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Walking futures

Following in the footsteps of mobility pioneers

Farzaneh Bahrami

Introduction

We as a species have been used to walking far greater distances than we currently walk on an average basis in contemporary cities. Humans are genetically adapted to profoundly different patterns of daily physical activities with considerably higher energy expenditure. The recent shift to an indoor and largely inactive lifestyle has been abrupt in terms of an evolutionary timescale (Christie, 2018). Our hunter-gatherer genetic legacy has shaped our body poorly for sitting, only a little better for standing, but unrivalled for walking. However, the current spatial organization of our lives in cities largely undermines the capacities of the healthy human being as a ‘walking animal’ and therefore diminishes the potential benefits for both cities and their inhabitants.

The dominantly inactive urban lifestyle of the twenty-first century is at odds with our Palaeolithic genome (O’Keefe and Cordain, 2004). Insufficient physical activity, according to the World Health Organization, is currently the fourth highest risk factor for mortality rates across the world and acts as a considerable driving force behind the rising trend of obesity, coronary heart disease, stroke, several types of cancer, diabetes mellitus, gallbladder disease, gout and several pulmonary diseases worldwide (WHO, 2011). Yet, to reduce radically and significantly many of the above-mentioned health risks one does not need to be a professional athlete or even a particularly sporty individual. The health gain per unit of energy expenditure is far greater for sedentary people than for those who are already very physically active (Kyu et al., 2016). This implies that by introducing modest levels of physical activity into the routines of the inactive population, like daily walks, a huge gain can be made in terms of global public health. With this assumption, targeting inactive or insufficiently active populations, academic research and policy efforts aimed at encouraging physical activity have often focussed on promoting walking and cycling for short trips (Pooley et al., 2013).

Nevertheless, walking is not spread equally across countries, nor is it within societies. Some people walk long distances, but little is known about this potentially significant niche practice. In Switzerland, for example, the average person walks around 1.8–1.9 kilometre per day. Yet, this average conceals surprising discrepancies: While over one-third of all the inhabitants do not walk at all in public space as a daily routine, around 13% of the population

walk at least 5 kilometre every day (Christie, 2018, p. 89). In the United Kingdom, people walk 16 minutes per day on average according to the National Travel Survey (2019). However, the results of the Active Lives Surveys – that are based on respondents remembering how many days they have walked in the last 28 days and for how long – open another perspective. While more than 20% of the respondents have not walked at all on most days, another 20% of the surveyed population have usually walked more than two hours on a regular day (Department for Transport, 2020).¹

Who are long-distance walkers? Why and where do they walk? What motivates their walks? How have they developed such a habit, and how do they fit walking into their daily schedules? Scattered academic work has attempted answering these questions. In a qualitative approach, Christie (2018) focussed on ‘individuals who walk for an hour or more in public space on most days of the week’ in the Geneva–Lausanne area of Switzerland, concluding that concern with personal health, pleasure and well-being are key motivators for long-distance walking. An earlier study by America Walks looked into the attitudes and behaviours of ‘Frequent Walkers’ – defined as individuals who reported walking at least 3–4 days a week. The survey suggested that 10% of their studied sample ($n = 7,019$) walk for more than one full hour each day, and health benefits appeared to be the main motivation for this group of walkers even when walking was their means of transportation (Reilly, 2011).

Positive attitudes towards walking can be interpreted in the frame of the increasing value of physical effort and its integration in daily routines (Bahrami and Rigal, 2017; Cook, 2020), and within the larger context of the ‘emergence of new cultures of mobility’ characterized by increasing rates of walking and cycling in cities (Sheller, 2011). This coincides with an increase in the use of digital self-tracking devices and mobile health technologies for routinizing health habits and tracking personal objectives (Preset et al., 2020). A distinction has to be made between voluntary and involuntary pedestrians, between having the opportunity to choose to walk for health motivations and walking due to poverty or lack of transport options. The weak association between the quality of the built environment and walking rates in neighbourhoods with lower socio-economic status (Steinmetz-Wood and Kestens, 2015) can suggest where walking may not be a choice.

The social meanings and functional roles of walking have been redefined constantly throughout its long history. This chapter examines the hypothesis that the share of walking could radically increase in future cities and voluntary long-distance walking could become a wider practice. In what follows, I will first offer a reminder of the changing status of walking, its rise and decline in Europe and suggest that a shift is possible and timely. Further, I present three snapshots of the daily experiences of long-distance walking pioneers in different geographic contexts, for whom walking is not a profession, nor are they highly skilled athletes or walking activists. Walking is rather their mode of transportation. Presenting these instances is an attempt to depict a possible future, hoping that ‘the possible can give the real a sense of direction, an orientation, a path to the horizon’ (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 45).

Walking: Changing status

The extent, intensity and function of walking, as well as its social meanings, have constantly changed throughout its long history, from our hunter-gatherer ancestors’ long walks to its practice in contemporary cities. Although an essentially practical, and often overlooked, means of locomotion, walking has been invested with different symbolic meanings, and has been praised or despised at different times.

A pedestrian is someone who travels on foot. Historically, however, the term has conveyed pejorative metaphorical senses such as 'lacking inspiration; dull'. To be pedestrian was to be unimaginative or commonplace, 'as if plodding along on foot rather than speeding on horseback or by coach' (Merriam Webster). Until the late eighteenth century, walking along the public roads often signified that one was either a pauper or a footpad (Solnit, 2001). The peons, pawns and پیاده² had been at the bottom of a hierarchical system, and had long dreamt of escaping the humiliation of having to use their own body to move in space (Lévy, 2008). The perception of walking changed with the transport revolution and the advent of trains, as travel in general became easier and more affordable. Since the common person did not need to travel by walking, walking came across as a voluntary and pleasurable experience, rather than an economic necessity. 'As walking became a matter of choice, it became a possible positive choice' (Wallace, 1994, p. 62).

In his book *Romantic Writing and Pedestrian Travel*, Jarvis (1997) suggests that, besides changes in transport infrastructure, deliberate social nonconformity and oppositionality constituted the early expeditions of pedestrians, as in the writings and walks of English poets Dorothy and William Wordsworth in the northern English countryside, which established walking as an aesthetic practice (Jarvis, p. 27). In France and Switzerland, likewise, people walked and climbed mountains. The summit of Mont Blanc was reached in 1786. The Genevan philosopher, Jean Jacques Rousseau, wrote extensively about his walks and mind-body-place relations. While in the early Romantic period, cross-country walking emerged as a literary motif, cities also transformed to accommodate new urban walking by the deployment of sidewalks, promenades, plantations and park systems (Forestier, 1906; Loir et al., 2011).

Failing to compete with the comfort and speed of the car, pedestrians were looked down upon again during the first half of the twentieth century. Two parallel processes started to converge around walking from the 1950s: On the one hand, the increasing awareness and the emerging body of research on the health benefits of physical activity (e.g. Morris et al., 1953), and, on the other hand, the critiques of car urbanism by advocates of public space, such as Jane Jacobs. These processes started independently but converged down the road to shape new interdisciplinary fields. The notion of active mobility, that is travel based on metabolic energy as opposed to motorized means, advocated and created an alliance between transportation, public health and public space.

The revival of walking, which planned for a transition from 'all-car', underestimated the need for and the capacity of the healthy human body to walk. The considerations for human scale in cities in this period acknowledged 'the right of the individual over the tyranny of mechanical tools' (CIAM, 1952) but concentrated specifically on the 'heart of the city', namely, the limited perimeters of city centres as civic landscapes to be protected from car traffic.³ Hence, the earlier (pre-car) plans for promenades and park systems with continuous pedestrian (and bicycle) networks connecting the city and the country were abandoned in favour of pedestrian precincts, traffic-free shopping cores (Buchanan, 1963; Gruen, 1964) and pedestrian pockets (Calthrope, 1993).

Mobility pioneers

Is it possible to reimagine the role and place of walking in contemporary cities? How can we stimulate a shift in walking scales and lengths towards a future where walking longer distances becomes a common practice and a healthy routine for many? For some, this is already the case. During the last few years of research on sustainability transitions and futures of

mobility, I have encountered several ‘mobility pioneers’, individuals who already live in post-car worlds, who constantly innovate in their daily patterns of mobility and, with a socially and environmentally desirable practice, pioneer change. Presenting instances of the lives of three long-distance walkers, I propose to reconsider walking as a wild card of social mobility futures, suggesting that a radical advancement in walking is possible and it can become as much of a breakthrough for future cities as technological measures such as autonomous driving and delivery drones. Rather than focussing on one single research project, I take the subjects from different geographic contexts in order to outline a more general global perspective. These projects were defined by different scopes and varied in their data collection methods. Nevertheless, they all employed qualitative interviews with local residents probing their mobility practices and aspirations.

The first interview was conducted as a part of an ongoing study that aims at providing an understanding of frequent walkers in the Greater London area through semi-structured qualitative interviews. The ultimate objective is to bring the research outcomes to a wider audience through a medium-length documentary film.⁴ The second interview was conducted as part of background research for a documentary film that explored the relation between mobility infrastructures and mobility behaviour in the context of the recent urban transformations in the city of Tehran, Iran. The film, *Blue Barrier* (2018), was supported by the *Post-Car World*, a Swiss National Science Foundation project,⁵ and was screened at the *Art and Experience* cinemas in Iran between May and October 2019. The third interview is derived from the *Post-Car World* project itself (2013–2017), an interdisciplinary research project that explored the future of mobility through the role of the car in Switzerland.⁶ The three snapshots open up windows onto the daily practices and motivations of Sophie, Sadeq and Jacques who live in London, Tehran and Lausanne, respectively.

London

Acceptable and preferred walking distances vary by destination and in relation to the purpose of the walk, but also within different spatial contexts and cultures of mobility. In London, the average walking distance for people without mobility impairment in 2019 was estimated to be about 1 kilometre, less than one-ninth of most journeys recorded over a century ago (Self, 2012; Transport for London 2019). In 1851, London was already extended over 51.8 square kilometres, and public transport was not always an option.⁷ Even before the First World War, there are reports of long commutes of workers, for example, living in Kennington and walking to and from Finsbury Park every day (Armstrong, 2000). Regarding walking inequalities and privileges, Gilbert and Southall (2000) argue that in the early nineteenth century walking longer distances was the privilege of those who could afford to separate their locations of work and home. In Dickens’ London, for example, it was possible for the clerk in *Great Expectations* to work in the city and walk home to the then-greenery of Walworth every day (about 7 kilometre round trip).⁸

The subsequent decline of walking towards the end of the twentieth century is now being reversed slowly and unspectacularly. The substantial growth in the amount of travel in London since early 2000 – corresponding to population growth – has been together with a consistent shift in mode share away from the private car towards walking, cycling and public transport, broadly reflecting investment in these modes. The current target is set to increase the share of active and efficient modes from 63% in 2019 to 80% by 2041 with strong expected growth in walking and cycling (Transport for London, 2019).

Sophie (Accountant, 33) has lived in London since 2008 and has walked to work on most days ever since. She has changed residence and office locations a few times but her journeys (round trip) have remained constant at about 10 kilometre or more. She has contributed to the growth of travel in London but also to the recent trend towards active and efficient transport. She walks from home close to Tower Bridge to her office in Marble Arch for a round trip of more than 12 kilometre, most days of the week. On Mondays and Thursdays, she extends her walk in the afternoon to Highbury and Islington for Pilates sessions, adding another 6 kilometre to her total daily journey on foot. Walking was not an abrupt decision or a new discovery for Sophie. 'We always walked a lot with my father, always had dogs and used to take long walks together'. However, it was not until moving to London that walking became her main way of getting around in the big city. 'There I started to realize you can get almost anywhere if you walk'. The initial concern was turning up at work in trainers. 'For a long time, I used to change my shoes at work. Now I know it's not a problem. Nobody cares about my shoes'.

Walking is a reliable way to get around London, not just pleasant but very practical as well. 'When you leave on time, you know you arrive on time'. It requires easy scheduling. 'You have very good visibility on how long your journey takes'. Sophie compares this punctuality with car trips in and around London, which depend on unforeseeable or uncontrollable variables. Unlike many other frequent walkers in London, she does not use tracking applications or measure the daily calories burnt off from walking. 'I know I walk a lot! And I do not need to motivate myself'. She walks throughout all seasons. 'I cannot let the weather plan for me, plus on a rainy day, to be honest, I'd rather walk than being in the humid public transport'.

Sophie describes a highly active travel time, besides the physical activity in itself: Radio 4 in the mornings, reflections and preparation for the day, audiobooks and phone calls.

I even used to read fiction books while walking, properly carrying a book! I never bumped into anyone, never had an accident, or stepped on dog poo. But for some reason I could only do this with fiction, plus carrying the heavy book was not very practical. Then I discovered *audible* and that is what I do now.

She explains her plan to start an MBA degree next year. Initially, it did not seem very feasible to her as she was about 200 hours short of the expected study time. Until she learnt that over 80% of the course material was going to be available to listen to as online lectures. 'That gives me back 200 hours easy! I have that time when I walk'. She explains why this is not an option on a bike or while driving. 'I think you should not be distracted while you drive. You should not even be wearing headphones on a bike I would say'. The cognitive effort of walking safely in coordination with the environment is not comparable to other modes. 'Walking is like being on autopilot'. She values the continuity in a walking journey and hence the concentration that comes with it, as opposed to various stages of a journey on public transport.

When walking relatively longer distances – like a recent 12 miles walk to a friend's place in the Borough of Bromley – she does not meander and takes Google's suggestions for the shortest route, unless that is along a major traffic road. She wishes to have a route-finding mobile application to avoid air pollution. Normally, she tries to walk through parks and green spaces as much as possible, as she worries the exposure to pollution might outweigh the health benefits of walking. She finds London quite generous in that regard. London, indeed, is rich in terms of natural and green capital. The metropolis hosts nearly as many trees as inhabitants (Wood, 2019), and it is recognized by the UK Forestry Commission as the world's largest urban forest.

Tehran

Tehran, like London, has above eight million inhabitants, and both cities struggle with environmental challenges like air pollution. While London has sought a transition from car dominance especially in central boroughs, Tehran, over the past few decades, has constructed 500 kilometre of highways and about 350 grade intersections and overpasses through a programme known as the ‘Highway Construction Movement’. From a walking city at the end of the nineteenth century, Tehran expanded rapidly beyond its walls. Establishing its first traffic regulation document for horse carriages in 1938, in the 1960s it was already radically transforming to accommodate the proliferating cars. In this period, highways and monumental roundabouts began to replace the old urban fabric. While at the same time, boulevards and high streets emerged to host urban strollers, providing space for this new urban pastime. Walking, being a fundamental component of public space, was neglected in post-revolution plans where public life and public appearance were not a priority. During the last few decades, Tehran has disproportionately invested in car infrastructures, and pedestrianizing projects have been sporadic and have created isolated destinations rather than a vision for the walkable city. Nevertheless, recently, walking as a way of urban life, reclaiming public space, is gaining interest and investment from independent initiatives and walking communities in Tehran such as the NGO Bahamestan (<https://bahamestan.net/>), which has campaigned for pedestrian rights, spaces, accessibility and safety, within the broader scope of the right to the city since 2012.

Sadeq (Taxi driver, 52) walks across the city of Tehran through what is often a hostile car-dominant environment. He is an airport taxi driver, driving from the airport, 50 kilometres south of the city through its most congested areas. Nevertheless, Sadeq walks everywhere when he is off work. He walks from his home in the centre-north (Sohrevardi area) to visit his daughter close to the railway station area in the south (Rah-Ahan). Part of this 10-km journey is a pleasant walk through the old fabric of the city. He walks straight down *Vali-ast*, the longest street in the Middle East that stretches from the northernmost part of the city at the foot of the mountains to the railway station in the south, with large and generous sidewalks lined with sycamore trees. Sadeq contrasts this pleasant bit of his journey to the times he walks along the green shoulder of highways or on the narrow platforms inside tunnels. ‘To reach my in-laws, for example, I need to cross a highway, I have to make a long detour to take a pedestrian overpass, or simply walk along with cars inside the tunnel’. Sadeq knows different tunnels of the city by their characteristics of walkability, their length, level of pollution and the efficiency of their ventilation system. He explains ‘you can walk through some of them, but others are death tunnels. You won’t exit alive from the other side’. Despite the challenging environment, he finds walking relaxing and finds a balance with his intensive driving hours as a taxi driver. ‘In walking I find refuge from the traffic that we create ourselves’.

Walking is efficient and practical. ‘It is not necessarily slower than driving if you travel during the rush hour’. In one of his walks along a congested highway, he started a conversation with a driver whose speed was low enough to engage in a conversation.

He offered me to hop on, I thanked him and said I preferred to walk. We overpassed each other a few times during the next half an hour or so. At the end, he said he wished he was walking too.

Sadeq associates walking with a sense of freedom, in stark contrast to the moments he spends in his taxi. When asked about gadgets, applications or specific instruments for his walks,

Sadeq underlines the importance of shoes. 'You have no idea how far a good pair of shoes can take you', he says. 'It is not about what you need, but everything that you do not need to carry with you'. Emphasizing on the essential lightness of the traveller, he underlines the psychological benefits of walking for him.

Sadeq was hesitant to reveal that he started his long-distance walks in Tehran after the second time he had been to Karbala for pilgrimage. The Arbaeen pilgrimage, or Arbaeen walk, is a religious ritual for the commemoration of the 40th day of the martyrdom of a Shia Imam. It is known as the world's largest annual pilgrimage as millions of Shia Muslims make their journey to the city of Karbala in Iraq on foot. Walking from different distances and origins, most people cover the 80 kilometre between Najaf and Karbala in four to five days. Sadeq, however, walks from an Iran-Iraq border terminal for about 300 kilometre over many days. Sadeq describes this physically demanding journey, across rough terrain and sometimes during very hot summer days, as a rewarding experience. 'Those 30 days per year were my only time off work. I used to work hard to earn those days. It was the time for myself, to reflect and to improve, to enjoy my solitude'. Sadeq describes the pilgrimage as a transformative and pleasant experience, which triggered his long-distance walks in Tehran.

Lausanne

Leisure walks along iconic trails is the Swiss people's most preferred outdoor and sport activity. Protected by the Swiss constitution and a federal law, a network of 66,000 walking trails with unified signalization characterizes the Swiss countryside and mountains, starting from 1934 when the *Fédération suisse de tourisme pédestre* (now *SwissRando*) was founded. Positioned within this context, the city of Lausanne hosts about 350 hectares of parks, gardens and promenades within its urban area, making it proportionally one of the greenest cities in the world and a great place for walking. According to the federal mobility survey,⁹ the share of walking as a transport mode in Canton Vaud, where Lausanne is the capital city, has been increasing in a consistent but modest trend during the last two decades. In the city centres of Lausanne and Geneva, families are increasingly abandoning cars; four out of ten families move around without a private car and nearly 50% of all trips are carried out by walking. However, as we move further from the centres, the number of carless families drops to less than one household per ten. Despite the persisting prevalence of car ownership in lower-density areas, the share of walking is increasing.

Jacques (Journalist, 64) lives in the city centre of Lausanne in Switzerland. He combines long walks and train journeys to reach every corner of the country. His mobility patterns reflect the specific territorial organization of the country, characterized by connectivity within extended and layered conditions of inhabitability. In 1990, André Corboz already conceptualized Switzerland as a metropolis, describing it as a 'Großstadt in formation from St Gallen to Geneva' (Vigano et al., 2015). In terms of population, the country compares to metropolises like London and Tehran and is marked by its strong commuting patterns, where over 70% of employed population commute to another commune from the one in which they live every day.

Jacques stopped driving 35 years ago. The decision was triggered by a car accident but was formed gradually by an aversion to what Jacques describes as an expanding consumerist culture at the time. 'So, I told myself, let's make something positive come out of this accident'. From that moment, he has comfortably relied on the combination of public transport and his long walks, while conducting a very mobile lifestyle as a journalist. He explains that he has been on day trips to Zurich, Neuchatel and Vevey this week. 'I won't walk to Neuchatel

obviously, but Vevey? Maybe'. Vevey is a small city, 18 kilometre east of Lausanne by the lake. A few days earlier Jacques went there for a work meeting. He has walked the first 6 kilometre along the lake before taking the train and did the same on his way back. He emphasizes that it makes about 12 kilometre walk along an exceptionally scenic landscape, while saving 1.8 Swiss francs twice on the train ticket.

Jacques credits the long mountain hikes with his family as a kid for his passion for walking today. 'Sometimes I found it a bit hard, but still I had a certain pleasure'. He considers himself privileged for having access to such outstanding natural capital. In Lausanne, Jacques walks everywhere. The distances covered are relatively short for his standards but the city's topographic features pose a challenge, which makes it worthwhile. In recent years, walking has also been a substitute sport for him and the physical effort is a rewarding experience. 'An uphill road is not an obstacle, but rather an achievement'. Even on the ski slopes, he sometimes climbs with his ski gear instead of taking the ski lift. Jacques reminds that he saves 2.40 Swiss francs every time he walks in the city instead of taking public transport. 'Of course, it wears out the soles of my shoes, but I spend on shoes voluntarily'. Jacques underlines the importance of shoes, the only consumer product that he does not mind spending on.

Discussion: Walking as a wild card of mobility futures

Sophie, Sadeq and Jacques walk in very different spatial conditions, and their walks are differently motivated. Sadeq walks as an act of dissidence. Questioning the existing order, he refuses to take part in 'the perpetuating traffic that is ourselves', transcending the limits set by the spatial configuration of his city. Sophie's search for originality is combined with a pragmatism that underlies her highly productive commutes, while for Jacques walking is a politically and economically driven lifestyle. A common ground across the three stories is the sensory and embodied experience of walking in their past. Before adopting walking as their means of transport, they had a 'formative trip' either in its archetypal form as a pilgrimage or in other stages of their lives. A formative trip – transforming the traveller – offers initiation experiences that can open up possibilities and lead to a learning process (Rigal, 2019). Our mobility potentials are also determined by our competences and skills (Kaufmann et al., 2004). While walking is the most common way of getting around, practising long-distance walking and integrating it into daily schedules is a competence that can be acquired, trained and put into 'practice' (Sloterdijk, 2014).

Besides the personal pleasure of walking, the emphasis on the stimulus to mind-body relations and the fundamental health factor, the protagonists of the three snapshots briefly surveyed in this chapter qualify walking as a reliable and resilient means of transport. Walking does not come across necessarily as a slow mode; it is not praised for its slowness. On the contrary, it is put against the relative low efficiency of the alternatives, which in highly urban contexts (Tehran and London) are also likely to save unremarkable amounts of time. This is especially in the range of distances that can be covered on foot, a radius reaching to about an hour, which corresponds to a general constant travel time-budget as proposed by Zahavi (1974). While the limited range of walking is considered as its main disadvantage in the literature (van Soest et al., 2019), re-evaluating walkability potentials by putting into perspective distances that healthy adults can cover, how it compares to the alternatives and what it means from a public health standpoint can constitute both a research agenda and a public policy pathway. Long-distance walking has to be recognized and empowered in order to be able to contribute to the processes of transition towards more sustainable and healthy modes of travel. Research agendas for better understanding avid walkers can potentially bring such

niche practice to a broader discourse, seeking to encourage it through supporting infrastructures and policies and facilitate greater changes in travel behaviours by focussing on social norms and altering the 'perceptions of normality' (Pooley et al., 2013).

Increasing walking is a deceptively simple instrument capable of addressing unremitting health challenges in cities, while simultaneously reshaping them towards more environmentally and socially sustainable futures. The surge in walking during the 2020 pandemic, as a part of a general increase in outdoor physical activities¹⁰, can potentially serve as an initiation experience, sustain and develop into new mobility habits. A radical increase in the length and duration of urban walking could potentially displace the standards that currently guide transport planning and could bring about a paradigm shift with considerable impact on public transport systems whose running times, frequencies and network configuration are defined by assumptions on 'acceptable walking distances' for their users. Projecting such futures entails the democratization of walking, the rediscovery of the pedestrian as the transcalar, fundamental element of mobility and walking as an essential 'preventive medicine' (Tudor-Locke, 2012).

Notes

- 1 The declared time in this case is 'the total time the respondents most regularly or frequently walked on each day. It is not the average time they spent on walking on those days'.
- 2 پیاده: *Piâdeh* in Persian means pedestrian, on foot, as opposed to riding a horse or a carriage, from *Pâi-* or *Pâ* for foot (Dehkhoda Encyclopedic Dictionary).
- 3 CIAM VIII (Congrès internationaux d'architecture moderne), 1951, *The Heart of the City: towards the humanization of urban life*, Hoddesdon, England.
- 4 'Learning from Frequent Walkers: motivations, practices, and spaces' (2020–2021) in collaboration with Active Travel Academy, University of Westminster <http://blog.westminster.ac.uk/ata/visiting-fellows-2020/farzaneh/>
- 5 *Blue Barrier* (2018) was screened, among other public screenings, at *AlternatiVe Festival, Voyages et Transports Ecologiques* in Yverdon, Switzerland 2018. <https://vimeo.com/280947137>
- 6 The interviews were conducted in collaboration with the research team of the 'Post-Car World' project (2013–2017) in French and in German and have been translated here to English. <https://archiveweb.epfl.ch/postcarworld.epfl.ch/>
- 7 As late as 1897, a questionnaire of 160,000 trade unionists resident in south London disclosed that well over three-quarters used no public transport for journeys to and from work.
- 8 Gilbert and Southall explain what prevented such a separation for the poor, and kept them penned into crowded slums, was not lack of transport but poverty and insecurity: a family that must often depend on the generosity of others cannot afford to live among strangers. Highly localized contact networks were crucial to survival (Gilbert and Southall, 2008, p. 626); moreover, long working hours expected of them left no time to spare on regular journeys (Armstrong, 2000).
- 9 Office fédéral de la statistique suisse, ARE – Microcensement mobilité et transports – MRMT (2015).
- 10 See for example: A YouGov survey on impact of Covid-19 on transportation with an increase in walking from 11% to 17% https://docs.cdn.yougov.com/x4waef2cdw/ECF_TransportSurvey_October2020_w1.pdf, and released Strava data showing an increase in outdoor exercise in 2020 where it was allowed <https://www.strava.com/yis-community-2020>.

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