


Walking Histories, Un/making Places: Walking Tours as Ethnography of Place

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Abstract

This article is a methodological examination situated within a larger multisited project on the formation and regulation of communities of sex workers in Yokohama, Japan, and Vancouver, Canada, in historical and social discourse. Tracing the fragmented and elliptical histories of these communities, we are attentive to the potential for walking, and specifically walking tours, as an ethnographic method, a mode of historical engagement, and a means to reflect on our unfolding and shifting space–body relationships as we move across spaces of inquiry with varying levels of ease/tension. We seek to understand walking tours as a means and method to critically engage the histories that we seek to uncover and the absences we face in our attempts to uncover them—not only the social relations that constitute and are constituted by the space but also our own relationship to current communities that exist in the space—and the ways our lifeworld entanglements interfere with and give shape to our research endeavors. We problematize academic tendencies to situate lifeworld entanglements as secondary or superfluous to the research process. By tactically spatializing our personal experiences in a series of endnoted digressions, we make strange academic writing conventions of appropriate form and content.

Keywords

walking tour, ethnography of place, methodology, multisited research, history, memory, sex work

Introduction

This article is an iterative moment in an ongoing joint project, a project that brings together already developed layers of personal and professional knowledge and embodied experience around sites of our individual research practices: Koganecho in Yokohama, Japan, and the Downtown Eastside in Vancouver, Canada. The sites are made comparable in the project not through observable patterns or characteristics but through particular absences of material and discursive traces and documentation of communities of sex workers. In vastly different spatio-temporal complexes (late 19th- to early 20th-century Vancouver and postwar to early 21st-century Yokohama), communities of sex workers occupied these neighborhoods, which were implicitly and explicitly zoned, coded, and governed as spaces for deviant or immoral behavior. We are

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drawn to the neighborhoods independently as the home places or dwellings of communities of people whose relationship to space was made precarious by legal-juridical interventions, social exclusions, and community policing and who were ultimately forced to leave. We are compelled by lack of documentation to enter into these spaces and encounter their absences, to understand how spatial codings and practices, including our own actions filtered through our institutional and social entanglements, can obscure and limit access to fragmented and marginalized histories.

Toward this goal, we participated in walking tours as a methodology, to seek out spatialized, lived, sensually experienced deviations from abstract historical narratives. However, in the process of participating in these walking tours, we realized that our own social and institutional entanglements influence our experience and possibly move us away from the histories we are seeking out. In this article, we are interested in how these entanglements, our multiple subjectivities as mother, lover, friend, student, researcher, writer, are with us in the field and intervene in our research. We are motivated to explore both the experiential possibilities and the limits of walking as a methodology. We reflect on how the embodied practice of walking facilitates our bearing witness to erasures through historical narratives but is also constrained by lifeworld entanglements and institutionalized practices of research and knowledge production, which are implicated in the production and reproduction of transhistorical inclusions and cohesions. We begin with broad descriptions of the communities of sex workers in Koganecho, Yokohama, and the Downtown Eastside of Vancouver as context for our research interventions.

Koganecho, "Golden Town" in English, is a marginalized neighborhood of Yokohama that, during the post-World War II occupation by Allied Forces, developed out of a black market of contraband brought in from the U.S. base. By the 1960s, Koganecho developed a reputation as a notorious breeding ground for the drug market and sex trade (Yagisawa, 2006). Unlicensed little brothels called *chon-no-ma* (the literal translation of which is "a little moment, or space") were built in the Keikyū train underpass along the Ooka River offering services for low-income Japanese men who had migrated to Yokohama to find work at its rapidly industrializing port. In the 1980s, as Japan's economy grew, Koganecho started to absorb transnational migrant women, many of them trafficked from developing countries of East Asia, Southeast Asia, South America, and the former Soviet regions. In the end, transnational migrant women made up the majority of the sex workers working in Koganecho, and their customers included both white-collar corporate employees and working-class men. Throughout these developments, Koganecho maintained a reputation as an immoral site of crime, the drug trade, prostitution, and disease. Currently, there is not a single *chon-no-ma* remaining in the Koganecho district. In January 2005, a large-scale raid organized by the Kanagawa Prefectural Police and the municipal government of the City of Yokohama eradicated all sex businesses in Koganecho. *Chon-no-ma* were uprooted, and transnational migrant sex workers virtually disappeared from the city's landscape. There is no official account of what happened to the women who used to work in Koganecho.

In the late 19th and the early 20th centuries, the neighborhood surrounding Powell Grounds, now called Oppenheimer Park, developed as the commercial center for the Japanese Canadian community of Vancouver, supporting the largely single, male population. Around 1911, a red-light district formed in the neighborhood, having been moved out of Dupont Street in Chinatown due to development pressures and increasingly organized expressions of moral and social panic. Until approximately 1914, Japantown was home to the unofficial, restricted red-light district in Vancouver. Documentation of the women who worked in these brothels is difficult to uncover, though historian Daniel Francis (2006) broadly indicates that from 1906 many women came north from San Francisco, and later there was an influx of women from Washington and Oregon. The moral panic around prostitution often intersected with anti-Asian sentiments, and "prostitution" was dubbed "white slavery" by social reformers. Concurrently, efforts were made from within the Japanese Canadian community to socially and morally distance themselves from the brothel district, for example, through a series of newspaper articles expressing disapproval

("Makutsu Tankenki," 1908-1909, 1912). The brothel district in this neighborhood was dismantled, or at least symbolically declared "closed" by the Vancouver Police Department, in 1914 (Francis, 2006), and the Japanese Canadian response to, patronage of, or otherwise involvement in sex work in Japantown is obscured in historical narratives of this time period, a matter we have continuously come up against in our research. Today, the former Japantown neighborhood is located in the Downtown Eastside of Vancouver, an area that continues to be constructed as deviant in popular representations, related to high rates of poverty, homelessness, and addiction.

These are two geographically and temporally disparate spaces and communities of sex workers, spatially and discursively formed, which have been regulated and dismantled through institutional and regulatory pressures, and subsequently obscured in social and historical accounts. Both communities were spatially organized and policed in sanctioned (yet immorally coded) zones, dismantled when deemed politically or economically necessary, and marginalized or rendered invisible in historical narratives of the urban spaces in which they lived and to which they contributed and helped shape. We aspire to activate histories not simply as a missing piece in a larger narrative; rather, we approach these histories as questions that unsettle presumptions of social and historical inclusion and cohesion. Our larger project, which will ultimately fail, is to recover a sense of the everyday practices and presence of communities of sex workers. This project fails because the women are absent and their traces have been made invisible to us, as the spaces they occupied have been written and overwritten with historical narratives that mark their existence by category and dates only. In this article, we seek out methodologies that allow tensions and uncertainties to remain a present, conscious part of the research practice. We elaborate on this process by detailing our attempted encounters with the histories of sex workers in our ongoing, multisited research in Yokohama and Vancouver, approached through a series of institutionally and independently organized walking tours. The histories we have accumulated are marked by and fraught with the tensions of an absence of our objects of study. Our participation in the walking tours is part method and part gestural critique of the layers of knowledge production that enact such absences, including those constraints that shape academic research and writing.

We are also formally attentive to spatialized and embodied entanglements in the following accounts of our research, through a series of noted digressions that problematize the research process. In this way, our critical and creative orientations are reflected in the formatting and structure of the text in an attempt to intervene in the well-established practices of the formation of knowledge. Below, we introduce the sites of our research and explore the methodological implications of walking tours on our objects of study, as well as the implications of our own lifeworld entanglements as they are activated in the context of doing research by offering, in a succession of notes, our reflections on the seemingly mundane, quotidian interferences into our research. We see this intervention as a continuation of and contribution to "experimental" academic practices taking shape in our intellectual community in Vancouver, Canada, that trouble the hierarchies of knowledge that have cohered into conventions of visual and textual representation (McAllister, 2011; Miki, 1998; Robertson & Culhane, 2005). We aim to make strange the academic writing conventions and practices that are anticipated and incorporated at the research stage and followed through to the point of publication, the ostensible "end point" of knowledge production. Here, we expand the use of the footnote, from a space for superfluous, interesting but secondary information, to a space for our reflections on our personal lifeworlds, our anxieties and occupations, and our embodied and sensual experience of research: experiences that are not the legitimate domain of academic knowledge.

Walking Histories, Un/making Places

Walking has been incorporated into ethnographic methodology by a number of scholars who study sociocultural aspects of urban space, for whom walking offers an alternative way to

understand and critically engage in urban space through sensory and embodied experiences. In the texts that have been established as foundational in this area, walking is suggested as both a poetic and a political practice; walking enables one to “listen” to “a house, a street, a city”; the rhythms and temporalities that constitute the materiality of the city space (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 229) and pedestrian movements give “shape to spaces” and “weave places together” through “tactile apprehension and kinesthetic appropriation” (de Certeau, 1984, p. 97). In particular, the work of Michel de Certeau, for whom walking is a means of sensing and recuperating history “from below,” has inspired walking as an ethnographic methodology, characterized as a “means of both creating new embodied ways of knowing and producing scholarly narrative” (Pink, O’Neill, & Radley, 2010, p. 1). This methodology is premised largely on de Certeau’s (1984) bifurcation of space as strategically produced from above by those with the power to empty and manipulate space, such as the colonial strategist or the urban planner, and the tactical production of space from below through the infinite mechanisms of spatial negotiation in everyday life.

However, central to the burgeoning practice of walking as methodology are critical amendments to de Certeau’s binaristic formulation. Maria Lugones (2003) protests the dichotomization of the embodied, everyday “tactical” engagements of users of space and the “strategic” conceptualizations of urban planners that impose and police socially fragmenting boundaries. Speaking specifically to the everyday practices of the streetwalker, Lugones adapts de Certeau’s terminology to develop a theory of resistance, not of cumulative operational combinations of individual tacticians but through the individual paths of streetwalkers that “refigure the possibilities of the oppressed from within the complexities of the social” (p. 216). In their daily practice, streetwalkers are at once strategists and tacticians, intentionally maneuvering through concrete scenarios structured by abstract, dominant logics. In Lugones’s epistemological framework, the movements of streetwalkers are intersubjective and dispersed contributions to social production and reproduction. “Such an epistemology,” writes Lugones (2003),

dissociates itself from individualistic perspectivalism in favor of a more dispersed, more complex, multiple, interactive, uncertain, and necessarily engaged understanding of the social. It takes up embodied attention to the micro mechanisms of power and their being met with creative resistance. And it seeks to follow the paths of resistant intentionality in transgression of the tactic/strategy dichotomy. This also requires understanding intentionality as lying between rather than in subjects, subjects that are neither monolithically nor monologically understood. (p. 208)

The theoretical dissolution of strict binaries (strategy/tactic, abstract/concrete, and distance/myopia) and an attention to intersubjective place production bear implications for ethnographic practices, such as walking. Walking as methodology has developed to offer an embodied way of understanding others’ relationships to place and history and how their movements and memories constitute the imaginary and material reality of the space. Drawing on Tim Ingold’s work on body in place, Sara Pink (2008) suggests that place is made up of “‘entangled’ pathways” (p. 179) and theorizes the walking tour as a “place-making” practice. But this also has implication for the researcher. When walking is incorporated into ethnography, ethnographers find themselves coimplicated in placemaking, where both the research participants and the ethnographers actively participate in the constitution of ethnographic place. Instead of being passive objects of distant observation, the place demands of ethnographers a “fuller performative, corporeal engagement with space and . . . with memory” (Edensor, 2005, p. 834). The sensuous world of ethnographic place consumes ethnographers (Stoller, 1997, p. 23), creating the most immediate and embodied relationship of the ethnographers to their place of research. However, ethnographers also embody social, institutional, and experiential knowledge and practices that mediate emplaced interactions and ethnographic explorations. Emplaced ethnographers are inevitably conditioned by different forms of regulation imposed on their bodies by powerful institutions (Edensor, 2010). By

conforming to a set of rules and routes installed by them, ethnographers' walks contribute to the reproduction of what Lefebvre (1991) calls "representations of space," the dominant space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers, and social engineers (p. 38). At the same time, being part of the process of place production, ethnographic walks also potentially offer sites of intervention and negotiation into prevailing historical narratives and spatial configurations. Participation in guided walking tours may enable ethnographers to collaborate with the tour guides whose "imagination seeks to change and appropriate" the definitions of the space imposed by superstructural control (Lefebvre, as cited in Bendiner-Viani, 2005, p. 461).

In the interest of performing embodied interventions with places where communities have been actively erased, and understanding the potential and limitations of bringing our own life-world entanglements into the field, we participated in a series of walking tours in Vancouver in July and August of 2012 and in Yokohama in February and March of 2013. A selection of these are discussed below, including the following: a tour mapping out significant events, protests, and spaces related to Vancouver's early labor history, led by Vancouver author and academic Michael Barnholden; the Sins of the City walking tour led by the Vancouver Police Museum; the Japantown tour led by the Nikkei National Museum; a tour that introduces postwar history of neglected neighborhoods of Yokohama, led by local advocate Tadafumi Tamura; and the self-guided Map of Naka Ward's Commemorative Monuments produced by the municipal government of Naka Ward, Yokohama. In this article, we explore how walking in these tours activated, intervened with or reproduced our relationship to place, in both Yokohama and Vancouver.

Michael Barnholden's labor history tour and Tadafumi Tamura's Yokohama tour, though both historical in content, were ultimately oriented toward the transformation of present and future social relations. For the first, Barnholden's tour,¹ we met in Victory Square, historically a site of gathering and protest, and moved south toward Rogers Arena and east into Chinatown. The tour moved very briefly into Japantown and did not provide much detail of its history, except through the anti-Asian riot of 1907, when a rally organized by the American Knights of Labor at city hall had turned violent and moved through Chinatown and Japantown, breaking shop windows and erupting in brawls. No mention was made of the history of sex work in the neighborhood, though Barnholden (2005), the author of *Reading the Riot Act: A Brief History of Riots in Vancouver*, in his commentary, layers historical labor conflicts, sites, and pathways of protest with current political and social contestations, particularly over policing homelessness, property values, and affordability.

Tamura's tour was the only guided tour we participated in Yokohama. Being critical of the official narrative of Yokohama's history that tends to focus on its prewar history and Westernization of the city, Tamura offers postwar history of Yokohama and takes its participants to neglected areas in the inner city of Yokohama. His narrative focuses on how Yokohama has been built on an underground economy and labor, such as prostitution, gambling, black market trade, as well as manual labor, most of which has been supported by migrants from developing countries. His tour started right in Koganecho at a former chon-no-ma in which he operated a bar. He also took us to other districts, including Kotobukicho, a social housing district; Chinatown; Nakamuracho, a district that historically attracted migrants from Korea and Okinawa; and Maganecho, a former red-light district.²

In both instances, the tours were independently written and initiated by the tour guides; and the tours were actively challenging or disarticulating dominant understandings of place, both through oppositional historical narrative strategies and articulating those histories to present politics of space production. In this way, these tours activated not only a remembered past but also a direct present and imagined future (Pink, 2008); they offer what might be characterized as a "redemptive history" (Benjamin, 1999, as cited in Richardson, 2005) that is future oriented through its critique of modernity and historicity. For example, Tamura's tour brings to surface

and activates memories and histories that have been actively erased in preparation for future development. In Koganecho, the history of the neighborhood is made immediate through the tour: Tamura pointed to the remaining red awnings, a signifier of the former brothels, and also to the traces left by the red awnings that had been removed, as the buildings, one by one, are renovated into artist studios. He explained that the air conditioners that hang off the external walls correspond to the number of women who worked in a building, as each room would require its own air conditioner in the summer months. As we walked through Koganecho, Tamura unraveled the various actors, organizational influences, and regulatory influences that have been entangled in the formation of the neighborhood, from the migrant sex workers who lived in other neighborhoods of Yokohama but came to Koganecho each day to work in the Yakuza-regulated brothels, to the police who until 2005 historically tolerated criminal activity, and to the nonprofit organization that now manages a large number of the former brothels as artist studios.³ The material landscape evoked not a reified past but the intersections of active historical and social relations, and walking and talking through this landscape was an opportunity to become consciously entangled in those relations.

However, walking as ethnographic engagement for us also became as much if not more about encountering historical absences than identifying historical remains, particularly as our walks were circumscribed and mediated by historical walking tours. These tours gathered and selectively organized memory in a way that at times delimits the productive world-making potential of walking. In the historical walking tour genre, exemplified by the Nikkei Museum tour of Japantown and the Police Museum's Sins of the City tour, pathway entanglements are circumscribed by the narrative formations mapped onto the physical environment. The histories told mediate spatial interactions and understandings by directing and organizing our sensory experiences, largely to the visual and material remains that are evocative of the remembered past, selectively structured within the parameters of the narrative framework.⁴ The layers of meaning that are activated through this mediation are also an active repression or exclusion, insofar as they impose an abstract historical logic on the immediate present, and extraneous histories and lived community formations and activities are bracketed out to suit the narrative formation.

The Police Museum's Sins of the City walking tour imposes often racialized and spectacular narratives of drug trafficking, prostitution, and bootlegging onto a neighborhood that is in the present regularly depicted as pathologically diseased and morally depraved: discourses that intersect with an immense pressure to redevelop the area. The most sensational and salacious of the tours in which we participated is described on the Police Museum website as a way to "experience the world of a cop in the 1920s, when Vancouver was a seething hub of sex, drugs, booze [sic] and organized crime" by moving through "Chinatown and Gastown on the lookout for brothels, bootlegging joints, gambling houses and opium dens" (Vancouver Police Museum, 2012).⁵ This is the one tour that directly addresses the history of brothels and red-light districts in Vancouver, and it does enter Japantown to point to specific locations of brothels. Contrary to historical literature we had found, the tour indicated that the red-light district of Vancouver was located in Japantown from 1908 to 1916, and one Japanese woman was named as a madame at a location just on the fringe of Japantown. From the quieter, light industrial, and residential Japantown, the tour moved toward Main and Hastings, an intersection often the subject of media scrutiny for its open drug market, guided by stories of bootlegging, prostitution, and political corruption in the early 20th century; wound through the currently rapidly gentrifying Chinatown to trace a history of gambling and opium distribution; and ended in Gastown, a busy commercial district and tourist destination that was the site of the first saloon and brothel in Vancouver.

The Naka Ward Commemorative Monuments tour is a self-guided tour constructed by the municipal government that we walked to understand how Yokohama's history is spatialized in the city. The tour is advertised on the website of Naka Ward as a map that "introduc[es] major commemorative monuments, literary monuments, histor[ic] spots in Naka Ward." We

downloaded an English version of the map onto a smart phone and followed its suggested route. There are in total nine “monuments” on the map, without a supporting narrative, though one emerges in the process: Except for monuments that commemorate Japanese persons, one for the writer Shin Hasegawa and the other for Kanbei Yoshida, who reclaimed a large part of today’s inner city that used to be an inland sea, the monuments celebrate Yokohama for being the gateway for Western contact and Western technologies that were introduced into Japan. They include the first railway, the site of the first gas company, the site of the modern municipal water supply system, and a Mexican delegation of astronomers.^{6,7}

Resistances to and practical and technical interventions in our relationship to the production of space through historical narrativization were also affectively experienced as dissonances between our bodies and the places we toured. Despite our physical emplacement and our active intervention through guided navigations, we carry with us our own social entanglements that potentially interrupt our immersed engagements; these social entanglements are physically unmoored and are activated through us in our local and trans-pacific research practices as we traverse different spatial configurations. In our walks, there were instances where our personal social lives unexpectedly gave shape to our walking experience. Whereas we initially expected that our political commitment, social awareness, and academic openness would allow us to engage in the places, with our bodies, in ways that were alternative to how the dominant narratives tell us what being in those neighborhoods mean, different aspects of our social lives disrupted our assumptions and affected our embodied experience of walking.

Feelings of being out of place arose when we were confronted with a lack of recognition of presence and absence of communities whose lifeworlds are or very recently were located in the Downtown Eastside of Vancouver and Koganecho. For example, the Nikkei Museum, formerly the Japanese Canadian National Museum, begins and ends its tour with the two active Japanese Canadian community organizations that remain in the neighborhood: the Buddhist Temple and the Vancouver Japanese Language School. Temporally, the tour is circumscribed by the early formation of Japantown, around 1890, and ends with the internment of Japanese Canadians during the Second World War. Covering the shortest distance of the three tours, the Nikkei Museum tour locates its historical narratives through the built environment. As the tour moves past houses and storefronts, it details largely the commercial uses at each site, as boarding houses, general stores, confectioneries, and pharmacies among others, and highlights the architectural and material remains of the past community, such as the name of a Japanese Canadian shop owner tiled into a entranceway, the use of false fronts to create the illusion of height and breezeways to maximize commercial space, and the additive architectural style known as “nagaya.” The Nikkei Museum tour is implicitly an act of resistance to the erasure of the Japanese Canadian community through their dispossession and internment during World War II that has taken the form of detailing largely commercial activities in Japantown, set against the longer formation and dismantling of the Japanese Canadian community.⁸ The tour shares a similar political goal with Barnholden and Tamura’s tours as it problematizes marginalization of particular histories over others and offers an alternative understanding of the neighborhood. However, the Nikkei Museum tour differed from those two tours for its lack of engagement with the present and future of the neighborhood. Its narrative fills the absence of Japanese Canadian community with a set of historical facts and past presence, and it does not address or acknowledge the current sociopolitical condition of the neighborhood, which is deeply embedded in the history of colonialism in Canada.⁹

Conclusion

Our experiences walking and talking in the field in our multisited study and articulations of those experiences bring us in contact with and implicate our bodies in the entanglements of spatial production. We encounter, reproduce, and undo those entanglements constituted by active

participation and the forces and discourses of history and politics as we make our way through the urban neighborhoods that we study. Much of the literature on walking as a methodology has been especially attentive to the positive and progressive potential of walking: as a means of understanding deep community and individual connections to place or the very radical uncertainty of one's connection to place (Bendiner-Viani, 2005; Irving, 2010), as a challenge to reifying commemorative practices (Edensor, 2005), as a way of creating embodied ways of knowing (Pink et al., 2010), as well as producing shared understandings of space and "empathetic witnessing" through collaborative practices (O'Neill & Hubbard, 2010). Through our reflections on our fieldwork in Vancouver, Canada, and Yokohama, Japan, we seek to understand how walking as a methodological practice also requires attention to the constraints of narrative strategies through walking—the constraints of positionality, knowledge, experience, and our own social entanglements as they intervene in research practices and activate omissions and embodied resistances to the immersive and immediate potential of walking.

Experiential gaps, gaps in historical narrative, or lack of acknowledgement or recognition of social relationships or configurations surface and shape the ethnographic practice of walking, talking, and sharing stories. Within the context of our multisited work on communities of sex workers who have been marginalized and displaced, whose stories have been obscured, and whose lifeworlds may not have left physical traces, the embodied and emplaced practice of walking offers a point of entry, a means to affectively experience the limits and affordances of place making through spatial practice. However, in the process, we also experience the force of our own personal and professional experience in a place; our research orientations, aims, and assumptions; and our other preoccupations and limitations as they are brought to bear on our ethnographic fieldwork and shape the direction of the project, as well as our embodied and affective experiences of place.

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Notes

1. Ayaka: We participated in Barnholden's tour in the summer of 2012. Unfortunately, it was raining just like other days we visited the Downtown Eastside to walk its neighborhood. Throughout the tour, I was holding my voice recorder and iPhone camera with my left hand and my umbrella with my right hand. It was frustrating enough that I had to keep holding the umbrella straight so that my devices did not get wet, but I also had to make sure the recorder was working properly. When Barnholden was giving us elaborate information about a historic building, which currently houses an artist-run center, I realized that I had pushed a speed control button on my voice recorder by mistake. Up to that point, the tour was recorded with a reduced speed. Panicking, I instantly put all my attention to solving the technical problem. In the end, my frustration from having to handle multiple devices while avoiding the rain overshadowed other aspects of the tour and the narrative itself.
2. Ayaka: We conducted our fieldwork in Yokohama from February 22 to March 6, 2013. I had already been in Yokohama for my own dissertation research for 4 months when Julia visited to conduct research for our coproject. Since it was the first time for Julia to visit Yokohama and she does not speak

Japanese, naturally I came to act as a guide and translator who navigated her through the city. Having Julia in Yokohama allowed me to experience the city anew. Walking in the city as we spoke in English and chatted about things that were happening back in Vancouver brought me back to the Canadian and academic parts of myself, which have different mindsets and frameworks to view the world, and had been slipping away from me as I was immersing myself in the local community where I was conducting my ethnographic research. Instead of feeling disconnected from the local neighborhood, it felt like part of Vancouver was transported to Yokohama; two spaces were connected and my two subjectivities were fused. At the same time, having a point of reference (Vancouver) and having to translate things we see, hear, and feel to the language we share (English) also conditioned the way we experienced the walking activities in Yokohama.

In Tamura's tour I decided to focus on translating the tour to Julia. I was comfortable taking this role because it was the second time for me to participate in his tour and I was already familiar with his narrative based on a series of conversations we had throughout my own fieldwork. However, because I already knew his tour I also noticed that he altered his narrative slightly, omitting or adding information based on his assumptions about what Julia may or may not understand given her cultural background. For example, when we passed by Maganecho, a former red-light district, which was active until 1956 when prostitution became illegal, he entirely skipped the historical information about the neighborhood. Later he told me that he did so to avoid going too much into detail about how the traditional red-light district was organized around the shrine and how religion was part of the cultural practice of those who lived and worked there. He also expressed to me that he was tired by then as the tour ended up being longer than normal. He improvised the tour by adding extra sites that he would not usually include. Some of those sites were more popular, tourist places that do not necessarily fit in his narrative, but he added them to give Julia an opportunity to see the city in a more comprehensive but perhaps more stereotypical way.

3. Julia: My experience in Yokohama was formed partly out of my anxiety around the cultural and language barriers to properly conducting research. I was entirely dependent on Ayaka's careful translations and thoughtful reflections on cultural, political, and social context, a tremendous amount of work that I felt I could only minimally alleviate if I quickly absorbed information to avoid repetition. Despite this anxiety and despite my desire for an embodied openness that might subvert rationalizing modes of understanding and producing space, I often searched in what felt like a clumsy manner for answers that would satisfy my need for a cultural framework to "interpret" the foreign space I occupied. How is it, I might ask of my research partner, that the Yakuza's activities in prostitution and gambling are so widely integrated into the city landscape and accepted by city authorities? Why are there no community organizations advocating for the women who worked in and were forcibly removed from Koganecho? Where and how is community-led activism situated in Yokohama? These are expansive and encompassing questions that anticipate, if not demand, expansive and encompassing responses. Walking in this way became a translating activity, within the context of a multisited study conducted partly in a place culturally and linguistically inaccessible to me, as a means to move within this social and historical configuration in a meaningful way. The multiple conversations and walking tours layered cumulatively, though not without contradiction, toward intersecting frameworks for understanding Koganecho, frameworks of governmentality, legality, social and cultural expectations and practices. I was seeking out a rational foundation for entering and organizing the space in my mind, a way to reduce a sense of confusion, even as we engaged in a methodology meant to undo or complicate those very same modern rationalizations of space.
4. Ayaka: If the framework and narrative formation of a tour can delimit the productive world-making (Irving, 2010) potential of walking, traditions in social scientific research and "data-collection" practices can also make walking less a place-making activity than a place-reducing activity by instrumentalizing it into a research technique. Throughout all the walking tours we participated in Vancouver, I imposed upon myself the responsibility of recording the tours by voice recording, photographing, or both. This was not something we planned prior to the tours. In fact, Julia was recording the tours in her own ways, taking photographs and notes. I came to assume that I have a greater responsibility for recording them for our future reference rather than being engaged in them in the immediate moment, because I felt that I am less equipped with cultural resources than Julia is to get a full understanding of each tour due to my language barrier and lack of experience of being involved in the community.

Subconsciously I delegated the responsibility of immersing in the tours to Julia while focusing on the technical aspects of recording, ensuring the recorder is properly working and each historical spot is photographed, ultimately disengaging myself from the embodied experience of walking. Without intention I reduced the space into a sum of data that can be recorded by my digital devices, undermining the critical and creative possibilities that walking might have otherwise offered me.

5. Julia: This tightly constructed narrative configuration is consistent with what Nicholas Blomley [2003] has identified as the ongoing spatial coding of the so-called "skid road," as a space of "radical otherness," of "dubious morality, racial otherness, and masculine failure," a space of "deviance, disease, and broken bodies . . . increasingly framed by prevailing understandings of poverty, gender and indigeneity" (p. 34). The Sins of the City tour activates and confirms an existing historical narrative. Though embodied experience, spontaneous occurrences and observations exceeded these spatially organized narrative formations. I experienced the tour guide's regular reminders to be mindful of our presence and the amount of space we take up on the sidewalk as an intervention into this prevailing narrative. That simple instruction drew the present community formation and our emplacement within it into the gathered and entangled imagining of the walking tour, undermining the simplistic abstraction of the tour narrative.
6. Julia: During the Naka Ward tour, sheer boredom intervened in a narrative that is seemingly multiplied endlessly in Yokohama: a narrative we witnessed at the Yokohama Port Museum and one that Tamura's tour consciously departed from. The memorialized sites are largely circumscribed by the same assumptions that provide the contours for the historical narrative of the Westernization of Yokohama; though, as we walked we were not occupied with the city's modernization and Westernization. Instead, and I think partly out of boredom with this well-worn narrative, we spoke almost the entire length of the tour about personal dilemmas I was facing. As I reflect on the tour, I can better map our conversation against our route than the historical narrative the route is meant to establish. This might also be because the narrative is unsupported by the memorials' environments, as they often seem to bear no impact on or relation to their surroundings, and in that way, the tour demonstrates that the selective organization of memory and history is subject to erosions and appropriations, through our personal distractions and the material instability of development. We were even unable to find two memorials on the tour, possibly having been taken down, obscured from view, or perhaps never having been prominently placed, though neither of us were curious enough to look for very long. Tucked away, near a pedestrian overpass but obscured from foot traffic by the elevated train tracks, was the second plaque on the Naka-ward tour, commemorating the site of Japan's first railway, perhaps once faced boldly toward an audience of dwellers and commuters. But surrounding developments have slowly obscured it from view. Other sites on the tour were noted, but we moved fairly quickly and disinterestedly between them.
7. Ayaka: As Julia mentions, partly due to the repetitiveness of the narrative around earlier history of Yokohama, our experience of the Naka Ward tour was generally filled with a sense of boredom. At the same time, I had a stronger sense of urgency to respond to Julia's personal situation, and we ended up having a conversation about it for almost the entire time. While we managed to make our walk meaningful by personalizing the tour, it also forced us to disconnect from the immediate environment, its history and memories. This disengagement was similar to my experience of the Sins of the City tour, when I had to bring with me my daughter who was one and half years old then. While this time I was not frustrated by my "duty" to voice record the tour because the tour guide did not give us permission to do so, I was frustrated by my daughter in the carrier who was heavy, constantly made noise, and wanted to get out from the carrier. At times I had to walk away from the tour group so that she was not disruptive to the tour or let her walk by herself so that she was happy and quiet. My attention to the tour was interrupted, this time by my personal life brought into the tour. Despite my wish to devote my body into the material world of the place through participation in the tour, my daughter's body, partly attached to my own body, disengaged me from the place.
8. Julia: I had first experienced this tour perhaps as long as a decade ago, when attending the annual Japanese Canadian Powell Street Festival. Having little knowledge of Japantown or the internment of Japanese Canadians at the time, the tour was a powerful activation of the violent erasure of a community. The details of individual stores and boarding houses layered toward a sense of an active and complete community whose total erasure is more striking for the former vibrancy—a word often used

on this tour—of the Japanese Canadian community. In the years that intervened between my first participation on the tour and my participation with Ayaka in 2012, I became increasingly involved with the Powell Street Festival, working for a number of summers in the neighborhood it is held. Partly perhaps due to my increased involvement and activity in the neighborhood, as well as my orientation through this academic project, my most recent participation in the Nikkei Museum tour felt at times charged with active dissonances between the historical narrative and the current social and political realities of the community, as well as the absent histories of the sex workers we were looking to learn more about. As we walked along Alexander Street, vague reference was made to brothels that elsewhere we had read or been told lined three blocks, in the heart of Japantown.

9. Ayaka: This made me feel that the tour was out of context. We were quite a large group with approximately 10 people. The size of the group and the amount of the information given at each spot made our movement slow. Sometimes we blocked the way of local residents walking the sidewalk. My sense of out-of-place-ness was heightened in the middle of the tour when a woman started yelling at us. At first I was confused and could not make sense of what was going on. Then I realized that some of us were standing in front of her bike and she was claiming her ownership to it. This instance forced me to reflect on my and our being in the space that is home to marginalized bodies. While the historical narrative potentially enriched my imagination to make the place more meaningful, our very emplaced-ness or rather physical occupation in the space, combined with our lack of social awareness, disconnected us from the place.

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