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“Processional walking: Theorising the ‘place’ of movement in notions of dwelling”

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Key insights

This paper shows how dwelling can be manifest in the performative and collective movement of annual walking in a processional form. Thus, it is movement in place, rather than merely through space, that enables a sense of dwelling to form and be maintained.

Abstract

This paper rethinks dwelling as an active and emergent process through which (re)connections to place are valorised by humans collectively walking with each other in a recursive manner. We revisit Heidegger’s notion of dwelling, often criticised for perpetuating enclosure and stasis, by revealing the interconnections between dwelling and movement. Drawing on a two-century old religious procession—the Manchester and Salford Whit Walks—as an empirical example, our interpretive analysis is centred around three themes. First, we demonstrate how dwelling becomes embodied in performative and collective movement. Second, we examine how dwelling in this context is reinforced through repetition and iteration of that movement. Third, we show how such movement is reliant on repair and maintenance work, which facilitates the (re)emergence of dwelling. We contribute, therefore, empirical insights into how dwelling emerges from a *movement through* place which, in turn, cements a *being in* place. Furthermore, this article has important implications for thinking about how the movement of citizens through processional forms of walking can be a powerful tool for underpinning feelings of dwelling, and related concepts of sense of place and civic pride.

Keywords

dwelling; Heidegger; movement; place; procession; walking

1. Introduction

Dwelling is central to the ways in which human beings experience places (Heidegger, 2013). Heidegger has been critiqued for theorising dwelling as involving enclosure and stasis (Ingold, 2011; Sheller and Urry, 2006). Even so, this article encourages a re-reading of Heidegger's work. In it, we rethink dwelling as an active, emergent, and temporalized process through which (re)connections to place are valorised by people walking collectively in a recursive manner. We unpack how *movement through* place can, in turn, cement a *being in* place. More specifically, the article draws on a quasi-ethnographic examination involving observations, focus group discussions, and archival research of the Whit Walks—an annual Church of England procession occurring in the city of Manchester in north west England for more than 200 years. This empirical investigation surfaces inherent complexities and entanglements of dwelling, movement, and time, contributing an understanding of dwelling which reveals its under-theorised dynamic qualities.

Dwelling has been explored in geography in relation to urban experience (Harrison, 2007; McFarlane, 2011; Seamon & Mugerauer, 1985) and rural landscapes (Cloeke & Jones, 2001; Wylie, 2003, 2005). Here, *to dwell* is most often conceptualised as the creation of a home or a place that one cares for. These ideas hark back to Heidegger's 1951 lecture *Building Dwelling Thinking* (2013), in which he suggested that to be mortal is to dwell; put otherwise, we dwell through our very existence. However, such understandings neglect how the *doing* of dwelling is often a more active endeavour in people's experiences of places; an issue explored here. Furthermore, by drawing on the context of a religious procession, the article also builds upon debates about sacred mobilities (Maddrell & Terry, 2016) by unravelling how people's subjective experiences of time-space and the spiritual (Wigley, 2018) contribute to feelings of belonging in place.

Subsequently, our interpretive analysis of the Whit Walks uncovers three key themes. First, we demonstrate how dwelling becomes embodied in performative and collective movement. Second, we examine how dwelling in this context is reinforced through repetition. Third, we illustrate how such movement relies on repair and maintenance work, which facilitates the (re)emergence of dwelling. We therefore contribute fresh insights on the importance of further understanding people's experiences of dwelling within, through, and across places by demonstrating how dwelling work can be both rooted *and* mobile, as manifest in an annual walking procession. This conceptualisation of dwelling is informed by both Heidegger and his critics and also moves beyond these theorisations, to now be explored.

2. Heidegger, dwelling, and movement

In his lecture *Building Dwelling Thinking*, Heidegger (2013, p. 144) explicitly states that dwelling is “to remain, to stay in a place”, and emphasises that “mortals ... persist through spaces by virtue of their stay amongst things and locations” (ibid., p. 155). Thus, dwelling involves how we engage with things in the world by being-there and being-with (Heidegger, 1996). In much of his writing on dwelling, Heidegger also draws on ideas associated with the rural idyll, evident in his use of a Black Forest farmhouse to illustrate a physical manifestation of the dwelling concept: “A craft which, itself sprung from dwelling, still uses its tools and frames as things, built the farmhouse. Only if we are capable of dwelling, only then can we build ...” (Heidegger, 2013, p. 158).

From such declarations, it is unsurprising that many scholars have identified Heidegger’s thinking on dwelling as limiting. For instance, the rural landscape evoked in this work is perceived as being unhelpful in understanding how dwelling manifests under modernity; rather, it is seen as reflecting a cosy nostalgia for the past (Cloke & Jones 2001). Furthermore, Heideggerian notions of dwelling have been challenged for initially seeming to pertain to notions of enclosure (Cloke & Jones 2001; Harrison 2007; Ingold, 2011; Sheller & Urry, 2006). Ingold (2011) in particular indicates that Heideggerian perspectives are too static, instead arguing that to dwell is to be a wayfarer *along* paths.

Criticisms of stasis and fixity in Heideggerian dwelling are further bound up in tensions that underpin Heidegger’s problematic biography, especially in terms of his membership of the German National Socialist Party. On this basis, Malpas (2008) has concluded that ideas about belonging and home inherent in Heideggerian dwelling are both compelling and challenging. This conclusion, in part, relates to perceived connections between dwelling and Nazi ideology, as evident in sentiments such as *Heimat* (homeland) and its subsequent translation into the aggressive, and ultimately genocidal, expansionism of *Lebensraum* (living space).

In contradistinction, others such as Rose (2012) and Harrison (2007) suggest that we have been too quick to reach conclusions on Heidegger’s insights into dwelling. Echoing this point, we argue that Heidegger’s notion of dwelling benefits from a re-reading and re-theorisation in order to move beyond the idea of stasis and non-movement. In his explanation of the etymology of the word building (*Bauen*—derived from *buan*), for example, Heidegger (2013, p. 145) conceivably considers dwelling as being about human existence:

Bauen originally means to dwell. Where the word *bauen* still speaks in its original sense it also says *how far* the nature of dwelling reaches. That is, *bauen*, *buan*, *bhu*, *beo* are our word *bin* in the versions: *ich bin*, I am, *du bist*, you are, the imperative form *bis*, be. What then does *ich bin* mean? The old word *bauen*, to which *bin*

belongs, answers: *ich bin, du bist*, mean: I dwell, you dwell.

For Heidegger, the appropriation of the original use of the word *bauen* into building, leads him to the conclusion that dwelling, as something humans do (as an existential and active endeavour), has ‘fallen into oblivion’ (2013, p.146). Therefore, a closer inspection of Heidegger’s (2013, p.155) text thus reveals the following:

To say that mortals *are* is to say that *in dwelling* they persist through spaces by virtue of their stay among things and locations. And only because mortals pervade, persist through spaces, by their very nature are they able to go through spaces. But in going through spaces we do not give up our standing in them. Rather, we always go through spaces in such a way that we already experience them by staying constantly with near and remote locations and things.

Here, Heidegger implies that one can *be in place* and *do through place* simultaneously. This idea reflects Kohák’s (1997) contention that “we are irreducibly both dwellers and wayfarers” (cited in Tuedio, 2009, p. 284). Indeed, complementing our focus on a religious procession, Kohák further considers the pilgrim as a metaphor for the relationship between feet and the ground, whereby there is a ‘middle’ between dweller and wayfarer (cited in Tarbuck & Kotva, 2017). Building on these ideas, we unpack below how one can be along paths—can be a wayfarer but still dwell. We reveal how the *movement through place* can cement and galvanise a *being in place*, thereby elevating movement to the status of dwelling work.

By drawing on the Whit Walks procession to explore the dwelling concept, our work also connects with the recent growth of studies on walking (Lorimer, 2011). Walking as an act that creates belonging or sense of place has been examined in detail in terms of experiences of landscape (Edensor 2000; Wylie 2005), urban space (Edensor, 2008; Kärholm et al., 2017; Middleton, 2009, 2010; Wunderlich, 2008), and in marking out or mapping a territory (Waite et al., 2009). However, as Edensor (2010) contends, there are qualitatively different ways of walking, which are influenced by a range of human and non-human actors. Indeed, walking in a procession is different to a purely directional walk (for example going from A to B) through space, not least because the route might be historically, culturally, and socially determined.

In order to lay the theoretical framework for our analysis, we now explore how processional movement links with three key aspects of the dwelling concept most central to our paper, before examining the Whit Walks in further depth.

2.1 Gathering and the collective

A procession is about “moving in concert” with others, which, for Sheets-Johnstone (2017, p. 10), is an innate human capacity where “we might experience ourselves not just *being* alive but *feeling* that aliveness—and moreover feeling that aliveness among a host of others whose aliveness is infectious and whom we trust.” So, in order to make sense of the world, we do so in relation to actors and actants around us rather than as isolated individuals, which in turn enables us to move in harmony. Here, Sheets-Johnstone presents an alternative phenomenological perspective that might account for the dynamic elements of dwelling, as well as the sociality that can be involved in dwelling.

Similarly, Heidegger’s work suggests that dwelling does not emerge at an individual level. For example, in his 1951 lecture *The Thing (Das Ding)*, Heidegger (2013) explains that *the thing* itself is derived from an old German word meaning to gather for a purpose. He applies this idea to the fourfold gathering of earth, sky, mortals and divinities, which together form dwelling. Here, dwelling can be seen as an outcome or thing (as noun) brought about through gathering or thinging (as verb). Thus, as a *thing*, the Whit Walks constitute an annual procession that gathers and *things* together an amalgam of actors and actants via their collective interaction and movement (walking) in time and space—or what Heidegger might refer to as “the thinging of the thing” (Heidegger, 2013, p. 175).

This reading demonstrates how, as something inherent to dwelling, gathering emerges through a sense of the collective whole and the processes this sensing entails. In this regard, Heidegger (1996) emphasises that being-in-the-world incorporates a being-with-others (*Mitsein*) and drawing understanding from our relations with those around us. We explore the collective and performative aspects of dwelling in our findings section below.

2.2 Performance and embodiment

Wylie (2003, p. 155) suggests that dwelling is not about “certain experiences of landscapes” but rather concerns “the medium *through which* landscape performances are enabled and enacted.” Accordingly, processions such as the Whit Walks can assume a symbolic function and significant ceremonial meaning for the communities through which they move and take place, with these attributes resulting from their collectively performed solidarity. Furthermore, the fact that such processional forms occur in public spaces, with witnesses, highlights their performative ability to reinforce collective identity positions, as seen in LGBTQ+ Pride parades (Johnston & Waitt, 2015) or Orange Order marches in Northern Ireland (Edwards and Knottnerus, 2010). In turn, this movement through public spaces helps cement a sense of dwelling amongst relevant communities.

Returning to the notion of processions as collective interactions and movements also foregrounds how dwelling work and dwelling performance are inherently linked to ideas about bodies and embodiment (Seamon & Mugerauer, 1985). While Heidegger does not readily employ the language of embodiment, despite his concerns with physical mortality (Carel, 2006), the concept is implicated in *Dasein*; namely, the Heideggerian understanding of being there or presence (Overgaard, 2004). Such an approach means attending to our corporeal inhabitation of spaces, as central to Merleau-Ponty's (1962) phenomenological understandings of people's embodied perceptions of places. Bodily movement is also highlighted in the aforementioned Sheets-Johnstone's (2011, p. xvii) related phenomenology, whereby "moving is a way of knowing and ... thinking in movement is foundational to the lives of animate forms." Similarly, and focusing on movement through walking, Ingold (2011) reminds us that it is through our feet and their connection to the ground that we make sense of our surroundings. Furthermore, forward movement, which is central to the embodied experience of processions, allows for reflection on past time-space interactions, given the past is sedimented into the body (Steadman et al., 2020). This idea contextualises a world in which dwelling can be conceived via the body and can be dynamic.

2.3 Temporality

As established above, processions are collective social events that ordinarily involve embodied movement through space; this is typically repeated over time (for example year-on-year) in line with protocols rooted in tradition and local culture. Thus, processions reveal themselves as critical to a temporally contingent becoming-with place (see for example: Georgiou, 2016; Hulme, 2017; Roberts, 2017; Wildman, 2011). This characteristic accords with Ingold's (2000, p. 189) contention that "the landscape is constituted as an enduring record of—and testimony to—the lives and works of past generations who have dwelt within it, and in doing so, have left there something of themselves." Dwelling is, therefore, how we become-with the places we inhabit.

Critical to these ideas of becoming is repetition, and the notion that things done more than once can stay the same. Processions, for example, are often tied into predetermined routes and involve the reprise of signs, utterances, and routines learned from previous occurrences of the same event. Such repetition may also require regularised cycles of planning; in the case of a procession, this might involve agreeing times and routes with civic authorities such as the police or council. The repetition of collective movement inherent to dwelling is also dependent on routines of repair and maintenance (Denis & Pontille, 2014; Graham & Thrift, 2007; Jackson, 2014) that help preserve that movement's existence into the future. Such actions keep collective movement and associated dwelling work viable or, in Heideggerian terms, ready-to-hand for the future.

However, exact repetition of collective movement by humans is practically unattainable because of the unpredictable manner in which actors, actants and environmental forces may interact in the future. Processional forms, therefore, inevitably involve changes each time an event is repeated, even if these changes are almost imperceptible. This observation recalls Bissell's (2013, p. 360) concept of loops in movement through space and over time, which can transform how "mobile bodies are differently receptive," and thereby can bring about subtle, temporally-bounded shifts in becoming-with place. For example, a procession route might be altered slightly from year to year or from generation to generation—a change that emphasises iteration as well as repetition. The ability of a procession to gradually adapt from one year to the next, and thereby to persevere as an entity or thing, further emphasises the dwelling potential of processional walking. It aligns with Heidegger's (2013, p. 147) idea that preserving and sparing, and an ethics of care, necessarily pervade dwelling. It is through dwelling, therefore, that we 'stay' with things and look after them.

3. 'All People That on Earth Do Dwell': The Manchester and Salford Whit Walks

According to local press, on a "chilly" Whit-Monday in 1914, the hymn 'All People That on Earth Do Dwell' was sung by 20,000 church scholars in the centre of Manchester, north west England as part of the annual Whitsun procession (Manchester Evening News, 1914a). These Church of England processions currently take place on the Monday of the Late May Bank Holiday and have been held in Manchester since the early 1800s. The event constitutes a walked procession of witness during the Christian feast of Pentecost (Burns, 2013). Believed to have origins in the Sunday school movement in the city, the Walks traditionally saw the working classes (given a day off from their industrial labours in the mills) walk to an outdoor religious service through the city streets from Manchester Cathedral to St Ann's Square. The procession destination subsequently moved to Albert Square from the late 1800s. While the event is religious, there is a strong sense of community beyond the spiritual. Today, between 11 and 15 Church groups still process through the city with hand-sewn banners and marching brass band accompaniment.

The study took a quasi-ethnographic approach. The term quasi-ethnographic acknowledges the fact that the first author's engagement in the Whit Walks was intermittent (Murtagh, 2007), and took the form of observer-as-participant or spectator (Gold, 1958). This approach differs from emplaced ethnographic ones used by others (for example, Drozdowski & Birdsall, 2019) that involve immersive walking with participants. Although interactions in the research setting were periodic, the first author was still able to establish a sense of trust with participants because of the extended nature of the data collection process, which covered three years from 2016 to 2018. The first

author visited the Whit Walks annually during that time, following and observing the procession on each occasion, and taking photographs and making field notes. In addition, four scheduled focus groups were undertaken with churchgoers who take part in the Whit Walks. These mostly involved parishioners in their late 60s and upwards, although younger persons were present in two instances. All focus groups included regular church attendees, with women always in the majority. Some participants were also new to the Church of England, with one a recent UK immigrant who was drawn to its sense of community. Each focus group had between 6 and 10 participants, with all but one including a member of the clergy. In the largest group, participants drifted in and out of the conversation as they were preoccupied with setting up a cooking activity in the church kitchen. The groups took place in church buildings and were accessed by liaising with an individual who was both a Whit Walks organiser and Cathedral Dean, and by contacting local church ministers. News archives were consulted to supplement the primary data collection and gain a broader historical perspective. These included the British Newspaper Archive online, and copies of local newspapers and press reports in the Manchester Local Libraries and Archives.

Field notes (including photographs), focus group transcripts, and archival materials were analysed together rather than as separate texts. It was important for the analysis that the relationships between pasts, present and futures were allowed to emerge in conversation with each other, such that “one text would link, connect or collide with another, and produce something new or different” (Taguchi & Palmer, 2013, p. 675).

Analysis involved moving back and forth between thematic analysis of primary data collected by the first author and salient archival material. Data collection and analysis, in this regard, became an intertwined, iterative, and fluid process that incrementally progressed our understandings (Gullion, 2018). Moreover, even after transcripts of focus groups had been produced and emergent themes identified, interactions with the same parishioners when spotted again on the Walks further illuminated the analysis. Alongside these processes, theory was consulted by the authors allowing it to be folded into our thematic interpretations of data, thereby adopting a thinking-with theory approach (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012).

The procedures described above enabled us to rethink dwelling in time and space, and to consider the Whit Walks as a highly performative and ongoing example of a mass movement that contributes to a sense of dwelling. *Home* and *place* are thus kinaesthetically inhabited and mobilised rather than enclosed. In this sense, annual processions are particularly helpful in demonstrating the inherent paradoxes of movement and dwelling. To date, more emphasis has been placed on pilgrimage(s) as a related but different form of religious walking. The pilgrimage is longer in time and distance than a

religious procession and arguably less performative as it involves greater individual and introspective spiritual motivation on the part of its participants (Bajc et al., 2007). Our study and chosen context, therefore, provides a fresh perspective on other forms of (religious) walking.

4. Findings and discussion

We now consider three emergent themes identified in our quasi-ethnographic data: dwelling as performative and collective movement; the power of repetition in dwelling; and the question of how repair and maintenance ensure dwelling. Through this exploration of our data, we show how a walking procession contributes to the *doing* of dwelling in place.

4.1 Dwelling as performative and collective movement

Ingold (2011) has observed that by walking we connect with places. However, processions differ from the everyday practice of walking, and, as noted above, from pilgrimage.

One way of conceptualising processional walking routes is to see them as a performative act akin to the ancient Christian tradition of *beating the bounds*, wherein processants walk to (re)connect themselves with a given parish or space and with walkers from the past, reflecting the mnemonic (Edensor, 2005) and temporally unbounded nature of places (Steadman et al., 2020). This deep connection between community and place, and past and present, is recognised in the history of the Walks, including their role in protest and civic action. For example, several processions held in the early 1900s drew attention to proposed educational reforms and, as reported below:

In years to come, yesterday's gathering may well be looked back on as one of the greatest protests against [an] unwarranted piece of legislation which confiscates Church schools, [and] robs parents of any guarantee that their children will be instructed in the religion they hold. (Manchester Courier, 5 June 1906)

The performance of the interconnected religious and political values suggested above allows a collective act of walking to emerge with a route plan that reflects these values in its incorporation and use of both religious and civic/political spaces—notably, the Cathedral as a processional starting point and the town hall as a mid-way pause for a religious service to take place. Therefore, and in ways that differ from Ingold's wayfaring, processions involve point-to-point connectors or a formal vectoring, which

Ingold (2007, p. 75) critiques as fragmenting lines that once were “the trace of a continuous gesture.”

Thus, at the broadest level, the Walks can be seen as a performative and collective interaction between the Church and secular civic power. Indeed, the Walks have always involved participation from city leaders, as one parishioner explained:

The other thing that I think is important about these parades is showing the cooperation between the civic dignitaries and the Church ... But I think here it really shows Manchester, you know, they're working together, which is very important. (Cate)

However, more specific and micro-collective movements take place *within* the procession between human actors and also across and through other assemblages of actants. This insight suggests that Doughty’s (2013) ideas about human-human interactions in walking could be expanded to take in a range of actants. Specifically, she states that “walking sociability was a negotiation of movement as much as anything else and could be characterised as a discursive journey” (ibid., p. 143). Yet we acknowledge that this discursive journey must also include the ‘thing-power’ of other objects (Bennett, 2010).

For example, in the Whit Walks there is a negotiated collective movement of humans with banners, weather, and the road upon which they walk in order for the procession to move forward. In 2016, with a stiff breeze picking up pace, it was observed that “the St Ann’s banner is particularly precarious, and it takes a while for it to get balanced by the guys holding it whilst standing on the cobbles” (field notes 2016). Parishioners also spoke of the skill involved in handling large banners under such conditions:

Fred: Sometimes it wasn’t the biggest strongest man but sometimes a pint-sized. He could almost dance with it and when the wind got up and of course the telegraph wires across the street—disaster!

Anne: They used to have the women holding on the ribbons [attached to the banners] and if it went wrong, they got blamed for it.

These collective human interactions, which emerge in response to non-human actants and forces, recall Sheets-Johnstone’s (2017, p. 16) contention that moving in concert with other animate beings produces dynamism: thus, movement delivers a *sensu communis*, “a communally felt qualitative kinaesthetic/kinetic dynamic, [and] a powerful means of socially recognising our common humanity”. It is through such connections and interactions that a gathering or *thinging* can occur and that, in turn, enables dwelling.

This insight also aligns with Heideggerian notions of ‘being-there’ and ‘being-with’ as discussed above.

Malpas (2008, p. 86) stresses that Heidegger’s being-with is also a “being-amidst or being-alongside”. This thinking can extend to dwelling, further revealing its collective nature. As reflected in participant quotes below, we find the procession is an example of being-alongside through the walking of the route:

I just love that feeling of togetherness and the feeling that we're all walking together. And I think Manchester’s a fantastic place for that. And everybody being a community. (Brenda)

In the old days, there were always people who are somewhat agnostic really, especially men returning from the two wars and the horrors they had seen. But they were always respectful of the Walk. I remember as a kid the pubs used to be open from six in the morning ... And often, the procession would stop, and the band would play a hymn and you’ll have people with pints there singing ‘Onward, Christian Soldiers’ and things, [who] have probably never been to church. Now, is that of any value? I think it is. (Canon John)

The Canon’s comment above suggests that, rather more than gatherings in church, the Walks are inclusive. The procession promulgates this collective and convivial sense of identity as it moves in and through place. However, the physical act of walking in a procession is challenged by the mobile capacity of some of the walkers themselves and by the barriers encountered in the spaces through which they move:

The problem we’ve had in Manchester basically is they’ve taken the car park away from the cathedral. Many of our members are becoming old and less able to walk. And they love the Whit Walks, but they find it very difficult, like you say, to bring banners and to come down. One or two that I spoke to on Tuesday night would have loved to have come because they always do. But he’s dislocated his knee and she’s got a back problem ... all little things. It sort of contributes to the whole doesn't it? Because people have been so devoted to the Whit Walks. (Ron)

As Ingold (2011) has noted, walking through landscapes is how places are both experienced, lives are shaped, and histories written: that connection with the ground through the feet is essential for dwelling work. Building from his insights, we argue that this connection may be amplified when those feet walk in concert, as in a procession. Processing in formation is like a dance, echoing Levin’s (1980) ideas that dancing is the “measure-taking” of dwelling (Heidegger, 2013, p. 219). Difficulty in moving through

processional space, as evidenced above, potentially threatens that sense of dwelling because it makes the measure-taking more challenging for those involved. However, we would argue another critical aspect of the measure-taking in dwelling involves repeated practices. We now explore the significance of repetition to dwelling in further depth.

4.2 The power of repetition in dwelling

Heidegger (2013, p. 155) has suggested that “we always go through spaces in such a way that we already experience them by staying constantly with near and remote locations and things,” which can be comforting. Some have challenged Heidegger’s work on the basis of this comfort (Cloke & Jones, 2001; Harrison, 2007; Ingold, 2011), and yet we can apply it to the historic repetition of the Walks and the knowledge that they provide existential security for some Mancunians. Indeed, routinised practices within places can lead to feelings of comfort, familiarity, and a sense of homeliness (Edensor & Millington, 2010; Steadman et al., 2020). Certainly, the Walks are seen as a longstanding and reassuring activity, even for individuals who have never taken part in them before and have no personal memory of them.

For example, one participant in our study was a young woman who was new to the Church. She was nervous about walking in the city centre as it felt overwhelming to her. However, the banners used in the Walks, some of which have seen more processions than those people still walking today, provided Fiona with a perceived safety net:

Maybe it’s because I was behind the banner, I don’t know, but instead of me being so nervous and anxious about it because it’s like a massive crowd and that’s a big thing, when them [sic] people that I could see just on the sides ... I kind of got this feeling of, it’s not just about faith, it’s about a person clapping someone else for doing something ... And that’s how I kind of see it and for that first time I actually felt pride that I was actually a human being regardless of faith. (Fiona)

Fiona’s dwelling is enabled by the repetitive elements of this historical event in both the material culture of the banners and in how the procession continues to draw a crowd of welcoming onlookers. It is a connection between body and ground in a way that only Fiona’s participation in the processional form has allowed. While she told us that previous visits to the city centre left her feeling anxious, the being-with in the time-space of the procession provided a *letting-be-ness*, or *Gelassenheit* (Heidegger, 2010), through which she could connect with her faith and her sense of worth.

Repetition also keeps traditions alive in the Walks and has “generative capacities” (Bissell, 2010, p. 480). Thus, the Walks’ processional movement through the same city

streets year-on-year contributes to dwelling, insofar as the walkers themselves “persist through spaces by virtue of their stay among things and locations” (Heidegger, 2013, p. 155). While the notion of staying has been viewed as a problematic element of Heidegger’s work, it is clearly important for the Whit Walks, which have maintained their movements within the city for more than 200 years. They provide processants and onlookers with an annually revived sense of spatio-temporal anchorage and familiarity. This sense is set against a backdrop of societal flux under (late) modernity. Indeed, in leading a short service during the 2018 Whit Walk at Manchester’s Albert Square, the Dean of Manchester Cathedral declared that everyone should be proud about the procession’s longevity through times of urban change.

Ensuring that the annual movement of the Walks is repeated through the city, and thereby endures into the future, is also at the fore of the minds of those we spoke to within the church group:

There’s a little group here very anxious to perpetuate the Walk and to make sure that children have the opportunity of walking. They raise money, they clothe the children in the uniform fashion so that they are altogether, and they work on it six months prior to the day. (Fred)

With each repetition of the Walks, there is also an unfolding and refolding of time and space (Doel, 1996, 1999). These patterns of folding contribute to the persistence of dwelling via the constant and affective surfacing of past times and spaces among those present. This insight reflects the idea that there are porous spatio-temporal boundaries spanning the past, present, and future (Husserl, 1964). As one participant explained:

I don’t know if you observed this this year—and perhaps it’s not every year that you see it, but I’ve certainly seen it—[but] as procession is going on, you’ll see somebody wipe a tear away. Those tears represent (a) their past, their roots when they lived in the centre of Manchester, their memories; and (b) departed members of their family who used to be a part of this whole thing. (Canon John)

Field notes from 2016 and 2017 confirm that tears were seen running down spectators’ cheeks. One who had witnessed the Walks by chance said he had not seen them for years, and that it reminded him of taking part as a child. This cycle of taking part, growing up, and dropping out of the Walks is not just a contemporary observation:

The interest in the procession was in no way undiminished. The children make the spectacle; the older ones do not forget that they themselves were also white-clothed dots making the same journey. When the day comes that causes a dropping out,

they each make one of the great crowd of onlookers. And never seem to forget.
(Manchester Evening News, 1 June 1914b)

This renewal of dwelling through repetition of movement connects with Heidegger's (2013) notion of dwelling as dependent on an ethics of care. In this way, dwelling must be attended to, looked after, and undergo ongoing repair and maintenance work (Denis & Pontille, 2014; Graham & Thrift, 2007) in order to persist into the future.

4.3 Repair and maintenance of dwelling

Doughty (2013) identifies acts of walking as a form of repair work insofar as they are therapeutic. Indeed, body-focused practices can locate people in the present moment, providing temporary relief from perceived instability within life (Thrift, 2000). This effect is evident in a report from the Whit Walk of 1914 in the Manchester Evening News:

A walk along the road from Albert Square to the Manchester Cathedral on a Whit-Monday forenoon is something of a revelation to a jaundiced mind. It is the only period of the year when commerce gives place to something other than a bank balance. Exchanges are closed. A big city's marts are idle. The people who pin their faith on things other than political strife and a neighbour's recriminations come into their own. For six hours wealthy Manchester belongs to them. (Manchester Evening News, 1 June 1914b)

As well as providing some emotional comfort, the repair and maintenance work inherent in a religious procession is also realised in the spiritual amplification its movement through space can deliver for those taking part. This idea aligns with Heidegger's concept of the care found in staying with the fourfold (earth, mortals, divinities, and sky). To *stay* or to *live* in old German is *Wunian*, which Heidegger argues offers more than just a location, and is an affective quality of that staying. In the crowd at the 2016 Walk, one woman's reaction confirms this interpretation; "we need this," she declared: "Christians need to be seen." Here, the dwelling embedded in the Whit Walks depends on the movement of the Walks themselves, and also on a belief in their importance as a means of repairing and maintaining the spiritual values they embody among those taking part.

Fundamental to notions of repair and maintenance work are Heidegger's (1996) ideas about being present-at-hand and ready-to-hand. Thus, as we move through time, there is an ongoing shift from the former, in which the object world is made available to us, to the latter, in which we recognise that the object world is imperfect and in need of repair and renewal. It therefore moves our analysis from a focus on how taking part in the Whit

Walks can act as a kinaesthetic form of repair and maintenance for dwelling, as discussed immediately above, to how the Walks themselves rely on repair and maintenance work to ensure that this vehicle for dwelling endures. The latter requires that walkers, and Walk organisers, are attuned to the emergent disconnects and failures in a given Whit Walk procession in order to make iterative adjustments for the future. For example, 1878 saw the location for the service changed from St Ann's Square to Albert Square, because:

Albert Square is more central than its rival. It is very much larger and therefore prevents the schools being cramped and huddled as on previous occasions, and what is even more important than either of these considerations is that it is easier to get in, and consequently, get out of than St Ann's (Manchester Evening News, 10 June 1878).

Such adjustments to the logistics of the Walks allow a successful gathering to take place and for dwelling to be renewed. More practically, there is also the physical maintenance of the materials of the Walks (banners, band uniforms), which require attention before and after each procession takes place, or between Walks, as an advertisement from 1908 reminds us (Figure 1).

[Take in Figure 1 here]

Figure 1: Advertisement from the Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser, 21 May 1908.

Source: Newspaper image © The British Library Board. All rights reserved. With thanks to The British Newspaper Archive (www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk).

This matter recalls conclusions advanced by Edensor (2011) in relation to Manchester's St Ann's Church, which note how the entangled processes of non-human (for example, weather, erosion, and chemicals) and human agency (for example, cleaning, repair, and restoration) can help fix things in place over time. In turn, Jackson (2014, p. 223) suggests that it is through such repair work that "value and meaning get woven, one tenuous thread at a time."

Some attempts at maintaining the Walks have been less successful; but their failure has helped to further deepen the affective nature of dwelling accompanying the Walks' movements. In 2013, for example, there was decision to move the Walks to a Sunday to attract more people before local schools' half-term holidays in May. That change was greeted with fierce opposition and the Walks returned to the Bank Holiday Monday in 2014, reengaging with ideas about longevity in place. These tensions arising from change highlight there are sometimes difficulties in defining what the 'thing' is that is being repaired and maintained. In response to this, Graham and Thrift (2007, p. 4) ask, "is it the

‘thing’ itself, or the negotiated order that surrounds it, or some ‘larger entity’?” In the case of the Whit Walks, we argue that it is not just their material elements that are under ongoing repair; it is also the promise of dwelling the Walks provide to the communities they engage. Early Walks were therefore aligned to social reformers of the industrial period, who worked to ensure the care of Manchester’s poorer working classes through monetary collections (Manchester Mercury, 1824). Similarly, as referred to earlier, the Whit Walks have previously been a vehicle for protest against potential social changes resulting from educational reforms. In these instances, the Walks are rendered as a processional form with the capacity to repair and maintain communities beyond the confines of religious faith, which harks back to Heidegger’s (2013, p. 147) imperative, such that there is an ongoing process of “preserving and sparing” to ensure dwelling.

5. Conclusion

Drawing on the case of the Manchester Whit Walks, in this article we have shown how dwelling can be manifest in the performative and collective movement of annual walking in a processional form. Accordingly, we argue that movement is critical for dwelling as an always-becoming state. Yet, we have also acknowledged the fact that such movement must be spatially grounded to provide the promise of dwelling, or dwelling potential. Thus, it is *movement in place*, rather than merely *through space*, that enables a sense of dwelling to form and be maintained.

Furthermore, we contend that ideas about movement in place fit well with the Heideggerian notion of forming a clearing in which to dwell. This contention goes against criticisms that Heidegger’s dwelling concept overlooks the importance of movement (Ingold, 2011, Sheller & Urry, 2006), or that the idea of a clearing perpetuates perceptions of enclosure and stasis. Rather, we present a re-reading of Heidegger’s theorisations that acknowledge how rootedness or *being in place* emerges through movement as a form of dwelling work, thus revealing a more dynamic reading informed by alternative phenomenological perspectives, such as that of Sheets-Johnstone (2011).

Critically, we have also demonstrated how dwelling can be further reinforced when movement is repeated through time. Thus, the Whit Walks have occurred more or less annually for more than 200 years, and this deep sense of history reinforces an existential sense of dwelling, undergirded by notions of tradition and by the fact that current walkers feel affectively connected to those that have gone and walked before them.

Additionally, we have shown how repetition through time is highly dependent on repair and maintenance work, involving small changes and adjustments to the Whit Walks year-on-year. As part of this task, we have considered a range of changes to Walk materials

(for example, walkers' banners and uniforms), routes (including assembly points on city streets), and even the identified purpose of the Walks (which has moved beyond bearing collective witness to God to assume the mantle of social reform in the early part of the 19th century, and the role of protest in the 1900s). Such shifts, we argued, move beyond mere repetition to emphasise iteration - or repetition with difference.

The very existence of repair and maintenance work also implies a human will to preserve and care for the past, in the here and now, so that it might remain in the future:

Thus, we call the phenomena of future, having-been, and present the ecstasies of temporality. Temporality is not, prior to this, a being that first emerges from *itself*; rather, its essence is temporalizing in the unity of the *ecstasies*. (Heidegger 1996, p. 314)

In such a manner, the dwelling work inherent in present Whit Walks depends on past understandings that they must continue—understandings that we have shown as being based on an enduring concern regarding the precarity of the Walks' survival. This point reveals the importance of an extended form of protection in dwelling (Husserl, 1964) or, in this case, how ongoing repair and maintenance work for the next Whit Walk is spurred on by pessimistic forecasts that it might not otherwise happen. In this sense, our analysis of dwelling reveals the interwoven and inseparable nature of human movement, time, and space.

Finally, our work addresses issues raised by critics of Heidegger's dwelling in terms of its relevance under modernity (Cloke & Jones, 2001). Specifically, how dwelling can emerge in the context of contemporary concerns over urban anomie, in which the objective spirit dominates over the subjective spirit (Simmel, 2012), and where there is an associated placelessness (Relph, 1976) fuelled by the hyper-stimulation and rapidly changing nature of super-modern urban environments (Augé, 2008). Our article provides a potential antidote to these concerns; it reveals how the annual movement of the Whit Walks through the city of Manchester over the last two centuries renders the dwelling concept salient in modern urban milieux. Accordingly, the Whit Walks remain one important element in Mancunians' sense of dwelling, and future research might unpick the implications of this for related affective phenomena, such as sense of place and civic pride.

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