4 had approximately 27.2% of the population who were 65 and over, whilst Caerleon 6 had 26.3%. No massive difference here

between the two sub-wards of LSOAs. However, the ONS have a lesser-known societal dataset which interprets and maps the 2001 and 2011 Census data (UK Data Service, 2020). At a broad level populations are described broadly as 'suburbanites', 'urbanites' and so on. For example we met the 'Suburbanites' as we walked through Home Farm Estate, then went up Trinity View, took the alley way to the Augustans and then went to hill fort. The 'hard-pressed living' were encountered as we walked through the late 1950s and 1960s council estate on streets such as Caesar Crescent.

The definitions split the LSOA into smaller areas called 'neighbourhoods.' For example, the majority of Caerleon 4 neighbourhoods (according to 2011 data) are 'hard pressed living' – which the ONS pen portrait describes as: 'The population of this group is most likely to be found in urban surroundings, predominately in northern England and southern Wales.' They add that 'There is a smaller proportion of people with higher level qualifications, with rates of unemployment above the national average. Those in employment are more likely to be employed in the mining, manufacturing, energy, wholesale and retail, and transport related industries.' This generally correlates with the accounts shared through 2019 from interviews. For reference, the Caerleon 6 LSOA inhabitants are split between 'constrained city dwellers' and 'suburbanites', whilst the Caerleon 4 also has some 'urbanites' and 'suburbanites' living alongside the 'hard pressed living.'

The neighbourhood data further narrows down to specific collections of streets and houses – again linked to Census data. For example, the postcode NP18 3FG reveals that the 2011 inhabitants were 'Hard Pressed Ageing Workers'. Of interest the same street in 2001 was 'Younger Blue Collar'. For a wider context the streets that we have already walked illustrate movement towards older and retired residents. For example, the late 1960s estate houses on Home Farm; Trinity View where the bus stop has been removed; the self-build Augustans of the early 1960s; and the 1960s local-authority-built 4-storey maisonettes on Roman Way. From the 2001 statistics these four were respectively 'prospering semis', 'prospering older families', 'prospering older families' and 'public housing.' According to the 2011 statistics the same streets had become 'semi-detached ageing', 'comfortable suburbia', 'detached retirement living', and 'multi-ethnic hardship' within a decade.

As such these descriptions are quite useful to our argument about an ageing place. However, it must be stated that some of the ONS data labels given to specific streets and neighbourhoods are patronising and clumsy. Before moving on, it is worth explaining that one can look up a postcode and challenge the description (Open Geodemographics, 2020). Unfortunately there is no scope to write your own words – merely choose from a menu

including terms such as 'hampered aspiration', 'retired city hardship', 'deprived neighbourhoods' and so on. Furthermore, the event on 9 November 2019 was not the time to compare ONS descriptions.

We now return to the room. I asked people if the description 'ageing industrial workers' made sense to them. There were quite a few people who nodded and nobody said no. From this understanding that the place is ageing – and there was some kind of industrial past – I brought forward Primrose Hockey's 1981 book *Caerleon Past and Present*. I asked the group who she was and many in the room responded with stories about how they were caned by her when she headmistress of the village school. On page 119 of the book it says:

> The end of World War II saw Caerleon in much the same state as she had been in the 1914-18 war. Men returning from war required new homes and more housing appeared on the side of Lodge Hill. A new era was beginning. It was decided to build a new steel works and the site chosen was at Llanwern in South Monmouthshire. This was low lying sparsely populated rural land lying in the area of Monmouthshire known locally as "The Moors". As this new steel works was to become one of the largest and newest of its kind in Europe, it was necessary to provide the homes for the men who were to work there. The "powers that be" decided that Caerleon with a number of other small towns in the county, should be designated as a Dormitory Town. So building began in the early 1950s and, every available plot of land became the site of a house.

I explained that Primrose Hockey's book did not give any descriptions about the people who lived on Lodge Hill. We will step away from that room to deconstruct our approach. It has only been through the chopping-up and reassembling stories of emotional attachment that the ageing narrative starts to emerge. For example, the July 2019 event had explored experiences of the car crash site, we had created the bus stop shrine and seen the 1960s housing estates; all supporting Flyvbjerg's (2015) 'small and local'. However, the root of the ageing story was set by the context of post-war boomers, and particularly the stimulus resulting from the new Spencer steel works.

On the other hand, was there a possibility of conveying the Caerleon story of ageing with statistics? For example, the Council's 2017 ward profiles show us how there were 230 more residents aged 65 and above in 2011 compared to 2001. If we can go back to the birth records (Figure 43), we find that 457 babies were born in Caerleon in the period between 1936 and 1945. Can we guess that half of the people born in Caerleon during that era

stayed through to 2011; or that people of the same age, but born elsewhere, have swapped geographical positions?

If the point had not already been made, the 2011 census was important as the 'baby boomers' – that's to say those born 1946-64 – were turning 65 and their lives were being counted officially. However, there are very few UK data sets which trace people through their entire lives and also relate to geography. One exception is the Scottish Lothian Cohort Study. This longitudinal study follows the cohort born in 1921 and 1936 respectively as they have got older. The fifth wave of surveys for those born in 1936 was carried out between 2017 and 2019. At the time of writing this survey was expected to include 440 people, down from 550 in the wave captured between 2013 and 2017 (Taylor, Pattie, & Deary, 2018). The survey is principally designed to capture mental health, and has great value to the study of dementia and Alzheimer's.

The Lothian Cohort Study also has benefits for the study of ageing in a more geographical context. For example, a *Mobility, Mood, and Place* research project led by Jamie Pearce at the University of Edinburgh explored health outcomes in later life for the Lothian Birth Cohort and links to available green space in Edinburgh (mapped in 1914, 1949, 1969 and 2019). As an aside, the 1949 map was part of the Abercrombie Survey commissioned to shape Edinburgh after World War II; and which proposed some larger clearances and major road developments. Its author Patrick Abercrombie also surveyed other British cities, including Plymouth and Hull. Returning to the Edinburgh research, a paper on *Life Course, Green Space and Health: Incorporating Place into Life Course Epidemiology* was published by Pearce et al in 2016. They saw 'considerable analytical potential for researchers with an interest in the links between place and health', but recommended that much more resource was required to complete the task. We return to the room in Caerleon.

Getting into the now!

Throughout this work we have often looked to the past. Indeed, the November 2019 session covered the statistics about ageing (which were already out of date). Furthermore Primrose Hockey's words from 1981 were, themselves, cast in a different age. I invited Marega to take over the next stage of the event. She asked me: 'Are we going to get into the now?' I laughed and said that we were going to get into our bodies. She responded 'that is the now'!

Marega asked people to sit down on the floor, where possible, or to lean against a wall. She then asked everyone to close their eyes. Over the next three minutes we were invited to follow her instructions. At the start she drew attention to our breathing: in through the nose and out through the mouth; to follow the breath; to become aware of the sounds around: to identify the highest pitch sound and lowest sound. Attention to the breath would bring attention back into the body; into the feet and feel. To feel the feet planted into the ground and to imagine them having roots, a tree going down into the ground. Coming back up we were led to travel up towards the head, to notice the bends and how bones connect through the knees, thighs, pelvis, spine, tail bone. Travel up through back bone through spine, shoulders drop down and then into the head. After three minutes we would come back into the body and find a neutral space. She said that we would feel quite different afterwards.

Marega explained that being in the present is something that people seem not to engage with so much: we often talk about the past or project towards the future. From her perspective, there were benefits of returning to here and now, especially as the body ages and seems to want to stop moving. From this common point of reference I explained that some of the accounts that we would be sharing had come from people in the room who had been on walks with me. As such the fact that we had been physically walking – or walking through memories from the arm chair – underpinned the types of stories which had been shared; and proved/demonstrated? that the walks allowed us to relax and tap into different energies. In the following segment I read out some of the accounts which people had shared. The first was *A Ramble Through Caerleon* – hand-written by the late Wilfred Wilson, born in 1919, and whose daughter was in the room with us. The words were prepared in the 1970s as a walk through Wilfred's memories and also appear in an adapted format within Primrose Hockey's 1981 book.

Wilfred's accounts capture the 1950s as a time of change in Caerleon after World War II. In particular Wilfred saw the gas lights in the street as a sign of Caerleon being an advanced

place for the time. At one point he describes the man with a funny Gladstone briefcase and a Homburg hat, and who was always the first up the steps to Ponthir Road once the train arrived into the station. For context, a Gladstone briefcase is a leather bag with a handle on the top and brass clips – in some ways similar to a traditional doctor's bag. They are named after William Ewart Gladstone, who was British prime minister in the late nineteenth century – around the time that Machen wrote *The Hill of Dreams*. The homburg hat is also from the same era: initially a less formal piece of headwear, but very much out of fashion by the 1960s. Such observations capture the perspective of Wilfred as a relatively young man who could see the end days of the prevailing Edwardian culture of stiff hats and heavy leather bags. From Wilfred we bridged into Lyn's previously-explored story of his childhood walks to the countryside from the mid-to-late 1950s. This was also a chance to interpret another of Lyn's recollections which captured the transition from 1950s into the 1960s.

Figure 56 – Ticker tape roadway
(c) Jo Haycock

Marega had cued up Shirley Bassey's 'Big Spender' to be played via the computer. She then took a large roll of ticker tape and created a roadway from one end of the room to the other/ The roadway was being held together by people in room. During the final stanza of Shirley Bassey's hit song Marega moved a toy tipper truck, full of gravel, along the track. At the end of this short performance she emptied the stones into the hat belonging to Lorraine, who was at the end of the roadway – Figure 57. The audience laughed and clapped. As soon as the music stopped somebody said: 'The shale lorries!' We invited people to explain the connection between Caerleon and Llanwern, prompting stories about how these lorries had come through the local roads. The most vivid recollection came from David, who had earlier quizzed me about the Mill Leat.

Figure 57 – Tipping the stones into a hat
(c) Jo Haycock

David explained that he had worked at the Ponthir Star Works during the early sixties and had weighed the shale lorries on their way to Llanwern. He said that there were:

> Hundreds and hundreds of them, all overloaded. And some of them would come in brand new; and within three months would be complete wrecks, because they were worked twenty- four hours a day with different drivers.

David described how the Police eventually caught up with the overloaded vehicles and made them deposit some of the material in the brickyard. He recollected that this was 'an incredible time' which spanned the late 1950s through to the early 1960s. David and I explored the story and I asked him where the shale had come from. He explained that shale came from coal spoil tips which had been left on the surface in places like The British – just north of Pontypool in Figure 41. He said that it 'was a good thing in a way' because it tidied up the pollution which spoiled places higher up the valleys. Quite possibly David was thinking about the Aberfan disaster of 1966 where a spoil tip slipped down a hillside, resulting in the death of 28 adults and 116 children.

The stories provided by David were completely unexpected and enhanced the emotional context more than Marega and I could have ever expected. In slight mitigation, David probably had the advantage of being stood next to myself and Marega and therefore in the right position to speak to the audience. Of more interest, David explained that he and his wife Carol had run the Post Office from this very site in the 1960s and had lived above the shop. They probably knew this space as well as anybody ever could.

Marega reminded me to outline the Shirley Bassey connection. I explained how the Cardiff-born singer had apparently owned some of these shale lorries when she was starting out in her career. The mention of the shale lorries prompted many more responses from the room: mutterings and stirrings; something quite visceral. Again David returned to the fore and explained that there had been a song called 'The Ballad of Dan the Shaler.' David struggled to remember the words of the ditty from six decades earlier, but he knew the last line: 'From Nantyglo to Newport, we know that Dan was dead.' We could tell that the song captured the danger of the shale lorries, in that they embarked on perilous journeys which could lead to mortal injuries. David said that he would love to find a copy of that song.

In a figurative sense I shared a thought that this story told us that the valleys towns had not only supplied people to Caerleon and Newport; materials to make the steelworks and the bricks to build houses had also moved. For reference, and not explored on the day, Nantyglo is located in the next valley west from Pontypool, shown on the branch line from Brynmawr at the Heads of the Valleys (Figure 50). Of note, Nantyglo was one of the 'stopping stations' on the train from Brynmawr to Newport which Lionel had mentioned.

At one moment I shared with the room that the estates on Lodge Hill form a place that has existed within a lifetime. I can write these words because the film exists to show the unvarnished detail of the narrator who 'was showing not telling' (Flyvbjerg, 2014) what all this evidence could mean. So far we had captured stories of the built environment being created and – in the case of the spoil tips – being improved also. However, the 1960s was also a time of losses for nature. The field near to Home Farm had once been home to the lapwings; and the flooded fields became spaces where you could 'almost' skate in the winter according to Lindsay. Again David chipped in and told us that lapwings had mainly lived in reed beds on the other side of 'the bend' in the river. New houses were built in the 1980s at a place called 'The Moorings'; as such David explained that dog walkers had effectively wiped out the birds within two years of the new houses being built.

Jon Gower came to the front and gave a little more context about the lapwings. He confirmed David's observation that these birds are usually found in low-land wet grassland and that they were really common up until the 1960s, a time when people could receive grants to drain land. What Jon found interesting about the lapwing is that they are not named after the sound which they make in spring – in contrast to the 'cuckoo'. Jon explained that birds with closer relationships to humans are given multiple names: for example there are twenty names for the pied wagtail in Welsh.

What he said next about the influence of lapwings on poetry was intriguing and perhaps connected with Nigel Thrift's (2008) thoughts on representing the non-visible in forms such as dance. Jon said that that the intonation of Waldo Williams' poetry reflected the shape of a lapwing as it dipped up and down through the air. Jon recited the Welsh version of 'Mewn Dau Gae' (In Two Fields) which featured lapwings. As he talked, his hand moved up and down through the air. One could sense an arc of rising and falling inflection: words in tune with the rising and falling movements of the bird. As such this connected us with the idea that geography and nature can provide subconscious inspirations which lie beneath literature and story-telling. In a more obvious example to our journey, we remember Machen had used the Roman remains of Caerleon and the dream at the hill fort to cast a spell which had a long-term result upon Lucian's psyche. As Marega had previously said, there are things that we can know in our body rather than our intellect. Jon invited David (Figure 58) to copy him in making the shape of a lapwing. Many people in the room found this idea amusing and playful. The atmosphere, judged by the sounds people made, was different to that which had been prompted by the memory of the shale trucks.

Figure 58 – Aled, Jon, David & Carol (L-R) and the shape of a lapwing
(c) Jo Haycock

Jon offered a further commentary about the departure of the lapwings:

> Things which change are also things which disappear and – I suppose – de-enrich us. The knowledge of where we live, which is what we are sharing now, if that disappears then our lives are a little emptier in the same way as we are not in connection with our bodies.

Although Jon had been guiding me through the literary and more performative elements of my journey, his contribution had a serendipitous connection to what other people had shared with us. For example, David again took centre stage to state that the cycle route – which we walked near to Home Farm Estate – allowed new access to nature and was the best thing that had happened to Caerleon for a long time.

The mood within the room had changed over the course of approximately twenty minutes. Firstly Marega had guided us through a three-minute technique and we had entered the now. The drift which followed took in the characters of Shirley Bassey, 'Dan the Shaler', the homburg-hat-wearing train passenger and the lapwings. We travelled in space from the tops of Monmouthshire valleys at Nantyglo and The British to Caerleon past the Star Brickworks. In terms of time we had centred on the mid 1950s through to the mid-1960s: just a decade.

What seems to have happened is that people in the room – such as David – knew, and reacted, to the shale lorry and lapwing stories. Had we accessed a Raymond-Williams-ian structure of feeling? As such we had a relatively limited source of data to prove or disprove: Jo Haycock's vibrant photographs (Figure 56 to Figure 58); the audio and visual material captured by Owain from one corner of the room; and my memory. For the future it would be good to find a way into every corner of the space and have other means by which to capture more reactions. Potentially we could also better facilitate the involvement of others.

Was this psychogeography in action? On a conceptual level Jon's comments had pushed us to think about how the intonation of Waldo Williams' poetry mimicked the movement of the bird that it described and we always have the well-thumbed copy of *The Hill of Dreams*. By the end of this journey we may be able to reflect further and answer this deeper question. In the meantime we will reflect on the last fifteen minutes of the indoor event at the Community Hub. In this sequence we ground the atmosphere and bring the chronological Caerleon story through to the start of the 1980s.

Connecting through commonly-held memories

I explained that books, such as Primrose Hockey and Norman Stephens' series of Caerleon editions had been used to build up the picture of the place. We knew from Dorothy's accounts on the Fosse that people moved to Caerleon for the new secondary modern school which opened in 1964. Incidentally my destiny was shaped by this institution as my father had come to teach there in 1976. Coming back to the estate, we referenced the building of

community connections via Lionel's account of Lodge Social Club with its 'snooker tables and dance hall'. We also reiterated the latter's view that this place would be the bedrock of social lives for older people had it not been closed and demolished a few decades before. Coming forward in time we explained how new private housing appeared on the hill in the late 1960s; and referenced Lyn's comment that 'everybody felt good about buying their own house compared to living in a council house.' The steel works had supplied well-paid jobs for those Lyn had described as '…probably slightly better earning.' Reflecting on the ageing population allowed us to wonder if the people who bought the private housing had potentially stayed for five decades. Could they be the people who were '…prepared to give up now, for then' – as Lyn had mentioned?

As we acknowledge from the short diversion into the Lothian Birth Cohort, it is hard to officially keep track of where people have lived from childbirth through to old age. As such, this is one of the main arguments of our journey: that to know a place on a deeper level we need to set a context which goes beyond the official statistics (with their sometimes ill-placed labels) to converse with people on their level and at a pace which suits them. Furthermore, it is important to reflect on the position from which anybody carries out their own social research. For example, there is a feeling of loss as Primrose Hockey (1981, p 122) summarises Caerleon at the start of the 1980s:

> The town has grown and one would expect trade to flourish because of this. Unfortunately this is the era of the supermarket and, although people live in Caerleon, they take their trade to the supermarkets in the surrounding towns.

This account laments people no longer using the shops which she later describes as being 'of good repute and name, carrying on long traditional service to the community'. These shops were found within the setting of Caerleon High Street that we visited at the start of our journey. However, the author may not have been able to see other reasons for people going to the supermarkets. For example, accounts gathered in 2019 show that the 1960s and 1970s saw a large rise in car use – including the dramatic car crash in the back garden of Dorothy's house. It should be noted that both Lionel and Denise' parents only got their first cars in the early 1960s when they came from Ebbw Vale to Caerleon. When we visit Station Road in Caerleon we will also appreciate how 1970s technological innovations such as the chest freezer also facilitated the supermarket. Beyond cars and freezers, the accounts shared across Caerleon reveal that most people had come to new houses and had deep connections to places like Beaufort and Brynmawr. Quite possibly Primrose Hockey did not know who these new people were. She adds (1981) that:

> The future of this ancient township lies in the hands of its inhabitants and, particularly, in the hands of youth. They are the citizens of tomorrow. They are the cities of a once famed city whose fame was spread abroad. The city is still with us, humbled in status but, after nearly two thousand years enters the twenty-first century with a new look, new hopes and new plans for the next two thousand years.

In many ways these words echo lines from Machen's introduction to Caerleon: 'the sleeping Roman city beneath the ground of a dismal village' (2006, p. 71). Beyond romantic visions of a magnificent past which may never have happened, this latter statement certainly sets a challenge for the young people: effectively those who were born in the 1960s and 1970s.

We move forward to the young people of the 1980s and see what they are doing today through organisations such as Village Services. Julie explained how staff and volunteers make visits to the butcher's on Lodge Hill and ask for a 'Steak for Mr So-and-so' or 'ham cut on the number 4' – referring to the slicing machine. As such, the currency of food helps people of different ages to understand each other: to sustain connections and keeps people socialised. Julie reminded us that the modern fashion is to purchase products ready prepared and from packets. So, if the idea of cutting ham on number 4 captured the aesthetic of pre-supermarket life, then the culture of 'compliance' links to the modern-day task of keeping multi-layered community together. Times have changed from the days of running a social club in the 1960s. Julie articulated that all volunteers and staff are subjected to a DBS (Disclosure and Barring Service) check for 'spent and unspent convictions, cautions, reprimands and final warnings held on police records.'

There is something about the compliance culture which feels gritty and hard; at a different end of the spectrum? to home-made cake and soup and the type of experience in which we had shared stories and built a deeper collective understanding on Caerleon. The story presented on 9 November 2019 would not have been possible without physical and metaphorical doors being opened by Julie and others. There is a notion that an understanding of place is mounted upon a social scaffolding; and one in which the guest makes an effort to connect with the world of their host. For example, I had semi-jokingly struck a deal with Lionel's wife Betty ahead of the interview: their story in exchange for some pears grown on my tree. As Julie said, 'it is about connection'.

Observations and feedback

As a piece of participant observation, the indoor event at the Community Hub was effectively a data collection exercise of two acts. The first act included the performance stimulated by Marega – with illumination from people like David and Julie – and which was captured with Jo Haycock's photography and Owain's video recording. The second was more of a static exercise where people filled in the feedback forms from the ESRC. Of note, an ESRC research manager – originally from another part of Wales – had chosen this event from among 470 events across the UK and travelled sixty miles that morning to be with us.

The log of people who came into the building that day was closer to 40 people, but 24 people feature in the completed feedback forms. By far the most popular reason why people came was because of a direct invitation: 15 people came either through an email or by word of mouth. An interesting example was of 4 professionals from the Bristol and Bath area who came as a result of me presenting to an environmental psychology conference at Cardiff University. Six people said that were made aware through social media, one from an event flier and one more via a search engine.
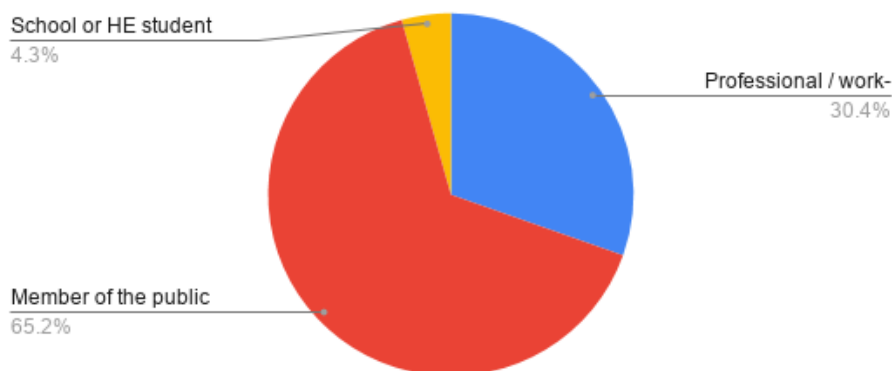
Figure 59 – Attendees by category to event November 2019

The event was held on a Saturday morning to encourage attendance from the public – as indicated by the 65% in the chart above. Nearly all of the latter came from the Newport postcode area. Otherwise we had one student and 30% came due to professional or work-related reasons – see Figure 59. There was a broad age group with a core attendance from people in their 40s and 50s – see Table 6. From the feedback forms we can tell seven people came with their relatives: for example there were three generations in one family group. Just over a third of people [9] said that they had come alone, whilst 3 came with friends and 4 with work colleagues. Similar to the event in July 2019, this was not a deliberate sample; albeit many efforts had been made to enhance accessibility.

Table 6 – Attendees by age group to event November 2019

Age group	< 11	12-19	20s	30s	40s	50s	60s	70+	All ages
Number	1	2	1	1	6	6	1	6	24

Putting on a public event for the ESRC Festival of Social Science demanded a message which was relatively simple, yet also thought-provoking enough to attract new audiences. As a kind of baseline measure, just under a half of the attendees strongly agreed with the statement that they were interested in social science, whilst 30% agreed and 13% were neutral. Of more interest was how well people responded to the event format. We had decided to play with the tensions that exist in the dynamic between me as the social researcher and Marega as the artist. For example, Marega's used meditation and a short performance to support her assertion that the artist holds knowledge in their bodies. The responses were very favourable with over three fifths of attendees strongly agreeing that they will share what was learned - Table 7:

Table 7 – Learning from event November 2019

	Strongly agree	Agree
Will you use or share what you learned?	61%	39%
Were you inspired?	43%	57%

We wanted to stage the event within the community and help promote the work of local partners. One attendee from Caerleon commented that: 'A well-attended event with a great mix of people of all backgrounds and experience. Great location and well catered!' There was also a positive response from the perspective of the host organisation:

> Excellent morning, working to improve events with Village Services in our community. This will improve daily living. It will inspire staff and clients.

A teenage volunteer from the above organisation also wrote that: 'Maybe more information and discussion about what the future of Caerleon may look like?' One attendee wrote:

'Wonderful event, interesting stories, well-organised, informal'. An attendee, aged 30s, and from another neighbourhood of Newport was touched by this of the work, saying that:

> Really enjoyed the comments about the lapwings and connection to nature: valuing nature = valuing ourselves :-)

From Marega's own perspective she wrote that the event was:

> A great model for sharing information and connecting: ages; interests. Location good = heart of the community and social space.

The fixed nature of the feedback forms allowed this event to be compared to a sample from others which happened during the ESRC Festival of Social Sciences. In many ways there is much more potential for the data collection element of this format to be developed. For example, asking whether the event captured the structure of feeling of the late 1950s and 1960s: romanticising the steam engine and perhaps criticising the rise of the car. On a theoretical level this was a chance to deliberate Goodhart's 2017 argument about people belonging to 'somewhere' or 'anywhere'; also ideas about aspiration connected with housing.

The next stage of our journey involves members of the group walking 1.3km towards Caerleon Common. Along the route we explore the 1980s and the 'right to buy' houses from the local authority. The next milestone centres on the former Caerleon Campus which Jeff had mentioned earlier. The closure of this site in 2016 has opened up a large planning debate: whether to market houses which in new people or to better serve the current residents. We round off the section by tapping into Nigel's recollections of the 1970s as we visit the butcher's and grocery shops on Station Road. Some of the group took part in filmed interviews upon our return to the Village Services Community Hub (Tree Top Films, 2019).

Stream of consciousness: Lodge Hill 1982 to 1985

If I close my eyes my friend lived above one of these shops; he had terrapins.

And I can walk down past the maisonettes to Lodge Hill Infants School;

The cars on blocks, visible from the playground; and the nice dinner lady Mrs Vickery'

The first classroom on the right; and the day my Dad brought our chickens in to school;

The room opposite where we went to read books like Janet and John; and practice phonics.

The main hall where the Nativity Play happened; I was Joseph and hated it;

Better fun was when we dressed up as soldiers for the opening of the Roman Baths

Museum; Only school trip where I was ever sick; all over the school hall

The classroom towards with the little extra windowless room; stepped amphitheatre;

TV wheeled in on a stand;

The Los Angeles Olympics in 1984; Zola Budd 'pushed' Mary Decker off;

Fog horns of the ships in Newport Docks;

The trip to a small clothing factory in Newport;

My favourite school teacher Mrs Sheen had an old Austin Cambridge car, like my Dad.

The afternoon when Mum picked us up from school in Taid's silver Mini Metro;

Our Welsh grandfather had died some months before;

His boiled sweets were still in the glove compartment; I smell and taste that rubbery-ness;

And there is something illicit still about that moment;

Later that car returned to north Wales to be driven by Mum's uncle Harry;

We were lumped back into the cold and slow Morris Minor.

Coming back to the classroom; the day when I gave my dead snake to Christian;

He kept it in his drawer and, after some days' it started to stink;

I will never forget the putrid smell of dead flesh;

Any vaguely-mature 'road kill' transports me back to that little room;

Sitting on the carpet, aged six or so.

These thoughts came to me at the gates of the former school. They are organised according to which classroom, but are virtually chronological as we moved classroom each year.

6. Feeding off the foundations

This stage centres on the 1.3km walking tour taken in November 2019. The underlying purpose of this stage is to take a psychogeographic drift which tells the story of a place changing through the 1970s and early 1980s and into the present day. Remaining very much rooted in the geography of Caerleon; we sense how the solidity of the dream had started to fall away a few decades on from the end of World War II. For example, we sense how the public foundations laid down in modern council homes started being sold off under the 'right to buy' policy. In another case we learn how shopping habits changed from the local grocers, bakers and butchers towards supermarkets in the 1970s; and so connect with the discussions held within the Village Services Community Hub.

Part of the public walking tour in November 2019 was led by two other guides: Chris and Nigel. They were invited to share their insights as I had previously been on one-to-one walking interviews with them and they had revealed a great deal of knowledge. This section picks up on three locations where either Chris or Nigel led a discussion. This stage of the walk benefits from the film recordings made by Owain, who was able to move in and around myself and the other people. The rainy weather reduced the quality of some of these recordings, but we get a good impression of the discussions and responses which were stimulated by this walk. Some participants gave their perspectives in short one-to-one interviews at the end of the walk.

On occasions the walking line becomes what Tim Ingold (2017) calls a 'thread' – especially when we take some short traverses or detours to contemporary material and some of the earlier interviews. For example, film excerpts from the early 1960s illustrate the efforts to build the steel works. Although he could not come on the day, we also learn from Lionel, as a former steel worker, how half of the workforce at the huge Spencer Works was laid off in the early 1980s. Further down the road we look at the sheltered housing scheme at Westgate Court and gain some insight of what it means to be an older person in Caerleon today. Our account starts by following Roman Way from the Community Hub and turning the corner as it heads down the hill. The street in front us is about one hundred metres long and has local-authority-built semi-detached houses from the late 1950s on both sides.

The original council houses of Caerleon

Walking round this same bend a few weeks before the event, Denise had cast her mind back to growing up around here in the 1960s. She said that: 'The people who lived in these houses were the Caerleon born-and-bred people'. Denise listed some family names which were also familiar to me from my time at Lodge Hill Junior School. The phrase 'Caerleon born-and-bred' struck me; some kind of unspoken notion that people who come to this place from the 1960s – such as Denise, Nigel Lionel and Betty – were from a different culture. Fortunately I had spent time that summer with somebody who was very much born-and-bred; Helen guided a walk around the area where she grew up. We saw how the original council-built streets had been planned thoughtfully, such as: cuttings between the different streets; a mixture of flats, maisonettes and semi-detached houses; infants and junior school; a block of shops; and the now-demolished Lodge Social Club.

Remembering Stage Four, we had spent time with Helen and found examples of the closeness between neighbours: the cuts through the back gardens and only using the back or side doors. Helen's father Lyn had recalled a childhood memory of how this closeness was not always positive. Knowing that his mother was out of the house, somebody came to their house to borrow some salt:

> It's one of those things that will stay with my forever. She took it out and had already brought a knife: a big knife. She cut the block like that [making a gesture of a strong downwards movement] and then she took the big piece.

Lyn recalled this 'opportunistic borrowing' as a transgression; when the adult took advantage of the child being there alone. He explained that food in the 1950s was not on tap like it is now; that things were strictly budgeted. There was a diet which was very much seasonal and not a 'footprint from Mozambique.' For some wider context on local shopping, Denise related that there was only one shop for the whole estate when she arrived in 1962. The small grocery store was – and still is – located on the corner of Roman Way and Lodge Road. Denise remembered that the shop used to sell sherry from a barrel. At Christmas time you would take your own bottle to be filled up. By the mid sixties a precinct of shops had been constructed by Caerleon Urban District Council: photos in *Caerleon: Scenes Saved* (Stevens, 2007, p. 73) depict a scene with Chatwins Newsagents, Nicklassons fruit and veg, Thorne's General Stores and Harry Thomas the butcher.

Referring back to the salt story, Lyn described this situation as 'letting the side down, because you were on trust.' These stories suggest a tightness – or proximity – of relations within the place; perhaps which could fit the description of the old industrial towns that people left to inhabit suburban housing estates. We will also remember that Lionel had returned to the 'grim reality' of Ebbw Vale after the war. He and his wife Betty spent fifteen years living in shared houses, then a council prefab before coming to Caerleon in the early 1960s. We will pick up on their story after learning a little more context about social housing from Chris and the walking tour.

We now return to the group who walked from the Community Hub on a wet Saturday morning in November 2019, where Chris Thomas was leading. We stood just off the road, in a little lay-by next a row of four lock-up garages and a green telecoms box. Chris spoke about the 1950s houses on this street being a response to the chronic housing shortage in the immediate years after the war. He explained that these three-bedroom houses were part of the social housing offer from Caerleon Urban District Council. For example, people could move here from the smaller houses (built in the 1930s) which were on Lodge Avenue or the thirty prefab houses constructed on Lodge Road just after the war. As such Chris described Roman Way as 'a new community in the 1950s; a happy community I suspect.' Chris had gained this understanding through a project that he did in 2018 to meet the relatives of Caerleon residents who had died in the First World War. This street, therefore, has residents with deep roots. It is interesting to note that the main structure of such houses was pre-fabricated by the Central Cornwall Concrete & Artificial Stone Company and brought to the places like Caerleon. They were thus named the 'Cornish' houses.

Given the context of the social connections on this street, Chris voiced the opinion that the 'right to buy' polices of the late 1970s and early 1980s had 'driven a wedge' through the community. For context, the Caerleon Urban District was subsumed within the Newport Borough in 1974. Any houses sold to their tenants were therefore in the name of a Newport Council rather than a Caerleon Council. However, Chris explained why this row of 1950s houses was an interesting case for such policies. By the early 1980s it was found that these 'Cornish' houses – with their concrete beams reinforced around metal frames – had started to suffer from water ingress. The water would cause the metal to rust and the buildings would therefore become structurally unsound. Chris explained how mortgage companies across the UK were unwilling to lend any money against such houses. He said:

> All of a sudden those houses which had been bought – or were in the process of being bought – were value-less: Nil!

Having a video account of Chris telling this story adds something to the account. Chris had invited members of the group to survey the road for themselves. He moved his hand and lower arm in a sideways movement from the lower elbow – like a cricket umpire declaring four runs – as he captured the whole street: suggesting that no property was exempt from this situation. He moved his hands closer together, almost touching, to convey the diminishing values of these bricks and mortar.

Chris then gave us a spotter's guide to which houses had been renewed in the late 1980s and early 1990s. He explained how the 1986 Housing Defects Act had been prepared as a response to the structural faults of such houses; as a result private owners had the right to access public money and replace the concrete with brick. We learned that some people who had bought their properties from Newport Council had not wished such disruptive work done. Chris explained that such houses were still 'un-mortgage-able'; therefore part of the 'cash only' market. Helen chipped in to tell us that the houses which still belonged to the council in the 1980s – which is to say after the first wave of 'right-to-buy' sales – had their wrought iron front gates replaced with less substantial versions. The new gates were a square shape with curved corners and a horizontal mesh. Members of the group responded with a little chuckle to this account. In fact, this light-hearted account stimulated other perspectives. One person explained that the street has originally called Caradog Road in the fifties – also confirmed in *Caerleon: Scenes Recalled* (Stevens, 2001, p. 50) Jason, who we met earlier on, explained how he lived on this street; and that they were indeed well-built houses. From his perspective they had been well-designed from the start and were much better than the isolation of a tower block. Towards the end of our five-minute stop by the garages Chris shared some of the basics of doing social research, such as searching the electoral register to find out who had lived on a given street. He confirmed some of the names of long-standing Caerleon families which Denise had shared with me on a previous day.

Our group of nearly twenty gathered and moved down the hill and around the corner as Roman Way continued. After fifty metres there is a kind of square at Gwladys Place; the houses are the same 'Cornish' type that we had previously surveyed. Looking at Google Street View we find some interesting changes between July 2008 and July 2012. The more recent images show cars parked in spaces at the front and also in the middle of the street. Of interest there is an open-sided trailer with the words 'Newport City Homes' written on it. The latter is the not-for-profit 'stock transfer' company which took over all of Newport City Council's housing stock in 2009. For more information on the wider phenomena of 'stock transfer' in the UK see Lund (2010, pp. 57-58).

Figure 60 – Gwladys Place, July 2012
(c) Google Maps

The older image is something of a throwback to the past. There is a minibus parked in the same place at the trailer. On a previous walk Denise had explained that Gwladys Place was the bus terminus for the service to Caerleon from Newport. Every morning she would 'pick up her friends' on the way down from the top of the estate. In this regard, the path that we had been walking since the middle of Stage Four – see Figure 47 – was one that people of all ages who lived here in the 1960s would have taken.

Figure 61 – Gwladys Place, July 2008
(c) Google Maps

Related to the previous debate about who were the 'Caerleon born-and-bred' – Denise had said that the school had long-served the villages surrounding Caerleon. As an aside, Arthur Machen depicts Caerleon (or the fictional Caermaen in *The Hill of Dreams*) as the town which served the wider agricultural area in the nineteenth century. Before leaving the original council estate, we briefly follow another thread from Lionel and learn more about the 1980s

How the wider economic landscape had changed

The stories shared by Lionel are particularly valuable to this project; he bridged so many periods of the past hundred years: early years living through the Great Depression; serving during the Second World War; and returning to industrial south Wales in the immediate decades after the war. Coming to Caerleon was linked to the Spencer Works, built on the eastern edge of Newport. To remind ourselves of the vision encapsulated in those works it is worth revisiting the 1960s film made by Monmouthsire County Council.

We learn that a reservoir was built near Llandegfedd to draw water from the River Usk and which supplied fourteen million gallons of water a day to the works. The narrator tells us that 'Water is vital when you are making steel.' In terms of the steel works itself, he adds that:

> In August 1959 our men arrived on site. One of the first jobs was to level off the ground. The original idea was to scoop sand up from the estuary, but that could only be done at certain times of the year. And we couldn't keep to our schedule that way. And so we brought shale from colliery tips from all over South Wales. To do this we had to bring lorries from private contractors all over the country.

A different voice adds: 'The shale lorries; that's something we will never forget. Rumble, rumble; all day and all night.' We then return to the main narrator: 'We brought nine million of shale from tips fifty miles around; and improved a number of Welsh landscapes in the process.' Marega's short performance at the Community Hub had touched on these experiences. We now bring the story forward as Lionel recalled the early 1980s; a time when he described Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher as saving them two fortunes.

The first fortune was a redundancy payment from Lionel's British Steel job at Llanwern – formerly the Spencer Works. Within two decades of its existence, the works could not sustain the 8,000 employees and its workforce was reduced to half of its original size. Lionel was part of a union, and was also at a certain grade, which gave him a good package which he described as leading to 'Good times, but bad times'. The good times were personal, but the bad times related to the wider place. For example, the steelworks supplied raw materials to many other Newport-based metalwork businesses – some of which were in Caerleon itself. Reduced output from the steel works meant that these local businesses were also forced to close down.

The second fortune was then explained. A few years after buying their council flat – the place where they had lived for nearly two decades – they got nearly four times the purchase price. In 1985 they bought their current house, a bungalow higher up the hill. Lionel says that Thatcher '...gave us a fortune in a sort of backhanded fashion'. What I think he meant is that the future of steel making got sold: to end this story Lionel described how he and Llanwern colleagues helped train people in India and Brazil to operate the coke ovens. He said that:

> We had taught the opposition how to kill us off!

As an aside, I reflected on Lionel's comments and tried to consider what I experienced of these times as a child at school on Lodge Hill in the 1980s. I lived in a politically-aware family, but I do not remember the severity of the changes to the steelworks. There is definitely a glimmer of memory that the motorway, visible from our bathroom window, was full of lorries carrying coal at the time of the 1984/85 Miners Strike. In another memory I recalled some caravans on Twmbarlwm – the most significant Iron Age fort visible from Caerleon and a local beauty spot – which had smashed windows and notes saying something like 'the Police did this.' I knew that there was tension in places not far away; however there was not an appreciable atmosphere of hard times which transmitted through to our school in Caerleon. Back then I did not think about where the friends of my parents came from. And I did not know what they all did for a job. What I am saying is that the social history of people in a given place can sometimes get missed if there is nowhere to enact it; the Lodge Hill Estate was no pit village or smoky adjunct to an inner-city factory.

Returning to the conversation with Lionel in autumn 2019, I asked him if people like himself and Betty had shaped this place. This vastly experienced former steel worker thought so. Only a little bit of the estate on Lodge Hill had existed when they arrived; according to Lionel the hillside is now 'overbuilt and overgrown with so many houses.' He also wondered whether there is also less life without a social club and Caerleon College – which had closed in 2017. Earlier in our conversation Lionel had explained the pleasure of providing a place to board for some of the college students. And it is from this story that we bridge back to the group who were walking the streets in November. Chris Thomas stopped us on a piece of the carriageway on St Cadoc's Close to explain the scenario with the former University of South Wales site. The account that he gave was a century worth of the trials involved in building any kind of new development.

Where to live now?

Our group stood huddled on the road and pavement on St Cadoc's Way (illustrated in Figure 67), where I explained that behind us were the former halls of residence which belonged to Caerleon College. The closing of this student accommodation had reduced the local population by approximately 1,000 – shown in the population figures (Newport City Council, 2017). Given the ageing population, I also posited the following. 'This site here, in an ideal world; the type of housing built here; could respond better to the actual local need.' I gave this last sentence a few moments to breathe and looked over at Chris. His head was bowed listening to my words. I then added: 'question mark.' Chris looked over towards me and said 'That's a lovely phrase: a bit better!' He then gestured to start a kind of sparring with me, clenching his fists, and said 'Go on! Give it some welly! Give it a bit more'. The video footage shows that I was slightly hesitating – looking to the audience for support and guidance. In my head I had thought about myself as the reflexive researcher; any criticism was better coming from somebody who lived here, rather than me as somebody who used to live here. I started my response back to Chris and put my thoughts into words: 'You're the...' but then Chris took over and said to the wider group:

> What is being proposed for here is totally out of sync with anything that the local community needs. There you go. What do you think of that?

The passion with which Chris delivered these words immediately drew responses of agreement and deepened this street-side political discussion. An interesting part of what Chris related to us was the historical context of people disagreeing with development on this site of approximately 33 acres or 0.13 hectares – particularly in the lead up to the opening in 1914. Local people were not altogether happy that the site was chosen for Monmouthshire Training College.

There were two setbacks. Firstly, the local stone masons went on strike once work had started; they had not wanted the stone quarried from Govilon in the north of Monmouthshire to arrive on site to already be 'dressed' (meaning that it was finished); and which would have reduced the amount that they could earn. This matter was resolved with some form of 'half-dressed' compromise. The second challenge was a Suffragette protest around the laying of the foundation stone by Reginald McKenna, the MP for North Monmouthsire and the Home Secretary at the time. Many of the buildings were set alight and building was delayed.

The details shared by Chris could reveal how big construction projects can inadvertently collide with underlying tensions in society, such as the Suffragettes demanding the vote for

women. However, there is something more locally specific about the removal of the Caerleon to Ponthir footpath in 1914 – with no obvious replacement – and the enclosure of land by the college.
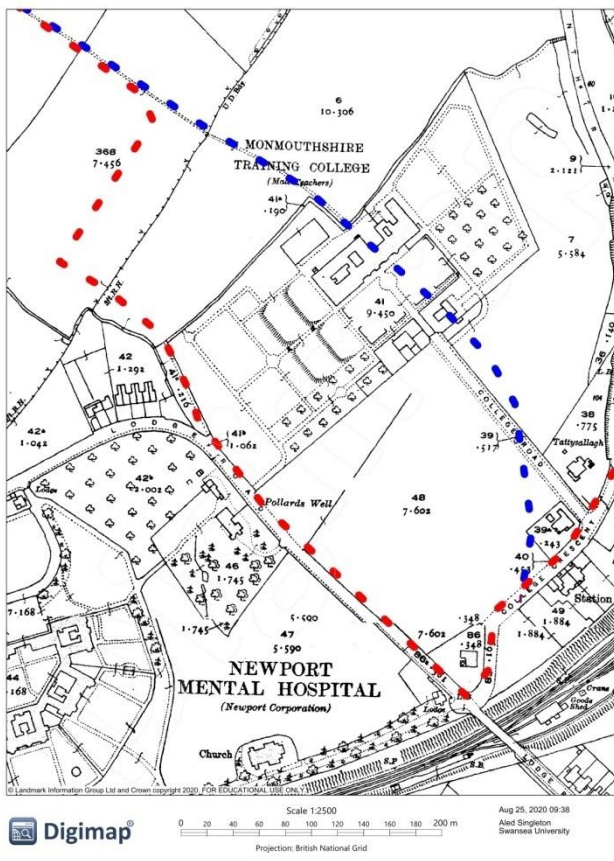
Figure 62 – The lost footpath

© Landmark Information Group Ltd and Crown copyright 2019

We learned that a footpath ran through this site: shown (Figure 62) in a 1920s map as a blue dotted line. Note that the words 'Male Teachers' is shown on this plan. Chris shared with us that the latter walking route went between Caerleon and the Ponthir House Inn and missed out the Caerleon Forge, then a big local employer. Public rights of way had limited legal protection in the early twentieth century – for more detail see *Wanderlust* (Solnit, 2014, pp. 155-16). Of interest the 'Cornish' houses which we surveyed earlier on were on the exact same route (red dots) as this old path. Machen's 1890s route from Lodge Hill back to Caerleon would also have gone past the Cornish Houses and straight through the college.

There was a similar case of removing local access when the hospital, situated directly behind where Chris was speaking, was opened in 1906 (County Asylums, 2020). The Newport Borough Asylum was built on part of the Roman road which linked Caerleon north to Lodge Hill Farm and then ran west to Pillmawr. Although a modern replacement road was built to the east and north of the hospital – see aerial photos (Stevens, 1997, pp. 62-63), it added 450 metres to the walk from the Fosse to Pillmawr Road – Figure 28. Not only did it add distance, but there would not be a legal right to cross the railway line (where the old road had crossed) until Sustrans cycle route NCN88 was opened over a century later.

An article in the *South Wales Argus* (June 9 2011) reports that NCN88 provided a safe way for children from Home Farm Estate to the local comprehensive school; Matthew Evans, then leader of Newport City Council, described it as being 'vital.' There was little vitality in the efforts to make this access as it arrived nearly half a century after the school opened. Although this historical lack of access has since been corrected, there are some interesting new spatial politics which have emerged. In July 2019 Marega interpreted the cigarette butts – Figure 27 – which lay by the bridge just outside a gateway into the hospital. Without doubt these belonged to hospital staff rather than cyclists, walkers or school children eager for a smoke. As we return to the present-day planning of the Caerleon College site it is worth noting that both of these latter infringements of public access were made over a century before our walking tour in 2019; also in the names of public bodies.

Given the context of one hundred years ago Chris asked 'how militant are we going to be?' He said that 80% of houses proposed by Redrow – who now own the site – would be three to four bedroom houses; which Chris judged to be were inappropriate for the local area – see Newport Council's 2017 population estimates Table 5. Judging by nearby Redrow sites, four bedroom houses were likely to be over half a million pounds. Moreover, instead of having 40% affordable housing, the developers have negotiated this ratio down to 10%. Chris faced the group and summarised: 'In all respects, it is not going to be built – if it is ever going to be built – for local people to access.'

Having taken some time to look to the ground and reflect, Chris lifted his head and gave a second perspective on how the proposed development would not connect with the existing community. He explained that the University of South Wales – when it had pursued its own planning application in 2017– proposed a village or community hall on the site. The latter application was not supported by Newport City Council; principally they objected to the pollution that an extra 300 houses would cause, alongside concerns about the lack of alternative 'active travel' options, such as walking for cycling, for people to get about. Redrow bought the land in 2019 and have since proposed approximately a hundred fewer houses. However, they have dropped the 'community' space from the proposals. Given that the only communal space on Lodge Hill Estate is the Village Services Community Hub, where we had spent an hour, Chris summarised the position by saying that 'There is a crying need for some kind of communal space.' Gesturing his hands towards college site in front of him, he suggested that this land could be part of the solution. I followed the accounts shared by Chris and invited people on the walk to keep their eyes open for evidence about community facilities; we then walked 300 metres downhill towards the railway bridge.

As a general comment, the walking tour format had – at this latter spot next to the former Caerleon College – shown great potential with regard to uncovering and discussing the politics of space and place. In many ways Chris used this public platform to share his own investigations about the families of World War One solders who had subsequently lived on Roman Way; also the background to the Caerleon College site. There is an emerging field of older people acting as co-researchers and research partners – more information on the methodology and empirical findings from age-friendly communities (Buffel, 2018). We near the corner of Lodge Road and College Crescent; a bus stop is on the left-hand side as well as a two-story brick building with a frontage of about 30 metres. These are the Isca Court flats, built to house older people in the 1960s. We now follow Ingold (2017) to traverse a thread from our main line and join Dorothy on a walking interview from April 2019 discussing the financial and housing implications of people living longer.

Economics of living longer

If we carried over the railway bridge, now in view, we would reach Westgate Court; a complex of 82 flats built by Newport Council in the 1980s to house older people. Dorothy and I visited in spring 2019 and found out how the accommodation model had changed over recent decades. Walking towards Westgate Court Dorothy explained the challenges of working with the ageing population.

> When we were looking at how many elderly people we're going to have in our community in the next ten years: it's probably going to treble from what we have now.

Speaking from the perspective of a retired nurse, with deep experience of caring for both children and older people, Dorothy explained that many people in their seventies are now not actually that old, unless, she added 'they have got some illness.' Referring to the baby boomers, such as those who live in Caerleon and are in good health, Dorothy says that:

> There's a good chance that the sixties and seventies can live another thirty years.

The thought that retirees could live for three decades made me reflect on what such a life could be. Newport City Homes run Westgate Court and Isca Court (just over 30 units which include flats and 5 bungalows) together as one 'scheme;' a role inherited from the council after properties were transferred in 2009. None of the flats or bungalows were included within the 'right to buy' policies which we had considered on Lodge Hill. The place had

started out as a warden-assisted site, where somebody was on call and able to help residents; often providing social support. At the heart of Westgate Court there is a community space with a lounge.

Figure 63 – Inside Westgate Court Lounge

The internal walls of the lounge are the same yellowy-brown brick-Newport-Council aesthetic that I remember from my youth: Newport Leisure Centre; the library on Malpas Road; and if I close my eyes I could find more examples. Many other elements represent that same 1980s vibe in terms of the types of door and the lighting. There is something quite comforting about this space: it is very clean, it is dry, there are books to borrow and there is a modern bingo machine. By the front door there was a notice board which included adverts for a friendship group and a £10 bus trip to the Wye Valley, which also picks up from the other 'independent living schemes' on the western side of Newport – including Beaufort Road and Milton Court.
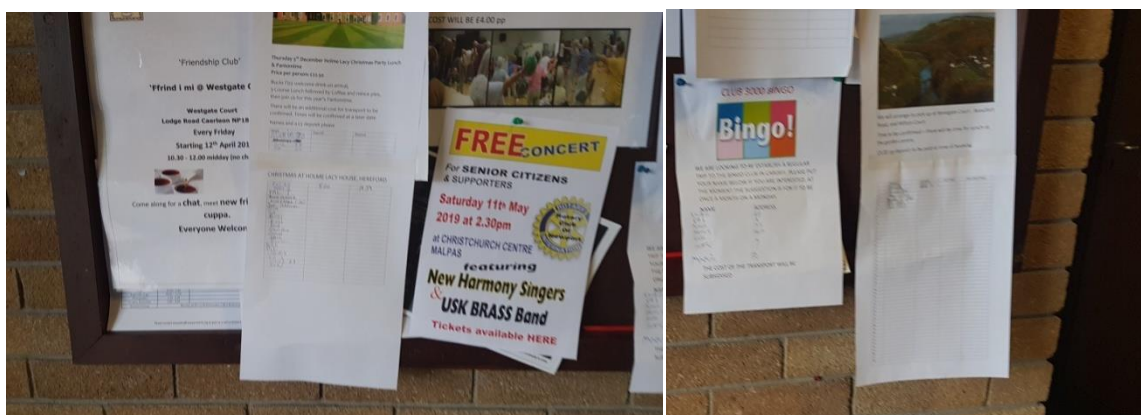
Figure 64 – Notice board

What goes on in the lounge strikes a chord with terminology used to describe the person in charge: moving from the original 'Warden' to 'Scheme Manager' and now 'Site Supervisor.' Residents can book out the lounge for different activities; we learn that bingo is very popular

and there is coffee on Wednesday afternoons. However, the Site Supervisor organises none of this. The day trips linked with other sites in the city hints at how many things have become organised on a Newport-wide level. For example, the care and social elements of what happens in 'schemes' such as Westgate Court – and the latter two places Beaufort Road and Milton Court – have gradually moved towards an 'independent living' model. As such, the Site Supervisor can help to change a light bulb or put up a washing line, but there is no time to develop relationships. Moreover, the job is now a Monday to Friday 9am to 5pm role. The social care which exists for the residents is contracted to Age Cymru, rather than Newport City Council or Newport City Homes. Another interesting development is that people in their 50s with specific needs can now apply to live in such places.

On the day that I visited there was not time – nor a signed consent form from either the current or Site Supervisors – which allowed me to ask questions and go into many specific details. However, from talking to Dorothy I learned that the provision in Westgate Court and Isca Court had become more fragmented in recent years. She explained that Village Services had previously helped out a lot with different activities. However, this was harder with less money and nobody specifically employed to carry out this role. On the one hand it did seem depressing to me that there has been a move towards independence from a previous sense of community, where residents are looked after by a warden. However, Dorothy gave me a different perspective as we walked over the railway bridge post visit.

Dorothy explained that it takes an older person to know how other older people like to be treated. As I took some time to reflect on what that latter comment meant, she started to talk about a book called *Three Little Things About Elsie*. Although the book seemed like a pleasant distraction from a discussion about the challenges of ageing, I could sense that it was a good example of older people having more economic agency than before; indeed more agency full stop. Dorothy described how the book is written from the perspective of the older person; the challenges that they face; and also what makes them laugh. This latter point is important as it compels us – as younger people – to think a bit deeper and understand how the 'baby boomers' are different to the generation above.

The 'baby boomers' became adults in the 1960s and 1970s; a period during which everyday choices for transport, housing and travel were broadening. The previous stages of our walk around the post-war housing estates had helped us to sense these changes. However, I gained a deeper understanding about the fine grain of 1970s village social life and everyday shopping habits when I first met Nigel for a walk in July 2019. From that meeting I found that his parents had lived very happily in Caerleon for nearly five decades. In the past decade

they had made the move to Westgate Court, where they received daily care and support from Village Services in the last few years of their lives. Similar to Chris, I had approached Nigel with a view to him guiding part of our walking tour and he was happy to assist. What follows is a little of the background which Nigel shared in July 2019; and how it translated into the perspectives that he shared with the wider group.

Demographic and social changes in the seventies

Nigel arrived in Caerleon in 1971, aged ten, when the family moved to Newport for his father's job. Nigel captured the demographics of Caerleon in the seventies.

> I knew, as a kid in school, very few children who were born and brought up here. I mean, if you physically think about Caerleon, most people now probably live up the Lodge or in the new estates. They're all 1960s and afterwards. There probably would have been a flurry of house building, probably in the twenties and thirties, with some of the early Council housing at the Lower Lodge.

In many ways Nigel's empirical experience of few school friends being 'Caerleon born and bred' chimes with what Denise had told me as we were walking next to the 'Cornish' houses on Lodge Avenue. The birth figures for Caerleon, when the Lydia Beynon maternity hospital was located within the district, show three phases between the end of the war and the early seventies. Whilst the average was 75 births per annum 1946 to 1954, it dipped to an average of 53 births per annum in the time of Nigel's cohort, 1955 to 1963. The most remarkable figures were in the next phases, 1964 to 1973, when an average of 121 babies were born each year; this latter number is effectively four school classes worth. As such these numbers support Nigel's proposal to see Caerleon 'physically:' the idea of the sixties estates building houses at scale, rather than the earlier 'flurry.' For reference, the birth rates in the 1910s averaged just over 30 per annum, whereas the 1920s it was just under 30 births per annum – see Figure 43

Still related to the first meeting in July 2019, Nigel made some other points as we walked around the late sixties street where he grew up. He put forward an idea as follows:

> I have a theory that this sort of estate – and housing – is the last flourishing of industrial south Wales.

He went to say that such semi-detached houses were built to serve the technocratic-industrial-managerial class of south Wales. As such, he knew of many similar estates from the same late sixties age in other parts of south Wales. The following table gives some statistical support.

Table 8 – Social class profile Caerleon 1951, 1961, 1971

Registrar General's Social Class, grouped	1951	%	1961	%	1971	%
Classes 1 & 2: Managerial & intermediate	343	22	336	32	700	37
Class 3: Skilled occupation	675	45	484	47	900	49
Classes 4 and 5: Partly skilled and unskilled	493	33	220	21	220	12
Total	1,511		1,040		1,820	

Source: A Vision of Britain (2020)

Of note in this table is the relatively stable proportion, albeit a growing number, of working people being in 'skilled occupation'; quite likely many of these in 1971 are the steel workers. There is a reduction in the number – and proportion – of partly skilled and unskilled workers in the twenty years between the 1951 and 1971 census. However, most striking is the growth in the managerial and intermediate class, which substantiates Nigel's earlier reference to the 'technocratic-industrial-managerial class' which he remembered from the 1970s. We now find ourselves amongst the walking tour group and we are standing next to the southern entrance of the former Caerleon College. Nigel has had some to reflect on the experience in the Village Services Community Hub and what Chris and others have contributed on the walk so far.

Figure 65 – Nigel faces south and shapes his teenage sense of Caerleon
© Jo Haycock

Nigel explained that many of his friends lived very close to the entrance to the Caerleon College from College Avenue (Figure 65). There are some tales about the fun that he got up to as a boy; memories of playing with fireworks and such like. He explained that he had arrived in spring of 1971 for his father's job as a manager at the Gas Board's Crindau works in Newport, noting that this site did not last long due to North Sea gas being discovered. Nigel was framing his approach as a charismatic guide, who had been a normal teenager, but who also had a good grasp of history and economics. He then moved his arms to represent how his Caerleon went 'that way' – meaning southward, and 'not that way' – meaning northwards from the Lodge Hill estates where we had just walked. He summed up 'my Caerleon' as a life which revolved around home, school and church. He added that later on, in his later teens, that the pubs 'down there' become part of his version of Caerleon. I added that a little to Nigel's definition of two places; pointed out that there were two primary schools: one on Lodge Hill and one in the village.

Nigel gave us a well-developed picture of his teenage world. Interesting he shared his perspective on nostalgia: he was no longer upset about seeing pubs shut and accepted that things are changing. The passing of time allowed him to think through his memories and put things into context, such as the construction of the estate and the steelworks. He reflected to the group that 'I look at my friends' parents and what did they do?' He worded his next sentence carefully, admitting that he was describing what the male parents of these middle-class kids were doing. Using his fingers to count up to four digits, he then cited big Newport-based employers such as Llanwern, STC, Whiteheads, Lysaughts; and pointing northwards

over his back he also included Parke Davies (near Pontypool – see Figure 41); summarising the opportunities for what he called 'the technocratic managers in industrial plants.' Moving to the bigger context, he joined up his own childhood with subsequent life:

> And if you ask around these days; what do people do? How many people these days work in manufacturing? This was my world; and I suppose that I saw Caerleon and, I suppose Newport, in their pomp. This was a peak time for this area: probably full employment in the early seventies; good jobs, skilled jobs.
> And a lot of people, I suppose actually, in terms of almost fulfilling their dreams: home ownership and you're reaching that kind of consuming, people getting access to cars, things like tellies.

In many ways Nigel summed up the wider story uncovered by this project; the sixties and seventies as a time of very visible investment in British society; excerpts from the sixties film about the steel works by Monmouthshire Council also confirm this as a time of planning and building. Nigel commented that this 'world' of employment no longer exists. To that end it may be useful to consider this era using the rhizome-like approach described in *Afterwords* (Thrift, 2000). We ask ourselves the same two broad questions about our case – specifically the industrial era – which Thrift posed himself about his late father. Firstly, does the influence still exist? Yes; through the continued presence through to older age of people who moved to Caerleon. However, the betting shop on Caerleon High Street closing down suggests that this culture is thinning out. Secondly, is the presence visible? The steel works at Llanwern is the only survivor of the five employers mentioned by Nigel, albeit much smaller and only likely to reduce year on year. Perhaps it is better to reflect on the built environment to sense the changes to daily life made through the dream which Nigel mentioned: home ownership for those who 'gave up now for then' in the sixties, the eighties 'right to buy' phase, cars carrying people through streets shaped around cul-de-sacs, and now bus routes reduced.

The sixties rhizome is perhaps more visible if we put the specifics of the place to one side and consider Nigel's slight spoiler for what would come later in the tour: 'Does anyone remember chest freezers? That was a big thing in the seventies!' Nigel's latter idea got a good laugh; this break also felt that like he had finished framing the debate and he then took a step a back. Jason, who I had interviewed during the spring, took the opportunity to step forward and explain how the main building of the Caerleon College site had been saved from demolition. In particular he explained how a core of six people had got together and proven that 'people can actually change things.' He briefly explained that the idea of 'local activism going' is not true; adding that 'small groups of people who are passionate, and care about

things, can really make a difference.' We are not going to take this story further; however, it does complement Chris' story about how many people had protested in 1912. Furthermore, the way that Jason moved into the space and facilitated the sharing and discussion of ideas demonstrated the potential of the walking tour as a method.

We now walk around the corner to Station Road, cross the railway bridge – looking right to the site of the station where the man in the Homburg hat and Gladstone leather bag got off the train – and stand opposite a row of 1920s houses. Nigel gave the group a little briefing: saying that he could remember the names of most shops, but not all; he therefore asked for anybody who knew more than him to share their knowledge. In a helpful note he advised us to keep packed together on the pavement so that other people could get past.

Poem: Slow-pounding Steve

Steve lives up in Tonypandy.

'Know where that is?'

He asked me when we talked on the phone.

I'm pretty sure I do:

Dad and I went there on our final pub crawl;

Sometime in the winter of 2016;

Not that I supplied Steve with this story.

Steve wanted to buy our Moggy;

And he outlined his credentials;

To own this sixties British car;

A Triumph GT6 added in 1990;

To a Herald bought in '86.

He was sufficiently car-afflicted;

And would be granted the keys.

What I found out later on that day;

From a display board at St Fagans;

Pursuing the Post-war Dream

Is that the river Ely rises near Tonypandy;

And that Ely means 'slow-flowing'.

Today Steve rolled down the Rhondda valley;

Towards Penarth and his goal;

Also the end of the Ely.

Stopping at Llantrisant he called me again;

Talking to him is like waterboarding;

He pounds away;

And wears you down;

Like the slow-flowing Ely;

And I didn't want any more torture.

After Steve signed off I wondered;

Did he diligently follow the ponderous water course;

Stumbling across Peterstone;

Which considers its setting Super?

Or did he take the motorway;

The Cardiff Link Road;

And the Cogan Spur;

All functional stretches of road

Whatever way he got to the Ely's end;

This man now owns the Moggy;

A car which symbolised the 'gloriously ramshackle;'

A catch-all phrase which my brother used;

Capturing our father.

Steve got a good deal out of us;

But I'm glad to say goodbye to a family icon;

We had our fun;

But it was so last century.

This poem was written on 27 April 2019. This was in response to selling the selling our Morris Minor. The car left Pillmawr Cottage some months before, but had been kept at Ceri's place in Penarth for a few months for some basic repairs.

The shopping experience of the mid to early 1970s

The first shop which Nigel remembered from the seventies was 'A. Jones' on the corner of Station Road and Broadway. Nigel recalled coming to the shop with a list from his mother to hand over. He recalled that there was a counter at the back; on which there was a bacon slicer and a big lump of cheese. Describing the rest of the shop Nigel then spread his arms and moved his hands to demonstrate that behind the counter – and right up to the ceiling – were all the other goods. He recalled that they had steps to get to the top shelves. He then made an action with his body that conveyed a kind of fishing rod held above the head: this was a device used to hook items from high up. On occasions he said there would be at least three people working in the shop. However, Nigel said that he didn't think this approach as an 'open all hours' grocery lasted into the late. One of the group members explained that Mr Jones, the owner, was quite old by the mid 1970s; Nigel confirmed this and said that maybe he took the opportunity to retire and sell the business on. There is confirmation in *Caerleon: Scenes Recalled* that this shop closed in 1974 (Stevens, 2001, p. 71). Making a commentary, Nigel said that this shop represented a lack of choice. Choice included bacon, somebody else chipped in cheese and then Nigel narrowed his two hands together, in a near praying pose, and said 'tinned peaches.' He explained that it was very basic; not like going into a big modern supermarket where you can buy anything. His body language changed with this last idea; his arms spread wider and he made two wide arcs to summarise the enormity of choice.

We then moved next door to a former shop called 'H G Pritchard', which Nigel explained as being a lot more interesting to him as a boy than 'A. Jones.' This was an 'odd shop' because it did not have a proper shop front; you went in through a door, down a corridor and then left into the premises; as a result it was very dark inside. He found it hard to categorise as a newsagent as 'you would flog cigarettes, newspapers, sweets; that kind of thing' in such a shop. Nigel recalled that they sold some kind of tobacco, but didn't sell newspapers. With a

smile on his face he recalled the sweets: 'it was my introduction to really cheap sweets; white mice; sugary prawns. Anybody remember those?' Members of the group said yes. He then described the owner as wearing a smock – almost like a dentist; that he spoke very little and was not a warm chatty man. Nigel then explained his affection for this strange shop: 'But it was lunchtimes we used to come here from school for the pasties. They used to make their own pasties and they were lovely.' Nigel brought his hands to his mouth and nearly took a pretend bite. 'And they did them in a kind of doughy, bready, pastry.' Another comment came in the pavement about lollies. Nigel then changed his track and explained how they used to make lollies here also; reaching his hand out to Lindsay who had made the comment and inviting her to speak. She explained that these ice lollies were made from fruit squashes and that they were quite watery. She also added that Mr Pritchard put brown paper over everything; 'so you couldn't see anything!' This started a debate within the audience that bridged through to people who were from a younger generation. Nigel's final thought was how strange it was that the shop was so seemingly hard to access. On the day of our visit it was clear that the property had gained a shop front and was a Spar mini supermarket.

Figure 66 – Nigel points to the barber's shop
(c) Jo Haycock

We then moved a few doors down to the site of a transport cafe. Nigel explained that Caerleon had been on the main road between Monmouth and Newport before a dual carriageway bypass was built in the sixties. In the past truckers would stop to get, in Nigel's words 'chips with everything, tea, etcetera.' We could tell that a slightly roguish story was about to come through as Nigel had a smile on his face. He explained coming to the cafe for lunch, aged 11, with his friend Steven and how they got permission from their parents to dine on something like pasty and chips. Nigel did not tell the whole story on the walking tour.

However; a few months earlier – when Nigel and I had walked the same street together – he explained that his mother would not really have wanted him to go such a place because it was not the right kind of aspirational environment for a nice middle-class boy. It was therefore interesting that he withheld this part of the story; the real reason why he had such a wry smile on his face. Nigel then pointed to the barber's shop – and remembered 'Gino' who cut Caerleon hair for thirty years. Lindsay then added that 'Don Lewis the butcher' was next door. Knowing the significance of the transport cafe story from four months earlier, I brought the debate back to that site. We were the connected with Nigel's bigger local history perspective: he posited that the weight restriction on Caerleon bridge had maybe been the main reason why things changed. The difficulty of wide loads getting wedged in Caerleon narrow streets is documented with dramatic old photos in *Caerleon: Scenes Recalled* (Stevens, 2001, pp. 24-26).

We then moved around the corner of Station Road and on to Goldcroft Common; people remembered another grocery store and the Angel Hotel – which is now a small Sainsbury's supermarket. Stopping outside Minstrels Sports Bar I explained how Nigel's model of Caerleon may be different to mine. This particular watering hole, often frequented by me in the 1990s, had not existed twenty years earlier when Nigel had been a teenager. I asked why Nigel had never noticed this place in the nearly four decades that he still came to Caerleon to visit his parents. Nigel acknowledged that 'you see what you're used to.' Pointing over to the Angel, and then back to Minstrels, he noted that there was a pub shut and one opened. I commented that we maybe have conceptual models of places and that 'maybe our memories are sometimes too powerful.' Nigel responded by saying that 'it causes focus;' bringing his two hands together to demonstrate a kind of narrow track. We then moved on to the last stop on our tour. The camera lingered a little to take in two people visiting Minstrels; also three members of our walking group who had visited the cake shop on Station Road – potentially a modern-day replacement for Pritchard's.

Nigel recalled his mother placing an order for a few cubic metres of meat from Skuse the Butcher's, which he recalled her then storing in the chest freezer in the garage. The family seemed to eat this meat over the next couple of years. Many people laughed. The bulk discount was described as 'nuts, such a strange thing to do!' The wider significance of everyday technologies such as the fridge and chest freezer is that people no longer had to visit local shops so frequently; leading business to the supermarket. Thinking about the newsagent next door Nigel wondered whether selling only newspapers and fags was enough these days. The names 'McClure', 'Garrod' and 'Garfield' came in from the group as former

owner of the same premises. Many of these names are confirmed by photos in *Caerleon: Scenes Changing* (Stevens, 2003, pp. 76-77),

Starting to sum up, Nigel pointed towards me and said 'he started a lot of things turning;' the latter movement accompanied by a rotation of both his hands. Nigel added a few other memories from the seventies, including Mr Edwards the baker, who had a 'ghastly tuneless whistle' as he delivered bread to the house. Nigel shaped a basket with his hand and then lifted the imaginary weight up above his head. He then entered a kind of riff about warm bread, Mr Edwards whistling, ringing the doorbell, coming to sell bread. It seemed that Mr Edwards was a dying breed in the seventies, alongside the man who came to the house with a bike-powered machine used to sharpen knives. Linking back to history of assembling animals at our location on Goldcroft Common, Nigel explained that drovers would buy cattle, then walk them to London, and convert them back to money. He explained that part of Lloyds Bank had started out as a smaller banking business in the west of Wales and that the black horse logo was 'a last gasp' to these droving origins.

By this point it was 1pm and we had been sharing stories about spaces for nearly three hours. I thanked Nigel and explained to the group that one aim of the day had been to show how different ages had their own innovations. For example Nigel had cited the chest freezer; a big improvement for his mother, but a mundane object for subsequent generations. There is good account in *Mundane Methods* of using 'objects interviews' to understand bigger biographies and contexts (Holmes, 2020). I also explained that the day had aimed to capture some of the bigger changes – including the drama of the shale lorries. In a nod to the geography, I invited people to reflect on how the atmosphere in the older part of Caerleon was very different to the estates. For example our current location was within the boundary of the old Roman fortress; we had also seen Victorian buildings, the old railway station and the common used to assemble droving cattle. We then switched the cameras off and walked back to the Village Services Community Hub for vegetable and homemade cakes.

The final element of the day was to interview some people in front of the camera. We went outside the community hub and stood by the building. There were five such interviews; of which three are now given a detailed summary. All of the interviews were asked about their initial impressions of the day; people responded differently and the conversations were then shaped around each person's perspective. The first short conversation was with Steve, who is an occupational therapist who had been invited to the day through one of his work colleagues. As such, Steve was unknown to me before the event.

Response One: Kids thrown in together

Steve works in health and social care in the west of England and came along with a group of four. I asked Steve about his response to the day:

> The first thing is, it takes you back yourself; on a journey; the places you've lived; those packed connections; the people that are potentially still living in those places.

As an opening sentence this conveyed the liminal nature of what we had experienced: Steve talked about going back in time and also considered the present moment. The words 'packed connections' connects with the affective register in which Kathleen Stewart (2007) writes; for example the word 'packed' conveys depth, discomfort and much more. The film shows how Steve looked straight at me through the interview; nodding and moving his head gently as he spoke in long sentences which were broken down – almost poetically – into shorter clauses.

Steve's accent was noticeably from the English midlands. I asked him if coming to this particular setting in south Wales connected with him personally. He explained that he was born in 1964 and was brought up on a council estate. He said the he loved the story of the chest freezer 'because it probably resonates with loads of people' – adding – 'those things that changed, that shaped, our lives, you know: the cars coming along; the chest freezer; the change in the shopping habits.' I then asked him how he reacted to being in Lodge Hill, a place shaped in the 1950s and 1960s. Specifically I asked if moving between spaces that were old to this modern space had stimulated something. From his perspective he explained that he had grown on a 1950s council estate in Birmingham. He added 'What is quite amazing; and you also see it here.' Steve then quickly looked away from me over the road to the maisonettes and got back into the flow of his thoughts:

> A very modern place at that point; in the sense that this a new way of living; big estates with very few resources really. But those shops: the take-away; the chip shop; the off-licence; the corner shops and grocer's; so there were some amenities; the schools were obviously there as well.

In these words Steve gave a list of amenities which was similar to the location in which we stood; the basic shops and educational facilities for people. In the next sentence Steve started to sense the 'everyday' and 'fleeting' relational experiences (Spinney, 2016, p. 241). Steve shared the thought that:

> What you did not realise back then, as kids – because we were all thrown in together – is that people were making new lives – new families – lots of families on the street.

This last comment is a testament to the perspective that time offered Steve as a man in middle age: he could see how the council estate was not just 'new' to him as a child, but also for everybody else. In terms of language Steve used words which connect to what Vannini (2015) considered in his study of non-representation and ethnography, such as vitality, performativity, corporeality, sensuality, and mobility. The corporeal experience of our walking tour in Caerleon had potentially allowed Steve to remember himself as a child; for example the vitality of 'families on the street'. The most thought-provoking sense of mobility was found in Steve's phrase about how kids were 'thrown in together'. In many ways this complements how Lionel explained the communities in industrial settlements in the valleys being 'blown apart' socially when they moved to Caerleon. To expand the last argument a little; Lionel was from the generation which moved to these new estates as grown adults, whereas Steve was the generation who grew up in them and never knew anything else. Here we add qualitative accounts to the statistical incidence of people moving out from inner-city Britain in the late 1950s to early 1970s (Yelling, 2000; Lund, 2017) to smaller towns and suburbs (Champion, 2014). Steve concluded the two-minute conversation to say:

> I would be interested to go back now and see how many of those families have stayed. And whether they are now people living there in their seventies and eighties?

It is beyond our project to compare different estates and answer Steve's last question. However, this case study in Caerleon demonstrates a quantitative measure of people living through to the later stages of life – see

Table 1. There is a deeper statistical base in a study of twenty social housing estates in England; the proportion of older residents had reduced between 1981 and 2011 (Tunstall, 2020, pp. 164-166). One estate of 700 flats in London the percentage had declined from 27% in 1981 to 7% in 2011. In sixteen of the twenty cases from Tunstall's study the proportion of residents of retirement age fell into the 5-10% band. Returning to Birmingham, Lynsey Hanley shares a home city with Steve and writes from her own perspective in *Estates: An Intimate History* (2007). For context Hanley's grandmother had grown up in a south Wales valley slum and had valued her new life on the estate.

To conclude Steve's response, his perspective gave an important insight into the experience of growing up on a social housing estate in a different place. He complemented Nigel's approach in some useful ways; for example his language was much less emotional and – importantly – Caerleon acted as a portal which bridged from being in one place to his

experiences of another (Birmingham). In many ways Steve was proof of the walking tour as a method to stimulate affective responses.

The next response came from Natalie, who works for event sponsors the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and had been attracted by the community nature of the event. Natalie's responses provided more detail about the method and – to a degree – the ethical perspectives of research.

Response Two: How history is remade everyday

Natalie said that the experience was 'about community; and how history is remade everyday by different people just connecting with each other.' She then clarified in knowledge terms:

> Research is about helping people understand that [history]; why it's important. And then people can use that information to say "well this is the kind of place that we want to have;" so it's been really powerful actually.

Natalie then revealed that she grew up in a small town in north Wales with a big factory nearby; potentially with a lot of older people now. In terms of the format she felt that one could 'almost make friends in a morning, just be learning about a place.' I asked if it made a difference to walk around a place rather than being in a lecture. Natalie responded that it was completely different to a lecture where 'you get told things.' Gesturing towards the Village Services Community Hub she recalled a plaque on the wall which says 'tell me things and I will forget'; whereas she explained that this was about people just chipping in. To clarify, she meant that the indoor performance and the walking tour were more open forms of debate: 'what they know is really important.' This connected with the idea of site-specific performance stimulating and eliciting other stories (Pearson, 2006, p. 22).
Coming from her position as an employee of the ESRC Natalie commented on the direction that social research may be going: 'It's about the value that academics can bring, and it's about releasing other people's knowledge as well.' She explained that people on the walking tour were asking each other questions; and getting answers from each other rather than going through me as the host. She added that 'walking meant that we would be asking each other questions.' Linked to the previous comment, I asked about the exchange of ideas and where knowledge sits in such a format. Her response was interesting in terms of reporting a narrative that hadn't quite bubbled up to the top in my head at least: namely that people seemed to be recovering a pride in the place after seeing it as a bit depressed and struggling

to retain its residents. She added that 'mixing with different people for one morning – with one person bringing them together – means that they can take something away that they didn't know; and feel a bit better about it.' This observation was certainly positive for the potential of walking tour as a method which could help break down power structure in research about 'age-friendly communities' – a problem identified by Buffel (2018).

Response Three: a familiar place in a new light

Nigel reflected on his experience of leading part of the walking tour, having first been interviewed in July 2019. Thinking back he enjoyed his childhood and felt that the 1970s was a good time to be a teenager in Caerleon. He said that it had been 'a nice process' overall to trawl through memories and put things into context. Given that he had been portrayed as a local expert, I asked if he had learned anything new about the place. Nigel's response was that he saw 'a familiar place in a new light.' Reflecting on the spot where we stood, next to the community hub on Lodge Hill, Nigel said that 'we are in a part of Caerleon, here, that wasn't much to me in the seventies.' There were some nostalgic elements in terms of seeing some old school friends and people that he hadn't seen for a few decades; however, the big thing for him was about the type of accounts shared:

> I'm interested in history; I like my history; and I've always tended to see history as something very old... and it tends to be that history is the interesting stuff; big history. Whereas I have enjoyed this because it has been focusing on more recent history; and just ordinary history; not the grand stuff, but stuff on a more individual – community – level, rather than the rise and fall of empires and stuff!

With the stress on the spectacular kind of history, he slightly laughed at himself at this point. However, he added that the turn towards everyday history was 'an interesting thing that these discussions have raised for me.' For context Nigel had some experience of running guides walks around Cardiff, which had focused on history. It is worth noting that Nigel had given the history of droving cattle through Caerleon on our walking tour in November 2019.

Part of Nigel's more recent connection to Caerleon was the experience of both his parents dying. Given this context I asked him how it had been to spend time in Caerleon for the interview and the event. He explained that it had brought back a lot of memories of his Mum and Dad; quite good memories. He explained that visits had been very hard and emotional towards the end of their lives; they were of a great age, also suffering illness and very

dependent on each other/on others? for support. He therefore had little reason to come back to Caerleon for a while. After two years he felt that he had got over that emotional stage and now tended to 'remember them in their prime, rather than towards the end.' In the context of grieving he advised that everybody going through grief should take their time and not be too hard on themselves.

Reflections

This stage covered 1.3km in terms of distance, within which we sensed the architectural juxtapositions and political philosophies which may have influenced them: 1950s concrete-framed houses, former bus turnarounds, cut-throughs, an Edwardian-era hospital, the college as a 'development opportunity', roads, supported accommodation, railway bridges, shops, pubs and portals to the far distant past. In a political sense we were able to grasp the 'pomp' of Newport in the seventies as a realisation of a post-war dream to rebuild Britain, whilst the1980s was a time of 'fortunes in a backhanded way' – according to Lionel. We also gained perspective that big construction projects have long disrupted everyday connections to space. However, both Chris and Jason did give us hope that people can work together and fight for their communities. Natalie gave a sense that the method helped non-academics to remake history and claim some ownership for themselves. Nigel was very animated by seeing a familiar place in a new light and Steve there was something a little bit more subtle and a deeper affective connection was made. I am confident that there were many more useful responses between people who came along that day.

Figure 67 – The pavement discussion
(c) Jo Haycock

In terms of data collection, this was the first opportunity to bring in a film maker, alongside photographer Jo Haycock, to help keep an audio-visual record of the process. The setup is demonstrated well in Jo's photo above: film maker Owain is to the left; Jason is in the red coat to the right; I am in the light blue coat and have a black backpack. Chris was speaking at the time and was hidden from view, in the centre of the group. As a group we used both the pavement and the road space. In some ways the documentation distorted the process: the ESRC sponsorship – or the product on the event flier – was a social science approach about the context of population ageing, which potentially overshadowed the efforts to test the ideas of being embodied and taking the walking tour. One researcher-practitioner reflected on her experience of documenting 'site-based body practice' in a chapter for the *Walking Bodies* book, Hunter (2020, p. 31) wrote that:

> I began to wonder why the ephemeral and phenomenological could not be left to lie, to sediment, to permeate within the body-self of the experiencer who had to physically be there, to attend and tend to the event, to acknowledge the walk itself, and its activities.

Although Hunter's argument is very powerful, we have to record and document in order to convince people about using different methods. However, the way in which movement and interaction of people can be analysed through video gives something more to the study of the affective dimensions of walking than audio recordings. The video was also useful for me to sense where I changed position between 'participant-as-observer' and 'observer-as-participant' – see earlier definitions from Bryman (2008).

Poem: not so much intimate, but nonetheless unknowable

I guess that I don't feel scared to let go;

But there is certainly something inside;

As if it is not actually of me;

Which clings at my consciousness.

It keeps me awake;

A little rodent;

Not so much vermin, but scurrying in my head;

Leaving little traces.

The mouse is my father;

Or rather the symbol of;

That need;

To make a nest and breed.

The nest from which I was raised;

Is now largely cleared of scents;

And even the shit has gone;

But it is the little scratch marks...

The other day I remembered how my father;

In his dying days;

Would pick up his slippers and let them drop;

Plop-plop, by the bedside;

In the right place for his feet.

It was private to him;

Not so much an act of intimacy;

But nonetheless seemingly unknowable;

Though I hear from my place, a bedroom away.

For a year I have been an archaeologist;

Pursuing the Post-war Dream

And worked out the bigger questions;

Like how he let certain things slip;

And why he wanted his two sons;

But I can't work out these silly mechanics.

The creaks of another person;

Heard in my friend's house;

Brought home that sense of family;

That has been lost;

But is also maybe yet to come?

The latter poem was written about Pillmawr Cottage on 12 June 2019, but sparked by hearing noises on the floorboards during a night spent at my friend's house. This was towards the end of the time spent clearing everything from my childhood home.

Part Three: A stroll down to the river

This third part considers what may have been missed by presenting the interviews, performance events and other data as *Pursuing the Post-war Dream*, a narrative focused on place and time; also one which followed the dynamic of population ageing. Although we have lost ourselves creatively (Solnit, 2017), we have not considered some of the factors which may have led such unconscious mappings. For example, are there clues which explain why people hold on to their maps of space and can space reveal certain types of emotional response that people held in their work? The interviews, especially the bits which did not go to plan, provide some interesting case studies.

This part of the thesis is split into three sections: the first explores how individuals have less consciously made connections to space, the second considers how the interviews triggered affective responses in unexpected ways; and finally we bring this mix of psychology and anthropology into the geographical and historic context of Caerleon. We continue with the theme of referencing the accounts to specific spaces, albeit the locations concerned are the parts of Caerleon which have been inhabited for hundreds of years – meaning that they are more contested and harder to read than the post-war estates.

Less conscious mapping

This first section takes a step back from the anthropological and sociological to consider how the individual considers space; including ways in which people may have unconsciously mapped experience onto spaces during earlier stages of life. In terms of linking to existing concepts and theory, we return to ideas which focus on the individual and their relationships with space, delving once more into works such as *Psychoanalytic Geographies* (Kingsbury & Pile, 2014) and *Afterwords* (Thrift, 2000). The first example considers the experience of an unconscious map of teenage space, which bridges into Blum and Secor's concept of topological space,(2014), and then leads to two examples of how certain sites (one which has not existed for nearly four decades) connected to earlier periods of life.

Mapping teenage space

We will recall that Nigel's accounts were important to *Pursuing the Post-war Dream*; for example his thoughts about the seventies as a time of the 'technocratic class' and the 'last flourishing' of industrial south Wales provided a context which linked in many other stories. Four months after these ideas had been discussed on a one-to-one walk in July2019, Nigel shared them to guide a group of walkers through the shops on Station Road; re-imagined as if they were in the 1970s. The accounts of the latter public walk show how much he used his body to convey size, shape and movement. Nigel brought other members of the group into the scene and therefore 'elicited other stories' (Pearson, 2006, p. 22). I hesitate to call what Nigel gave us a performance. However, I would like to investigate a little how some of the memories shared, and his deeper affective responses, suggested a map of space that may have been unconsciously laid down.
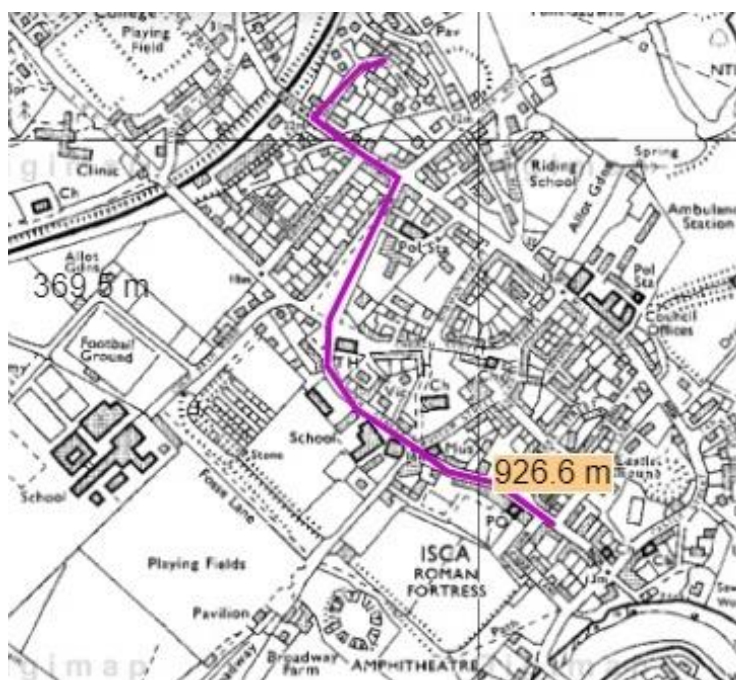
Figure 68 – Nigel's teenage space on 1970s map

© Landmark Information Group Ltd and Crown copyright 2019

Ten minutes into the initial one-to-one interview, and once we had been to the house where he grew and touched on the relatively-recent death of his parents, we stood on the corner of Station Road and Uskvale Drive. I asked Nigel if he felt like he was now slightly on an autopilot. He responded: 'Oh yeah, very much so. I mean physically I don't think it's changed very much at all.' Nigel the described the route that we would then be taking:

And this is a route, you know, that all through my teens – I followed. Everything significant for me in Caerleon is grouped together: the church; the schools; two schools I suppose. And, erm, even pubs going out socialising. So yes, this was my fairly standard route for going anywhere.

The route that we eventually followed in July 2019 took in the pubs, church and primary school. In many ways the geography helped him to stimulate so many strong memories of social encounters; or maybe geography was always on his side and he had everything laid out for him? To substantiate the latter point, the basic line of this walk (Figure 68) was just over 920 metres and took in all of the latter local facilities.

Nigel moved away in 1979 to go to college. Even though he retained a connection to Caerleon for the following four decades through his parents, there seemed to be some blind spots in his vision of this space as it has evolved in the past four decades. For example, I asked him what he knew about a place called Minstrels on Goldcroft Common. NB 'N' is Nigel and 'A' is Aled.

N – I can't remember for the life of me. It certainly wasn't Minstrels. That must have been after I moved away that it arrived.

A – So this place Minstrels; it calls itself a sporting bar, and I remember it was always, you know, a working-class place to come here in Caerleon. And we used to come in here to play pool and stuff.

N – Yeah, games

A – And in twenty or so years that I've known it, a bit longer, it really hasn't changed at all.

N – And it appears to be thriving. And it's funny that this relatively-new place – twenty or thirty years old – has thrived whereas pubs that were two or three hundred years old have closed.

Interrogating Nigel's response to Minstrels revealed that he had an image of this space, now between forty and fifty years old, which may not be easily stretched to accommodate other components. Perhaps this model could be seen as some kind of 'rhizomatic' entity (Thrift, 2000) which is not visible, but which sits below the consciousness? Looking to some interpretations of geography and the psyche as explored in *Mapping Trauma: Topography to Topology* (Blum & Secor, 2014) can provide some useful concepts. The latter authors

explain how French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan (who lived between 1901 to 1981) described topography as 'mappable, graphable, measurable space', whereas topology deals with surfaces and their properties of 'boundlessness, orientability, decomposition, and connectivity'; the latter was also defined by 'the characteristics stretching, squeezing, but not breaking' (2014, p. 105). Space can therefore be seen as an index or a way of remembering: a map less of physical entities and more of connections to memories.

Nigel's descriptions of his teenage space include smells, sounds, movement and an underlying narrative which includes industrial change. Although Nigel's childhood stories were happy and – sometimes – mischievous, he admitted that the last few years of his parents' lives were testing. Understandably, much more attention has been given by psychology to the treatment of negative associations with space. For example Blum and Secor cite Freud's 1893 *Studies on Hysteria* to explain how traumatic experiences are unconsciously connected on to specific spaces. Freud is shown to have diagrammatically mapped some of this trauma to include other objects, people, their responses and movements. The Freud case study explains how trauma could be resolved through therapy (p. 107); perhaps freeing up that topographical space for different associations. The post-event interview with Nigel in November 2019 confirmed that he had recently managed to get past the image of his parents as very elderly unwell people and now can see happier times.

Returning from the personal to social, we consider the dangers of trying to trap a model of space – even if it is topological – in time. For example Phil Smith (a walker, performer, writer, academic, mythogeographer and organiser of the *Walking's New Movements* conference in Plymouth in November 2019) warns against an 'essential' identity for a site 'discovered in the documentation of its past' (Smith P. , 2018, p. 18). He advises not to ignore how:

> The everyday and living transformations of the contemporary site are but an ephemeral distraction from the essence that can be established by historical (or some other absolute) veracity.

Smith's use of the term 'essential' connects with Lacan's topography as something fixed, whereas the 'everyday and living' compares to topology as something more fluid. There is an argument that the Caerleon case study was a vaguely historic representation of various spaces, albeit presented topologically through layers of performance and personal accounts. From my position as researcher and curator I had been able to look at topographical data such as historic maps, old photographs and also fall back on my own empirical experience. Of note, both Nigel and I were able to physically revisit our childhood spaces on foot; and

therefore able to challenge and develop how we sense these spaces. There are cases where people cannot physically return to where they grew up. For example artist Simon Woolham cites Walter Benjamin taking 'walks through the mind' in his 1938 work *Berlin Childhood around 1900*. Woolham uses Benjamin's exiled walks as inspiration for his PhD research project *In Search of the Shortcuts* (2020), especially when he accompanies people on walking interviews via Google Earth rather than physical space. The walks of the mind (Method One in Part One) perhaps follow this example.

Studying Caerleon, a place with which I have had a forty-year relationship, was a unique opportunity. For future studies I will not be able to spot the gaps in other people's topological models such as I could sense by Nigel missing Minstrels sports bar. In the next example we take a walk down an alleyway by the police station and down to Mill Lane. We are transported back to a Caerleon walking interview from April 2019 where Dorothy was the guide. This was a case of a response to Cambria House, a building which was demolished in 1982 (Stevens, 2001, p. 108) and which I do not remember. In some ways this echoes the observations uncovered by the *Rescue Geography* project (Jones & Evans, 2012).

Stream of consciousness: Goldcroft Common

Coming to this newsagent in the late eighties, aged 9 or 10, with Sam Jones, and getting pick and mix; budgets between twenty and fifty pence; sherbet dippers (expensive), white chocolate mice, blackjacks, fruit salads. Even though we did not need to do it, this was always a chance to sneak an extra couple of sweets into the paper bag. Man in the shop would always check either your face or the bag; either would reveal the truth.

Minstrels; free Deidre Rachid campaign, based on the fictional Coronation Street character, seeking signatures on a chair next to the toilets by the pool tables. We left ours, April 1998, my twentieth birthday night out. Another night here seeing in the new year with a couple of friends; maybe a year or two later; was a crap night to be honest.

The Boxing Day pub crawl night; I was so drunk that I was sick on my top and had to take my clothes off in the phone box by the bus stop; people were always trying to steal the top light of the Christmas tree on the common; that year I was innocent.

Tom and I got to the final of the Charles Williams Trust travel bursary competition, 2001? We both lose and then drink all the wine that the winners don't need. A few hours later we are in the Angel Hotel, by the common. My friend is told to leave by the landlady; she even calls the Police to inform them that a drunk is likely to be deposited on the street. The Police car arrives; thankfully the officer is more generous and provides him with a lift home.

One of the teachers at school became friends with my Dad: Miss Jones? She and her partner live in a cottage on the common. He was maybe northern; we watch the European Cup Winners Cup Final in their front room; Man United win; first British football triumph in Europe in my living memory. Lee Sharpe, Clayton Blackmore, Les Sealey, Brian McClair.

Digging deeper, the May Day fairground; coming around the corner from the other end of Goldcroft Common it always felt so full when the fair had arrived; it collapsed the sense of space which you usually got. Small memories of the maze-like temporary structures, winning the odd sad goldfish, ghost rides. One year when I urged my parents to get us back home in time for the fair. We had been on the Watercress Steam Railway in Hampshire and been visiting our grandparents; probably in the early nineties. The bang of the dodgem crash; feeling so deep in my little body, going up and down the spine and into my stomach; and a steering wheel experience of no real practical value for when I later learned to drive.

Going to the Spar shop around the corner; probably 2018 and towards the end of my Dad's life. He wanted me to get the special offer on milk – two large bottles for £2. The offer had ended, and I had to chip in an extra pound, but it seemed pointless to tell Dad that this was the case. No need to argue the toss about small things anymore.

Mrs Locks, District Registrar of Birth and Death

Walking along Mill Street with Dorothy in April 2019 we stopped and she explained the health authority building which had been on this spot until the early eighties. She said that:

> The registrar who used to work here was called Mrs Locks. And I, at the time, was working at the Lydia Beynon – which is now the Celtic Manor – a maternity hospital. And Mrs Locks would come to register the births.
> I think she used to come twice a week if I remember rightly. When I describe her as a very nice intelligent lady; she knew exactly what her role, because it was so important.

These memories are not so much about specific objects, architectural aesthetics or regretting the loss of the stone-built building in which Mrs Locks worked. Instead the site of the building took Dorothy back to the ways of being and ways of acting in the early days of the National Health Service. Dorothy captured the Lydia Beynon in the following way:

> It was a very busy, well-structured and well-run maternity hospital; amazing, amazing people, involved in people's care. And it you think back to the early sixties, there wasn't that much research developed. And people worked very hard in their knowledge for live babies.

In this description we sense an underlying theme expressed in the various accounts which constitute *Pursuing the Post-war Dream*; the fifties and sixties in south Wales as a time of new opportunities (the steel works), investment (house building) and – perhaps – a shared identity. Related to the latter concept, in her article *Memory Work*, Karin Widerberg writes that identity is about family and society as well as the individual (2020, p. 62). Widerberg also argues that identity is contested. In that regard some writers would argue that the connection between work and identity was more important at certain periods of time. For example, university attendance increased greatly in the sixties, as did white-collar jobs; in the following decades identities started to de-couple from blue-collar occupations – such as working in steelworks – as these jobs reduced rapidly (Goodhart, 2017; Gilleard & Higgs, 2020). Duncan Exley links the societal changes in this latter period to aspiration; for example arguing that children of the 1980s are less likely to be better off financially than their parents.

Without going into a completely different subject altogether, I am suggesting that we have to try to understand the context of time and place before we can make inferences about what walking interviews (and walks of the mind) mean. Allowing the route and discussion to be led by the interviewee means that the content is likely to very open and challenge what the interviewer knows. As much as work and identity will not always come up in the walking interview, there were political changes in the 1970s which meant that most places no longer have their own district registrar. In 1974 Caerleon Urban District Council, like every other district council in Wales, was disbanded under the 1972 Local Government Act. As a result Caerleon was no longer a town in an administrative sense; functions such as housing and the registration of births went to the Newport Borough. In practical terms this meant that nobody born from 1974 could have the 'Caerleon' on their birth certificate. As an aside, it is interesting that my birth plate (Figure 69) that had the word 'Caerleon' written on it.

Interestingly Caerleon still has a building known as the town hall. However, the end of the district council in 1974 means that the railings at Caerleon's cenotaph have been painted in shades of Newport's corporate colours for nearly half a century. If my memory is right there was potentially a yellow period in the 1980s, with an apple green and then a darker green in recent years. As these everyday occurrences fade into the distant past we are only left with small clues in the environment. Sometimes small snippets of flaking colour trigger memories.

Figure 69 – My birth plate

We now investigate a conversation stimulated by 1950s bungalows which took place during a walking interview with Chris in September 2019. We will recall that Chris later guided the walking group through some of Caerleon's social housing – Stage Six.

Bungalows and older age

Chris and have already been walking for 80 minutes, taking in the supported accommodation at Westgate Court, the former Caerleon College site and social housing on Lodge Estate, before reaching Myrtle Cottages; a collection of 26 bungalows between Cross Street and Castle Lane. The map from the 1930s shows the site of Myrtle Cottages in relation to Caerleon High Street. These bungalows were built by Caerleon Urban District Council in the 1950s on the site of a 1.7 acre orchard.
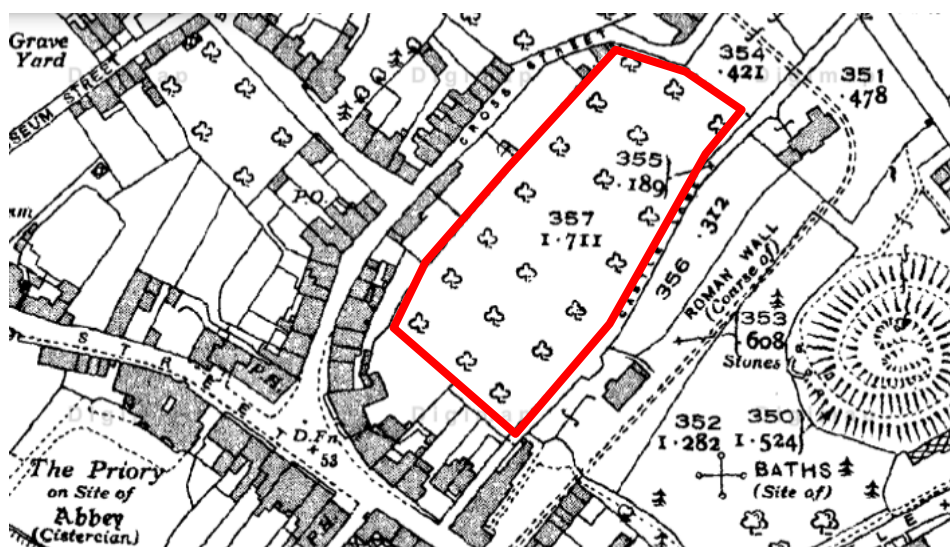
Figure 70 – The site of Myrtle Cottages on 1950s map
© Landmark Information Group Ltd and Crown copyright 2019

Today there is a sense of peace with bird song in the air and mature trees, perhaps remnants of the orchard. Chris described the collection of buildings before us as 'high quality' homes which would be 'hugely prized' for contemporary retirees to live. This space (Figure 71) sparked to Chris outlining his experience as a senior housing manager for Newport Council in the 1980s and 1990s. His final project at the end of the 1990s was to replace approximately 300 prefabs (meaning houses pre-fabricated off site) from the 1940s.

Even though types such as the 'Arcon' had been years ahead of their time, Chris explained that it was time for them to go; Newport's strategy was to replace them with single-storey buildings. Similar to the ageing population from the Caerleon case study of 2019, the people who lived in Newport's prefabs at the end of the twentieth century were older. The average resident was approximately 75 years old; born in the 1920s, who started a family in the prefab after the war and then never left. For context, Chris explained that there was a general rule that people faced difficult decisions about leaving the 'beloved home with all the

emotional ties' or not when aged in their sixties or seventies. Chris explained that there would always be a 'significant tug' to remain in the home, even in cases of mental or physical frailty. Often older people struggled with stairs and therefore ended up sleeping downstairs. To manage such situations Chris explained that 'sensitive' housing management policies in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s would lead to 'gentle conversations' with council tenants about their options. In a tight ecology of social housing, such as Caerleon, people would be given the opportunity to move somewhere like the bungalows where we stood.

Returning to the Newport prefab story, Chris outlined resident opposition from people who had lived in them for so long and had a very strong sense of community. Chris remembered one resident who said that they [the council] would only take him out of this prefab at the end of his life. Nevertheless, the process eventually succeeded and the prefabs were replaced with more solid and durable houses. As he told this story Chris articulated his personal desire for people to be fully involved in such big changes: as such Newport Council followed the participative approach outlined in the 1969 *Skeffington Report* and paid attention to people's values and emotions.

Figure 71 – Bungalows at Myrtle Cottages

In parallel to resident concerns about replacement bungalows, there were institutional hurdles within Newport Council. For example, a planning officer thought that building bungalows would create a kind of twenty first century 'Soweto' – then a commonly-used term derived from an infamous South African township. Chris had some interesting analysis from this situation; firstly that the planner voiced society's lack of acceptance that we get old; and

secondly that the planner's idea for a 'better use' of the land than a single storey building related to profit over social function. I asked Chris how he had been able to convince the council to look beyond profitable use of the land. Chris outlined some other problems. First of all, elected members of Newport Council had difficulty looking forward twenty years because they doubted that they would still be in power. He recalls a local councillor asking the question: 'Isn't this all a bit theoretical?' For context, Chris voiced the council's general position to long term decisions by recalling the line:

> We usually make decisions which have immediate beneficial effects, which translate into suitable voting patterns.

There seemed to be time-lag dimension to this local government policy: who decides for whom and who then takes credit. The prefab story concluded with Chris describing it as one of the 'high points' of his career; there was a real sense that the ensuing developments across Newport had coincided with what the community wanted and also what chimed with Chris' values. Having been walking and talking for 94 minutes, it seemed like Chris had put together a significant story about being inside the world social housing, using the streets and buildings themselves as a tapestry to illustrate his major points. Maybe the method had its own power; indeed Morag Rose writes that the walking interview can be 'more candid and interesting' than conventional interviews (2020, p. 215). Returning to Chris, the story about bungalows bridged into a discussion of what it means to have a connection to a given place; how long it takes for families to become 'long-standing' in a given community. Chris explained that he had interviewed the families of the Caerleon men who had died in the First World War. From this sample of a couple of dozen, he had generally concluded that few people had a depth of four or more generations living in Caerleon. Moving on to Lodge Hill residents – namely estates of semi-detached two-floor houses built in the 1960s and 1970s – Chris also hypothesized that few of these people would see it as their 'preferred final option' to spend their final days in a bungalow provided by a social landlord. This latter discussion connects with Gilleard and Hicks (2020) assertion that collective identity has moved from class and occupation to one which is based around consumption.

Similarly to Dorothy's reaction at the district registrar's office (which had been demolished 37 years earlier), the latter bungalow story revealed a lot about Chris; his values, philosophy and an insight into his significant commitment to the local community. However, Dorothy seemed to feel a pride in her work for the National Health Service, whilst Chris hinted at tension as a local authority housing officer. The wider literature on social housing, such as the twenty case studies estates across England (Tunstall, 2020) and the 'housing histories' of three individuals (Holland & Peace, 2012), reveals that the British state has not been

developing a pipeline of social housing for many decades. Together Dorothy and Chris care about finding a place for people to live in later life and see the problems about to face Caerleon, a place with an ageing population. Indeed their walks led me to the nearly 130 units which are available for social rent to older people: 26 bungalows at Myrtle Cottages and 82 units between Isca Court and Westgate Court. Note that a quarter of the Caerleon population of 8,000 or so is over 65 – see 2017 data in Table 1. The brief time spent at Westgate Court in Stage Six also revealed that a move towards the values and practice of 'independent living' is taking a hold, again echoing the findings of Gilleard and Hicks (2020). As such walking and talking with these two people have revealed some of the parameters and opportunities for a series of deeper interviews and ethnographic work to explore housing and social care prospects in this location.

The reason for examining these past three interviews in detail is not to question the intricacies of the method, but more to explore that people will have their own motivations, even if they are held deeper into affect, for giving their time to social science research. Each of the people mentioned read the project information sheet and signed up to a consent form with 13 conditions, including those which allow their stories to be used. Furthermore, they would have considered that my position as a researcher at the Centre for Innovative Ageing (Swansea University, 2020) and its mission:

> As Wales' leading centre for ageing studies, the Centre for Innovative Ageing puts a positive view of ageing and older people at the core of its business. Through our transformative research we ensure care, well-being and quality of life are underpinned by the latest in original and innovative ideas.

For my part I always wanted the research to be reciprocal and to provide outlets for the causes championed by people such as Dorothy and Chris. For example Village Services received significant coverage in the film made after the ESRC Festival of Social Sciences Event held in November 2019. In another case I wrote a 3,000 word essay about walking and living in post-war suburbs, based on the Lodge Hill case study, for the Design Commission for Wales' *Places for Life II* conference publication (Singleton, 2020). The latter piece articulates many of the arguments made by Caerleon Civic Society about the former College site. For Nigel the relationship seemed to be less about local causes. After the event in November 2019 he told me that re-connecting with Caerleon had helped to remember his parents as people in their prime, rather than being elderly, dependent on the support of others and very unwell. As such these 'methods stories' (Lofland, Snow, Anderson, & Lofland, 2006, p. 233) support the assertion that 'the territory of (re)imaging collaboration is infinitely vast and full of creative possibilities' (Benson & Nagar, 2006, p. 590).

We now move away from how seemingly mundane markers in space, or buildings that no longer exist, connect to significant accounts of everyday culture. To make this break is difficult as the walking interview and psychogeographic nature of 'extreme noticing' – a term shared by the Walkspace group from Birmingham with a film at Fourth World Congress of Psychogeography (Ashton, 2020) – means that the researcher is not looking to prompt people about what to reveal. However, there were cases in the interviews where people did not seem to respond greatly walking through the environment. We now explore three cases studies which show how there are different ways to jog the memory which are still led by stories about spaces.

Other ways of triggering affect

Many accounts from the Caerleon case study have come from interviewees' affective responses to being in space; working with Marega Palser allowed stories about the car crash and the shale lorries to be represented at the two public events held in 2019. The more complicated stories, or rather those which needed more context, were given some in this – a written form – in the last section. In this section we explore three cases where people placing their bodies in space (or walking through their spatially-oriented memories) did not seem to lead to a stream of recollections as readily as it did for others. Within these three examples there are potential opportunities to innovate the walking interview method or put it within a wider 'bricolage' (Bernard & Scharf, 2007; Richardson, 2015) of methodological approaches.

Although the memories are not a continuation of the 'deep-mapping' (O'Rourke, 2016) that we undertook for *Pursuing the Post-war Dream*, we completed a walk from Myrtle Cottages and went towards the River Usk. The first case arises from a conversation on the kerb on Caerleon High Street where I realised that Jeff, my interviewee, did not seem to be responding to being in space. At the time I felt like my interruption within the walking interview had been a little rude. However, it ultimately helped to criticise the method.

The photograph and capturing 'slight surprises'

Jeff and I met on a sunny May afternoon and walked up to the former Caerleon College from the Goldcroft Common. For context, he was born in 1959 and came to live in the halls of residence in Caerleon as a student in 1977. He had grown up in Maesteg, a Glamorgan valleys town, which he described as being 'lights years away' from Caerleon.

> Maesteg was a valleys town, and valleys towns, it's a bit, what's the word I'm looking for: inward looking, introspective. And when you come to a place like Newport, you know, it's a different kind of population mix as well; and just a different outlook.

He added to the latter attitudinal aspects and described the change in geographical terms:

> It wasn't a city then, you know, it was a big, big town compared to anything that I was used to. So, yeah, to arrive in Newport and just looking around, it was; it felt like somebody going to London a hundred or two hundred years ago. From a little village, going to London to work; it was sort of wow, what a difference.

Following this introduction the walking interview focused mostly on his time as a student in the late seventies – specifically visiting the former Caerleon College site. Some of his accounts helped to convey everyday transport on the bus, how it was expensive to run a car, collecting 270 one pound notes to buy alcohol for a toga party, and how female students had changed the gender dynamic of what had once been a male only institution. It is important to state that I had known Jeff for a couple of years prior to the interview; he had been a close friend of my father since 2014. The relationship between Jeff and my Dad had been founded as walking companions; visiting countryside around south Wales and often concluding with a beer somewhere. I had a lot of respect for Jeff as he had been a massive help to our family in the two years of my Dad's decline and death through with cancer. As such, our walk in Caerleon was always going to end with me buying Jeff a drink and we had decided on the Hanbury Arms pub next to the river. I also wanted to give Jeff a collection of photos from my Dad's photo album which featured their walking outings together. As the account unfolds the photos become significant.

About 35 minutes into the walk, walking along Castle Lane, I realised that I was asking too many questions, rather than leaving silence and letting Jeff respond to whatever stimulus went through his body and mind. In some ways I also regretted quizzing Jeff about his time spent in Caerleon as a policeman. He had told me that Caerleon had 'its fair share of everything' rather than giving me any crime-related stories. I felt myself trapped in a 'double hermeneutic,' defined by Flyvbjerg (2001, p. 33) as the knowledge that 'the researcher's self-understanding and concepts do not exist in a vacuum, but must be understood in terms in relation to this context.' Effectively my actions were influencing the research context. Given the history of our personal connection, I felt that I could be candid with Jeff, and decided to voice my concerns about the practice of the interview. The following excerpt details the ensuing conversation as we walked down the lane and turned right on to High Street. NB 'A' is Aled and 'J' is Jeff.

> A – I kind of… would it… it's interesting walking around here compared to; I shouldn't really say this, but I'm going to say it anyway; with some of the other people that I've walked with, they seem to have a very… just stop and look and remember things.

> J – Right…

> A – And, that's part of the technique really. It's just to let people walk around and if they want to say something then they say something.

> J – Ah, I see. Sorry, I thought it was questions and answers and I'm quite happy to answer.

A – But it's a question of whether, er...

J – It's the whole place for me; you can't just say it's one individual place.

Erm, the college itself, the village, you know, it all meant a lot to me. You know, if you've spent four years of your life padding around these streets…

A – Shall we go down to the Hanbury? Shall we go down this little lane?

J – Yeah, righto

A – What I was saying, is that whatever anybody says is, what they say, and that's…

The latter passages can be measured as 180 words, one minute and 13 seconds of time and a distance of approximately 110 metres. Trying to analyse what it all meant, I reflect now that I was hoping to get the conversation on to the 'technique' – ideas of embodiment and even to outline the difference between individual spaces, rather than the collective place (Tuan, 1977). Jeff responded politely that he had maybe misunderstood the concept. Before I had the chance to give a good explanation he came back to me to outline his emotional connection to the place after four years of 'padding around' the streets (note the use of the word 'padding' as a reference to his body). The way that my response was to suggest we go down the 'little lane' is a tacit acceptance that the issue was too complicated to explain in the street. Jeff's response 'Yeah, righto' was probably an agreement to change the subject.

The last line of the conversation shows that I was about to explain that not everybody has such a deep connection to space. However, the conversation then got interrupted by our need to cross over the main road. In the seconds that it took to cross the road, with the traffic noise in the background, it transpires that I dropped my line of inquiry altogether and decided to ask Jeff to describe where we were. Stood next to the White Hart pub, notably with a strange smell coming from the drains, we then entered a deeper conversation lasting three minutes about what could see from the spot. Jeff provided a particularly nice story of female students inviting Pete, owner of the 'Super Fruiters' business from Cross Street, to attend parties at the college. This latter account complemented the earlier story of young women having more of a visible presence in everyday life – see more in Stage One of Part Two.

We then walked along White Hart Lane and had a drink next to the river at the Hanbury Arms. I gave Jeff the photos of countryside walks that had been in my Dad's album. As we talked I realised that Jeff had a particular skill in remembering the dates and locations. I asked if he would be happy for me to record the conversation as we talked through each printed image. In one case, with a group of sheep very close to Jeff, he remembered it being

in Henllys, a small hamlet about five miles away from Caerleon. He explained that the group of sheep had probably mistaken the pair of walkers for the farmer coming to give them some food. As a result the heard walked towards them and get very close. The degree of movement and, particularly, the drama involved in that scene perhaps made it register in the affective layer of consciousness. To be clear, by looking at this photograph of sheep in a field Jeff moved from the type of set-piece memories of local characters and seventies beer prices that he shared on the walk around Caerleon and recalled something where he put his body into the scene and so opened up potential for deeper descriptions. The encounter with woolly ruminants was closer to an 'event' or 'slight surprise', described as a foundation of *non-representation* (Anderson & Harrison, 2010, pp. 19-23). As such I am sure that I could have asked him how it felt to be in that field; whether he was bemused or scared or whatever. The point is that one still photo image conveyed something much deeper.

In another example Jeff was pictured sat on an upturned orange road cone. He explained that they were on a long walk and he really needed to rest his legs. Jeff clarified that he had never used a road cone as a seat before, and that this seemed to be the only viable response to the situation. Again there were multiple lines of flight from this image; it has potential to start many other conversations. And maybe my Dad took this photo for reasons more than just amusing portraits; potentially it was a visceral response to the fatigue of a long ramble and the relief provided by a make-shift seat. What these two examples ask is potentially whether the practice of capturing 'slightly dramatic' events or case of 'arousal' – referring the Edinburgh electroencephalography research (Aspinall, Mavros, Coyne, & Roe, 2013) – and so unconsciously commit embodied acts to memory? Putting it another way, were these events always more memorable?

There may also be an importance put on photographs which relates to the age in which people grew up. On a different walking interview Nigel recalled a conversation with his mother about why there weren't any photos of him:

> In the sixties, in the days when I was a small kid, my parents were obsessed with slides, which are not used now. So all the photos of me were on slides; and she had thrown them out. Why: because they didn't have a projector.

> And so, apart from a couple of school photos, my childhood, up until the early seventies, the images have gone.

Nigel is a couple of years younger than Jeff. Although I did not ask Jeff about the social class of his parents, he was probably raised in an era when printed photographs were relatively rare compared to the modern-day proliferation of digital photos. There is potentially

something in the photos which tells a story, and within which the viewer can connect with their bodies as a trigger for memories. To that end the Caerleon books by Norman Stevens have huge value as they include many incidental scenes. The third edition (2003) includes scenes such as: a women walking with a full shopping back walking down Cross Street from Budgens mini-supermarket in 1970s, with a group of six people further down the street (p. 19); a 1950s pub atmosphere comprising six people, and where the man second from right gazes at the barmaid rather than at the camera (p. 76); and an extended family with pushchair in 1965 being squeezed to the roadside by the number 7 bus going to Newport (p. 7). All of these images start a discussion about everyday life.

An image does not have to be a printed photograph. The following case is, like Jeff, an unexpected finding from the process of conducting interviews led by space. The discussion centres on a second meeting with Coralie and her daughter Lindsay. In my first interview I had talked to this mother and daughter about their experience of living in Caerleon during the 1950s and 1960s. I had written up their story as a short vignette of approximately 2,000 words – see Appendix B. This second interview involved me reading back to them what I had written about this first encounter. The experience was located at a house just down the river from the Hanbury, but the trigger centres on the name of the family's previous property.

Geography breaks the lines drawn around dates

I had first met Coralie, born in 1928, and her daughter Lindsay in early autumn 2019. This second meeting, on a sunny Wednesday morning in October, was proposed as an opportunity to look through some of the notes that Wilfred, the late husband of Coralie, had written about Caerleon. Before getting on to Wilfred's notes Lindsay suggested that I read my written vignette out to Coralie. For my part I wanted Coralie to be happy for the piece to be shared with Village Services and other people – including my own university and wider research. What follows is how Coralie used the stubs of information in my account, as well as Wilfred's work, to build a bigger picture.

This format of reading out stories about spaces made me reflect that this could have potential for other people with dementia. In particular, bringing geographical features to the fore, rather than an order based on a time-based chronology, allowed her to remember much more detail. The main narrative idea in my written piece (Appendix B) was to position Coralie's role as a grandmother. In the previous meeting she had told me that her

grandmother looked after during World War II, and that the same grandmother had come to live with her in Caerleon when she was very old. I read out the following:

> Now that Coralie is ninety, she considers herself to be the 'old girl.' In her own words, her memory is a little 'skewiff' and there are gaps in her timeline. However, there is one date which anchors her story: eighth May 1954, when she married Wilfred Wilson. Together they bought a quarter acre of land on Lodge Road.

Coralie then added that the land had cost £160, something which her daughter had never known. I noted this addition and then returned to my prepared text. I said that that the land was bought from Mrs Ellie Williams – a former vicar's wife. Coralie then added the name 'Aunty Ellie.' I recalled what Coralie had told me about the old house on Lodge Road and that they had moved to their current location in the 1980s as the big garden was hard to manage. Through my piece I put the accounts into spatial and bodily terms, for example how Wilfred had designed their new garden around spots to capture the sun. I recalled Lindsay's line that Wilfred's presence is still felt in the garden of the house in which we sat. We then linked into Wilfred's biography and his 'Caerleon Rambles' which included the names of the 14 pubs which used to be in Caerleon and accounts of the gas street lights.

Towards the end of the vignette I put myself in the story, explaining how Lindsay had previously recalled to me that previous inhabitants of the house where I grew up had sold chicken eggs. I included this detail so that I could demonstrate that the interview had also helped me to make sense of my own life, particularly that keeping hens in our garden, in the 1980s and 1990s, was a practice inherited from the people before us. A memory seemed to spark in Coralie's mind, she said 'Mr... down in the farm.' I explained that I had included an image of my childhood egg cup in the document, which I still retained, and which linked me back to the chickens in the garden. Putting my writing in Coralie's hands for her to keep, I then explained that I had found a damp and crumpled copy of *The Living Village* (Deane, 1985) in the attic of Pillmawr Cottage – see Figure 72.

This latter book was about Caerleon in the first half of twentieth century. I told Lindsay and Coralie that I had found some passages in the book which seemed to be based on notes written by Wilfred. However, as a work of social research, the writer had toned down some of the more personal accounts. Of note this book was started in 1979 and was designed to capture the lives of people who had grown up in the Victorian and Edwardian era. As such it was written to record 'a life which will soon depend on books and imagination for its recognition' (Deane, 1985, p. 1).
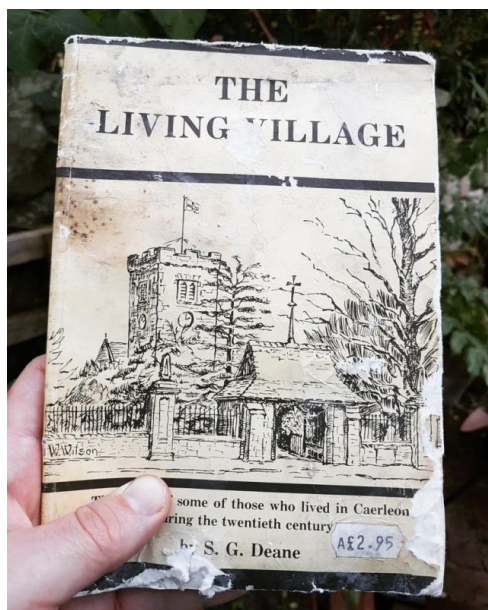
Figure 72 – A battered copy of *The Living Village*

There was one particular account from Wilfred's notes that did not make it into *The Living Village*, which was about a man called Charlie Stewart with a hand-pulled cart and who did odd jobs. Hearing the name Miss Radcliffe, one of Charlie's clients, Coralie started to recall where she used to live. Of interest, she admitted that this was going back a long time, before she was married in 1954 and so may have been a story passed on to her from her late husband. The conversation went back to Charlie and then we came back to Miss Radcliffe again. Straight away Coralie responded quickly: 'the big house on the left-hand side, just by the Priory.' I remarked to Coralie that she remembered some things really quickly, specifically Miss Radcliffe. She could not explain why she remembered this fact. However, she often seemed to connect with people as 'characters' and – more often than not – could geographically place them. As I read through Wilfred's hand-written detailed accounts, with both Lindsay and Coralie listening, we came across phrases which connected to life in the 1930s. For example, there was a Mrs Jenkins who had a shop called 'Jenks,' and who would recommend birthday cards to specific people. This was such an account before her time. Of note, Coralie always told me when an account related to something outside of her knowledge. There was a notion from Wilfred's accounts of the 1930s that Caerleon was a very tight place, with shop keepers subtly wanting to know people's business. There were stories of how two-way traffic on High Street caused disruption and 'hot' tempers. We also learned about the range of shops, selling items from ice creams to drapery.

Taking an aside from the detail, it is worth stating that accounts of life from the 1930s help to sense what people broke away from as they conceived the post-war world, and the change

towards a more individualistic (and perhaps) isolated life. Some stories in *Pursuing the Post-war Dream* provide glimpses of a similar tightness and proximity; for example Lionel's accounts of the 1950s where he and Betty shared a house with the brother of Jack Matthews, a recently-deceased 'notorious' local money lender. In many ways people like Lionel and Wilfred, the latter born in 1919 and who died aged 98 in January 2017, have lived for such a long time that they bridge these structural changes. However, it has been important for this thesis to bring other accounts into the overall case study. Indeed Flyvbjerg writes that to make social science relevant today it must include a 'polyphony of voices, with no one voice, including that of the researcher, claiming final authority' (2001, p. 139).

Returning to Coralie's sunny back room in October 2019, Lindsay was sat next to me looking at her father's words as I concentrated on deciphering the black ink text. Her mother reclined in a seat a couple of metres away and followed what we were saying. With the benefit of the audio recording it is possible to sense Coralie talking to herself a little, perhaps rehearsing bits of her biography so that she could rejoin the conversation. In nearly every case she started with the phrase 'married in 54' as a foundation from which to build other stories. Relating to dates, it was interesting that Wilfred's stories were largely led by names of streets and specific locations rather than specific years. We covered his account of the post office on the High Street with the service to despatch and receive of telegrams, provided to the door by a boy on a bike. Coralie asked which date to which these accounts related.

Lindsay explained that telegrams were probably already out of date by the time Coralie was a young woman. The conversation then morphed into telephones; mother and daughter tried to reason whether they had a phone in the house where Lindsay grew up. As before, Coralie started her recollections with 'married in 54', 'plot of land from Aunty Ellie, who lived next door, but one' and 'bought for £160.' Lindsay tried to pinpoint a specific time in the family history to work out if there had been a phone: she asked if they had called the midwife when her brother was born. There was no decisive answer to this question, but many details came forward about how there used to three-digit local numbers and a telephone exchange located in Caerleon on Cross Street. As we discussed telephone experiences, I explained how I was trained by my father to say 'Caerleon, eight-five-three, double-two-four' whenever the phone rang. Lindsay tried to remember what age she had been when telephone wires started to appear along the street outside their house. The whole conversation relied on descriptions rather than visual stimulus such as photos or maps.

We also looked at *Caerleon Past and Present*, another local history book to which Wilfred had contributed words and illustrations. Inside the front cover of Primrose Hockey's 1981 book I saw the address 'Gliffaes' and asked if they had chosen the name of the house.

Coralie then restated previous phrases concerning her marriage in 1954, a quarter of an acre plot, the price of the land, John Brown, who worked in the college and knew Wilfred, and had arranged a blind date at a hotel called Gliffaes. She said that it was on the way past Crickhowell (which is thirty miles north from Newport) and explained how they had gone up in a little car, probably a little Morris Minor. She added jokingly that her neighbour had told her: 'Don't fall for the glamour of going out in a car.'

As the conversation concluded the three of us swapped stories about Caerleon characters. It was interesting to sense how the various stories overlapped. Coralie said that she enjoyed reminiscing, although her husband Wilfred would have enjoyed it even more. As we finished, Coralie recalled the experience of waking up her grandmother during a World War II air raid over Cardiff, as her grandmother had been deaf. Related to the previous case study of Jeff, there seemed to be many more lucid accounts when Coralie talked about actions and movement; for example the bombing of her school at Howard Gardens was exciting as it meant that she did not have to attend lessons for some time. These recollections may conform to the notion of what lies deeper into the affective level (Anderson & Harrison, 2010; Kingsbury & Pile, 2014). For future research with people who have dementia it could help to focus on accounts which are more about embodied experiences. To that end this interview with Coralie suggests that the line to deeper accounts, especially for people who have dementia, may involve a lot of meandering before finding a focus.

We now leave Coralie and walk past the Hanbury pub towards the bridge over the River Usk just. The following case centres on a short interview which happened after the group walking tour around Caerleon in November 2019. Although we were stood outside the Village Services Community Hub on Lodge Hill, the geographical focus of the conversation was on the bridge. The interviewee was Angela, who works for Village Services. Her responses to my questions stick in the mind because our interview was twice interrupted by a noisy green and white Newport Transport bus. Owain, acting as the sound engineer and cameraman, asked for one particular question – about the shale lorries – to be repeated twice; the results were interesting as Angela's memories kept of getting deeper as she revisited the questions, nearly all linked to geographical spaces.

Repeating the same question (unintentionally)

The interview started with a general question about the experience of walking and talking. Angela found it good to meet people and go around 'pointing out places', in particular learning about the construction of the Lodge Hill Estate, the 1980s period of 'right to buy' and

repairing the 'concrete houses.' The first time I touched on the shale lorry story, Angela said that she had 'definitely' preferred chatting to people rather than the Shirley Bassey song. The bus then pulled up close to us. The first time I repeated the latter question Angela recalled that her parents were 'up in arms' about the disruption caused by the trucks. She provided some specific context:

> I don't think that there were motorways, so they had to go over Caerleon bridge; no walkways, just a pavement; so dangerous.

Putting ourselves in the bridge location gave a spatial context and allowed us to sense how dramatic a speeding shale wagon would have been. The carriageway is only wide enough for two cars to pass comfortably; from my experience the double-decker buses are nearly always given the whole bridge to themselves, which seems to be me an unwritten spatial script that people learn and adhere to over time. The history is included in *Caerleon Scenes Past* book (Stevens, 1997, pp. 11-15) with images of the bridge over time, including the structure being completed in 1810 a lorry dangling over the side of the bridge in 1919. A footway was added in 1972 as a structure adjacent to the bridge (Stevens, 2003, p. 8) so that people could cross the river safely. Indeed, the unsuitability of Caerleon's roads for larger commercial vehicles seems to be a recurring theme in Norman Stevens' Caerleon photo books: there are many images of trucks crashing into walls and wide loads getting wedged in tight streets. The old centre of Caerleon has a one-way system to deal with the narrow streets, a topic which came up in a number of interviews.

Returning to Angela's recall of the past, I asked her if Marega's shale lorry performance was something that would stick more in the mind of older people. There was something about her facial expression, looking upwards, which conveyed how far back she was reflecting and she said that the 'imitation' vehicle going along had reminded her of the expression:

> The shale lorries going through Caerleon

I cannot be sure how old Angela is, but the heavy trucks passing through Caerleon was probably outside her empirical experience as she did not live there at the time; so this latter phrase could have been a refrain passed down the generations. We can consider the depth of feeling related to the shale lorries by considering the 'social haunting' that affected parts of the UK during the 1984-85 coal strike and subsequent pit closures (Bright, 2015). Bright's term 'social haunting' primarily refers to how younger generations were affected by 'collective resistance and conflict' thirty years later. Indeed Bright makes parallels to Raymond Williams' structures of feeling concept (Oxford University Press, 2020), calling the former coalfield 'an ethnographic space attuned to the intensities of collective affect as those

intensities moved through spatialities' (p. 3). There is a richness of material here which could be developed into site specific performance, potentially giving opportunities to connect with people like Coralie who have varying degrees of dementia and Alzheimer's.

Returning to the interview, the bus finally moved off and gave us the chance for the third take on the story. Again, I asked, dryly, how the shale lorry story connected. Angela thought back and, this time, touched on her own biography. She came in the early 1960s when her parents moved to Caerleon from Newport to have a bigger house, and also 'for the schools'; the latter phrase maybe referring to her getting a place at the comprehensive school which opened in 1964. She told me that her father worked on the *South Wales Argus* newspaper, whose offices were located at the top of High Street near to Newport railway station. As an aside, the paper moved to an office with printing press on the outskirts of Newport in the sixties, but will move its offices back into the centre of Newport during 2020. With digital communications it is now possible to print from anywhere, unlike fifty years ago.

Returning to the railway station, Angela explained that her father got the train into Newport from Caerleon every working day. At some point he got a different job with the *Western Mail* in Cardiff, again accessible by train. She had reached a state of fluency and remembered how her father would stand at the back gate of their house and ask over to Mr Forster or Tina, who both worked at the station, if the train was on time. A late train meant that he could take more time over his cup of tea. Putting this all into the context of time, Caerleon railway station closed to passengers in April 1962 and to goods traffic in November 1965. There is quite an interesting picture in the Caerleon *Scenes Saved* book (Stevens, 2007, p. 112) of a cement powder wagon sitting in the sidings at Caerleon station – specifically to build the new steel works. No doubt the contents would have made their way over the bridge on some kind of lorry. It is ironic that this cement contributed to a period when railway traffic ended.

Angela's interview was an interesting case because she almost certainly would not have gone deeper into this detail without the bus twice stopping the flow of conversation. Equally, I would not have repeated the question if not for Owain's insistence that the sound recording was a clean one. The two waits for the bus to pass – perhaps five to ten seconds each – gave her enough time to collect her thoughts and tap into stories from the past. The second time she recalled the phrase 'shale lorries going through Caerleon' and the third time she put herself into the story and moved the location to somewhere which she had some clearer memories. For the future we cannot assume that people have immediate response to being in a certain space; as such it may help for people to be given time to tap into their stories about spaces, perhaps a gentle reminder of a topic.

We are now at the end of our walk through Caerleon and close to reaching final conclusions. Part three of this thesis has purposefully let go, to a degree, of Flyvbjerg's *applied phronesis*, meaning 'a social science which effectively deals with public deliberation and praxis, rather than being stranded with a social science that vainly attempts to emulate natural science' (2001, p. 129). The methodological approach which underpins *Pursuing the Post-war Dream* includes the 'doing' of the walking interviews and the openness to the 'public' though events, letting them change the direction of the project. If I were to do another project in a different place then I would use the same method again. However, it has also been useful to take a step back from Caerleon as an extended geographical case study and also give attention to how photos of actions may connect with affect, or the potential for geographical accounts to benefit people with dementia. Although Ingold criticises the psychologist's temptation to portray 'the mind as a domain of cognitive universals' (2018, p. 28), there is potential for some good interdisciplinary research from this project. Distinguishing between 'nature' and 'culture' Ingold writes:

> Where nature is fixed, culture is thus subject to growth, variation and historic change. And the more that fixity of nature is attributed to material conditions, the more cultural comes to be understood as overwriting the material, such as ideas on paper. Culture, it seems, is a pattern on the mind.

To develop Ingold's idea it is worth looking again at Caerleon, the location of the case study, to see how culture has left its mark on nature.

Caerleon: culture overwrites constantly

We rejoin one of the first walking interviews in Caerleon, which happened on a midweek morning in March 2019. I was led by Jason, an enthusiast for history, via the remains of the Roman fortress and the medieval tower at the Hanbury Inn to cross over the river to stand outside the Ship Inn. Jason explained to me how he felt that this location revealed the importance of Caerleon: 'a river running through the middle of it, so Caerleon itself is a circle. that's how I always used to see it.'

He expanded his idea by recalling how a younger version of himself walked out of The Ship Inn one night after a few alcoholic beverages. Standing next to the river in the dark he imagined himself to be at the centre of a bowl overlooked by the surrounding hills. He visualised the hilltops without their tree cover – revealing the Lodge Hill Fort a mile and a half away and the imposing Twmbarlwm eight miles westwards. Tracing the quintet of hillforts with me, and in full daylight, Jason wondered whether the shape of Caerleon's Roman amphitheatre, with five distinct banks, mimicked the arrangement of hillforts. The arrangement of the hillforts in relation to the bridge is shown in my own hand-drawn map (Figure 73). The line of the Machen-inspired walk from July 2019 is also indicated.
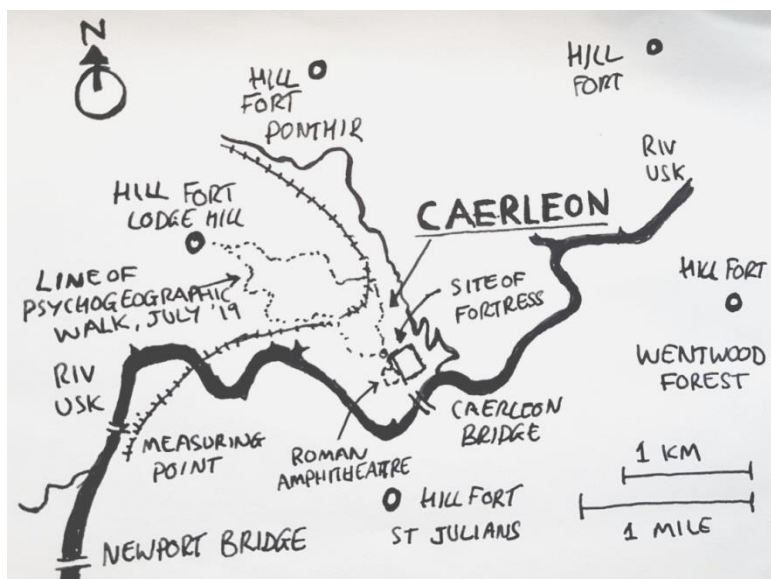
Figure 73 – Map of Caerleon with hill forts

Jason's story helps us to sense some historical symmetry. Whereas inhabitants from two thousand years ago overlooked the river from forts on surrounding hills, the Romans protected the legionary logistical line from the middle of the encircled setting. The enduring feature of Caerleon is the location on the Usk – a tidal river which averages 11 metres of vertical displacement at a measuring point two miles downstream. As the tide turns, the river drops or gains slowly at just 0.35cm per minute. However, once the whirlpools have

dissipated and the Usk is in full flow, it displaces at an amazingly-fast 4.3cm per minute. Even at their most sober people would have been vulnerable crossing at this location. It is worth returning to Tuan (1977, p. 6) where he writes that:

> From the security and stability of place we are aware of the openness, freedom and threat of space, and vice versa. Furthermore, if we think of space as that which allows movement, the place is pause; each pause in movement makes possible for location to be transformed into place.

The Roman period in Caerleon was a pause. However, due to the river crossing it remained a significant place through the following millennium. Caerleon's river crossing became less important after Newport Bridge was built three miles downstream in approximately 1100 AD. We have understood from Lyn's story, and the responses triggered by Marega's short performance, that shale lorries played havoc with the local road system in the fifties and sixties. In the post-war era people decided to build their houses on more elevated ground; just up from the river at Home Farm and also much higher at Lodge Hill.

We were guided to these places by observing psychogeographic principles – which meant avoiding the Roman place brand which dominates and by imagining a route which Machen may have taken as he walked around Caerleon. In some ways it is pleasing to think that Machen could return today and be reacquainted with the objects at the Roman museum, trace the lines of the fortress, visit his place of birth or see the farm at Lodge Hill. The following lines from *The Hill of Dreams* perhaps describe the journey that I have made to re-discover the place where I grew up (p. 208):

> And he retraced his wonderings in those deep old lanes that began from the common road and went away towards the unknown, climbing steeps hills, and piercing the woods of shadows, and dipping down into the valleys that seemed virgin, unexplored, secret for the foot of man. He entered such a lane not knowing where it might bring him, hoping he had found the way to fairyland, to the woods beyond the world, to that vague territory that haunts all the dreams of a boy.

For me the walking interviews and the two public events involved climbing into the unknown and letting go of the map; a metaphor which Tuan (1977) called for as a geographer, pursued by Solnit (2017) as a writer, and which also applied to processing the grief which followed my Dad's death. I faced head on the painful process of packing up the house which had been so important to my own identity and revisited places where my younger self had been. Altogether these two parallel projects of selling the house and writing this thesis have

been cathartic experiences. I recently went to Usk natural burial ground and saw how mushrooms were growing on the spot where my father's body was buried – Figure 74.

I now like to think that part of my father's rhizome, related to Nigel Thrift's experience in *Afterwards* (2000), is the urge to explore geography by foot and to talk to people. Shoots from the rhizome have reached the surface and they have helped me to develop, share and write a history of Caerleon which complements earlier versions. The resulting narrative is something more complicated and honest, such that would not be welcomed by a brand manager – see more in Efe Sevin's work (2011, p. 156). For me this focus on Caerleon has shown how nature and culture meet; a way of thinking about lines which leaves what Ingold (2017) calls a 'pattern on the mind.'
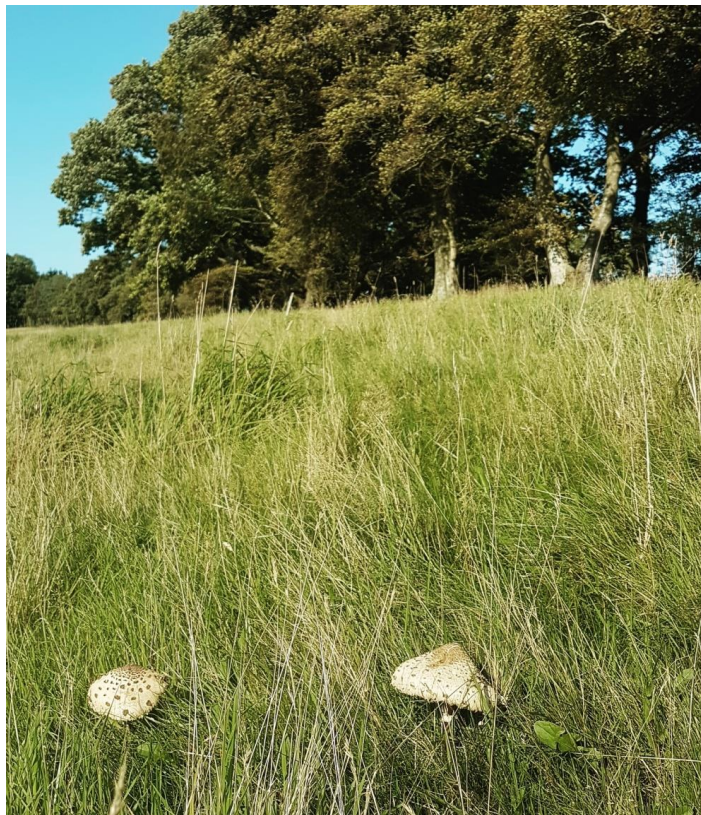

Figure 74 – Usk natural burial ground, September 2020

Conclusions

This research project has responded to a need to build empathy between people from diverse backgrounds and, particularly, from different generations. These problems have been identified within a context of ageing populations – such as social research and co-production in Buffel (2018) and concerning long-term research of care practice in Attuyer, Gilroy, and Croucher (2020). Although many approaches could have been taken, I chose to further the desire for narrative insight into the process of ageing as advocated by Ruth E. Ray (2007, p.60) and put into a geographical frame as outlined in the *Age-Friendly Cities & Communities* movement (Thomese, Buffel, & Phillipson, 2019).

My response has centred on stories which concern everyday spaces: walking to find the 'marvellous among the mundane' (Rose M. , 2020). Importantly the accounts are led by space rather a chronology, where Doreen Massey's argument (1999, p. 274) guided me:

> Rather, for time genuinely to be held open, space could be imagined as the sphere of the existence of multiplicity, of the possibility of the existence of difference.

The foregrounding of space over time led me to think hard about how to analyse and present the accounts. Partly through the influence of my supervisor Jon Gower, I read a broad range of literature where the writer used 'deep maps' to present accounts. The analysis contained within Raymond Williams' *The Country and the City* (1973), the broad practice of W. G. Sebald, Iain Sinclair and – especially – the Caerleon-centred perspective of Arthur Machen's *The Hill of Dreams* (1907) gave me inspiration. Furthermore, I let myself open up to getting lost and work with artists as Rebecca Solnit (2017, p. 5) advocates:

> It is the job of artists to open the doors and invite in prophesies, the unknown, the unfamiliar: it's where their work comes from, although its arrival signals the beginning of the long disciplined process of making it their own.

I duly worked with performance artist Marega Palser to interrupt and enhance the underlying narrative which connected the different interview accounts. By following an inductive process there are two resulting products: firstly a flexible methodology which can develop story cycles about a given place at a certain time; and secondly *Pursuing the Post-war Dream*, a case study of the latter approach in action. Though the method can now stand apart from the case study and be tested by others, it only exists through a process of gathering interviews, experimentation involving psychogeography and two public performance events.

It is worth reiterating that this project has taken an inter-disciplinary approach. Although we have focused on how individuals hold emotional and affective connections to space, the value is less a social or environmental psychological investigation of space – such as in Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001) – or a deeper study of the attachment and the lifecourse (Holland & Peace, 2012); instead this thesis embraces how geographical thought has turned towards experience (Tuan, 1977), emotions (Nayak & Jeffrey, 2013) and also affect (Pile, 2010). Although ageing is personal and subjective, I argue that the concept of 'ageing' is best grasped at a population level, where C. Wright Mills' (1959) concept of the 'sociological imagination' allows us to grasp 'history and biography and the relations between the two within society' – cited in Nehring and Kerrigan (2020, pp. 22-23).

This extended case study suggests that the fabric and social dynamics of the everyday spaces to which attachments are studied – defined in Rollero and De Piccoli (2010) – will differ between generations and therefore be hard to compare without qualitative accounts. The study of Caerleon gives an idea of how a collection of suburban housing estates were formed in sixties and seventies as completely new places to live. Within half a decade this place has a significant concentration of people aged 65 and above; the highest level of any ward according to Newport City Council (2019). In short, most British people living in 2020 inhabit very different streets and houses to those of the late 1950s or early 1960s: cars are everywhere; and employment and shopping are no located within the neighbourhood.

The journey of this PhD

This PhD project has been an inductive and non-linear process: effectively the method – particularly the two-stage process of story cycles – only emerged from their rhizomatic form by writing about the events in July 2019 and November 2019, and by organising selected interview accounts according to geography. I purposefully refer to Thrift's ideas of the rhizome – which featured in *Afterwords* (2000) – as the passing of time allowed me to see how much I had embraced the desire to 'get lost creatively' that Solnit (2017) advocated. The epistemological elements of this thesis therefore offer other people an example to follow, albeit they remain, as yet, untested.

I trust that this work has added to the of 'non-representation' advocated by Thrift, (2008) and developed by Anderson and Harrison (2010); affectual and emotional geographies (Pile, 2010); and the walking interview methodology which underpins *Rescue Geography* (Jones & Evans, 2012). As such I uncovered these latter authors early in 2016, during my research methods year at Swansea University. The original project, proposed by Professor Judith

Phillips, sought shopping experiences for older people at neighbourhood level. For 2017 I expected to study a place with characteristics such as significant numbers of older people, perhaps which had been changed greatly through clearances in the 1960s and 1970s – connected to a wider incidence in Yelling (2000) – and seemed to be potentially on the cusp of 'gentrification' – see Paul Watt (2013). My initial proposal was the South Riverside Ward of Cardiff. As such I had a grant from the British Society of Gerontology to run an event called *Imagining the Neighbourhood* – hosted at Chapter Arts Centre and working with a performance artist on a guided walk in Riverside. Ultimately this event taught me two significant lessons: firstly the importance of people who are able to represent a community (Singleton, 2017) and so meet interviewees; and secondly that the event risks being both 'participant-as-observer' and 'observer-as-participant' – see Bryman (2008). I ended working in a place that was close to my own biography and also had some good guides. However, for the future I would like a 'fresh' site where I have few connections: as such this thesis, the film about the work in Caerleon and the forthcoming Design Commission for Wales essay (Singleton, 2021) stand behind me as examples of my work.

Although I have argued that many suburban estates – like Lodge Hill in Caerleon – were built on the edge of existing settlements in the 1960s and 1970s, they have been under-researched – particularly in the context of ageing. I chose my site for reasons of the Centre for Innovative Ageing sponsoring my PhD and my biography. Perhaps I was also fortunate to have Arthur Machen's *The Hill of Dreams* as a guiding text. One of the factors which made this project unique was that that my Dad and I had been on many psychogeographic dérives (although we probably would not have used that term) across Wales and England, where we often chatted to people and uncovered stories. I also had background knowledge of twentieth century social history which was already extensive and also professional experience working as a regeneration office in other places.

Another factor which made me choose this method was a result of putting life into perspective after my Dad was diagnosed with incurable cancer in October 2016. For example, after giving a conference presentation in Chester in 2017 I realised that sanity was my priority, and that I was a little exasperated with academic codes of language and how formulaic research seemed to be. I entertained the idea of suspending my PhD; fortunately my supervisor Charles Musselwhite supported me and we did all of the necessary paperwork. During the year from October 2017 to September 2018 I stopped being a student. I spent time with my ailing father and also did some paid work on the *Finding Maindee* project in Newport; an Arts Council of Wales-funded initiative with an inner-city neighbourhood which kept many of terraced houses, backstreet boozers, buses, barbers, and working class culture through the twentieth century. Through this project I met Marega

Palser and other artists who demonstrated the nuance of theatre and performance to engage with emotions, to be open-minded and go deeper. As such my research practice evolved from working on Finding Maindee through to July 2018.

I had the chance to change my practice when my second supervisor Sarah Rodgers left Swansea University before I resumed studies in October 2018. As such the quantitative data element of my work left the equation. I therefore sought out a supervisor who could help me develop my literary skills and also to link with performance: I found Jon Gower as my new second supervisor and the results have exceeded what I had hoped for. For the future I would want to work with somebody who was as stimulated by the Geographical Information Systems data (which could be derived from walking interviews) as I am by the narrative. Furthermore, there is potential to bring qualitative element to the EEG methods used by Aspinall, Mavros, Coyne and Roe (2013); the latter criticised for not sufficiently engaging with affect by Spinney (2016).

By the time of writing up the thesis I sense that the sampling could have been more deliberate – and perhaps more representative of Lodge Hill residents by meeting people who lived in social housing. However, the 'snow ball' effect (May, 2001, p. 95) of interviewing people came after referrals from Village Services or through connections made by people that I knew to a degree: for example Nigel was a friend of Jonathan, an architect that had worked with my Dad and the Caerleon Civic Society. People like Chris and Denise came to me as a result of the Caerleon Festival event in July 2019. There were three other people who nearly featured, and could have potentially changed the course of this project, if not for illness and minor mishaps. This latter situation happens to the best of us. However, I am glad that I let go of the desire to write an 'alternative history' of Caerleon – which is to say rejecting some of the sometimes overbearing and clichéd Roman history – as I probably would have missed stories linking Shirley Bassey to the shale lorries. To that end I am delighted to have staged the event at Village Services in November 2019 (Stage 5). The latter endeavour was stressful, particularly in terms of marrying dance with social science and in a small space, but the format certainly achieved what Pearson (2006) also found: that performance 'stimulates', draws out other stories as well as 'stories about stories.'

We now illustrate the future potential of this approach in parts: firstly by considering biography and reflexivity; secondly by confirming the walking interview methodology; thirdly by using non-representation to trace how a given population ages; and fourthly for the whole method to be used as a way of reading places. The final argument bridges into the Covid-19 pandemic and asks us to re-think suburban housing estates; how reliant have they been

upon private motor vehicles and whether the walking method can help locate opportunities for social space and local shopping.

Sharing biography; and being reflexive

Reflexivity is one of the three axioms which underpins my approach: as such, my own biography – or rather my Dad's cancer diagnosis and subsequent death in the summer of 2018 – changed the direction of my proposed studies. The place where I grew up therefore became the case study; emptying my childhood house in 2018 and 2019 reunited me with tokens of my own attachment to space and place. Similar to Mike Pearson's *In Comes I* (2006), the project had to be done carefully so as not to appear expedient or self-indulgent. Throughout my work it was comforting to refer to Raymond Williams' statement that the writer can be 'closely, yet uncertainly connected' to where they come from (1973, p. 289). In the latter work, Williams referenced Thomas Hardy's connection to his childhood county of Dorset. Williams wrote a number of semi-autobiographical works himself; in the introduction to *The Country and The City* he writes that:

> Before I had read any descriptions and interpretations of the changes and variations of settlements and ways of life, I saw them on the ground, and working, in unforgettable clarity.

By inserting small bits of prose, poems written by me aged 12, old photographs and streams of consciousness alongside the main body of text I give you, the reader, some impressions of how the spaces around Caerleon shaped me. Throughout the interview process I shared a few images and read the poem about the view from the hill near my house. I am confident that that these tokens led to me building trust, and which encouraged reciprocity, rather than making my own experience the main story. There were some honest and revealing discussions shared through the walks. For example Chris was political in his approach to the Caerleon Campus proposals; Dorothy shared her views about care needs for older people; and Denise explained how it felt to lose both her parents. There are some deeper personal accounts which have not been shared in this thesis.

The ethics application put to Swansea University's College of Health and Human Sciences included two broad purposes for working with artists: firstly to help elicit responses from research participants; and secondly to interpret the collective responses. The first function was deployed at the Caerleon Festival walking event in July 2019: explaining how the

fantastical and traumatic childhood elements of Machen's *The Hill of Dreams* were a back-story to explain the psychological state of the main protagonist. The second was in the collaboration with Marega Palser to make short performances which connected with affect, such as running between the lampposts to convey the fear of living in a new place or the underlying tension of shale lorries on the streets. Both cases helped to connect.

A final point related to reflexivity is to acknowledge that I have aged. Swansea University offered me the opportunity to do a funded PhD in March 2015 when I was 36 years old. I now find myself aged 42; one of my parents has died and I am at the start of middle-age. As such the methods developed in this project – specifically focusing on space and place rather than what Bornat (2008) calls 'pastness' – could give me an opportunity to have conversations with young people about the latest technologies and ways of thinking. There is a good precedent from Duff's research on affect in Vancouver in Canada (2010), albeit some of the ways that young people performance in space may no longer be in fashion. Related to the last point, there is a need to commit to the openness of the method else the researcher will look for phenomena which are no longer relevant.

Methodology: walking, psychogeography, performance and affect

A significant aim of this investigation has been to theorise and develop psychogeographic practice. To that end this work had focused less on the playful and political and more on 'local history' explained in Merlin Coverley's excellent book *Psychogeography* (2018, p. 17) – or what Tina Richardson's *Schizocartography* refers to as the 'place narrative' (2017). Nevertheless, the Arthur-Machen-inspired event in July 2019 was partly political with the bus stop shrine (Figure 36), and playful in the way that Marega guided nearly 40 members of the public through space. The November 2019 indoor event, which used a sat-down meditation (Figure 52) coupled with site-specific performance, also pushed methods for getting out of the head and into the body. These playful acts uncovered more stories, or raw data, and supported the task of writing up an account of space and time; to that end this part of the method was invaluable. As such the final written piece perhaps strays off the line in a similar way to W. G. Sebald's *Rings of Saturn* (1998) or Iain Sinclair's *Edge of the Orison* (2005), as opposed to the more-focused cases such as Peter Finch's *Real Cardiff* (2002) or Benjamin Myers' *Under the Rock* (2018). For example, *Pursuing the Post-war Dream* contains many diversions from the specific place and time: a trip to Reverdy Road in Bermondsey or the sixties Monmouthshire County Council film about building the steelworks in Llanwern. Few

works of pure social science would have taken such liberties. However, I would argue that these 'threads' – based on anthropologist Tim Ingold's discussion within *Lines* (2017, pp. 42-44) – provide the wider context.

Following on from the more literary and psychogeographic practice in Part Two, the third element stepped away from the wider case study and investigated participatory walking interviews – as defined by Evans and Jones (2011, p. 849) – carried out with various people through 2019. Broadly these were one-to-one scenarios where the interviewee decided on routes through spaces important to their biography and everyday life. As the interviewer I asked questions framed by the space itself, and determined as we *go-along* (Carpiano, 2009)*.* As a basic principle, these *go-alongs* were mostly unstructured in order to give agency to the interviewees and to allow for affective connections to be uncovered. As a result the data was varied and I could not compare how people experienced the same geographical spaces. The proposals contained within Part Three remain qualitative, but they get closer to being comparable – see Olsen (2012, pp. 186-188) – than the specific biography of Caerleon which emerged after the late 1950s.

To give one example which could not be generalised, Dorothy had a strong affective response to the spot where a car crashed through next door's back garden in the early seventies. From what we know about this incident it depended on multiple contingencies, such as: an inexperienced driver; a twist in the road; and no proper fence at the top of the garden. I highlighted the case because it seemed close to what Anderson and Harrison (2010) called the 'slight surprise' or some kind of event that is held more deeply. The story also helped to convey the drama of increasing car use in the sixties and seventies, which in turn triggered other stories when Marega created a site-specific performance during the Caerleon Festival public event. The second event was for the ESRC Festival of Social Sciences and developed the shale lorry story, revealed by a *walk of mind* from an arm chair rather than an outdoor *go-along*. My method sought out stories which were perhaps mundane, but all the same symbolic of a certain place and time.

A methodological development to better encounter affective responses to space could include discussing photos which capture the 'slight surprise,' such as how images helped Jeff recall the field of sheep or when he sat on an upturned road cone. When Jeff did not seem to respond to the walking method I had initially thought the interview to be failure. However, this case proved to me that people remember things differently and that the only mistake is not to learn from our errors – connecting with accounts from England (1994) or Rose (1997) when they were less experienced researchers. Other interviews analysed in Part Three suggest the importance of being generous with time and to give people space to

recall their experience. In one case Coralie, who had dementia, connected with many more stories when I read her own life story back to her; of note it was a geographical reference which triggered these extra accounts. In another case, an interview got interrupted by a noisy bus. The filmmaker's desire for a clearer sound recording made me ask the same question three times; with those added minutes the interviewee brought forward more detail. These two latter details suggest that methodology could be developed to provide such opportunities.

In many ways the most revealing accounts about how everyday life evolved and came through – such as the social sacrifices involved in buying freehold property during the sixties or the shopping experiences in the seventies – when people felt relaxed and did not think too much about the research mission on the Participant Information Sheet – see Appendix A. Nevertheless, some people contributed accounts which would be useful to gerontology, such as how to negotiate the geography of bereavement and the difficult decisions about whether to leave what Chris called the 'beloved home with all the emotional ties.' Some of these topics could be used to make more structured set piece questions used within future walking interviews. Furthermore technological innovations could supplement the existing method. For example, there is potential to employ a camera which flies above the interviewee and interviewer – see *Drone-topia as Method* (Hildebrand, 2020) – to collect moving images of the body. Online technology such as Google Earth allows geographically-led interviews and to capture them on video; a technique used by Simon Woolham *In Search of the Shortcuts* (2020). There are digital means to present performance, *Cardiff 1919 Riots Redrawn* includes a website (National Theatre Wales, 2020) based on images from artist Kyle Legall and accounts from contemporary newspapers and other sources. The material is linked to ten locations in Cardiff, where is an audio soundscape and voices from different performers. There are some principles from this latter website that could be used in the future, principally linking audio and visual materials to specific spaces

All of these methodological proposals bring us closer to the theoretically-intriguing concept of non-representation. In the following section we explore the fit between the study of ageing and this latter theory.

Non-representation: a fit with the study of ageing

Throughout this study there has been a desire to take the theory of non-representation and use examples which explain it in more simple terms. Firstly we consider the complex ontology, namely a 'distribution of the human across some form of assemblage that includes all matter of materialities' (Anderson & Harrison, 2010, p. 13). The latter authors advise three starting points: firstly a commitment to an 'expanded social' including all manner of material bodies; secondly an attention to relations and being in-relation; and thirdly a sensitivity to 'almost-not-quite' entities such as affects. The case of 'expanded social' has been given attention through cases such as the photograph of Jeff in a field near Henllys, where he reflected on the role of sheep, or Stuart's experience of playing 'merry hell' with a game of football at a small park in Porthcawl. For the latter we acknowledge Spinney (2006) in the desire to capture more of the spatial arrangements than just what the interviewee says. For the third factor – the 'almost-not-quite' entities of affects – attention has been paid through cases such as Dorothy running between street lamps, the language used by Lionel to describe a community near Ebbw Vale being 'blown apart' as people moved away in the 1960s, or Steve's ideas of families been 'thrown in together' on a post-war housing estate – see also Vannini (2015, p. 318) for the five non-representational qualities of vitality, performativity, corporeality, sensuality and mobility. However, it is the relational aspect of ageing which is perhaps worth exploring in more detail.

The concept of 'ageing' includes both the individual and society. We can all sense changes in our own bodies over time and relative positions in the wider family or workplace. However, it is hard for individuals to sense how or why the median age of the wider population is increasing. In the context of rich countries Bernard and Scharf explain the phenomenon as a consequence of 'three interrelated trends' (2007, p.4) including: declining fertility; declining mortality rates; and changing patterns of migration. The last of these three latter points, the population movement has been very interesting for me to discover. I am the child of parents who came from England in the 1970s, but it has been intriguing to sense from the accounts of people like Lionel and Denise that so many other post-war Caerleon inhabitants had roots elsewhere. The labour demand from the Spencer Steelwork (which opened in 1962) caused a large incidence of 'mini migrations' from south Wales in the early 1960s – see more in the article about *Remembering Llanwern steelworks: 50 years on* and film (South Wales Argus, 2012). With Marega's help we were able to convey this story – linking the movement of shale with many other sources. The story about why this place expanded seemed to have been reported differently. On the one hand Cllr Jim Kirkwood wrote in the introduction to Norman

Stevens' *Caerleon Scenes Past* book (1997, p. 3) that Caerleon had 'played an important and active role in housing part of the large influx of the personnel.' However, former school teacher Primrose Hockey seemed less that happy that Caerleon was 'designated a dormitory town' (1981, p. 119) in the fifties. Hockey seems to share Arthur Machen's view about Caerleon as an ancient Roman city. Beyond these latter opinions it is worth looking at the statistics and how they are interpreted.

Since the 2011 Census the total number of residents aged 65 and over is estimated to have grown by a total of 287 people over seven years (Newport City Council, 2019). In proportional terms older people were nearly 26% of the 2017 population and just over 20% in 2011. In a nod to the qualitative, 2011 Census figures were interpreted with 'societal descriptions' mapped on to specific geography (UK Data Service, 2020); a collection of 'ageing industrial workers' appeared on Lodge Hill. The audience at the event in November 2019 seemed to accept this latter description. However, what are the means to trace people from birth through to later stages of the lifecourse? In the fifth stage of *Pursuing the Post-war Dream* we learned that geographical location is only traced in rare cases such as the Lothian Birth Cohort (Taylor, Pattie, & Deary, 2018). So how do we understand ageing in a place like Caerleon? Newport Council's estimates suggest an increase in older people in Caerleon which has averaged 41 each year since 2011. Looking at the corresponding historical birth rates in Caerleon from 1946 to 1954 period (Figure 43) we get an average of 75 babies per annum. By using basic maths, and making fairly unrealistic caveats that few new people have moved in from other places, we can assume that 55% of these post-1946 Caerleon-born babies have stayed the lifecourse. I would be happy to gain some assistance from a statistician to model the future, especially as an average of 121 babies per annum were born in the Caerleon birth district between 1964 and 1973. The next Census is in 2021; and so we will be in possession of more reliable population statistics. Will there be more cases of 'ageing industrial workers' across other parts of the settlement?

Related to the previous point, we have to consider a more nuanced context which explains why people may want to stay in a given place through to older age. For example, we know from Hamnett and Randolph (1982) that people moved out of the cities from the 1950s. Later work by Champion (2014, p. 22) reveals that inner-city populations in Manchester, Glasgow and Liverpool carried on declining through the 1980s and early 1990s. However, all these latter cities have grown since 2001 and the median age of large cities is still going down. Whilst there may be a sense of palpable buzz in metropolitan Manchester, how do everyday phenomena help us to understand demographic change in a place of 8,000 people such as Caerleon? Did the William Hill betting shop close in 2019 because those who visited the

physical premises got older and too small in number? Was the ending of the bus route up to Trinity View in 2018 due to younger people moving in? How many people are going to the butcher and asking for their ham to be 'cut on the number 4' – as Julie had explained at the event in November 2019? Do the people who come to Caerleon to visit its Roman remains and museum skew our understanding of who really lives there? These are all questions which make it hard to really understand demographic change. To that end, there is potentially for gerontological questions to influence research in other fields, such as human geography and sociology, rather than the other way around.

I trust that methods which have paid attention to affect and that which is non-representational help to answer why Caerleon is a site of an ageing population: potentially this is due to people developing attachments to suburban housing estates through their creation in the 1960s, 1970s and the 1980s and finding places where they wanted to stay. Perhaps these people created a certain *habitus* – see definition in Giddens and Sutton (2013, p. 881) – which represents a dream of new beginnings. In this sense the estates are not sites of 'social haunting' from past events such as the 1984-85 coal strike – see Bright (2015) – or indeed like Lionel's memories of south Wales during the Great Depression of the 1930s. Leading from the realisation that the post-war estate has come of age after six decades, coupled with the walking interviews and performative methods employed by this project, gives future potential of how to understand places.

Future potential: how to read places

Related to non-representation and the rhizome which may lie below the surface, this research project has touched on everyday life of the past by seeking out older interviewees. Questions about the human quality of places have been posed. For example, Arthur Machen's introduction to *The Hill of Dreams* (1907) laments the condition of Caerleon, the place where he came from, whilst his protagonist explores the faceless ever-expanding edges of late Victorian London. Over a century later Stewart Lee, a fan of Machen, came to Caerleon in search of *The Hill of Dreams* and found the 'surreal threaded through the mundane' as he walked the Lodge Hill estate. Similar criticism existed in 1950s and 1960s France through Guy Debord, Situationist International and others as they sought to protect 'unifying urbanism' (Lefebvre, 2002, p. 279). There seems always to have been a slightly nostalgic strand to all of the latter writing; that the past was better than the present.

Our case study has explored the post-war estates around Lodge Hill as a place which was added in the post-war era to Caerleon, a town with thousands of years of visible history. It is true that few facilities existed for just over four thousand residents. The social club closed in the 1990s. In 2019 there were fewer than ten shops, a reducing bus service and the post office had been replaced by the Village Service Community Hub. However, this project has revealed how estates were connected with larger changes to everyday mobility in the sixties: lorries transporting shale for the foundations of a new steelworks; the people who moved families from Ebbw Vale and Aberystwyth to Caerleon for work; the car crash that Dorothy witnessed; the difference in spatial range between a grandfather who grew up in the fifties and his granddaughter.

There is a complementary narrative about cars from Solnit's larger argument in *Wanderlust* and the insight from Steve, who visited Caerleon in November 2019, and told us about the people 'all thrown in together' on a similar estate near Birmingham. Altogether these accounts explain why and how such places were shaped through the sixties, seventies and eighties; as such these are the 'complex histories, geographies and materialities of sites which change over time and are encountered and occupied by people in diverse ways' (Merriman, 2004, p. 154). The latter author writes that the 'non-place' concept overlooked such factors and Merriman goes further to argue that places are 'more contingent, open, dynamic and heterogeneous' than Augé suggests (p. 162).

Linking to reflexivity, Merriman proposes that Augé 'non-place' concept is 'over reliant on a semi-autobiographical, ethnographic approach, and a humanistic and static conception of place' (p. 162). Before doing these interviews in 2019 I probably would have thought that the 'non-place' concept applied to Caerleon's estates, given my present home in an Edwardian neighbourhood of Cardiff. However, I am able to question my own biography by revisiting a poem written in 1990 by me as a 12-year-old. My lines of prose describe the housing estates near my semi-rural childhood home as 'clone like houses spread across the land like mould'. However, the interviews with people born before the baby-boomers, and reading Wilfred's accounts of Caerleon in 1930s, helped to sense why people wanted to leave terraced houses and narrow streets where people knew each other's business. How life changed since then is more than physical changes with terraces demolished and people physically moving out to the suburbs – see more evidence in Hamnett & Randolph (1982), Yelling (2000), Lund (2017). The estates are perhaps more a case of how places have evolved over time, rather than being 'non-places'. To that end Joe Moran's writing suggests that communities on terraced streets were 'turning on in themselves' from the 1930s onwards and that cheaper cars and televisions meant that 'even the working classes were more

mobile and their social networks more dispersed' by the mid-1950s (2012, p. 176). The Caerleon case study of Nigel's mother and her seventies chest freezer is perhaps such an example of a technology which led to supermarket shopping and reduced everyday contact in the neighbourhood. Moran also tells us that technological and changes meant that 'people were capable of creating complex cosmologies within their own houses as well as connecting more easily with social networks beyond the street' (2012, p. 121).

Beyond the cultural changes illustrated by Joe Moran, many people now live in the suburban built environment which we encountered in Stages Two, Three and Four; semi-detached houses with their front-garden driveways and wiggling roads. Although research suggests that larger cities have become centres for younger people and families rather than older people (Watt, 2013, p. 109; Dale, Heusinger, & Wolter, 2019) the Covid-19 pandemic is making people consider moving out from the city once more (Florida, Rodríguez-Pose, & Storper, 2020). For example, Covid-19 means that many people are allowed to work from home and families want more garden space. Partly related to Covid-19, but mostly based on the empirical evidence from the Caerleon case study, I wrote an essay for the Design Commission for Wales which broadly made the case for learning to walk again and engage with places. My argument looks to the future, given that people could be spending much more time living and shopping in their local (suburban) neighbourhoods, and offers the walking perspective to bring more to urban design than just planning for health or modal shifts to active travel (Singleton, 2021):

> When we slow down our experience, we can appreciate how communal space is shaped and where cut-through alleyways exist or not. We also sense how large development sites – such as the former Caerleon Campus – risk being *thin* isolated entities if they are just shaped around car journeys.

To reconfirm, Casey (2001) writes about 'thin' space, but suggest that space gains meaning – or 'thickens' – through de Certeau's (1984) practice of doing and making. Bridging into Thrift (2008) or Anderson and Harrison (2010) we sense that many connections are unconscious and perhaps made in a dream-like state – as Machen depicts. I finish this project by suggesting that we perhaps need to pay more attention to the ways in which our bodies and minds both hold that the wisdom we need to meet future societal needs.

Appendix A – Participant Information Sheet and letter

College of Human and Health Sciences

Haldane Building

Swansea University

Singleton Park

Swansea

SA2 8PP

E-mail: ███████████████████

Dear

I'm a PhD student and I'm looking for people who may be interested in taking part in some research during the course of 2019.

I am part of the Centre for Innovative Ageing at Swansea University. My own work is to research the emotional relationships that people have with certain spaces. For example, I am interested in how your life experiences reveal your feelings about walking around rooms of the house, streets, neighbourhoods and the wider town or city where you live. We are also interested in places which are far away from where you are now.

The term *psychogeography* captures this type of research as the relationships between geography and psychology. My research is aimed at improving life for older people. However, you do not have to be an older person to take part as we are interested in how people develop their emotional attachments over the course of their entire lives.

If you feel that you would be interested in taking part in the research please get in touch. Fuller information will be available in due course and an expression of interest at this stage does not commit you to participating.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely,

Aled Singleton

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Psycho-geography: place; ageing; and emotional attachment

You are being invited to take part in some PhD research for Swansea University. Before you decide whether or not to participate, it is important for you to understand why the research is being conducted and what it will involve. Please read the following information carefully.

1. **What is the purpose of the research?**

The term psycho-geography means the study of the role of geography and psychology. We are researching the emotional relationships that people have with certain spaces. For example, we are interested in how your life experiences reveal your feelings about walking around rooms of the house, around streets, neighbourhoods and the wider town or city where you live. We are also interested in places far away from where you are now.

This research is aimed at improving life for older people. You do not have to be an older person to take part. The principle benefits of this research are:

- To be inclusive of people who can no longer venture outside due to age or illness.
- Be able to understand the emotional triggers, and potential happiness or trauma, which can revealed by revisiting space and place.
- As much as possible, remove politics from the research

Such understanding should help to influence the work of architects and designers.

Your participation in a session for this study will take approximately one hour. There are a number of different steps in the research - see point 3 - so you could be involved in more than one session lasting.

2. **Who is carrying out the research?**

The data are being collected by Aled Singleton, from the Centre for Innovative Ageing within College of Human and Health Sciences, under the supervision of Dr Charles Musselwhite, at Swansea University. The research has been approved by the College of Human and Health Sciences Research Ethics Committee.

3. **What happens if I agree to take part?**

This research is interested in walking and what it reveals about our relationship with spaces such as rooms of the house, streets, neighbourhoods and the wider town. Going on a walk is something that can be done either by going outside or taking a walk of mind. There are three different ways in which you could take part in this research. You could choose to be involved in one, two or all three of these different approaches. We call these *research methods*.

(1) Being involved in an hour-long group meeting

These meetings help you to explore the research and give your thoughts and ideas. You can attend one of these meetings with a relative, friend or carer. They will be held inside in a safe space. Meetings will involve between 4 and 6 other people and we call these focus groups.

These meetings will be recorded through the means of digital voice recordings.

(2) A walk going outside

We will take an hour long walk in a place of your choice. We could start from your house and walk around the streets and neighbourhood where you live. We could also go to another location which is important to you.

Photography and film will be used to capture the spaces revealed by these interviews. You have the right to anonymity and your image not to be used.

(3) Walks of the mind conducted inside

You may be unable to take a walk outside or may be some distance from the place that you wish to remember.

You will be interviewed for up to an hour in your own house, public building or care setting. In addition to recording the interview, you may choose to map your remembered walk with photographs, drawings, maps or other means.

To trigger memories, we may use examples from literature and/or I may explain my own experience of what I have found from taking walks.

Participation

You do not need to be involved in more than one session if you choose to do so e.g. you can only be involved in a group meeting (Focus Group). However, in practice you could be involved five different sessions each lasting one hour e.g. a focus group at the start; a walking interview; a midpoint focus group; a walk of the mind interview and then the final focus group interview to review the research.

You will be asked to sign your consent before taking part in any research.

Are there any risks associated with taking part?

The research has been approved by the College of Human and Health Sciences Research Ethics Committee. There are no significant risks associated with participation.

Data Protection and Confidentiality

Your data will be processed in accordance with the Data Protection Act 2018 and the General Data Protection Regulation 2016 (GDPR). All information collected about you will be kept strictly confidential. Your data will only be viewed by the researcher/research team.

All electronic data will be stored on a password-protected computer file in the Haldane Building at Swansea University. All paper records will be stored in a locked filing cabinet at the Haldane Building at Swansea University. Your consent information will be kept separately from your responses to minimise risk in the event of a data breach.

Please note that the data we will collect for our study will be made anonymous. This will happen two weeks after the interview and in the process of transcribing the interview. Therefore it will not be possible to identify and remove your data at a later date, should you decide to withdraw from the study. Therefore, if at the end of this research you decide to have your data withdrawn, please let us know before you leave.

Your data will be stored and processed at Swansea University. Please note countries outside of the European Economic Area may not offer the same level of data privacy protection as in the UK. The researchers will abide by local data protection laws when collecting personal data.

What will happen to the information I provide?

The information you provide will be transcribed, analysed and anonymised.

One of the aims of the research is that a story can be written up as a short narrative [otherwise known as a case study] in the form of writing, photos and/or a film and which can be shared with other people. This narrative about places which are important to us may be useful to us and can be shared with carers or others. Outside of the research environment the narrative can only be shared by the researcher, or anybody else, with your permission.

An analysis of the information provided by you will be anonymised and may form part of the information shared in focus groups. A report will be written at the end of the study and may be presented to interested parties and published in scientific journals and related media. Note that all information presented in any reports or publications will be anonymous and unidentifiable.

Is participation voluntary and what if I wish to later withdraw?

Your participation is entirely voluntary. You do not have to participate if you do not want to. If you decide to participate, but later wish to withdraw from the study, you can do so without giving a reason and without penalty.

You will not be able to withdraw once your information has been transcribed and analysed. Your information will be anonymised.

Data Protection Privacy Notice

The data controller for this project will be Swansea University. The University Data Protection Officer provides oversight of university activities involving the processing of personal data, and can be contacted at the Vice Chancellor's Office.

Your personal data will be processed for the purposes outlined in this information sheet. Standard ethical procedures will involve you providing your consent to participate in this study by completing the consent form that has been provided to you.

The legal basis that we will rely on to process your personal data will be processing is necessary for the performance of a task carried out in the public interest. This public interest

justification is approved by the College of Human and Health Sciences Research Ethics Committee, Swansea University.

The legal basis that we will rely on to process special categories of data will be processing is necessary for archiving purposes in the public interest, scientific or historical research purposes or statistical purposes.

How long will your information be held?

We will hold any personal data and special categories of data for 10 years.

What are your rights?

You have a right to access your personal information, to object to the processing of your personal information, to rectify, to erase, to restrict and to port your personal information. Please visit the University Data Protection webpages for further information in relation to your rights. Any requests or objections should be made in writing to the University Data Protection Officer:-

University Compliance Officer (FOI/DP),
Vice-Chancellor's Office,
Swansea University,
Singleton Park
Swansea,
SA2 8PP

Email: dataprotection@swansea.ac.uk

How to make a complaint

If you are unhappy with the way in which your personal data has been processed you may in the first instance contact the University Data Protection Officer using the contact details above.

If you remain dissatisfied then you have the right to apply directly to the Information Commissioner for a decision. The Information Commissioner can be contacted at: -

Information Commissioner's Office,

Wycliffe House,

Water Lane,

Wilmslow,

Cheshire,

SK9 5AF

www.ico.org.uk

What if I have other questions?

If you have further questions about this study, please do not hesitate to contact us:

Aled Singleton,

Centre for Innovative Ageing,

College of Health & Human Sciences,

Swansea University

███████████████████ and ███████████

Dr Charles Musselwhite

Centre for Innovative Ageing,

College of Health & Human Sciences,

Swansea University

████████████████████████████

Appendix B – Example vignette

These interviews concentrate on places, such as homes and streets, as a way of jogging memory and understanding how people have lived their lives. In the case of meeting Coralie and her daughter Lindsay we uncover stories about families: particularly the relationships between grandmothers and their grandchildren. Coralie remembers living with her deaf grandmother during World War II; it was she who would hear out for air raid sirens at Hendy Road in Cardiff - aged 9, 10 and 11 . This care was extended many decades later when the same grandmother came to live in Caerleon in her older age.

Now that Coralie is ninety she considers herself to be the 'old girl'. In her own words her memory is a little 'skewiff' and there are gaps in her timeline. However, there is one date which anchors her story: 8th May 1954; when she married Wilfred Wilson. Together they bought a quarter acre of land on Lodge Road from Mrs Ellie Williams - a former vicar's wife – for £160. Coralie is able to recall many facets of life in the house that Wilfred and she had built. Next door was Mrs Lyons and another neighbour who was all 'chat, chat, chat!' Over the road was St Cadoc's Hospital with its own farm and animals that would occasionally come into their garden. Lindsay remembers that there were very few other houses around theirs during the early sixties; and that the flooded fields at Home Farm were often frozen over in the winter – so much so that you could almost skate on them.

Caerleon as a place has helped to bond this family. Lindsay explains that she set up home a few miles away in the 1980s. However, a foothold for the third generation was kept when Lindsay's son Thomas was born in 1988. She explains that the health visitor called him 'a Caerleon baby' when she attended antenatal classes. He was educated in Caerleon and another grandmother-grandchild relationship developed as Coralie picked him up from school. Lindsay moved back to Caerleon in 2001 and Thomas now calls home the house where Mrs Lyons used to live; back again on Lodge Road. Coralie mentions many times how relies on her wonderful daughter, son and grandchildren.

Conversations return many times to Gliffaes - the Lodge Road house named after the Powys hotel where Coralie and Wilfred went for their first date. Lindsay explains that her parents moved in 1987. Coralie says that Gliffaes had become a little too large for them to manage and that they could not cope with the garden. They moved to a 1980s-built house just off Mill Street and with a view over the river to Christchurch. Looking out to the garden Lindsay tells me that her father was very clever with his design. She speaks fondly as she describes how

he got it all quite right in terms of the spots to capture the sun and those to find shade. There is a pleasing feeling that Wilfred's presence is still there in the garden that he made.

Wilfred's biography comes up many times in our hour-long chat: he trained at Saville Row in London; lived above the butcher shop of John Skuse for many years; went to war in his early twenties and was introduced to Coralie by John Brown who worked at Caerleon College. For many years Wilfred was a director at Henry Cordy's clothing shops in Newport. Coralie explained that her husband had known many people in Caerleon through his role in the church and many other local organisations.

His presence is also felt in the box of papers that Lindsay has recently uncovered. Entitled 'A Ramble around Caerleon'; this is a collection of writings which Wilfred accumulated over many years. Lindsay reads out some details, including the names of fourteen Caerleon pubs. Some of this work featured in the Caerleon Past and Present book published in 1981 by a former school mistress called Primrose Hockey. Partly to complement Wilfred's accounts, I read out some of the poetry that I wrote aged 12 or 13. The poem was about the view of Newport from my own childhood home on the edge of Caerleon. Lindsay immediately identifies that her childhood view from Lodge Road would not have been too dissimilar. And something pleasant follows: Lindsay invites me to read out some of Wilfred's writing as her Dad was no longer alive to read out the words.

I read out some fascinating hand-written paragraphs which give Wilfred's perspective on the late 1950s and early 1960s. He described this as a time of change when 'new ideas penetrated' - in particular the street lights erected by the Council. Coralie responds with glee as I read out the name of a Mr Hewinson whose job it was to light the gas lanterns. As I read through three pages there is a sense of a portal to a different world. And though my eyes concentrate on the page I can tell that Coralie is listening with intent. She responds with little exclamations of delight as I call out the names of local women that her husband identified as the 'Broadwalk Ladies'.

At the end of the hour together I show a photo of the cottage on Pillmawr Lane where I grew up. The image is from the estate agent's advert that my parents kept from 1977. In the garden there was a neat row of vegetables along with a brick-built outhouse and what looks like a dog kennel. Lindsay remembers walking to that house in the 1960s and 1970s to buy eggs from the wife of the farmer who lived there. It makes me think that the weekend tradition of eating boiled eggs collected from the brown Warrens, and should-be-white Silky Bantams, had perhaps come from the previous owners rather than from my own parents. It is pleasing to think that places and objects hold connections to ways of life that other people can interpret.

After thoughts

Subsequent to the meeting I look at a 1985 book about Caerleon called 'The Living Village' - which had been in the attic of my family home. I note Wilfred's name as a contributor and recognise details which had come from the notes that I had only recently read out. However, there is something a bit less personal about what actually got published. Quite possibly all authors have to respect that the people to whom they refer may still be alive.

As I meet people in Caerleon I want to put together a story which captures how relationships develop over many decades but remain import to the here and now. For example, the vicar and lay preachers come to visit Coralie at home to give her communion. I am also sure that the support from Village Services stems from friendships which go back a very long way. And then there are the family bonds. The warmth between Coralie and her daughter Lindsay is evident; and there are constant reminders that the grandchildren bring so much happiness.

Above - my childhood egg cup from the 1980s

NB: This text was written in October 2019 and this the revised version following corrections from the second meeting Coralie

Bibliography

A Vision of Britain through Time. (2020, October 12). *GB historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, Caerleon UD through time*. Retrieved 12 October, 2020, from A Vision of Britain through Time: https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10067303/cube/BIRTH_TOT

Adams, D., & Larkham, P. (2015). Walking with the ghosts of the past: Unearthing the value of residents' urban nostalgias. *Urban Studies*, 1-19.

Anderson, B., & Harrison, P. (2010). *Taking-place: Non-representational theories and geography.* Farnham: Ashgate.

Anholt, S. (1999). Travel and tourism companies: global brands. *Journal of Vacation Marketing vol. 5 no. 3* , 290-295.

Anholt, S. (2010). Definitions of place branding – working towards a resolution . *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 1-10.

Ashton, P. (2020, August 1). *Vimeo.* Retrieved September 15, 2020, from Extreme Noticing under Lockdown, or how to launch a walking collective during a pandemic: https://vimeo.com/443903570

Aspinall, P., Mavros, P., Coyne, R., & Roe, J. (2013). The urban brain: analysing outdoor physical activity with mobile EEG. *British Journal of Sports Medicine*, 272-276.

Attuyer, K., Gilroy, R., & Croucher, K. (2020). Establishing long-term research relationships with older people: exploring care practices in longitudinal studies. *Ageing & Society, Volume 40, Part 5*, 1064-1083.

Augé, M. (1995). *Non-places: Introduction to an anthropology of supermodernity.* London: Verso.

Ballard, J. G. (1995). *Crash.* London: Vintage.

Barron, A. (2019). More-than-representational approaches to the life-course. *Social & Cultural Geography*.

BBC (Director). (2012). *The Secret History of Our Streets: Reverdy Road* [Motion Picture].

BBC. (2019, July 4). *William Hill plans 700 store closures putting 4,500 jobs at risk*. Retrieved September 15, 2020, from BBC: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-48868335

Bennett, J. (2004). The force of things: Steps toward an ecology of matter. *Political Theory, 32*(3), 347–372.

Benson, K., & Nagar, R. (2006). Collaboration as resistance? Reconsidering the processes, products, and possibilities of feminist oral history and ethnography. *Gender, Place & Culture, 13*(5), 581-592.

Bernard, M., & Scharf, T. (2007). *Critical perspective on ageing societies.* Bristol: Policy Press.

Billinghurst, H., Hind, C., & Smith, P. (2020). *Walking bodies.* Axminster: Triarchy Press.

Birren, J. E., & Deutchman, D. E. (1991). *Guiding autobiography groups for older adults: exploring the fabric of life.* Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.

Blum, V. L., & Secor, A. J. (2014). Mapping trauma: topography to topology. In P. Kingsbury, & S. Pile (Eds.), *Psychoanalytic geographies* (pp. 103-116). Farnham: Ashgate.

Bornat, J. (2008). Biographical methods. In P. Alasuutari, L. Bickman, & J. Brannen (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of social research methods* (pp. 344-356). London: Sage.

Bright, N. G. (2015). 'The lady is not returning': Educational precarity and social haunting in the UK coalfields. *Ethnography and Education*.

Brookfield, K., & Tilley, S. (2016). Using virtual street audits to understand the walkability of older adults' route choices by gender and age. *Int. J. Environ. Res. Public Health, 13, 1061.*

Brown, G., Raymond, C. M., & Corcoran, J. (2015). Mapping and measuring place attachment. *Applied Geography, 57,* 42–53.

Bryman, A. (2008). *Social research methods, 3rd edition.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Buffel, T. (2018). Social research and co-production with older people: Developing age-friendly communities. *Journal of Aging Studies, Volume 44,* 52-60.

Buffel, T., Handler, S., & Phillipson, C. (2019). *Age-friendly cities and communities: A global perspective.* Bristol: Policy Press.

Byrne, E., Elliott, E., & Williams, G. (2016). Performing the micro-social: using theatre to debate research findings on everyday life, health and well-being. *The Sociological Review, Vol 64,* 714-733.

Carpiano, R. (2009). Come take a walk with me: The "go-along" interview as a novel method for studying the implications of place for health and well-being. *Health & Place Volume 15, Issue 1,* 263-272.

Casey, E. (2001). Between geography and philosophy. What does it mean to be in the place-world? *Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 91,* 683-693.

Celf Caerleon Arts. (2019, July). *"Closely yet uncertainly connected…." Aled Singleton with Marega Palser.* Retrieved September 15, 2020, from Celf Caerleon Arts: https://caerleon-arts.org/events/2019/07/07/closely-yet-uncertainly-connected-aled-singleton-with-marega-palser/

Champion, T. (2014). *People in cities: The numbers.* London: Government Office for Science.

Cherrie, M., Shortt, N., Mitchell, R., Taylor, A., Redmond, P., Ward Thompson, C., . . . Pearce, J. (2017). Green space and cognitive ageing: A retrospective life course analysis in the Lothian Birth Cohort 1936. *Social Science & Medicine 196*, 56-65.

Cochrane, A. (2003). The new urban policy: toward empowerment or incorporation? The practice of urban policy. In R. Imrie, & M. Raco (Eds.), *Towards an urban renaissance? New Labour, community and urban policy* (pp. 223-234). Bristol: The Policy Press.

County Asylums. (2020, October 12). *Newport Borough Asylum*. Retrieved October 12, 2020, from County Asylums: https://www.countyasylums.co.uk/st-cadocs-hospital-newport/

Coverley, M. (2015). The art of wandering: Arthur Machen's London science. In T. Richardson (Ed.), *Walking Inside Out* (pp. 103-114). London: Rowman & Littlefield International.

Coverley, M. (2018). *Psychogeography.* Harpenden: Oldcastle.

Creswell, J. (2014). *Research Design, 4th Edition.* London: Sage.

Dale, M., Heusinger, J., & Wolter, B. (2019). Age and gentrification in Berlin: urban ageing policy and the experiences of disadvantaged older people. In T. Buffel, S. Handler, & C. Phillipson (Eds.), *Age-Friendly Cities and Communities: A Global Perspective* (pp. 75-96). Bristol: Policy Press.

Darling, J. (2016). 'Just being there...' : ethics, experimentation and the cultivation of care. In B. Anderson, & P. Harrison (Eds.), *Taking-place: non-representational theories and geographies* (pp. 241-260). Abingdon: Routledge.

de Certeau, M. (1984). *The practice of everyday life.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Deane, S. G. (1985). *The living village.* Cwmbran: Village Publishing.

Debord, G. (1995). *The society of the spectacle.* New York: Zone.

Department for Transport. (2017). *Road traffic estimates: Great Britain 2016.* HM
    Government.

Design Commission for Wales. (2020, October 18). *About - Design Commission for Wales*.
    Retrieved October 18, 2020, from Design Commission for Wales:
    https://dcfw.org/about/

Dorling, D. (2020). *Slowdown: The end of the great acceleration – and why it's good for the
    planet, the economy, and our lives,.* London: Yale.

Duff, C. (2010). On the role of affect and practice in the production of place. *Environment
    and Planning D: Society and Space 2010, 28*, 881-895.

England, K. (1994). Getting personal: reflexivity, positionality, and feminist research. *The
    Professional Geographer, 46*(1), 241-256.

England, K. (1994). Getting personal: reflexivity, positionality, and feminist research. *The
    Professional Geographer, 46*(1), 241-256.

ESRC. (2020, October 12). *Previous events.* Retrieved October 12, 2020, from ESRC:
    https://esrc.ukri.org/public-engagement/festival-of-social-science/previous-events/

Evans, J., & Jones, P. (2011). The walking interview: Methodology, mobility and place.
    Applied Geography, 31, 849-858.

Exley, D. (2019). *The end of aspiration? Social mobility and our children's fading prospects.*
    Bristol: The Policy Press.

Felder, M. (2020). Strong, weak and invisible ties: A relational perspective on urban
    coexistence. *Sociology, Vol 54(4)*, 675-692.

Finch, P. (2002). *Real Cardiff.* Bridgend: Seren.

Fisher, M. (2016). *The weird and the eerie.* London: Repeater Books.

Florida, R., Rodríguez-Pose, A., & Storper, M. (2020). Cities in a post-covid world. *Papers in Evolutionary Economic Geography.*

Flyvbjerg, B. (2001). *Making social science matter.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Giddens, A., & Sutton, P. W. (2013). *Sociology. Seventh edition.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Gilleard, C., & Higgs, P. (2020). *Social divisions and later life: difference, diversity and inequality.* Bristol: Policy Press.

Goodhart, D. (2017). *The road to somewhere. The new tribes shaping British politics.* London: Penguin.

Hamnett, C., & Randolph, W. (1982). The changing population distribution of England and Wales, 1961–81: clean break or consistent progression? *Built Environment, Vol. 8, No. 4*, 272-280.

Hankinson, G. (2015). Rethinking the place branding construct. In M. Kavaratzis, G. Warnaby, & G. Ashworth (Eds.), *Rethinking place branding: Comprehensive brand development for cities and regions* (pp. 13-32). Springer.

Hanley, L. (2007). *Estates: an intimate history.* Croydon: Granta.

Hanna, S., & Rowley, J. (2015). Towards a model of the place brand web. *Tourism Management, 48*, 100-112.

Heat-Moon, W. L. (1992). *PrairyErth.* Boston: Mariner Books.

Hidalgo, M. C., & Hernandez, B. (2001). Place attachment: conceptual and empirical questions. *Journal of Environmental Psychology, 21*, 273-281.

Hildebrand, J. M. (2020). Drone-topia as method. *Mobilities*, 25-38.

Hockey, P. (1981). *Caerleon past and present.* Risca: The Starling Press.

Holland, C., & Peace, S. (2012). Life course. In J. Katz, S. Peace, & S. Spurr (Eds.), *Adult lives: A life course perspective* (pp. 142-150). Bristol: Policy Press.

Holmes, H. (2020). Material relationships: object interviews as a means of studying everyday life. In H. Holmes, & S. M. Hall (Eds.), *Mundane Methods* (pp. 66-83). Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Hunter, V. (2020). Dancing-walking with trees. In H. Biliinghurst, C. Hind, & P. Smith (Eds.), *Walking bodies* (pp. 21-33). Axminster: Triarchy Press.

Imrie, R., & Raco, M. (2003). Community and the changing nature of urban policy. In R. Imrie, & M. Raco (Eds.), *Urban renaissance? New labour, community and urban policy* (pp. 3-36). Bristol: The Policy Press.

Ingold, T. (2017). *Lines: A brief history.* Abingdon: Routledge.

Ingold, T. (2018). *Anthropology: Why it matters.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Jones, P., & Evans, J. (2012). Rescue geography: place making, affect and regeneration. *Urban Studies, 49*(11), 2315-2330.

Judd, D. R., & Parkinson, M. (1989). Urban revitalization in the united states and the unitied kingdom. In M. Parkinson, B. Foley, & D. R. Judd (Eds.), *Regenerating the cities. The uk crisis and the us experience* (pp. 1-8). London: Scott, Foresman and Company.

Katz, J., Peace, S., & Spurr, S. (2012). *Adult Lives: A lifecourse perspective.* Bristol: Policy Press.

Kavaratzis, M., Warnaby, G., & Ashworth, G. (2015). *Rethinking place branding: comprehensive brand development for cities and regions.* New York: Springer.

Keady, e. a. (2012). Neighbourhoods and dementia in the health and social care context: a realist review of the literature and implications for UK policy development. *Reviews in Clinical Gerotology, 22*, 150-163.

Kearns, A. (2003). Social capital, regeneration and urban policy. In M. Raco, & R. Imrie (Eds.), *Urban renaissance? New labour, community and urban policy* (pp. 37-60). Bristol: The Policy Press.

Kerouac, J. (1972). *On the Road.* Penguin.

Kingsbury, P., & Pile, S. (2014). *Psychoanalytic geographies.* Routledge.

Land Economy. (2002). *Answering the really difficult questions: The role of local social surveys in assessing the impact of regeneration initiatives.* Cambridge: Cambridge University.

Land Economy. (2007). *The single regeneration budget - final evaluation.* Cambridge: Cambridge University.

Latour, B. (2005). *Reassembling the social – an introduction to actor-network-theory.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lee, S. (2016, October 25). *The hill of dreams.* (S. Lee, Performer) Cardiff Contemporary, Cardiff.

Lodge Farm Church. (2020, October 12). *Lodge Farm Church history*. Retrieved 12 October, 2020, from Lodge Farm Church: http://www.lodgefarmchurch.org.uk/history/

Lofland, J., Snow, D. A., Anderson, L., & Lofland, L. H. (2006). *Analyzing social settings, 4th edition.* Belmont: Thompson Wadsworth.

Lorimer, H. (2006). Herding memories of humans and animals. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 24*, 497-518.

Lorimer, H. (2010). Forces of nature, forms of life: calibrating ethology and phenomenology. In B. Anderson, & J. Harrison (Eds.), *Taking-place: non-representational theories and geography* (pp. 55-75). Abingdon: Routledge.

Lund, B. (2017). *Understanding housing policy.* Bristol: Policy Press.

Lynch, M. (2000). The argument against reflexivity as an academic virtue and source of privileged knowledge. *Theory, Culture & Society, 17*(3), 26-54.

Machen, A. (2006). *The great God Pan and the hill of dreams.* Mineola, NY: Dover Publications.

Massey, D. (1999). Space-time, 'science' and the relationship between physical geography and human geography. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers. Vol. 24, No. 3*, 261-276.

May, T. (2001). *Social research. Issues, methods and process* (3rd ed.). Maidenhead: Open University Pres.

Merriman, P. (2004). Driving places Marc Augé, non-places, and the geographies of England's M1 motorway. *Theory, Culture & Society, Volume 21, Issue 4-5*, 145-167.

Moran, J. (2012). Imagining the street in post-war Britain. *Urban history, Vol.39*, 166-186.

Mullings, B. (1999). Insider or outsider, both or neither: some dilemmas of interviewing in a cross-cultural setting. *Geoforum, 30*, 337-350.

Musselwhite, C. (2018). The importance of a room with a view for older people with limited mobility. *Quality in Ageing and Older Adults, Volume: 19, Issue: 4.*

Myers, B. (2018). *Under the rock: The poetry of a place.* London: Elliott and Thompson Limited.

National Theatre Wales. (2020, October 16). Retrieved October 16, 2020, from Cardiff 1919: Riots Redrawn: www.cardiff1919.wales/

Nayak, A., & Jeffrey, A. (2013). *Geographical thought: an introduction to ideas in human geography.* London: Routledge.

Neale, C., Aspinall, P., Roe, J., Tilley, S., Mavros, P., Cinderby, S., . . . Ward Thompson, C. (2020). The impact of walking in different urban environments on brain activity in older people. *Cities & Health, Vol. 4, No. 1*, 94-106.

Nehring, D., & Kerrigan, D. (2020). *Imagining society: The case for sociology.* Bristol: Bristol University Press.

Newport City Council. (2017, May). *Community well-being profile, Caerleon, 2017.* Retrieved October 08, 2020, from Newport City Council: https://www.newport.gov.uk/documents/One-Newport/Caerleon-Profile-Final-2017.pdf

Newport City Council. (2019, July). *Caerleon population.* Retrieved October 08, 2020, from Newport City Council: https://www.newport.gov.uk/documents/One-Newport/Profiles/Caerleon-Profile-2019-Population.pdf

Olson, W. (2012). *Data collection.* London: Sage.

Open Geodemographics. (2020, October 12). *Leave feedback.* Retrieved October 12, 2020, from Open Geodemographics: http://www.opengeodemographics.com/leave_feedback.php

Open University. (2014, December 9). *The secret history of our streets - Reverdy Road.* Retrieved October 12, 2020, from Open University: https://www.open.edu/openlearn/whats-on/tv/the-secret-history-our-streets-reverdy-road

O'Rourke, K. (2016). *Walking and mapping: artists as cartographers.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Oxford University Press. (2020, October 12). *Structures of feeling.* Retrieved October 12, 2020, from Oxford reference: https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100538488

Peace, S., & al, e. (2012). Environment and ageing. In J. Katz, S. Peace, & S. Spurr (Eds.), *Adult lives. A lifecourse perspective* (pp. 131-141). Bristol: Policy Press.

Pearce, J., Shortt, N., Rind, E., & Mitchell, R. (2016). Life course, green space and health: incorporating place into life course epidemiology. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health, 13(3).*

Pearson, M. (2006). *In comes I: Performance, memory and landscape.* Exeter: University of Exeter Press.

Pearson, M., & Shanks, M. (2013). *Theatre/archaeology: Pearson|Shanks 1993-2013.*

Perec, G. (2008). *Species of spaces and other pieces.* London: Penguin.

Pierson, M. H. (2007). *The place you love is gone: Progress hits home.* New York City: W. W. Norton Company.

Pile, S. (2010). Emotions and affect in recent human geography. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 35*, 5-20.

Ray, R. E. (2007). Narratives as agents of social change. In M. Bernard, & T. Scharf (Eds.), *Critical perspectives on ageing societies* (pp. 59-72). Bristol: Policy Press.

Remillard-Boilard, S. (2019). The development of age-friendly cities and communities. In T. Buffel, S. Handler, & C. Phillipson (Eds.), *Age-friendly cities and communities: A global perspective* (pp. 13-32). Bristol: Policy Press.

Richardson, T. (2015). *Walking inside outing: contemporary British psychogeography.* London: Rowman & Littlefield.

Richardson, T. (2017). Assembling the assemblage: developing schizocartography in support of an urban semiology. *Humanities, 6, 47.*

Rightmove. (2020, June 30). *House prices in Caerleon.* Retrieved June 30, 2020, from Rightmove: https://www.rightmove.co.uk/house-prices/caerleon.html

Rollero, C., & De Piccoli, N. (2010). Place attachment, identification and environment perception: an empirical study. *Journal of Environmental Psychology, 30*, 198-205.

Rose, G. (1997). Situating knowledges: positionality, reflexivities and other tactics. *Progress in Human Geography, 21*(3), 305-320.

Rose, M. (2020). Pedestrian practices: walking from the mundane to the marvellous. In H. Homes, & S. M. Hall (Eds.), *Mundane methods: innovative ways to research the everyday* (pp. 211-229). Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Ross, K. (2002). Lefebvre on the situationists: an interview. In T. McDonough (Ed), *Guy Debord and the Situationist International* (pp. 267-283). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Rowles, G. D. (1978). *Prisoners of space? Exploring the geographical experience of older people.* Boulder: Westview Press.

RPSB. (2020, October). *Lapwing population trends.* Retrieved October 12, 2020, from RSPB: https://www.rspb.org.uk/birds-and-wildlife/wildlife-guides/bird-a-z/lapwing/population-trends/

Ruddick, S. (2011). The politics of affect : Spinoza in the work of Negri and Deleuze . *Environment and planning. D, Society & space., 29*(2), 213 - 222.

Schaefer, F. K. (1953). Exceptionalism in geography: a methodological examination. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 43*(3), 226-249.

Sebald, W. G. (1998). *The rings of Saturn.* London: The Harvill Press.

Sevin, E. (2011). Thinking about place branding:ethics of concept. *Place Branding & Public Diplomacy, 7*, 1 55– 164.

Sinclair, I. (2005). *Edge of the orison.* London: Penguin.

Singleton, A. (2017, April 21). *Imagining the neighbourhood event – Monday 27 March.* Retrieved October 12, 2020, from Ageing Issues: British Society of Gerontology blog: https://ageingissues.wordpress.com/2017/04/21/imagining-the-neighbourhood-event-monday-27-march/

Singleton, A. (2021). Learning to walk (again) and engage with places. In Design Commission for Wales (Ed.), *Places for life ii*, Cardiff: Design Commission for Wales

Smith, D. (2006). Foreword. In R. Williams, *Border country* (p. ix). Cardigan: Library of Wales / Parthian.

Smith, P. (2010). *Mythogoegraphy.* Axminster: Triarchy Press.

Smith, P. (2018). *Making site-specific theatre and performance: a handbook.* London: Red Globe Press.

Solnit, R. (2014). *Wanderlust.* London: Granta.

Solnit, R. (2017). *A field guide to getting lost.* London: Penguin.

South Wales Argus. (2011, June 09). *'Vital' Caerleon cycle link opens*

Retrieved October 12, 2020, from South Wales Argus: https://www.southwalesargus.co.uk/news/9074267.vital-caerleon-cycle-link-opens/

South Wales Argus. (2012, October 25). *Remembering Llanwern steelworks - 50 years on.* Retrieved October 12, 2020, from South Wales Argus:

https://www.southwalesargus.co.uk/news/10007308.remembering-llanwern-steelworks-50-years-on/

Spinney, J. (2016). Close encounters? Mobile methods, (post)phenomenology and affect. *Cultural Geographies*, 231-246.

Stedman, R. C. (2002). Toward a social psychology of place: predicting behavior from place-based cognitions, attitude, and identity. *Environment and Behavior, 34*, 561-581.

Stevens, N. (1997). *Caerleon: scenes past.* Abertillery: Old Bakehouse Publications.

Stevens, N. (2001). *Caerleon: scenes recalled.* Abertillery: Old Bakehouse Publications.

Stevens, N. (2003). *Caerleon: scenes changing.* Abertillery: Old Bakehouse Publications.

Stevens, N. (2007). *Caerleon: scenes saved.* Abertillery: Old Bakehouse Publications.

Stewart, K. (2007). *Ordinary affects.* Durham, USA: Duke University Press.

Stewart, K. (2013). Regionality. *Geographical Review, Volume103, Issue2*, 275-284.

Swansea University. (2020, October 15). *Centre for Innovative Ageing*. Retrieved October 15, 2020, from Swansea University: https://www.swansea.ac.uk/cia/

Tallon, A. (2010). *Urban regeneration in the UK.* London: Routledge.

Tamboukou, M. (2003). Interrogating the emotional turn: making connections with Foucault and Deleuze. *European Journal of Psychotherapy, Counselling & Health, 6*(3), 209-223.

Taylor, A. M., Pattie, A., & Deary, I. J. (2018). Cohort profile update: The Lothian birth cohorts of 1921 and 1936. *International Journal of Epidemiology, Volume 47, Issue 4*, 1042–1042r.

Thomese, F., Buffel, T., & Phillipson, C. (2019). Neighbourhood change, social inequalities and age-friendly communities. In Buffel, T., Handler, S., & Phillipson, C (Eds.), *Age-friendly cities and communities* (pp. 33-49). Bristol: Policy Press.

Thrift, N. (2000). Afterwords. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, Volume 18, Issue 2*, 213-255.

Thrift, N. (2008). *Non-representational theory: Space, politics, affect.* London: Routledge.

Tree Top Films. (Director). (2019). *Walking through Caerleon in the 1960s and 1970s - ESRC festival of social science 2019* [Motion Picture].

Tuan, Y.-F. (1977). *Space and place: The perspective of experience.* Minneaoplis: University of Minnesota Press.

Tunstall, B. (2020). *The fall and rise of social housing: 100 years on 20 estates.* Bristol: Policy Press.

UK Data Service. (2020, October 16). *Consumer Data Research Centre*. Retrieved October 16, 2020, from Consumer Data Research Centre: https://maps.cdrc.ac.uk/

Urban Dictionary. (2005, September 14). *Scully*. Retrieved October 16, 2020. from Urban Disctionary: https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=Scully

Vannini, P. (2015). Non-representational ethnography: new ways of animating lifeworlds. *Cultural Geographies Vol. 22(2)*, 317–327.

Watt, P. (2013). 'It's not for us': Regeneration, the 2012 Olympics and the gentrification of east London. *City, Vol 17, No 1*, 99-118.

Wellin, C. (2018). *Critical gerontology comes of age.* New York: Routledge.

Welsh Government. (2020, October 12). *LSOA maps.* Retrieved October 12, 2020, from

    Stats Wales: https://statswales.gov.wales/Catalogue/Community-Safety-and-Social-

    Inclusion/Welsh-Index-of-Multiple-Deprivation/Archive/LSOA-Maps

Western Mail. (2016, August 12). *Cardiff contemporary is returning and it will be filling some*

    of the city's forgotten spaces with art. Retrieved October 08, 2020, from Wales

    Online: https://www.walesonline.co.uk/whats-on/arts-culture-news/cardiff-

    contemporary-returning-filling-citys-11736877

Widerberg, K. (2020). Memory work: an approach to remembering and documenting

    everyday experiences. In H. Holmes, & S. M. Hall (Eds.), *Mudane methods:*

    innovative ways to research the everyday (pp. 49-65). Manchester: Manchester

    University Press.

Williams, R. (1960). *Border country.* London: Chatto and Windus.

Williams, R. (1973). *The country and the city.* London: Vintage.

Williams, W. (2010). *Dail pren.* Llandysul: Gomer Press.

Woolham, S. (2020). In search of the shortcuts. In J. Journeaux, H. Gørrill, & S. Reed (Eds.),

    Body, space, and pace in collective and collaborative drawing: drawing conversations

    II (pp. 105-121). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Yelling, J. (2000). The incidence of slum clearance in England and Wales, 1955-85. *Urban*

    History, Vol. 27, No. 2, 234-254.

Zenker, S., & Braun, E. (2015). Rethinking the measurement of place brands. In M.

    Kavaratzis, G. Warnaby, & G. Ashworth (Eds.), *Rethinking place branding:*

    comprehensive brand development for cities and regions (pp. 211-224). New York:

    Springer.