Thinking through Lines: Locating perception and experience in place

Qualitative Research

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Introduction

Understanding places as co-constituted through both the human and non-human, and how this matters in research is a growing area of interest (Booth, 2014a; Tuck and McKenzie, 2015a). Yet in the social sciences there is a tendency to overlook the significance of place in research (Anderson et al. 2010; Sin, 2013; Tuck and McKenzie, 2015a). As I discuss below, the reasons for this are complex and deeply historical. They also relate to issues of turning theories pertaining to co-constitution into methodologies, methodologies that can be explicated and through which one can reflexively and openly legitimate the claim that place *really* does matter (Booth, 2014a). How does one bring transparency and legitimacy to research in which the place is tightly interwoven with the people involved (researchers and participants) throughout the entire research process? What methods may be appropriate? How does one represent this interweaving without compartmentalizing the physicality of a place from the social – without losing place?

In this paper, I trial a form of qualitative analysis based on the work of anthropologist Tim Ingold. Ingold describes places and people as weaving and woven amidst a 'tissue of lines' (Ingold, 2008: 1805). Lines, he argues, are apparent in all aspects of human activity, be this walking, weaving, observing, singing, storytelling, drawing or writing. People create lines whatever they do, whenever they are, and wherever they go (Ingold, 2007). Lines also create people. They may direct, facilitate or block movement, they can enchant, inspire or defeat thought, and they may guide, delineate or foreclose actions. Many of these lines have a material presence, such as a path, road and wall. Others such as a boundary on a map and the route of a ferry are at once tangible and ethereal depending on context and experience. Yet other lines appear momentarily as traces and swirls when, for example, looking at a view or experiencing a piece of music (Ingold, 2015). Ingold observes:

> Each such line, however, is but one strand in a tissue of lines that together constitute the texture of the land. This texture is what I mean when I speak of organisms being constituted within a relational field. It is a field not of connectable points but of interwoven lines, not a network but a meshwork (Ingold, 2008: 1805).

In trialling a 'line analysis' I look to identify signposts for a 'line methodology' that addresses some of the barriers to legitimating and representing research in which place matters, particularly in relation to research that strives to move beneath and beyond conceptions of place that embody a nature/culture dualism. To achieve this aim I use an empiric from a project investigating the social and cultural effects and impacts of the Museum of Old and New Art (MONA) located in Australia's island state of Tasmania (Booth et al., 2017). Specifically, I draw upon interviews and focus groups that I conducted with local residents to provide insights into perceptions and experiences regarding this relatively new and popular cultural institution. I use the references that participants made about lines to construct a 'line narrative' that locates these perceptions and experiences in place.

As with much research in the social sciences, research into the impact of cultural institutions and initiatives on local communities tends to overlook the significance of place and how place is understood in both the research process and in understanding these impacts. Hence, this focus on MONA and its local community acts as case study of broader relevance in social science research.

It is important to note that in this paper I do not provide critical reflection upon Ingold's ideas in relation to other literatures on place (for detailed reviews of some of these

literatures see, Cresswell, 2015; Tuck and McKenzie, 2015a). Ingold (2008) himself describes how his work differs from 'network' and relational approaches, including Doreen Massey's (1997) 'global sense of place'. He does, however, find affinity with Hägerstrand's time-geography (Ingold, 2011), and there is a shared link with Deleuzian thought. Thrift (2005) observes– amongst other things – that Hägerstrand's diagrams are attempts to describe events *in place*, as well as radically blurring the distinction between the human and non-human (Thrift, 2005). Hägerstrand's work has been adopted and developed by feminist geographers (e.g. Rose, 1993; Kwan, 2002), providing a 'close, empathic and micro-levelled interventional approach that makes obstacles and constraints due to spatio-temporal conditions visible and thereby changeable' (Scholten et al., 2012: 584). Although beyond the scope of this paper, it appears that further, critical attention to Ingold's work and this 'line analysis' in light of Hägerstrand and on-going developments in time-geography research (for reviews see, Kwan, 2004; Shoval et al., 2014) may be insightful.

Methods

Research site

Located near Hobart, the capital of Australia's island state of Tasmania, MONA is a private museum housing an eclectic mix of artefacts and contemporary art. Its award winning

architecture, subterranean design, unorthodox curation, interactive iPod and lack of information labels are viewed with curiosity and excitement within the art world (Franklin, 2014). As well as attracting a significant number of tourists and contributing to a tourism boom (Deighton, 2015), this museum is also popular with local residents. This has led to speculation regarding potential social and cultural change (Cica, 2012; Perrottet, 2012) particularly with regard to MONA's location within in the municipality of Glenorchy. It is envisaged that Glenorchy will experience a MONA-version of the Bilbao Effect – undergoing economic and social transformation similar to that associated with the Guggenheim modern art museum in Bilbao. Like this declining industry city in a disadvantaged region of Spain (Plaza et al., 2009), Glenorchy is identified as disadvantaged – as the 8th most disadvantaged local government area out of a total of 29 in Tasmania (Glenorchy City Council, 2015). Glenorchy residents tend to have a lower income, lower educational attainment, higher unemployment and jobs in relatively unskilled occupations than residents in other local government areas.

Recruitment and participants

To understand the experiences and perceptions of local Glenorchy residents regarding MONA – and as detailed by Booth et al. (2017) – a mix of interviews and focus groups was chosen as a means of hearing individual voices through interviews of around 1 hour in

duration, and the dialogues within socially and culturally diverse focus groups (Johnson, 1996) of around 1½ hours in duration.

Recruitment for the focus groups was facilitated by the Community Engagement Officer at the Glenorchy City Council (GCC) who contacted three community-based organizations on my behalf – the Berriedale/Chigwell Precinct Group, Chigwell Child and Family Centre, and the Moonah Arts Centre (MAC). This resulted in three focus groups: The Berriedale group dominated by older residents with low educational attainment and a high level of community engagement; the Chigwell group comprised mainly of women on low incomes and without full-time or permanent employment; and the MAC group of local artists who were generally tertiary educated (Table 1).

Interview participants were sourced via a GCC administered panel survey, comprising residents who were selected using convenience and purposive sampling to provide a cross-section of the local population based on key socio-demographic indicators. Administered annually by the Council to ascertain resident views on a range of issues, the 2013 survey focused on perceptions and experiences of MONA (Booth et al., 2017). Those who completed this survey and expressed an interest in being interviewed, were identified as potential interviewees with twelve participants selected through purposive sampling. This sampling strategy ensured that a diversity of voices contributed to the research (Table 2).

These participants were interviewed in various locations, for example, their homes, the local public library and a café.

Analysis and interpretation

I conducted an analysis of the interview and focus group recordings and transcripts based upon participant references to lines. I attempted to remain open to as many different lines as possible and this openness was informed by Ingold's observations.

In understanding places as tissues of lines, Ingold contrasts two types of lines – lines of transportation and lines of wayfaring. He observes that the straight line has come to dominate modern western thought and action: 'the straight line has become an icon of modernity. It offers reason, certainty, authority, a sense of direction' (Ingold, 2007: 167). This type of line characterizes movement as passive transportation from departure point to destination that,

> is distinguished not by the employment of mechanical means but
> by the dissolution of the intimate bond that, in wayfaring, couples
> locomotion and perception. The transported traveller becomes a
> passenger, who does not himself move but is rather *moved* from
> place to place (Ingold, 2007: 78).

Thus, a trip by boat or rail – even walking – is reduced to a means to an end, not a journey and experience in and of itself.

Ingold (2007) contrasts this to an understanding of lines as meandering and enmeshing rather than straight and directive. Places and people, he argues, *occur* rather than *exist* as they are knots in the weaving of lines, not for example, objects to be related to or beings to live in relation with (Ingold, 2008). These lines constitute tissue rather than connect beings and objects, thus there is no *between* to be transported through or over, but there is *in-between*. He writes, 'where between is liminal, in-between is arterial; where between is intermediate, in-between is midstream' (Ingold, 2015: 147). Thus, the world is a tissue of lines not a connection of points, and this tissue constitutes 'the texture of the land' (Ingold, 2008: 1805) through which one is not transported, but wayfares.

As Ingold describes, such lines – in all their co-constituting complexity – offer the possibility of being 'lines of flight' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1980); lines of escape from the fixivity of daily routine and freedom from a social world structured through the familial, historical, biological and cultural (Young et al., 2013). These lines of flight occupy 'smooth space' rather than 'striated space'. They act to deterritorialize existing territorializations, causing disruptions and breaks from the normalcy of life.

In response to Ingold's observations, I identified wayfaring lines and lines of transportation, as well as interpreting these lines as complex socio-natural occurrences. For example, the line of a river is at once an old dynamic 'natural' occurrence and a socially defined boundary or transportation route. I also drew on Ingold to understand that lines were not always seen, but could be heard or sensed as lines of sight and sound. Although Ingold does not talk about social boundaries specifically, I remained aware during the analysis and interpretation of sensed lines arising from divisions based on social status, stigma and class.

I extracted each line reference allowing for horizontal and vertical analysis – looking across different participant references and by placing lines back into their interview/focus group context. I did not place as much weight on repetition as I would in thematic analysis – I was not aiming for representativeness based on repeated themes and a sense of saturation. Instead I concentrated on gathering enough lines (and context for these lines) to enable the writing of some textures of the land.

In creating a line narrative of the place that is Glenorchy and locating perceptions and experiences of MONA, I do not claim to provide a complete or definitive account. I aim instead to offer the reader with an opportunity to wayfare within the tissue to lines that is Glenorchy.

Glenorchy through lines

Beginning with me, with some butterflies in my stomach. I park in the sun on a treeless street overlooking the silty shoreline of Cornelian Bay. I am about to do my first qualitative interview in a couple of years and I'm feeling a little out of my depth.

Janet seems more apprehensive about it than I am, which momentarily puts me at ease (yes, power does matter). She switches off the TV, and I talk with her about her experiences of MONA. Then she indicates with her hand that people who know something about art are up here (hand above head) and she is down here (hand just above seat height). The line created by the decent of her palm, a gesture pushing the air out of that 60 centimetres of atmosphere, stalls my line of thought. Ease falters. I come to gasping, and with my feet planted firmly on the other side of the social divide.

To get to Janet's home, I drove through the 'flannelette curtain' or across the 'latte line' – colloquial referents to the social boundary marked by Newtown Rivulet. Working class Glenorchy lies to the north and café culture Hobart to the south. It's derogatory or funny depending on who/where you are. This line is transiting north, but Glenorchy residents remain more likely to hold blue collar jobs or to be unemployed than residents in Hobart.

Janet's family has lived just north of the flannie curtain for a couple of generations. Her Dad worked in the nearby zinc smelter and she is a retired librarian. When I ask her if she found it 'a nice spot to live', she responds:

No, it's not a nice spot to live, no… I mean all the Derwent's

polluted. When I was a child, I remember I used to swim …when I

was about ten years old and then about a year later the whole

Derwent was polluted and you couldn't swim in it. It took my

childhood… That all got that filthy and contaminated you couldn't

swim in it. So, the zinc works and the abattoirs took my childhood,

you know the good times and I've never got over it. I've always

hated them for it and I'm so glad they're cleaning the Derwent now.

It's one of my lifetime dreams to have the Derwent clean.

Like many of the people I interview, Janet talks about the River Derwent and the possibility of re-connection with the waterway. This sense of re-connection is not just about physical accessibility and being able to locate one's self on the river's estuarine shore. This is about a return to the River as an inhabited place.

Part of this sense of return comes from experiences on the MONA ferry that runs between the Hobart waterfront and the gallery site. For locals at least the ferry route – that is depicted on google maps as an angling dotted line between departure and destination – enables sensory wayfaring midstream in the River. The lines of wash, sound and sight

mingle and intersect and begin to re-story the Derwent as a place imbued with history and a social life.

For Janet the ferry journey offers a line of flight, a deterritorialisation of space striated and fixed by industry and pollution. She evokes a re-connection with the River borne of an opening to smooth space that disrupts social and physical bounds:

> *Janet*   *...I've been into MONA three times, but we just go for the ride on the boat, make out we're tourists and acting like tourists. Oh it's great fun, yeah.*
>
> *Q*   *I've heard other people say it's like being a tourist in your own…*
>
> *Janet*   *Yeah, because you've got them all around you, all the tourists and you're there and they think you're a tourist you know and it's good fun, I love it…*
>
> *Q:*   *And the boats different from other ferries too I think…*
>
> *Janet*   *Oh it's great, you've got your sheep and you've got your big cow and you've got your restaurant. Well not restaurant, café sort of thing and buy food and drinks, no it's great.*

As the interviews and focus groups unfold (and I find my feet, and occasionally lose my notes) there are many references to lines of movement – mainly wayfaring accounts, sometimes transportation. The intercity cycleway – a tendril growing from the Hobart CBD and through the northern suburbs – is described as a great means of transporting people to and from MONA, but there is a sense that there is not much to do and see in between. The possibility of people journeying into the surrounding suburbs appears unlikely. The idea of light rail connecting Hobart to the north is, however, vividly imagined by participants of the Berriedale focus group when I ask what will be happening in the local area ten years from now:

> *Fran*   *Well we've got light rail.*
>
> *Karen*   *Light rail and Wilkinson's Point have been developed.*
>
> *Dawn*   *Yeah, well if we had the rail that's another thing to*
> *bring the people out of the city out here. They could*
> *come out on the rail and go home on the boat…*
>
> *Meredith* *And the community are walking down off the hill and*
> *sitting on the grass on a Sunday and having a picnic and*
> *feeling comfortable in the space.*

Karen   Walking round the boardwalk and playing in the play

           areas.

Meredith   And all the pelicans and oysters are growing and people

           are able to swim in the River, and fish and eat the

           oysters and shellfish. (murmurs of assent)

In these imaginings people inhabit eddies of sunshine, play, food, water and earth, and again evoked the re-connection to the River. The light rail brings wayfaring locals and visitors into the area, and doesn't bypass or skirt over the 'in-between'. Instead it appears as though the railway buckles and sways, shifts and bends as it becomes, in the minds of some, a trail within experiences of the local area. In these imaginings the railway is a line of flight; a deterritorialization of transport and transportation recoded as a trail of habitation that escapes the fixivity of workdays, shopping, structured activities and bad weather.

Walking is envisaged in this group and by some interviewees as pleasant wayfaring along lines to and from, and around MONA. As Fran describes in relation to developments along the foreshore boardwalk at the Glenorchy Art and Sculpture Park (GASP) just south go MONA: '...it sort of gives it a start and a finish now we've got two ends… and they're gradually building up in the middle, and it's more interesting'. But interviewee Rose

experiences the space between these 'bookends' differently:

> *...not everybody's fit and able to do all that walking to link all those*
>
> *things. A lot of people are but there are some people, mothers with*
>
> *prams and people in wheelchairs and things like that and older*
>
> *people in walking frames. Having that big walk is not going to*
>
> *benefit them. They just want to go and have a local experience…*
>
> *They've got something right in the middle, but people can't go there*
>
> *because you can't park there so you have to walk. My other friend*
>
> *who's on a walker, she says, 'I can't go there. It's too far'.*

Divergent perceptions on the pleasantness or impossibility of walking also come up on the hill overlooking MONA. Participants in the Chigwell focus group poke suspiciously at the toppings on the pizzas that I had provided for lunch (pizza was supposed to be an ice breaker!) and observe with reference to a recent community fun run:

> *Cath   It's a nice walk to go there [to MONA]. It's a nice walk*
>
> *to come home as well. So it's nice to have something*
>
> *that you don't have to say to the kids, 'well I don't have*
>
> *the petrol, I can't take you'. If you want to go there bad*

enough, you can walk. That's the best thing about it I

think…

Cristina   *But we have to walk back up Berriedale Road.*

Carol   *I don't because we've got cars now, so I wouldn't walk*

up Berriedale Road.

Samantha   *The drive up is bad enough, never mind the walk.*

(laughs)

Cristina   *I think that was the worst part…*

Samantha   *But no one actually realises they have to walk up that*

hill at the end of the fun run… I wouldn't have done it.

Cristina   *I was three quarters of the way up the hill going 'I just*

want to give up'.

For some residents walking is not a realistic means of getting from A to B, but wayfaring or

journeying of the unpleasant kind where one stops and starts, grunts, trips and stutter up

the hill to Chigwell. Or along the GASP boardwalk.

When things relax a little I ask what people think about the views of MONA from Chigwell.

MONA won the coveted National Architectural Award of 2012[1] and is often pictured line of

sight across still, reflective water at sunup or sundown. Sal from the Berriedale focus group

had previously conveyed her feelings:

> *When I look out in the morning I always think it looks beautiful*
>
> *because I can see the walkway and I can see over to MONA and I*
>
> *can see the cantilever [GASP boardwalk], and I just think, it just*
>
> *has something about it that looks really special and overseas-ish[2].*

This is what Chigwell group participants say:

> *Carol   It's ugly during the day. (laughs)*
>
> *Q   It's ugly?*
>
> *Carol   Oh yeah, it's awful.*
>
> *Becca   Yeah I don't like the look of it.*
>
> *Carol   …yeah my view took up a lot of MONA, and it's a bit gross*
>
> *to look at during the day. But of a night time it's beautiful.*

Living near MONA the lines of sight create an in-between that entwines people and place.

Finding oneself enmeshed within such a line is not essentially desirable or pleasing.

Neither is it static, but shifting with diurnal cycles and from different vantage points.

One person in the Berriedale group draws the bedrock line between the gravitas of the hewed sandstone inside the subterranean gallery, and the unearthed dug-out rocks in his garden. Other nearby residents mention listening to the music playing at MONA from their homes and gardens – the music that emanates from MONA most weekends carries in lines of sound through the neighbourhood. From the Berridale focus group:

     Sidney   *Just keep working in the garden listening to the music.*

     Fran   *He doesn't have to go to MONA.*

     Sidney   *No, I don't either, I can hear it from my place.*

And interviewee Rose, '…if there was a concert. There'd be lots of cars parked out there and queuing as well, but I sit here and listen to the concerts for free if they're outdoors. If the winds blowing in the right direction I can sit on the deck and hear the music'.

For people who live close to MONA – the municipality stretches about 10 kilometres north to south and MONA is not within walking distance, line of sight and sound for most residents – but for those who live nearby they note what is perhaps the most noticeable change in the local area – lines of traffic, congestion and parking issues on days when there was something on at MONA. The popularity of MONA – for art, music, markets and events, for locals and tourists alike – brings, quite literally, lines of people and vehicles into

the local community. It also necessitates, for many, a walk up the gradual but steady incline of the MONA driveway through the perpendiculating vineyards, as the small car park close the gallery fills quickly. Then a wait in the sun-baked queue backed up between the entrance and the sideline of the tennis court.

The music of MONA enmeshes within home-life, arriving unheralded within the wind and some locals are caught up within these swirls of sound. For these people, MONA kind of 'brings it home'. Not in the more abstract sense of visitor numbers, tourism awards and door sales, but as part of the everyday experiences of driving, parking, walking (or not), as well as gardening, looking and listening. There is a sense of freedom at times, freedom borne of locality. Transport, and the defined and determining line of road and footpath, and all the rules driving and parking entail are disappeared. Locality frees people from the pedantry of walking, licensed road-trips, the affectation of entry, and in a sense from MONA itself, with anarchic way-markers for airy, windy and rocky wayfaring.

Yet MONA's distance from parts of the municipality is seen as desirable by some residents:

> *Terry   Being out here and having the waterfront with the boat*
> *and for the helicopter to come in, it's catering for*
> *everybody. You've got the bike track here so you can*
> *walk or ride along, and it's terrific I think.*

> Fran   And you don't have to have the Bogans[3] if – I mean they
>
> don't go that far, they hang around the bus mall and
>
> McDonalds, they don't come this far because it's too far
>
> for them to walk[4].

Its only 5 minutes direct ride on the bus though. There are things, other than walking distance keeping the Bogans away. The divides within *the other side of the social divide become increasingly apparent as I talk with people across the municipality. An anecdote is recounted in the Chigwell group about a new road built near the boundary of Claremont and Chigwell that allowed some residents to identify themselves as residing in Claremont (a more desirable location) rather than Chigwell.*

For Chigwell participants the hypothetical loss of MONA would result in Chigwell being 'Bridgewatered' – Bridgewater being understood as a significantly less desirable place to live than Chigwell:

> Samantha I don't think you'd get the improvements down at the
>
> Claremont village if we didn't have things like MONA
>
> and all that. If that was gone I think that would all…
>
> Carol   They'd Bridgewater us.

> *Cath*   *And Claremont has grown so much since MONA. Like*
>
> *I've lived in Claremont my whole life, and how much*
>
> *Claremont has grown is amazing, you know, it is*
>
> *amazing.*
>
> *Christina*   *It would make a huge difference – even on TV ads that*
>
> *thank sponsors, you see MONA's name at the bottom of*
>
> *most of those things. They make a huge difference.*

Like the shifting boundary line between Chigwell and Claremont, MONA's co-constitution within Glenorchy's tissues of lines shifts expectations and hopes. It subtly re-locates and re-makes some lines, but there appears to be no radical re-working or re-configuration of lines for local residents. Its enmeshment re-enforces and re-vitalizes other pre-existing lines, such as those that define with social status and those delineating social difference.

Discussion

This 'thinking through lines' locates MONA within the everyday life Glenorchy. It is an occurrence within a multiplicity of other socio-natural occurrences; an occurrence within the weaving of the land, composed through a myriad of lines produced and reproduced by residents and other local occurrences such as the river, hills, boat, roads, municipal boundaries, social divides, walkways, and music. In effect, MONA creates no new lines but

is constituted within a tissue of pre-existing lines; within the (re)production of a complexity of dynamic lines that include the social, physical, historical and the political. Even the lines of flight that offer up space and freedom from fixivity and routine, history and habits, do not exist because of MONA. They do not entail a radical re-weaving of the textures of the land, but occur as part of Glenorchy's tissue of everyday life. For example, lines that offer up space and freedom do not necessarily foreclose or reconfigure lines of social differentiation, though they may represent moments and places of respite.

In this tissue of lines there is little evidence of a Bilbao Effect – of significant perhaps even radical changes brought about by MONA's presence in the area.

In fact, even though governments around the world continue to attempt to emulate the Bilbao Effect (Michael, 2015), it is an effect that has been described as a myth (Plaza et al., 2009). The Bilbao Guggenheim makes a significant contribution to tourism imagine-making and promotions, but no change to the region's structural and social issues, and a likely negative impact on local arts and creativity (Baniotopoulou, 2001).

In terms of cultural initiatives more generally, Evans (2005) and Booth (2014b) note that aspirations for culture-led regeneration and social transformation are usually not met, or if they are, they are not sustained. Dean et al. (2010) observes that a reason for this is that there is often no clear understanding of who and what is being regenerated, and who and

what is being represented. Place, or dimensions associated with the concept of place, are

drawn upon by some to address this and related issues. There is work that considers the

impact of scale and regionality on understandings of culture, the distribution of cultural

engagement and the impacts of cultural initiatives (e.g. Gibson et al., 2010; Harvey et al.,

2012; Jayne et al., 2010; Waitt and Gibson, 2009) and that challenges assumptions made

about specific types of places regarding the presence or absence of culture (e.g. Collis et al.,

2013; Felton et al., 2010; Felton and Collis, 2012; Gibson, 2010; Gibson et al., 2012).

However, as in the social sciences more generally (Anderson et al. 2010; Sin, 2003; Tuck

and McKenzie. 2015a), places struggle to find a place in the literature of cultural-led effect

and impact. Explicit conceptions of place appear few and far between, there is little

consideration of how different conceptualizations of place may inform understandings of

effect, and how implicit and unexamined conceptualizations may guarantee that the social

transformation associated with a range of cultural interventions remains aspirational rather

than actual.

The lack of reflexivity regarding implicit conceptualisations of place is evident in

Gilmore's (2013) identification of presuppositions regarding places in measures of cultural

engagement and assets. She describes a 'deficit' model of arts engagement – a model that

currently dominates cultural policy and policy implementation, in the United Kingdom at

least. It is tied to the idea that by introducing arts and culture into communities identified as in deficit, cultural engagement will be facilitated and tangible positive social change will take place. Yet, as Gilmore (2013) illustrates in Macclesfield, north-west England there are significant limitations with this model. The idea of place embodied within the deficit model and many associated measures relies upon an implicit conception of place as bordered and static. Through one measure, for example, Macclesfield is identified as lacking cultural assets such as a theatre, music venue, arts festival and organizations in receipt of government arts funding, and is thus conceived as a cultural desert, and in a sense lifeless in the face of a supposed lack of arts and culture. (Gilmore, 2013).

However, Gilmore observes that places embody 'local knowledge of contingencies and place specificities' (Gilmore, 2013: 94), and are constituted through complex, unbounded and dynamic social and cultural relations. Another measure, that appears more sensitive to these, instead identified Macclesfield as a hive of cultural activity. This measure took into account localized every day and vernacular cultural activities, and the ability of many residents to travel into nearby Manchester for engagement with arts and culture.

Another implicit assumption about place embodied within the deficit model – specifically a deficit model mobilised on the basis that an arts and cultural intervention will inevitably change a community and a place for the better – is the idea that a place without arts and

culture possesses vacant space available for colonization. Change, in effect, takes place through the filling up of this vacant space with arts and culture.

Places such as Glenorchy can be characterized as bland, backward and in need of arts and culture, or an arts and culture invention. As Franklin, for example, claims in relation to MONA's location in Glenorchy:

> nobody could have predicted the arrival of a world-class museum
> and art gallery on the rust-belt shores of the River Derwent in the
> working-class suburb of Glenorchy, Hobart. And who would argue
> with the idea that art and cultural expression aren't precisely what
> such places want? (Franklin, 2014: 10).

Such accounts of place create a space, in effect, for imagining what a significant impact a new and large cultural institution would create. Within such an understanding of place, an institution like MONA is envisaged to create an art and cultural epicentre, the impact and influence of which radiates out into assumed vacant space and acts upon this community through the occupation of this space.

Jayne (2004) observes, in relation to Stoke-on-Trent in the UK, that the 'working classes and working-class spaces and places are in a continuous process of trying to halt losses, rather than trading up and accruing added cultural capital' (Jayne, 2004: 202). He

emphasizes that this does not suggest that working-class culture breeds cultural inertia or vice versa. Rather, that 'where such a relationship exists, it is constituted through a complex and specific dialectic of discourses that surround class and identity formation, and particular economic, political, social, cultural and spatial trajectories of spaces and places' (Jayne, 2004: 202). He sees this as central to why creative industries strategies and initiatives continue to fail in Stoke-on-Trent. These strategies and initiatives – contra presuppositions implicit within a deficit model – do not colonize vacant space, but become part of the tissue of lines including a plethora of pre-existing lines that can dilute, rearrange, destabilize or negate intentions, aspirations or envisaged effects.

As the Glenorchy line narrative illustrates there is also no vacant space in this place. The complexities of everyday life make up the whole of a place, though importantly not through exclusion. MONA instead becomes part and parcel of the tissue of everyday life.

Tuck and McKenzie (2015b) identify three reasons for a lack of deep engagement with place in the social sciences more generally: the ongoing reverberations of the Descartian separation of nature and culture; the post-modern emphasize on social construction, in which humanist conceptions of the social continue to dominate; and settler colonialism premised on displacement and dispossession that denies or sidesteps considering the violent and disfiguring impacts on places – on societies, cultures and ecologies – and thus avoids

the confronting act of thinking deeply about places. Addressing these deeply rooted reasons

for overlooking place is complex, not least from a standpoint within a settler society.

However thinking through lines does, I think, open up methodological opportunities that

hold the possibility of waylaying implicit and problematic assumptions about place such as

the deficit model identified by Gilmore (2013), as well as providing signposts for more

robust engagement with place within the social sciences.

As more-than-human co-constitutions these lines offer a hybridization of the social and the

natural (Whatmore, 2007). Each one of the lines constitute places as socio-natural tissue.

The lines of sight and sounds, for example, inhabit what Ingold terms a 'weather world' – a

fluxing medium in-between substrate and atmosphere within which these less tangible lines

swirl.

> The relation between land and weather does not cut across an
>
> impermeable interface between earth and sky but is rather one
>
> *between the binding and unbinding of the world*. In the open world,
>
> the task of habitation is to bind substances and the medium into
>
> living forms. But bindings are not boundaries, and they no more
>
> contain the world, or enclose it, than does a knot contain the threads
>
> from which it is tied. To inhabit the open is not, then, to be stranded

on a closed surface but to be immersed in the fluxes of the medium,

in the incessant movements of wind and weather (Ingold, 2008:

1803-1804).

Within this binding and unbinding, sights, sounds and emotions arise not from the

interaction *between* things and beings, but *in-between* as elements of atmosphere. Such an

understanding imbues these swirling lines with a realness or a concreteness that escapes

precepts of subjectivity and intervenes in ideas of humanist cerebral-centricity (Booth,

2014a). Perception and emotion are of this world rather than contained and confined within

the self. As Ingold observes in relation to lines of sound and sight,

all sound, as it escapes from the gridlock of silence, is fugitive: its

lines are what Deleuze and Guattari call 'lines of flight'. And as

with all such lines, they do not connect, as does a straight line from

source to recipient, but swirl in the in-between (Ingold, 2015: 111).

Likewise, for a line of sight, 'we feel it from within, as an affect' (Ingold, 2015: 94), thus

there is no between, no straight line connecting self with object and, in effect, no distance

between the perceiver and perceived.

A line narrative constructed through these lines offers an account of socio-natural places.

Lines of social distinction are interwoven with roadways the route of which are, in part,

constructed in response of terrain and substrate. Lines of social exclusion premised on the

ability and accessibility of walking as pleasant wayfaring are interwoven with the steepness

of a hill and the distance along the foreshore. Through this narration, lines of flight

(Deleuze and Guattari, 1980) emerge that free some people, some of the time and in some

locations from a structured social world; from striated space. Like the music that ebbs and

flows from MONA and into the homes and gardens of nearby residents, these lines offer

momentary respite within 'smooth space' – space that is constituted in relation to rock,

wind and air.

In social (humanist) representations of place, places are most often compartmentalised

within a small and discrete section, and are largely descriptions of physical aspects. In

thinking through lines there is the possibility that the place – in this case Glenorchy

municipality – will be heard throughout the research. The lines recounted by participants

slowly and intricately melding within the narrative in weaving some textures of the land.

It is important to note that I make no claim to hear the voice or voices of the local

community, nor that I speak *for* the place in some way. Claims to speak for, or represent

places – particularly 'natural' and wilderness places – have been made before and are justly

criticized regarding a lack of reflexivity pertaining to issues of power and who claims to be

able to hear and thus represent nature (Booth and Williams, 2014; Vogel, 2006). Instead, it

is more-than-human agency that speaks and is represented through this line narrative; an agency embodied within 'chains of translation of varying kinds and lengths which weave sound, vision, gesture, and scent through all manner of bodies, elements, instruments, and artefacts' (Whatmore, 2007: 342). Thus the lines speak to us of the place; the weaving of the participants, myself, the research process and river, walkway, music and bedrock into a tissue of lines within which Glenorchy speaks and is heard. The reader is invited to become part of the tissue of lines that is the place.

There appear to be a number of possible methods for 'thinking through lines', including in-depth interviews and focus groups, documentary and content analysis, mapping and other visual techniques. Locating lines in their various and dynamic manifestations appears unlikely to be difficult. However, that said, reflexivity regarding method choice and employment appears warranted. How these lines are constituted, who has been involved in their constitution and why, are important questions to be addressed. When I crossed the 'flannette curtain' to interview Janet, though I recognised this line as a physical manifestation of social difference, I assumed myself free of the history and the stigma embodied in its constitution. Without realising, I had imagined that in crossing the line I, at least momentarily, dismantled it. However, I rapidly became aware that it was the tendrils that located me on its other – more affluent and privileged – side that continued to sustain

me, wherever I was. Small actions, such my choice in pizza toppings for the Chigwell focus group, embody these connections and (inadvertently) re-enforce power structures. Careful consideration of who's lines – which people, what documents and whose maps – will add legitimacy to any line analysis and associated representations, not the least in terms of transparency regarding the impact of unequal power relations.

Conclusion

Place matters in research (Anderson et al. 2010; Booth, 2014a; Tuck and McKenzie, 2015a, 2015b; Widdop and Cutts, 2012). However, how one conceptualizes place in research matters more. Accounts that overlook the place within which the research is located, or in which place in compartmentalized and reduced in descriptive accounts, implicitly (re)produce places in particular and problematic ways as illustrated with regards to the deficit model of arts and cultural engagement. Such conceptualizations are likely to enact Tuck and McKenzie's (2015b) observations regarding the nature/culture dualism, humanist understandings of the social, and the settler instinct for colonization. They are also likely to rely upon the idea of there being vacant space within the relational complexity of places into which arts and culture can be inserted and thus cause effect.

Undertaking a line analysis of a place-based social phenomenon provides signposts for a line methodology and can contribute to the advancement of research in which place

matters. First and foremost, lines – even the more ethereal lines of sight and sound – offer a tangible reality with which engage, and are likely to appear in profusion through the employment of a diversity of well-established methods such as interviews and focus groups. Lines also appear resistant to reduction within humanist constructions; they lend themselves to being understood as socio-natural rather than social. A wall or a road may be defined an object – a human created object – yet the line created by each of these inherently embodies the flux of air and substrate; the binding and unbinding of the world.

Bringing transparency and legitimacy to research in which places – as tissues of lines – matter, requires attention to some on-going themes in qualitative research: reflexivity pertaining to the unequal and uneven distribution of power, including careful consideration of what line and who's place; to writing style and other modes of representation; and regarding the role of the researcher. In many ways a line methodology appears likely to cover some familiar terrain, yet such a methodology also promises to contribute to robust thinking about the importance of place in research. It is difficult to see how place and places cannot matter when understood as tissues of lines. It also presents a challenge to think more deeply about different concepts of place as how one understands place has an impact on the research process and findings. Not making this understanding explicit – not developing and presenting a logic for who, when, what, how and why – reduces research

validity. This is clearly demonstrated in relation to research into the impact and effect of cultural initiatives in disadvantaged places.

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[1] http://www.architectureanddesign.com.au/news/tasmanian-first-as-mona-takes-top-2012-national-ar

[2] Originally quoted in Booth et al. (2017: 22).

[3] 'Bogan' is a derogatory term for Australians of low social status.

[4] Originally quoted in Booth et al. (2017: 21).