

We came here to remember

Using participatory sensory ethnography to explore memory as emplaced, embodied practice

Abstract

Memory can be seen as an emplaced phenomenon, rather than as an internal, psychological archive. Approaches relating to cognition and memory as practice, seeing cognition as an extended, distributed phenomenon, will be considered in theoretical and empirical contexts in this paper. Theoretical approaches to emplaced, embodied memory will be explored in the context of my sensory ethnographic research on place perception. I curated a series of sensory ethnographic engagements to explore how three international students, from Tunisia, Indonesia, and Germany respectively, used emplaced knowledge and memories of their city, and of their previous homes. Using a participatory sensory ethnography, involving walking interviews, my collaborators devised unique memorial responses to evoke their new and previous places of residence. The collaborations presented here illustrate the embodied, emplaced nature of memory. The use of sensory ethnography has enabled me to construct memory as an emplaced, embodied, multisensory phenomenon, rather than an internal archive.

Keywords: embodied cognition, emplaced memory, sensory ethnography, performativity, materiality

1. Introduction: living thinking, emplaced cognition

We can regard thought as a modest supplement to practice, rather than as a discrete, internal activity. Thrift (2001) suggests that our cognitive relations with the world might be redefined by bringing out into the light a form of practice-

based thought known as living-thinking. Lived thoughts are emplaced phenomena, inseparable from our sensory and embodied relations with the world (Cresswell, 2004, Barsalou, 2010). When thoughts are conceived as emplaced performances they become demonstrable skills that are steeped more in practice than internal information processing or introspection. They are also relational, thriving on collaborative encounters with people and technologies. Emplaced thoughts thrive on practices such walking, talking, listening and other forms of collaborative encounter that are part of everyday practice. Living thinking is borne of the co-production of extended organisms (Serres & Latour, 2005, Thrift, 2008, Whatmore, 2006). Arguably this conception of thought is the antithesis of our everyday understandings of scholasticism, wherein theorising about the world is conducted at a remote distance from mundane activity, perhaps as part of a search for truth and objectivity, as in more positivist oriented epistemologies (Tolman, 1992) It is also the antithesis of Platonic, psychological depictions of thought as internal information processing (Atkinson and Shiffrin, 1968), a discourse which dominates the mainstream of cognitive psychology.

'Doing the knowledge' and 'exercising judgement' are everyday linguistic tics that support a portrayal of cognition as practical, living, collaborative, situated phenomena. Judgement, for Thrift (2008), is always exercised, acted out in the lived world. Not only is it cab drivers that do the knowledge. We're all doing it. Eschewing forms of monological expertise that emanate from internalised ethical codes, Thrift (2008) suggests a more performative brand of thought that he describes as ethical coping, based on pre-theoretical everyday convictions, facilitating practical judgements. Ethical coping assumes the cultivation of expertise on the ground, attuned to ethological events. Real experts, he asserts, act on inclination, responding to situations flexibly, rather than applying pre-ordained, internally located ethical codes (, Black, Segal, Vitale and Fadjo, 2012, Varela, 1999). This intelligence as action model sees expertise growing out of

embodied spontaneity, bypassing established codes and deliberation, getting smart on the hoof (Spackman and Yanchar, 2013). We see here the distribution of thought out into the world as an appropriate response to a situation.

2. Cognitive ecology

The portrayal of intimate relations between cognition and the lived world is well documented (Clark, 2011, Geiffenhagen and Sharrock, 2008, , Spackman and Yanchar, 2013). Hutchins (2008) coins the term cognitive ecology to invoke these processes of contextualized problem solving. This view shifts cognitive theory towards the study of embodied, situated, distributed cognition, away from the internal mind, or what has been described as the disembodied mind (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999). Wilson (2002) concurs, stating “the environment is part of the cognitive system” (2002:625). All of which signals a reconfiguring of the unit of study for cognitive psychology, away from phenomena that are defined by their inherent properties (minds, information processors), towards dynamic, inter-related, emplaced entities. Situated intelligence involves more than just a smart organism negotiating a flat, dead, lifeless environment. Rather, it involves factoring in features of the vital social and physical environment (Greenhough, 2010) in which intelligent action thrives. Elements of intelligent environments are recruited as part of solutions to problems (Clark, 2011). This phenomenon of distributed cognition has been exemplified in numerous research scenarios by materially and technologically aided intelligences that prevail in a pilot’s cockpit (Hutchins, 2008), by the intelligent deployment of memorial cues in the cognitively demanding restaurant environments by short order waitresses (Stevens, 1990), and in the design of user friendly computer augmented work environments (Hollan and Hutchins, 2010). Environmental, technologies and culturally derived artefacts are all manifestations of vital, contextual extensions to the intelligent problem solver; the so-called extended mind (Clark, 2011). Thus, the nervous system can be seen to develop in ways that complement and

anticipate these extended, relational intelligences, often even in combination with neutrally implanted technology (Warwick et al, 2010). Recent research on the potential of video gaming for enhancing the cognitive performance of older adults highlights the practice-based nature of cognition that works in concert with technologies (Anguera et al, 2013). This analogy of fish as ‘machines for swimming’ illustrates how organisms adapt to and utilise external practices to enhance thought. Just as fish propel themselves using aquatic energies, human thought is propelled on a sea of practices that are inseparable from thought

The extraordinary efficiency of the fish as a swimming device is partly due to an evolved capacity to couple its swimming behaviours to the pools and external kinetic energy found as swirls, eddies and vortices in its watery environment. The fish swims by building these externally occurring processes into the very heart of its locomotion routines (Triantafyllou and Triantafyllou, cited in Clark, 2011:225)

3. *Outing memory as a practice*

The positioning of thought as an extended, embodied phenomenon leads us to consider how this approach might inform the central subject of this paper; memory as a distributed (embodied and emplaced) practice. During this paper, place making (Cresswell, 2004), the perception of place (Ingold, 2000), will be considered as a practised skill from which emerge extended, material, emplaced memories. To put it another way, the development of emplaced knowledge is seen here as inseparable from the development of emplaced, often material, memories.

Attachments to, and knowledge accrued about, places can be regarded as exercises in skilled, living thinking (Ingold, 2000, Thrift, 2008). According to this approach, memories of place are not confined to inner psychological archives. Rather, they amount to multi-sensory, embodied, material phenomena that are inseparable from emplaced practices (like walking), as well as the use of tools and technologies (like cameras and microphones) in mundane contexts. Thus, mind is

loaded into the senses, performance, tools, practice and cultural artefacts (Clark, 2011) we use as we move through landscapes. For example, the development of emplaced memory manifests itself through varieties of sensory modalities, embodied knowledge (muscle memory); a phenomenon that has been embraced by sports psychologists (Tod et al, 2010)

“The body relays information - our emotional history - that remains stored in our musculature and other physiological systems...manifested in the individual’s postures, gestures, use of space, and movements, large and small” (Chaiklin & Wengrower 2009:4)

Links between walking and memory have long been explored by health psychologists and gerontologists (Stones & Dawe, 1993), and this research has revealed positive memorial repercussions for those with dementia. There is evidence for a link between exercise and memory, with walking shown to improve learning and recall (Eisner 2004). Embodied cognition facilitates recall, with memory distributed through the musculature (Chaiklin & Wengrower 2009), rather than being hidden away in an internal archival store. Such findings erode distinctions between mind, body and movement through place. The emplaced nature of walking and remembering (Pink, 2009) erodes boundaries between cognition, embodiment and environment (Howes, 2005). As we walk to remember, memory is activated. Emplaced knowledge is constructed through embodied engagement with multisensory environments. Walking can meditatively bring forth personal biographies that lay beyond mere introspection (Lee 2004). The effect of being in a place is heightened by our walking through routes that are coloured with meanings that have been accrued in the past

“It is extremely evocative to walk along a path from childhood; we draw together aspects of place and biography through the walk and walking, itself, even if we have not visited the route for decades” (Schine, 2010:4)

The evocativeness of emplaced memory has been explored in the reuniting of participants with memorable places. Järviluoma et al (2009) revisited Scottish villages that were used in a soundscape project 30 years before to explore sensory, embodied memory, nostalgia and social remembering. A town clerk in the village of Dollar, Scotland, was interviewed twice, 30 years apart, in a meaningful place, prompting his recollections of past sense-scapes with exceptional sensory detail. Returning to past places on foot evokes memory with gusto, as the title of a relevant paper suggests; *“I’m walking, therefore I’m remembering”* (Järviluoma, 2009). In another, French study, Järviluoma explored memories of elderly women in a small fishing village. Using a participatory method similar to the one used in the research that I will present in this paper, participants led the researcher to meaningful sites, and then led other members of the group through the landscape, facilitating the co-production of collaborative memories. The coproduction of memorial, emplaced knowledge, and their bringing forth through ambulation, mobility, even performance, resonates with the memorial making of places that characterises my own collaborators’ recollections.

4. Material, collaboratively practised memory

Memory is manifest in the materials we accrue, in the practices we perform, along the routes we etch out through mobile living (Brockmeier, 2010). Material, practised memories evidence the ongoing, co-productive imaginings of people who visit and revisit meaningful places, known as sites of memory (Nora, 1989). More than mere archives, these memories are narrative events in themselves (Brockmeier, 2010) that are practiced collaboratively as we walk and talk together. They are discursively negotiated by performance and on-the-go conversation, not just retrieved from internal stores (Hirst and Echterhoff, 2008,

Shotter, 2008). They reside at the border of the personal and co-productive, undermining the individualizing notion of autobiographical memory (Conway, 2005). Always establishing connections between people, technologies and places, material, performed memories yield evidence of distributed, networked selves. Their *“creative and affective potential”* (Dijck, 2007:162) can be realized in projects that

“allow users to operate on autobiographical memory documents, mixing and remixing them” (Brockmeier, 2010:14)

Dijck (2007) has coined the term mediated memories to illustrate the collaborative, practiced, productive aspects of remembering that can emerge from the use of diverse media. In short, memories are mediated through artefacts and technologies. Mediated memories are the tangible objects and practiced rituals we churn out with the help of our preferred technologies (cameras, sound recording equipment), and our shared experiences (walking together). They are practices for constructing our shared pasts in tangible forms. These materialized pasts reveal our journeys from place to place, our material trails, as they materialize. The forms that these mediated memories take are likely to be shaped by the technologies we prefer to work with, an effect that prevails in the work of the three collaborators who feature in this paper. The memorial projects that incorporate mediated memories commemorate (literally, *co-memorate*) inter-subjective experiences, producing ‘stuff’ in material form; maps, photographs, soundscape compositions or other tangible mementos. These projects coproduce, construct and distort memories, places, memories of places, in ongoing flows of performativity and materiality, drawing us towards

“inextricable interconnections between acts of remembrance and the specific mediated objects through which these acts materialize,” (Dijck, 2007:16)

Embodiment and mobility harmonise the local, distant, past and present (Schine, 2010) to yield material memories. During the collaborative work that provides the empirical base for this paper, mediated memories emerged from sensory ethnographic engagement.

5. *The participatory sensory ethnography method*

Sensory ethnographic practice is a contemporary reinventing of the classic ethnographic method beloved of cultural anthropology (Pink, 2009). The sensory ethnographer strives to engage with the multi-sensory, overlapping experiences of informants, or more appropriately, collaborators. In the participatory sensory ethnography, diverse media selected by collaborators are utilised to explore multisensory experiences and to convey subjective constructions of place (Stoller, 1997). The range of experience that is conveyed in sensory ethnography recalls a distinction made by Turner & Bruner (1986), between *mere experience* (sensed amid the flow of events) and *an experience* reflected upon retrospectively, introspectively (with a processed beginning, middle, end). The more embedded nature of the former implies corporeal practice (body), emplaced and embodied memory. The more (information) processed latter implies cognition, post-hoc rationality (mind). Sensory ethnography wilfully challenges such mind-body distinctions. Embodied practice incites researchers to regard enactment as a means of knowing, rather than requiring later contemplation in order to become knowledge (Pink, 2009, Noe, 2004). The body is a source of knowledge (Thrift, 2008, Spackman and Yanchar, 2013). Through embodied engagement with collaborators' life-worlds, for example using walking interviews or participatory photography, ethnographers enact processes of knowing environments through co-productive engagement with the people who inhabit (cohabit) them. As co-perceivers of places, co-constructors of emplaced memories, researchers and collaborators work (walk) shoulder to shoulder, forging knowledge through corporeal, multi-sensory experiences (Downey, 2007).

To appreciate the defining aspirations of the sensory ethnography method, attention must be paid both to the physical emplacement of the fieldworker and to the sensory nature of the work that takes place between ethnographer and collaborating participant, for example in the form of walking interviews (Coffey, 1999, Pink, 2009). The method is a collaborative enterprise. Knowledge deepens the more the exertions and co-productive experiences of the ethnographer overlap with those of his collaborators. Learning at the elbow of participants, the ethnographer is something of a sensory apprentice (Lave, 1977). Visual, auditory, tactile sensations combine and overlap (Ingold, 2000). On revisiting emotive spots, the physical act of moving through meaningful environments brings the senses together (Schine, 2010). Like memory, place perception need not be seen as the responsibility of a mind within a body, but of the whole organism, engaged with and exploring its material environment in the company of others, in combination with their preferred technologies (Black, Segal, Vitale and Fadjo, 2012, Hutchins, 2008, Latour, 2005,). For the aspiring sensory ethnographer whose experiences overlap with a collaborator, the field is a place where bodies morph as they do the knowledge, through exertion and shared experience, sharing and co-producing material, mediated memorial narratives.

6. We came here to remember

Many researchers who have studied place perception and emplaced memory as a dynamic, distributed practice have embraced mobile methods, specifically using participatory, sensory ethnography and walking interviews as methods of choice (Adams and Bruce, 2008, Pink, 2009, Järviuoma, 2009, , Rhys-Taylor, 2010).

Mobile methods enable the exploration of attachments to and knowledge of places as a form of situated cognition using the full array of senses. Embodied, sensuous memories are attached to places, which in turn become known through routine familiarity. Memory walking methods recruit the past in a reimagining of the present through emplaced narratives that are replete with embodied engagement

“Walking can be understood as a personal biography: the body moves, in part, due to its links between past, present and future in a life” (Lee 2004:4)

For new arrivals to a city, who form the cohort for the empirical work that features in this paper, these narratives emerge from movements from one place to another. They hinge on dynamics laid down by connections with elsewhere (places travelled from), as well as connections made from traveling within the new city, as new routes are forged. Ethnographers and collaborators are implicated in this dynamic process of place-construction. For my newly arrived collaborators, routes are stories forged between new home cities and places travelled from. They are also forged from repeated travel across and through a new city. These processes yield memorial narratives that are mediated through encounters with the new, tempered by experience from the older. This dynamic, constitutive (place making) process (Ingold, 2000), so evident when collaborators are drawn from diverse global settings, is the focus of the three collaborations I present here. In my research with three international student collaborators who were all new arrivals to a city (Manchester, England), I used a sensory ethnographic, participatory method. I accompanied my collaborators along their newly established walking routes through the city. In each of my collaborative engagements, memories of other cities were situated, generated, along these routes, conjured from stories told on the move. Their perceptions of place were constructed between places, rather than merely (confined) in them. As we will see, these collaborative reconstructions of place, these events in themselves, have yielded their own residual, material, memorial trails.

7. Relationship with collaborators

The three collaborators whose contributions I am presenting here were all members of a society for international students at the University of Salford; a meeting place for international students who were newly resident in Manchester.

On volunteering to take part, all were aware that the project was an exploration of how memory works in the context of moving from one place of residence to another. Throughout our work together, an eighteen month collaboration, I conducted mobile, emplaced interviews with each of them, recording our conversations along the way. I have since shared the papers I have written from this project with each of these collaborators.

8. First collaboration: Tastes of Man-Tunis

Although resident of Manchester for three years, Al frequently revisits and speaks fondly of Tunis, her previous home city. During a preliminary interview in a Mancunian café she recounted memories of life in Tunis. Over coffee she told me how Mancunian life compares with life in Tunis. She did so by evoking a handful of meaningful, memorable sites in the two cities. Inspired by her memorial connections, we planned a series of walks around these evocative sites; what we called the simultaneous city of *Man-Tunis*. Hulme Fruit Market, *Dmitris* Mediterranean Restaurant, *Rollers* Coffee Shop, *Pop Boutique* (an indoor retro clothes and furniture emporium), *The Palace Theatre* and *Cornerhouse Cafe* were the five Mancunian locations we joined up on foot. We stopped along the way as emplaced, embodied, sensuous memories from Tunis established connections for Al. This process of mobile meaning making drew upon the evocation of sensuous, embodied, memories (Schine, 2010). Al led the way, and I accompanied, listened, talked and recorded our conversations unobtrusively using a lapel microphone. The detailed multisensory content of Al's descriptions were striking, such as this one at *Dmitris* restaurant

Al: I first came to Dmitris the winter before last. It was quite cold and they had these lamps on and you felt like you were in the Mediterranean because you were eating outdoors and you were hot. It was so warm in this little alleyway, which is another thing that is very Mediterranean, in-

between buildings. It's literally a place between two places, like that making use of space, all cobbled alleyways. You get tons of those in Tunis

The multisensory nature of emplaced memory implicates smell and taste in establishing connections between the past, present, far, near.

The role of smell, taste and other senses in the making of places and evocation of emplaced memory is well documented. Seremetakis (1994) evokes tastes in her analysis of the relationship between the senses, memory and emplaced knowledge. As we wandered, Mancunian smells, tastes and sights of food prompted memories of Tunis to surface again and again. The *Dmitris* menu provided food for thought about dishes that were served, plus some that weren't

Al: Yeah, sure. That's sort of similar to baba ganoush, which is made really similarly. Again a lot of Mediterranean food borrows from each other. The way they do the lamb, the skewered, marinated lamb, is quite similar to Tunis. They even have tagine here, which is sort of a Tunisian national dish

Researcher: *So this menu could almost be=*

Al: =if it was written in French or Arabic it could almost be in Tunis

So many of Al's evocations of Tunisian sensory experiences in Manchester revolved around food, preparation, consumption, it's everyday tastes and smells (Marte, 2007, Trubek, 2008). Emplaced, embodied, sensuous memories were rendered active in the presence of the edible. This resonates with existing research into the sensory aspects of food, place and memory (Pink, 2010). Greek islanders of Kalimnos frequently recalled far off events through food related practice. Apricots eaten while exploring an abandoned synagogue evoked similar meals during the Nazi occupation (Holtzman, 2006). Seasonal food provoked cycles of memory with participants remembering into the future (*we'll have pears in August, like we did last year*). Repetitious everyday habits (like morning coffee) similarly can recreate past times of sociality and belonging (Sutton, 2001). Food

related recall highlights constructions of memory that are less a purely cognitive, more a sensuous, emplaced, embodied phenomenon (Sutton, 2010, Vokes, 2007). Food is implicated in reliving intense bodily memories, in the reimagining of places, in the revisiting of simultaneous stories of place. Gustatory nostalgia surfaces in the displaced person who visits evocative sectors of a new city (Mankekar, 2002). Shops evoke sensory cues. Shopping habits recall practices and stories from back home. Amongst the utensils of *Hulme Market*, Al describes simultaneous, changing uses of the tagine and its British near equivalent

Al: That's one type of tagine and you normally do a fish tagine, lamb tagine, sometimes vegetarian, tagine. But there's another type of tagine in Tunis, because again the Arabic in Tunis they've changed things to adapt to their culture. So whereas tagine in Egypt and Morocco would simply be that type of dish, in Tunis it also means a different thing, and it's a bit, like I guess like a British quiche but there's no pastry on the bottom

Throughout the imaginative project of Al's all round construction of *Man-Tunis*, her relational, place-making practices exceeded mere observation. The walking, talking, smelling, hearing and seeing that brought *Man-Tunis* into being was a full-bodied, multisensory experiment uniting of the senses in the process of place making. Yet they also outgrew mere cognition. Her connecting recollections of place(s) were immersed in, and inseparable from, olfactory, mobile, gustatory engagements; cognitions that are inseparable from sensory and embodied experience.

9. Second collaboration: Sounds of Bandung

For a newcomer to a city, hearing a familiar sound (running water, birdsong) can evoke memories of elsewhere (Diaz, 2007). As we move through a newly encountered city these familiar acoustic memories of home, these sound symbols (Traux, 2001), evoke previously experienced places. These emplaced memories

are less archival stores as memorial performance, since they are inseparable from lived experience, mobility and place. This performative notion of memory is endorsed by Brockmeier (2010) who sees no reason to recruit metaphors of internal storage (the unconscious mind) into discussions about how we remember. If memory is manifest at all, he argues, it resides in the collective practices and artefacts we accumulate through daily mobile living. Rather than turning to the mind and what it contains as the primary domain of memory research, the study of memory as emplaced, embodied phenomenon instead orients towards memorial practices, such as (Baddeley, 2003)s walking and, in the case of this second collaboration, listening. The reconstructive imagination of those who recall the past operates in tandem with the sensuous experience of the emplaced individual (Young, 2008). For F, my second collaborator (as with A1), such imaginative practice is keenly stimulated in one who is a newcomer to a city. For the new arrival imaginative remembering involves drawing connections between newly experienced places and places already known. The resulting memorial narratives are played out between people, places, and via technologies that bring them into being

“The extensive digitalization of memories surely has drawn sharper attention to the inextricable interconnections between acts of remembrance and the specific mediated objects through which these acts materialize” (Dijck, 2007:16)

For F, who moved from Bandung, Indonesia, to live and study Acoustics in Manchester, memories of her previous home were bound up with her own sensory preference for sound, and with her technical expertise for acoustic recording. At our initial interview F explained to me her preferred method of engaging with my project. She told me she wanted to convey her memories of Bandung by using her technical knowhow to record a series of soundscape compositions of quiet places in Manchester; places that evoked Bandung. In line with her sensory preferences, her memories were mediated through sound. Thus, her digital,

emplaced memories emerge as trans-individual, part-cognitive, part-technical, cultural practices (Dijck, 2007). They were borne of emplaced practice; walking the streets, listening, remembering with the ears, laying down the product in an audible format for others to share. These trans-individual, tangible, materialized memories are ideal for sharing, and the act of sharing them exposes their content to further transformative dialogues, wherein new layers of co-productive knowledge are added. As F and I listened to her compositions our conversation drifted towards evocations of Bandung, Indonesia. Likenesses, dissimilarities and dissonances between past and present places rose to the surface

To the sound of water at Salford Quays

Researcher: *So is there something about that kind of soundscape that brings Indonesia back?*

F: *It's in Bandung. We don't have any rivers or bridges nearby but I do love bridges and, you know, sea, and I can find it in Indonesia. It's really easy to find it*

To the sound of crowds and traffic in Piccadilly Gardens

F: *In fact I live in a really busy region in Bandung so I used to hear the sound of traffic as well and you know but I just like it personally if I can stay away from that place. But I live there, you know*

The soundscape compositions F produced for our collaboration constructed '*Manchester through the ears*' (F's term) to the tune of acoustic memories of Indonesia. Her acoustemology (Drever, 2002), or sound-based knowledge, of Manchester incorporated her own perceptions of meaningful locations that are bound up with memories of Bandung. Her dynamic memorial practice is inseparable from senses, places, and senses of place. Her remembering is bound up with contexts, sites of memory (, Johnston and Longhurst, 2010, Nora 1989). These sites, often personally poignant locations, can be understood as situated, emotionally saturated points of reference through which wanderers move and

imaginatively reconstruct new places though their connections with others from their pasts. Memory itself, far from being reduced to units of knowledge stored in an internal archive, is a dynamic practice for fashioning narratives from other times and places. For F, memories of Indonesia manifested themselves as performative practices, acoustemologies, materialised in soundscape compositions.

10. Third collaboration: A Manchester-Mainz memory trail

My collaboration with B, a Politics student from the Mainz, Germany, was also infused with emplaced memories. Although her study program required her to leave Manchester shortly after we first met, she was keen to be involved in my project. I interviewed her on the day before she left Manchester, where she had been living for six months. She told me she would like to 'craft' (her word) her memorial construction of Manchester, and leave it along her return route to Mainz (via London, where she was making a stop-off), for me to recover. Though an unusual idea for collaboration, my participatory method obliged me to 'go along' with my collaborators' suggestions. B's memories of Manchester, she explained, would be buried in Russell Square Gardens, Bloomsbury, London, which would be her first port of call on her way home

B: I'm going to leave tomorrow to go to London to visit my friend there, and then I'm going to go to Germany. So when I'm in London I'm going to bury the first item, near the Gandhi statue. It's sort of a treasure hunt. You are trying to find the item of Manchester

According to the treasure hunt script, she would provide clues in the form of pictures to guide me to her first memory. For the purpose of this memorial enactment a small part of Bloomsbury would temporarily be constructed as a burial ground, a place of bounty, an archive of material memory (Sheringham,

2010). Rather than just (internally) remembering Manchester whilst being in London, B would physically place her memories there. Memories, so often thought of as emplaced phenomena (Brockmeier, 2010, Hirst and Echterhoff, 2008), would be literally turned into the soil, placed into a journey, materially preserving or capturing her time in Manchester

B: I'm scared of losing my memories of places I like. Or I'm scared of them changing when I go back in a negative way that. Your memories change, not by purpose but the brain just forgets and by taking pictures or having, even thinking lot about it, or writing notes at this moment, at this exact moment you sort of capture it

As in my previous collaborations we can see here how place perception and memory reside beyond the confines of individual information processing (Brockmeier, 2010). Rather, cognitions are distributed into performative, unfolding actions-in-context (Thrift and Dewsbury, 2000). Minds extend into land and vice versa, the two making one another. Landscapes, streets, cities, are archives of human experience where memories and other material residues of encounters are left lying around as tangible trails

"One of the city's archives is its detritus: hieroglyphic blobs of gum splattered on the sidewalk, runic streaks and crevices on pavements or blank facades" (Sheringham, 2010:1)

On a visit to London a week or so later I excavated B's buried memory of Manchester. Concealed under a plant pot, bundled up in cellophane, I uncovered an envelope containing a short message, written on graph paper in blue handwriting

"What to do next time, Walk through the city, Sightseeing in Metro Shuttle, Buy Indian sweets, I loved traveling around the UK and exploring cities but sometimes I felt sad because I saw a wonderful place alone"

11. *Concluding*

It is common for us to interrogate the identity of memory. The question of what constitutes memory is a staple for discussion in all undergraduate Psychology courses. It is less common for us to question the whereabouts of memory. Where might this phenomenon that is so fundamental to our minute by minute affairs actually be located? Brockmeier (2010) questions a western tendency, so typical of mainstream cognitive psychology, to envisage a manifest entity called memory, replete with a biological, internal, spatial identity

“For many, memory (or a memory) is located in the mind or brain of an individual, an island of the past with a clear coastline in a sea of oblivion or different mental states” (2010:6)

Brockmeier prefers a non-representational psychological interpretation of remembering. A non-representational approach to cognition eschews the emplacement of memory in a domain that is separate from senses, action and performance (Thrift, 2008). If they are to be conceived of as anywhere, we might say that memories are localized

“within a broader framework of social and cultural practices and artifacts, which are themselves subject to historical change” (Brockmeier, 2010: 9)

In my sensory ethnographic work with AI, F and B, memory has been explored in the context of the perception of place. For each of my collaborators, movements to and through places have yielded memorial engagements that have been manifest in multi-sensory evocations (olfactory, gustatory, acoustic memories), embodied practice (walking, recording, burying), and in the production of artefacts (soundscape compositions, buried objects). The use of mobile, sensory ethnographic method to explore these engagements enables, indeed empowers, the qualitative researcher towards an appreciation of remembering as a phenomenon which is a construction of the post-cognitive, embodied, distributed

mind, rather than an internally located operation. It is hoped that the research I have presented here might become less exceptional as cognitive psychology extends its reach towards more performative methods, allowing for remembering to be constructed as an embodied, multisensory phenomenon that is inseparable from lived experience.

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