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Walking with Ines – Sensing Urban Transformation

Abstract

This article examines a walk-along interview conducted in the new district of Linnakaupunki in Turku, Finland. We aim to find out what elements in the urban environment affect the well-being of one resident and how she perceives these factors along the route she chose. In this study, we pay attention to the method itself: how does our method of a walk-along interview, conducted with a wearable action camera, help us distinguish these different factors of well-being? We view the walk-along interviews as an entanglement where the method, the technique used, and the bodily senses intertwine.

In our study, the walk creates a frame for the interview allowing place-related thoughts to arise in a specific moment. Walking makes the connection to places immediate. The Linnakaupunki area combines different time layers, creating the spirit and atmosphere of the place. The wearable camera can document the route in detail, record time levels and landscape changes, and capture the interviewee's affective experiences and responses.

Keywords: walking, walk-along interview, wearable camera, sensory ethnography, urban ethnography, city development, entanglement, well-being

Introduction

“Every time I open the window in the morning and look at this castle, I realize that I really live next to a historic castle. It amazes me every morning” (TYKL/aud/1893).

This citation is from an interview conducted with Ines, who lives in the new Linnakaupunki district and neighbourhood near the medieval Turku Castle¹. Linnakaupunki, freely translated as Castle City², spreads northward from Turku Castle and is currently undergoing an intensive development process. The area will mainly be built for residential use for thousands of people. Cultural services and port operations are another important part of the area’s daily activities.

Our goal in this article is two-folded: Firstly, to grasp the affective and sensory experiences of the district and to examine how they affect the perception of well-being. For Ines, the view from her window brings well-being daily. Her reflections are at the core of this article, as it closely examines her neighbourhood by walking with her on the route she chose for her walk-along interview. By zooming in on the route, we ask: What kind of elements affect Ines’s well-being in her everyday environment and how does she perceive these during the walk?

Secondly, our goal is to study the method and its relationship to the obtained material as *entanglements* (Hodder 2012; 2014), where methods, materials, experiences, and senses intertwine. Ines’s interview is part of a wider set of material, and in the text, we sometimes refer to other interviews that support or expand the perspective. As a methodological choice, we examine a single interview to get a closer look at what happens during the walk. How does our method of a walk-along interview help us highlight different factors of well-being? What kind of information of well-being does the walking produce?

The district of Linnakaupunki is a rapidly changing district, where you can experience several historical layers at the same time. The oldest of these layers is the Turku Castle, which is one of the most prominent landmarks in Turku. The construction of the castle began in the 13th century, when the city of Turku in southern Finland was founded. Later, the area by the river mouth

1 Turku Castle is a widely known tourist attraction throughout Finland. Its construction began in the 1280s (Laaksonen ja Nummelin 2013, 202).

2 Linnakaupunki’s planning area includes the area between Turku Castle, the Port of Turku and the port railway; the former wastewater treatment plant, industrial area, and residential area in Iso-Heikkilä; and the industrial area between the railway and the Naantali highway. The surface area is approximately 269 ha (<https://www.turku.fi/asuminen-ja-ymparisto/kaupunkisuunnittelu/yleiskaavoitus/voimassa-olevat-yleiskaavat/linnakaupungin>).

was an important place for shipping industries. Daily ferry and cargo ships still operate from there. In the 21st century, the city developed this area for museums and later as a residential district. The development of the district is ongoing, and the planning of the new Museum of History and Future is also well underway (Linnakaupungin osayleiskaava; Turku Museum of History and Future). Our research area does not fully follow the Linnakaupunki planning area but includes the new, developing neighbourhoods of Linnanniemi³, Harppuunakortteli⁴, Herttuankulma⁵, and Linnanfältti⁶. This study excludes areas further from the castle.

The construction of Linnakaupunki, including several neighbourhoods spreading over a large area, follows international trends, where former harbour and waterfront districts have been turned into vibrant areas for living, work, and entertainment (Hellman 2012; Edwards 1992; Breen 1994; Tunbridge 1988). With the phenomenon of waterfront development, researchers' interest in place-making processes has awakened. Key issues include how these places are created, who is involved in their creation, and for whom they are built. Interesting too is, what makes waterfront areas socially and culturally attractive. (Carley 2011, XIII).

Well-being is a broad concept with no single, unambiguous definition. However, it is essential to define it according to the perspective being discussed at any given time. Pilvi Hämeenaho (2014) defines well-being as encompassing the fluidity of everyday life, the practicality and comfort of the environment, safety, social connections, and access to culture. To this we add aesthetic well-being, which includes the aesthetic experience of the environment relating to one's sense of identification with a place. According to Vesa Vihanninjoki (2015), aesthetic well-being is enhanced by an environment that can be perceived as personal and valuable, thus creating a foundation for a meaningful life. Furthermore, the formation of a local identity is closely related to the appreciation of the historical layers of the urban environment and the consideration of the future vision of the district.

We have produced research material by conducting walk-along interviews using wearable action cameras⁷. Our material consists of 34 interviews, of which 19 with residents and others interested in the development of the Linnakaupunki district, eight with planners and office holders, and seven with people working in companies or organisations in the area. Interviewees were recruited via social media, local newspapers, and suggestions from other par-

3 Cape Castle, free translation

4 Harpooner's Quarter, free translation

5 Duke's Corner, free translation

6 Castlefield, free translation

7 <https://gopro.com/en/us/> (27.2.2024)

ticipants. The interviews were conducted during the spring, summer, and autumn of 2023. All interviewees signed a written contract allowing their video recordings and statements to be archived and used for research purposes. Ines' identity is protected by using a pseudonym instead of her real name.

The material was analysed by watching the video several times and focusing on parts where the interviewee expressed a sensory experience or feeling. Since the interviews were not discussed after the walk-along interview, the analysis is based on our interpretations. The methodological dimension of the interviews and their content form an interesting combination, where the movement anchors the sensory experiences to the places the interviewee chose.

Walking and other forms of mobility are familiar practices for ethnologists and in ethnographic research (see e.g. Österlund-Pötzsch 2010; 2018; Kiiskinen 2019; Uusitalo 2020). However, walking is often put aside while focus is on the topic examined during the walks through observation or discussions (Ingold & Vergunst 2008, 3). We aim to focus on walking as a method of conducting research and generating information, experiences, and sensory reflections. For example, Rebecca Solnit has compared walking to storytelling and writing by saying, "To write is to carve a new path through the terrain of imagination, or to point out new features on a familiar route" (Solnit 2001, 72).

The entanglements of walking along

Our article is closely related to the extensive field of interdisciplinary urban studies. It examines an old waterfront area in transformation, linking it to previous studies of waterfront districts (see e.g. Smith, Garcia Ferrari 2012; Mohammed 2022), deindustrialization of urban landscapes (see e.g. Willim 2008; Voight 2021; Phillips et al. 2022), and old urban districts (see e.g. Lillbroända-Annala 2010; 2020).

Our focus on the district's sensorial aspects is connected to sensory ethnography and studies about affects and emotions. By moving and sensing the city during a walk-along interview, we can gain insights into how people experience and make sense of urban spaces, its materiality and diverse relationships. Movement provides us with knowledge about embodied experiences, in addition to social relations and cultural understanding (Culhane 2017).

Sarah Pink has written several books and articles about sensory ethnography in urban context (Pink 2001; 2009; Sumartojo & Pink 2018). Sara Ahmed, however, has written extensively about emotions, stating that emotions are active agents in understanding people's everyday lives (Ahmed 2004). As Rinne and Olsson (2024) write, we understand that affects and emotions are experienced as cognitive and embodied and have a cultural context while being embodied (Ahmed 2004, 9; Wetherell 2012, 4).

Ahmed points out that emotions are created in contact with someone or something, emphasising that emotions are more than psychological states, and instead, believing that emotions should be understood as performative social and cultural practices. Thus, we need to understand emotions by focusing on what they *do* rather than what they are. Ahmed further argues that emotions should be understood as both moving and sticking. For some, an emotion may be fleeting and temporary, for others it may be fixed - it sticks (Ahmed 2004:7–13). Emotions function as a way of creating a consensus about how something is by people sharing experiences and affected by one another (Schmitz & Ahmed 2014, 101).

According to Sarah Pink (2007), the idea of video recording a single walk is to produce information that might be lost through other methods. Indeed, we are interested not only in the meanings and experiences that people give, but also in the formation of senses, place, temporal layers, and identities in relation to the lived environment, for which a video recording provides an excellent material for exploring (see also Pink 2007; 2013).

These embodied and experienced emotions are highlighted during our walk-along interviews and analysed through the video recordings. Ethnographically based studies (see e.g. Pardo & Prato eds. 2018) of diverse urban experiences identify ethnography as a powerful tool for making sense of life in our rapidly changing and complex cities. Fieldwork and ethnographic methods are paramount for academic debates and, more broadly, society. Thus, our article contributes to previous research on movement studies, walk-along interviews, and the technicality of wearable cameras (Ingold & Vergunst 2008). Olsson, Rinne and Suopajarvi (2021) state that there are differences in the information obtained from a walking interview compared to a survey, even when the subject of both is sensory experiences. In survey responses, experiences are described verbally, and the narration includes reminiscence. Sensory experiences are often described as neutral and sometimes place-defining. Temporal layers are emphasized and there is nostalgia involved. In walk-along interviews the situation-specific sensory experiences that determine movement are central. Some sensory experiences can be disruptive to living and moving around (Olsson, Rinne & Suopajarvi 2021, 52).

Video-based wearable technology such as action cameras leads to various kinds of visualities and interrelations between camera vision, bodily movement, viewing, and sensing. These interrelations are not neutral, and it is essential to acknowledge the contexts and frictions that precede and/or surface during and after the bodily experience of recording with a wearable device in a research context (Duru 2018; Dibazar et al. 2018; Rose 2022; Li et al. 2022). The interviews conducted within our project, including Ines, were recorded

with a wearable action camera, where the camera captures the view in front of the walker at the height of the interviewee's chest.

Although film and recording devices are essential in ethnographic fieldwork, the technicality of the devices has posed challenges for many researchers for a long time, especially traditional film cameras, which require heavy and expensive equipment. The emergence of digital technologies democratised the use of recording devices and editing software, significantly impacting the methods of cultural researchers (Boudreault-Fournier 2017, 70). Video recordings capture image and sound but excludes the senses of touch, smell, and taste. However, our imagination is not limited to sight and sound alone but instead, what we see and hear stimulates our imagination. We can also imagine other sensory experiences (Boudreault-Fournier 2017, 71). Anthropologists David MacDougall and George Marcus, for example, have used the concept of “cinematic imagination” (Marcus 1990; MacDougall 2006, 2009) referring to the audience's ability to reimagine a film's locations, events, moods, and actions. Viewers can connect with the media in a deeply personal and intimate way, evoking emotions and sensory impressions (Boudreault-Fournier 2017, 79).

Interviews, in general, are reciprocal. The interviewer not only asks questions but continues the conversation by presenting clarifying questions and sharing own thoughts (see e.g. Harper 2002, 23). The reciprocity of interviews can be analysed as entanglements, where the action camera forms the core of the entanglements among humans, things, the environment, and the practice of walk-along interviews. Humans and things are relationally produced, but according to British archaeologist Ian Hodder, focusing on dependence rather than relationality draws attention to how humans get entrapped in their relationships with things. Hodder argues that humans depend on things that rely on humans. However, dependence also often involves some form of constraint. Humans become involved in various dependencies that limit their abilities to develop, and dependence and dependency create a dialectical struggle within entanglement (Hodder 2014, 19–20).

The action cameras we used would not exist without humans, and the recordings would have been impossible without the camera or a similar recording instrument. In that sense, we as humans and users of the camera, and the camera as a product made by humans and for humans, help us record our lives in action, creating dependencies on one another. (Hodder 2014, 19–20). Walk-along interviews combined with a certain place in relation to certain humans and, depending on the action camera, can be considered a human–thing entanglement. All walks began with the same procedure: attaching the action camera to the interviewee with the help of a harness wrapped around the shoulders and chest. The video recordings were made using a high-resolu-

tion panoramic angle to record the environment at a wide angle. The recordings rule out views and objects we cannot see in the video but are discussed during the interview.

Among the interviews, we chose the interview with Ines because it covers many parts of the Linnakaupunki district. It also has a clear beginning and end, and the interviewee is good at verbalising her reflections. The chosen route works well as an example because its different parts come up in many other interviews. Although neither of us authors were involved in this interview, Linnakaupunki became familiar through other interviews conducted there. We have also become familiar with the district during our several walks – individually and with other members of our research team.

We used different methods and materials in the analysis of the videos to create a context for the interview with Ines. First, each interviewer wrote a transcript describing the route and main topics of discussion at different stages of the route. We also made a separate, more detailed description of the route concerning this study. Instead of the conversations, this document focuses on movement and the physical environment. The detailed description includes, for example, stops and street crossings, but also, to some extent, what the video shows. While watching the recording, we used these documents as help and complements to the video with Ines. Sometimes, we used maps and aerial photographs to verify the physical locations.

When writing about walking, “we” is used to express the idea of walking along with Ines and the interviewer. This reflects the experience that watching the videos conveys when we observe the material: the walking and the environment feel strikingly real and familiar. Simultaneously, using “we” enlivens the situations described in the text and helps readers imagine the walking experience, inviting them to walk along.

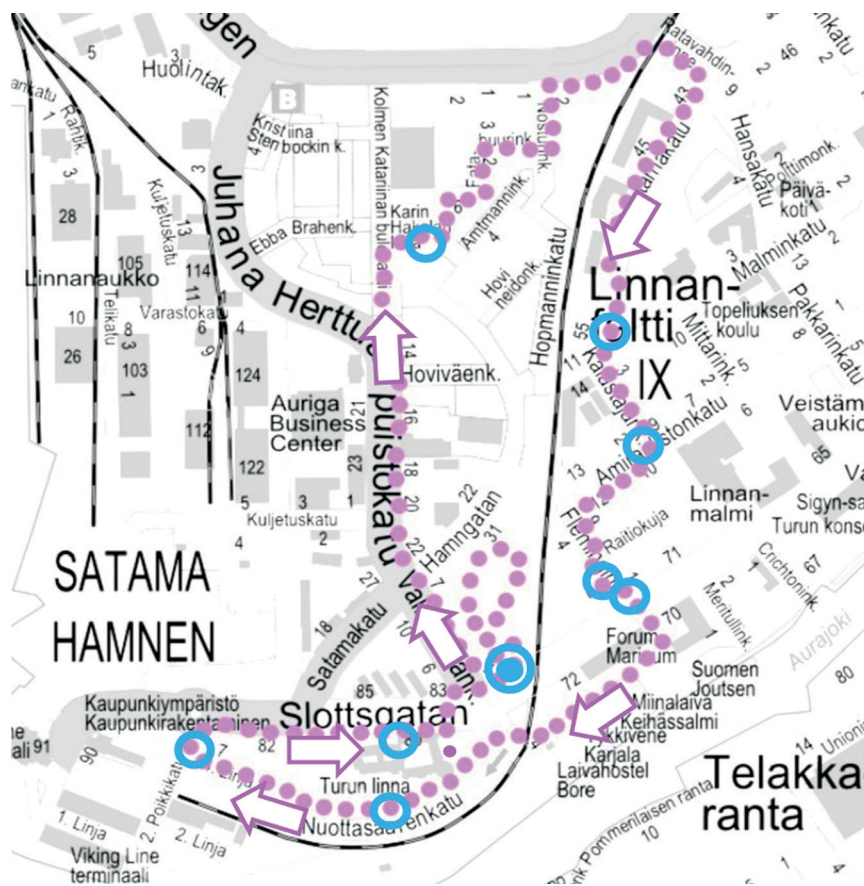
Uncertain routes towards the new

We meet Ines outside a grocery store at the intersection of Linnakatu⁸ and Vallihaudankatu⁹. Here, the action camera is attached. Initially, when viewing the recording, we see the interviewer turning on the camera and saying, “It works”. This is a typical start for the recordings: the interviewer wants to ensure the device works, being aware of our dependence on technology.

It is noon, May 24th, 2023. The weather is bright and feels summery. We spend a couple of minutes on the square chatting about Ines’s relationship with and knowledge about the Linnakaupunki district. Ines is a newcomer, who has lived there less than a year. Before moving, she only knew the Turku

8 Castle Street, free translation

9 Moat Street, free translation



Map. The map displays Ines’s chosen route, with blue circles indicating stops along the way. The starting point is marked with a dot inside the circle. Creator: Päivi Leinonen.

Castle – a widely known tourist attraction throughout Finland (<https://www.turku.fi/en/turkucastle>). According to instructions¹⁰ given beforehand, she planned the walking route for us, which is the same route she regularly jogs: “Let’s walk through that less pleasant area first and then come back to the nice area”. Here, at the beginning of the interview, Ines summarises her chosen route, describing it as dreary in the beginning and turning nice towards the end.

Almost all the routes of our interviews ended where they started, which is typical for everyday walks in general. Ines’s route started and ended in front of her home. Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch, who has conducted research by

10 In our instructions, we asked the interviewees to pick a route for the walk-along interview and consider the route in terms of welfare: what they think impacts their welfare and what not. We allowed them to pick a route according to their preferences, keeping only in mind the welfare aspects of it.

walking, argues that for newcomers, everyday movement patterns become one of the most important ways of establishing a spatial relationship to one's new home. Bodily memories confirm belonging, which also explains feelings of triumph (or relief) when the previously unknown territory becomes more familiar (Österlund-Pötzsch 2023, 40).

As the camera is attached, it is easy to forget its existence, which supports the goal of a walk-along interview in achieving a natural and spontaneous atmosphere. This results in the camera not being specifically directed to shoot a particular object, unlike when intentionally filming. Therefore, where the camera is pointed is somewhat random. However, as the camera is set to wide-angle shooting, it usually catches the relevant parts.

With Ines, we start our walk along Vallihaudankatu and continue to Juhana Herttuan puistokatu¹¹. She shares her fascination with how the streets and houses are named in this new district, many of which refer to the area's history with the castle and shipping. "I really love the idea of living on the street called Vallihaudankatu¹²". The names give her positive feelings, and thus promote well-being in everyday life. On the right side of the street is a fenced construction site. On the left side are a few industrial buildings and offices. Ines comments that industrial areas are generally unpleasant, and she looks forward to seeing what the area will look like one day. Like many other interviewees, Ines is curious about the future and has a positive attitude toward the changes in the area.

Our walk-along continues straight ahead for several minutes. Ines says that she is not disturbed by the traffic, as the area is generally quiet; only ships arriving to port cause peaks in traffic twice a day. Soon we reach our next destination: Herttuankulma. Once there, we can see new apartment houses where people already reside, as well as houses under construction. Herttuankulma is one of the central parts of Linnakaupunki. The idea behind its design has been to create an urban atmosphere, accomplished in a compact structure and modern, dark, and natural-coloured brick surfaces. As a densely and quickly built new area, Herttuankulma has gained much attention among the citizens. In our interviews, the buildings in Herttuankulma are often viewed critically. The architecture has been described as massive and monotonous (TYKL/aud/1880). One participant said she would not live there at any cost because it looks so bleak. She also thinks the area is labyrinthine, which makes navigating there difficult (TYKL/aud/1894). However, there are some positive comments, such as the use of brick as a material and the colours of the facades (TYKL/aud/1896; TYKL/aud/1897). The view of those living there is

11 Duke Juhana's Park Street, free translation

12 Moat Street, free translation



Photo 1. A significant portion of Herttuankulma was still under construction in 2023. Screenshot from recording.

more positive (TYKL/aud/1897) or at least optimistic towards completing the area (TYKL/aud/1889).

As the routes are unfinished, we are a bit unsure where to go; construction site fences are everywhere, and the route must be adapted or even re-routed spontaneously. The camera catches questions like “Are we allowed to be here?” (TYKL/aud/1894) or “Can we walk through?” (TYKL/aud/1893).

Walking through time and change

Amidst the construction site, we find information about the future: One of the barrack walls has a large, illustrated image of the district in the future. Ines stops to look at the image. She notes that the undeveloped area will be densely built. However, she finds many positive aspects in the plan, for example, concerning traffic arrangements. In a few other interviews, this illustration has also been a spot to pause and discuss future plans (e.g. TYKL/aud/1896; TYKL/aud/1897).

A special feature of the wearable camera is that it always captures the view in front of the interviewees. The large-scale future illustration was captured from an appropriate distance, allowing us to hear the discussion and examine the image for additional insights. However, the camera is not always pointed at points of interest. When we encountered repair work explained on a small information board, the camera only partially captured the board as it moved with Ines. In this case, we could only hear the discussion. The camera, the board, and the wall interact with Ines and the interviewer, highlighting how visual information depends on her movements.

We continue and find our way between the houses. There is an unfinished square on our left. The square is partly paved, and construction site fences border some areas. A worker is moving the fences. As we conducted our interviews over several months, from May until September, our timeframe offers intriguing insights into the physical changes of places. Two weeks later, the square already looks different: some trees have been planted in unpaved spots, and benches have appeared. However, some fences and construction equipment remain. In September, the work seems completed: the unpaved areas are filled with greenery, and there are new benches for sitting with diverse designs.

The video enables a detailed examination of changes that do not occur in interviews. The interviewees may discuss their experiences and views but not explain them in more detail. The video is an excellent method for recording details. Interestingly, in many interviews at the beginning of summer, people mention the lack of greenery. At the end of summer, one interviewee notes the greenery but considers the atmosphere artificial. “There is so little green, and everything is paved”. Not enough time has passed for plants and trees to fully grow, strengthening the idea of incompleteness.

At the other end of the square, at the very core of Herttuankulma, is a six-storey parking garage with an outstanding black and golden yellow facade; it’s quite an eye-catcher. Ines dislikes its appearance, stating, “The garage is shockingly big and really ugly”. Next to the garage there is an old industrial hall – a notable contrast to all the new buildings. The one-storey hall looks miniscule compared to the new houses around it. The arch-shaped roof is about everything we can see of it, as tarpaulins cover its walls. Many of our interviewees, including Ines, are interested in the future of the old building. According to the planning architect of Linnakaupunki district (TYKL/aud/1909), the hall that was built around year 1960 was initially intended to be preserved and used as a market hall, but its current condition turned out to be worse than estimated (Kossila 2019; 2021; Turun kaupunki 2022). Many interviewees have expressed a wish that the historical layers would be preserved, but now it seems this will not happen in Herttuankulma, as the hall is the only physical element referencing history in this part of Linnakaupunki. The affective response to historical layers, such as the hall and its future, can be interpreted as feelings of nostalgia towards a place in transition, where old remnants of the past are being lost. Feelings of nostalgia are often further strengthened by a sense of threat and uncertainty (Korkiakangas 2006, 27; Rinne & Olsson 2020, 318–323).

Moving a little forward, Ines stops before a large piece of art on the wall of a house. It depicts the area as it was before, including Turku Castle in the

distant background. Ines thinks it is wonderful. Art is yet another way of reminding us about history in an area where no real historical objects remain. There are also historical references in the names of streets and houses in the area, which refer to a duke, duchess, and count who used to live in the Turku Castle during the Middle Ages. Interviews show that a sense of history, even when produced through art or the naming of places, evokes positive emotions.

When heading onwards, we enter a street where the construction work strongly dominates the atmosphere. We walk between temporary fences on a gravel road. On the right side is a large area where foundation work is being done; an excavator is digging up the earth, and the loud sound of machinery dominates the soundscape. However, the camera does not catch the strong smell of sewage in the air. There used to be a tire shop on the site, which burned down in 2020, and a large grocery store will be built on the site.

The discussion brings up the area's continuous change, which will continue for years, but perhaps surprisingly, the construction work has not been considered very disturbing. It has been considered a natural part of life in the developing district, and for Ines and many others living on-site, the incompleteness was known before moving there. Ines is unbothered by the construction noise because she is usually out of the neighbourhood during the day when the work continues.

Notably, most of the district's residents had not had a close relationship with the place before. In older residential areas, changes are often viewed negatively, and construction sites are considered distractions disturbing the peace of the area. Here, the situation differs: The district's historical past as an industrial area is not something the interviewees feel connected to; therefore, the current development meets almost no resistance. "It feels great how the area has been raised from what it was before, when it was just an industrial area", one participant commented (TYKL/aud/1894). Several of our participants say they follow the changes with interest and anticipation (TYKL/aud/1884; TYKL/aud/1888; TYKL/aud/1896).

After 30 minutes of walking, we arrive at another new residential area, Linnanfältti, which is visually very different from Herttuankulma. The area has been designed to be a "modern wooden town", which can also be seen in the facades of the buildings (Linnanfältti asemakaava; Turku Linnanfältti). Different time layers are visible here, too: red-brick industrial buildings and wooden residential buildings from a century ago. The area of Linnanfältti is generally known all over Turku for its modern wooden apartment buildings but seems unfamiliar to Ines.



Photo 2. In general, the interviewees appreciated views that conveyed a sense of different time layers. Screenshot from recording.

When we stop at the street corner of Kalastajankatu¹³ and Amiraalis-tonkatu¹⁴, Ines notes the old electricity plant, which she considers beautiful. “It’s a shame that nowadays industrial buildings are not made pretty”. Many other interviewees also admired the old red-brick chimney, which rises above the new buildings, and stop during their walks to acknowledge its presence and importance as a physical reminder of the district’s past. The interviews clearly show that sensing the past produces positive feelings and well-being. However, this only applies to elements of the past that are perceived as aesthetically pleasing.

A little further, on Fleminginkatu¹⁵, we have to cross the street because of barriers in front of an old wooden house that burned down about a month earlier. As we approach the house, we can see that the roof has partly burned and collapsed. The fire, widely suspected as arson, is mentioned in many of our interviews, and considered a sad situation (e.g. TYKL/aud/1881; TYKL/aud/1882; TYKL/aud/1884). The disappearance of the past from the landscape creates a feeling of uncertainty, as seen in the unclear fate of the warehouse and the burning of the old wooden house. On the other hand, the removal of industrial buildings considered ordinary and unattractive does not cause concern. Instead, these changes are viewed positively, such as when a grocery store replaces a tire shop.

13 Fisherman’s Street, free translation

14 Admiralty Street, free translation

15 Fleming Street, free translation



Photo 3. In the camera's wide-angle view, objects further away appear smaller than they are in reality, while the asphalt field in the foreground is emphasized. Screenshot from recording.

Empowering affects within an urban pace

Walking ahead, we arrive in front of the maritime museum Forum Marinum by the river Aurajoki. Ships belonging to the museum are in the river in front of the museum. Noticing these ships in the recording is difficult, as they almost disappear into the same-toned landscape; a rock wall and dark-coloured houses on the other side of the river. The video emphasises the inconspicuousness of the ships, as the wide-angle view highlights the things in the foreground, while those further away remain small on the horizon. In front of Forum Marinum, a large parking lot with cars dominates the video image.

The image quality of the-camera is excellent and accurate. For example, from the advertising column in the parking lot, we can easily distinguish the information about an exhibition in Turku Castle. Also, the video shows us house numbers, street signs, and information about traffic arrangements. The camera helps us see details the eye does not necessarily catch during the interview. The examples of how the camera captures images in a certain way, how the eye sees other things, and how both technique and experience play a role in the overall perception of places, tell us about the complex entanglement of people, places and things.

We continue our journey slowly from the museum, stopping several times. During one stop, we see a green plastic bottle partly covering everything else in our view. The person being interviewed is not seen in the video recording, as she is wearing the camera. Occasionally, we can see her hands pointing somewhere or performing an action. This time, we see Ines taking a sip from



Photo 4: Linnanpuisto was a popular destination among the interviewees. They found the natural greenery and the historicity of the castle appealing. Screenshot from recording.

her water bottle. However, the interviewer is seen multiple times – sometimes checking the camera and more often just accidentally being in the camera’s field of view. In many interviews, it seems the interviewee quickly became almost unaware of the camera, acting like she would without it.

After 45 minutes of walking, we head to the park surrounding Turku Castle. There, Ines notices the flowering lilacs emitting their strong scent. The smells in the environment cannot be captured in the video recordings but are highlighted in some of the interviews (e.g. TYKL/aud/1886; TYKL/aud/1887). For Ines, the scent of lilacs is a lovely addition to the well-being factors surrounding her home environment. Thus, it is not only the place as such but the landscape and emotions it produces that impact her (for the importance of landscape, see e.g. Stewart & Strathern 2003).

The park is bursting with different shades of green; along with the conversation, the soundscape comprises of birdsong and the sounds of walking on a dirt road. The recording helps us acknowledge these sensory elements in the environment. While walking, we see others walking and sitting in the grass. Someone even plays a wind instrument. The trees effectively shade the path, which is certainly appreciated on the hottest summer days.

A white castle, the Turku Castle, reveals itself behind the trees. Ines emphasises she is delighted to live so close to such a historical place and praises the view from her window. “The people who visit me are also surprised that the castle is really next door, and not just in the neighbourhood”. For Ines, the Turku Castle, with its surroundings, is a place of power. Referring to Edensor (2017) and Manzo (2003), Ainiala and Olsson (2021, 10) write that “places

are infused with different atmospheres that can cause different emotions and feelings to arise in people as they experience their environment”. For Ines, the castle is an empowering element in her home environment, evoking strong positive emotions. These types of relational expressions are used when you want a specific place to be identified in a certain way – in Ines’s case, the home environment in connection to the castle next door, which brings forth bodily and sensory elements, are seen as agents in placemaking (for placemaking, see e.g. Pistrick & Isnart 2013). The certain kind of atmosphere characteristic of the castle and its surroundings, combined with Ines’s home environment, make the place empowering, creating a certain mindscape (Ainiala & Olsson 2021, 25).

As Ainiala and Olsson (2021, 11) write, material surroundings have agency, and places have empowering effects on people. The emotions and affective practices in the interviews are mostly positive. The emphasis on the positive affect of place has also been criticised, as it can ignore the negative affects (Manzo 2003). This kind of criticism is also important to remember: We are not arguing for specific places to be places of power; rather, understanding how some places become more meaningful than others is important (Ainiala & Olsson 2021, 11). According to Ahmed, places of meaning and power are entangled with emotions, which “are what move us”. Emotions are also attachments, connecting us to different things. Therefore, not only material surroundings have agency but emotions and affective practices arising in specific places (Ahmed 2004, 27; Ainiala & Olsson 2021, 11–12).

When leaving the park, Ines wants to visit the port area. It makes a clear contrast to the harmonious character of the castle and the park. Along the park’s edge, we can see the port’s truck park and train tracks. Ines is saddened that, due to track work, there is no access from the port’s train station towards Helsinki. Ines thinks that having a station close to home is an advantage. Along the street Neljäs linja¹⁶, there is a group of old wooden buildings. These buildings used to belong to the port and its workers. Some houses need a facade renovation, and some gardens have grown wild. Ines mentions that “the atmosphere is a bit dead, so it’s good that it’s being developed. You can see that the area was once on the edge of the city”. Mid-day, the atmosphere in the port is quiet, but the situation changes twice a day, when the ferry ships arrive and depart each morning and evening. For a couple of hours, the surroundings are vibrant and crowded as passengers, cars, buses, and trucks share and shape the place and its rhythm. The ferry route between Turku, the Åland Islands, and Stockholm has been crucial for

16 Fourth line, free translation

the passenger and cargo traffic on both sides of the Baltic Sea for decades (see e.g. Dumell 2008).

Although we are nearby, the sea is not visible in the port area. Ines previously mentioned her affection for the sea. The sea is another empowering element for her. Ines notes that when the trees are bare in winter, she can see ships arriving at the port from her window. Although the sea is not visible, seeing the ships reminds her of its presence. We arrive at Linnankatu¹⁷ and start walking away from the port. After a while, we stop when Ines points to an old clock on the other side of the road. The clock, belonging to the shipping company Tallink Silja, is at the top of a column with the company's logo: the head of a white seal. "The clock is lovely and sympathetic, even if it does not work".

While walking, we admire the old buildings from different eras along the street of Linnankatu. Soon, the castle is on our right. Its stone wall looks huge from the street level and casts a heavy shadow on the street. "In winter, when it's dark, I have seen light in the windows of the upper floors of the castle. The lights create a wonderful atmosphere, as in the dark the stone castle would otherwise be old, dark and gloomy", Ines says. Seasonal changes are also remarkable in the park. Some interviewees mentioned the park being dark and difficult to walk in winter. On the other side of the street are old wooden warehouses. Ines does not know if any are in use, but she thinks they are lovely. While walking away from the castle, Ines mentions the trees along Linnankatu. She appreciates the rows of trees on both sides of the street because "They make the view look precious. From my home, I can see the castle behind the trees. The view is wonderful".

We have now followed Ines through the changing district of Linnakaupunki. Our walk comes to an end at the yard of Ines's home block in Harppuunakortteli. Our final task is to remove the camera and thank Ines for the interview.

Conclusion

Walking with Ines has highlighted different dimensions of Linnakaupunki. We have examined factors of well-being, as discussed by Ines during our walk-along interview. We have also examined the method of walk-along interviews as an entanglement, where the camera and the video recording has captured different views and atmospheres in the urban environment as well as different emotions and responses to them.

In our sensory ethnographic study, the walk creates a frame for the interview that allows place-related thoughts to arise in a specific moment. Walking makes the connection to the places immediate. Without this immedi-

17 Castle Street, free translation

ate connection, the narrative is based on previous experiences and memory and is more filtered than a spontaneous talk. When recording while walking, different features of Linnakaupunki are pointed out, including factors of well-being found in the district, as well as details and places, which have an opposite effect.

Reciprocity is characteristic of interviews in humanities in general (see e.g. Suopajarvi 2014), but in walk-along interviews, the interviewer's influence can extend from discussions to a route choice. Not all participants had planned the route in advance, but instead, the route was negotiated during the walk. Moreover, the interviewer may consciously or unconsciously stop at places they want to draw attention to, while other times, the interviewee stops. Sometimes both do, unintentionally and simultaneously, when the conversation is related to a certain place.

For Ines, the well-being of her home environment is shaped by Harppuunakortteli and her home yard. She likes the area that she considers close to the city centre and still generally quiet, combined with good public transport. The proximity of the sea also strengthens her well-being, even if it is only visible to her in the form of the ship traffic that shapes the rhythm of the whole area. The most important place of power for Ines is the castle, which she can see from her window every day. The park surrounding the castle with all its greenery and scents is a calming recreational area. In winter, the lights shining in the castle windows bring about a cozy atmosphere in the middle of the darkness. Ines enjoys observing different temporal layers in the built environment, and in new areas these can also be just references in street names or in art works.

Conversely, she considers industrial areas, a large parking garage and the densely built Herttuankulma to be less pleasant parts of Linnakaupunki. Construction work that has been going on for years sometimes makes moving around difficult, as the routes change frequently. The combination of Turku Castle and Port of Turku contains both positive and negative affective elements. These different environments form an interesting contrast where different urban rhythms meet. The contrast of rhythms is accentuated here, but the residential areas also have different rhythms, which are stagnant or rapidly changing. Different time levels and rhythms create the spirit and atmosphere of the place.

The temporality, materialities, and atmospheres can simultaneously be seen and sensed in the recordings: houses under construction, temporary routes, and buildings demolished to give space for something new. Historical layers are clearly appreciated, as Ines and many others stress, whereas a neighbourhood lacking those layers is considered artificial. In addition to the visual recordings of the landscape, the recordings also include thoughts and feelings

attached to change. In the videos, we can see changes that occurred during our field work, but in the longer term, the videos are a document of this moment for future viewers.

The action camera and video recordings help us grasp the content of all the interviews and limit what we can see and interpret, mixing the recordings in our minds. In this way, the entanglement of the human–camera relationship enables and restrains, impacting our interpretations and analysis. The video recordings also show things the interview parties do not seem to pay any attention to; construction workers in working outfits having a break or people on scooters passing by. These unspoken details tell a lot about the place. Even different sounds of the route stand out; you can hear sounds and voices that are unnoticed or unheard during the walk. Bodily experiences of different pavements, such as the asphalt suddenly turning into gravel, are sensory dimensions of the environment the recording catches.

This article is part of a larger project with 34 interviews. We chose to follow one route to see more closely what happens during the walk. One might think that the analysis of one interview is much easier than using them all. In ethnographic research we often look for repetitions in our material, but observing just one interview is different, as we rely on a single example. However, in this study we have occasionally referred to other interviews to support or expand the analyses. In terms of time, it is of course less consuming to watch one video than dozens. Nevertheless, one viewing is not enough to make an in-depth analysis, as the recording contain a large amount of information and emotions. We must observe the material from one perspective at a time, and looking at different perspectives requires multiple viewings. At this point, the dependence on technology is again evident.

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