
Article:
Hackett, A. (2015) Young Children as Wayfarers: Learning about Place by Moving Through It. Children & Society. ISSN: 0951-0605

https://doi.org/10.1111/chso.12130

Young children as wayfarers: learning about place by moving through it

Abstract

This article describes the walking and moving of young children around places. It is based on an ethnographic study of children aged between 24 and 36 months visiting a museum. Drawing on Ingold's (2007) concept of wayfaring, the author argues movement through place creates embodied, tacit ways of knowing and experiencing the world. This embodied and tacit knowledge is not well accounted for in dominant models of how young children learn. In this study, wayfaring both enabled the children to learn about places and routes, and led to the development of traditions, in which collective meanings and actions were attached to particular locations.

Dr. Abigail Hackett

Post Doctoral Research Associate

Centre for the Study of Childhood and Youth

Interdisciplinary Centre of the Social Sciences (ICOSS)

The University of Sheffield

219 Portobello

Sheffield S1 4DP.

Tel: (+44) (0)114 222 8391

a.c.hackett@sheffield.ac.uk

Young children as wayfarers: the importance of movement and time in how places becoming meaningful to children

Drawing on a one year ethnographic study of children aged between 24 and 36 months visiting a museum, this paper argues that the everyday practice of moving through a place led to the development of rich child-led meanings and interpretations of that place. Drawing on theories of place as being constituted by movement (Ingold, 2007), which itself has a temporal dimension (Massey, 2005) I focus on the changing and shifting meanings of the children's movement in place over the course of the one year study. This paper contributes to the literature on children's embodied and sensory experience of place (Christensen, 2003; Harju, 2013; Rasmussen, 2004) by providing an example of moving and experiencing in a place over the course of a year. During this time, an initially unfamiliar museum place gradually became familiar and imbued with specific meanings for the children and families in the study.

The research is concerned with the meaning making of children in the museum. As Willis (2000: 3) writes, "meaning making is at the heart of human practices". From a semiotic perspective, Kress (1997) relates "meaning" to communication; for Kress, multimodal signs combine meaning and form to communicate a message. Kress (1997: 3) is interested in "how children themselves seem to tackle the task of making sense of the world around them, and how they make their meanings in the world". Meaning making is therefore both something people (including children) transmit (communicating with others) and something people do with the experiences they encounter (being in a place and making sense of it). From this perspective, the children in the museum were simultaneously making sense of their experiences and communicating about their experience, using for example, words, gestures and their moving bodies (Hackett, 2014). Kress (2010) employs the term 'affordances' to discuss what is possible or easy to convey using a particular means. Affordances are shaped by a thing's materiality, what it has previously been used for and social norms and conventions attached to it. As the museum changed from an unknown to a familiar place, I discuss the implications of this change for the affordances of the space for the children's embodied meaning making.

The study consisted of a series of ten unstructured visits to a museum with two year old children and their families. During the visits, the children mainly led the way through the museum, running ahead, down and around the corridors. When something in the museum caught their attention, the children tended to use movement to explore it, for example, through dancing around or climbing. This paper describes and provides examples of

children's movement in the museum as they become more familiar with the place, and reflects on the implications of this for research on very young children's experience of places.

Children, place, embodiment

Tuan (1977), James (2000), Christensen (2003) and others have stressed the importance of the sensory and situated for how children make sense of the world. Research on children's perspectives of place has highlighted the importance of materiality and embodied experience (Bartos, 2013; Dicks and others, 2006; Rowsell, 2014). Recent work has explored this relationship between materiality, place and childhood further through the concept of intra-action between children and material environment (Hultman and Lenz Taguchi, 2010; Somerville, 2015). Rasmussen and Smidt (2003: 88) argue that "the neighbourhood is in the children" in that local places are perceived by the children's bodies and become part of their being and knowing.

Research has highlighted children's own understandings of and meanings attached to place, which can be quite different and distinct from adult understandings and meanings (Harju, 2013; Rasmussen, 2004). For example, hidden and secret places can be important for developing peer cultures and friendships (Christensen and Mikklesen, 2012; Skånfors and others, 2009). Rasmussen (2004: 166) writes

> Children's places are created in different contexts, shaped in some instances for decidedly social reasons and in others for more individually determined purposes. It must also be emphasized that 'children's places' do not last forever; sometimes the relationship ceases, after a short period (as in hopscotch grids or chalk drawings) and in other situations the relationship can last for years.

Visual research methods (Bartos, 2013; Burke, 2005; Hallden, 2003; Rasmussen and Smidt, 2003) and ethnographic methods of experiencing places with children (Christensen, 2003; Procter, 2015) have been successfully used in order to understand the material, sensory and tacit ways in which children experience and attach meaning to places. In addition, the role of movement for how children get to know places has been highlighted (Christensen, 2003; Christensen and Mikkelson, 2012). Christensen (2003: 16) argues for the importance of "the understanding that emerges from embodied movement through place", while Christensen

and O'Brien (2003) stress the importance of children's increasing independence and autonomy in being able to create their own routes through local neighbourhoods.

From an anthropological perspective, walking and movement are essential parts of lived experience. For Ingold (2007) wayfaring, a coupling of "locomotion and perception" (p. 78), is "the most fundamental mode by which living beings, both human and non-human, inhabit the earth" (p. 81). Ingold's (2008) work emphasises both the impermanency of boundaries and environments; people and animals move across the world's surface in a "zone of entanglement" (Ingold, 2008: 1807), meaning that both the environment and the people are continually changed by the act of moving through. Therefore, Ingold connects walking paths with both ways of knowing and with continually creating place. Ingold (2007: 101) writes, "wayfaring, in short, is neither placeless nor place-bound but place making". Therefore, place can be forged by moving through, and that paths taken through locations have a profound impact on how they come to be known (see also Hall, 2009; Pink, 2007; Pink and others 2010; Vergunst, 2010). Pink (2007: 246) writes

> Paths and routes are not simply functional routes that connect one place to another, but are meaningful sensory and imagined places in their own right.

Bringing together this anthropological work on movement and paths constituting place (Ingold, 2007; Pink, 2007), with studies of children's embodied experience, children's walking and running can be understood as an activity which constitutes their experience and is 'place making'. Theories of walking as knowing (Christensen and O'Brien, 2003; Ingold, 2007), perceived by the body and also becoming part of the body's being and knowing (Ingold, 2008; Rasmussen and Smidt, 2003), informed a consideration of children's early explorations of the museum.

Ingold (2007) considers the role of time in relation to these lines of movement from the perspective of ongoingness. The "walking, talking and gesticulating" (Ingold, 2007: 1) lines people make can be seen as one continuous line, beginning at birth and lasting the life course. In many cultures, oral story and place-based movement lines are taken up from one generation to the next, so that the ongoingness of lines extends beyond the human life cycle. This sense of lines as providing a temporality and sense of continuous coming into being resonates with Massey's (2005) theory of 'throwntogetherness'. For Massey (2005) space is not fixed; as we move through the world, time moves on as space continually changes. My fieldwork in the museum as a participant observer with families with very young

children was dominated by constant movement; down the corridors, round the galleries, onto the exhibits and over the benches. Massey's (2005) perspective of 'throwntogetherness' emphasises the progression of both time and space as the children and families made repeated visits to the museum, and repeatedly moved through and around the space. The next section outlines the study in more detail, and the role of movement in the field.

An ethnographic study of families in museums

This paper draws on an ethnographic study of young children's visits to museums in northern England with their families. In particular, the discussion in this paper centres on one year of making repeated return visits with a group of families to one city museum. Five families were involved in this part of the study, who made roughly monthly visits to a local museum. I recruited the families through personal contacts. Table one summarises the families involved in the study, which families came on which visit, the number of visits and the ages of each of the children by the end of the study.

INSERT TABLE 1

The museum visits largely involved moving around the corridors and galleries of the museum, often with the children in the lead, and the parents following. Movement was an important part of the visit for the children, as was the embodied exploration of the museum, including some of the exhibits and other aspects of the rooms such as uplighters and floor grates. The visits tended to end when the children became tired or hungry, or the parents decided the children would like to run outside in the park. This was an important aspect of the ethical approach of the project; as well as parental consent, the assent of the young children to be involved in the study (Cocks, 2006) was judged on a moment by moment basis. Therefore it was important the fieldwork stopped when the children wanted it to.

During each museum visit, I accompanied the families as a participant observer. I used a small hand held video camera during the visits, which I also passed to the parents to use at times. The video camera was used in an unstructured way to record footage of the children doing anything considered interesting or important during the visits. In addition to the visual data, fieldnotes were written following each visit, and parental interviews carried out at home towards the end of the study. Overall the data set consists of:

- Field visits to the museum: 10
- Sets of fieldnotes: 10

- Video recordings in the museum: 92
- Parental interviews: 5

Throughout the fieldwork, I was accompanied by my own daughter Izzy, who was also aged two years at the start of the study. This added an important dimension to the fieldwork, beyond the rapport and friendship I was able to build up with participants through our shared experiences of parenting a young child (Wylie, 1987). Having Izzy with me in the field ensured my full participation in the embodied experience of the fieldwork. Similarly to the other parents, I needed to follow and chase Izzy, and make sure she did not get lost, while navigating the museum with pushchair and bags. This particular experience of moving around the museum was a way of knowing which I shared with the families participating in my research. When considering the walking, or the wayfaring (Ingold, 2007), of young children, it becomes quickly apparent that young children rarely just walk. Young children run, jump, dance, dive and climb. Very young children roll, crawl, cruise and creep. As I experienced for myself in the field, parents of young children also rarely just walk; they chase, push buggies, carry children and wear slings. They cajole their children along, they walk at a snail's pace next to their toddler, they are pulled by the hand around the place by excited small people. Moving around and perceiving the museum in this way was a complex embodied activity. In addition, the quality and meaning of this movement changed as the visits progressed, as I will describe in the next section.

First visits to the museum: scoping the joint

On early visits to the museum, the museum was an unfamiliar place to the children, and they discovered what the museum was like by walking around it. During early visits, the fieldnotes record a practice I have termed 'scoping the joint', in which the young children tended to move very fast around each room in turn, getting a sense of the place. The following extract from field notes gives a sense of what this was like.

> The children ran the length of the museum to the arctic gallery, where they played for an extended period of time. After this, we went to the natural history gallery, which they ran through quite quickly, stopping only briefly, until they reached the art gallery. In the art gallery, they stopped and Bryan and Millie spent 30 minutes drawing, doing jigsaws and dancing (while Izzy continued to explore in the natural history gallery). The visit ended with all three children in the art gallery.

> Fieldnotes16th June (first main field visit to the museum)

The emphasis in these fieldnotes on lines of movement, rather than bounded places, resonates with Ingold's perspective of places as locations where many lines of movement come together, rather than disconnected dots on a map (Ingold, 2007: 84). Consequentially, Ingold (2007: 88) emphasises walking as the primary means through which knowledge of place is created, writing

> Thus the knowledge we have of our surroundings is forged in the very course of our moving through them, in the passage from place to place and the changing horizons along the way.

Walking around the museum was an effective way for the children to find out about the museum. Conceptualising the museum as consisting of lines of movement (Ingold, 2007) foregrounded the space in between exhibits, rather than individual specific exhibits in which the museum designers themselves might locate learning or engagement (e.g. Crowley and others, 2001).

Learning the routes and creating traditions

As the study progressed, the regular visits to the museum resulted in the children becoming more familiar with and confident in the museum. The children put a lot of effort into learning routes around the museum, remembering the paths they needed to take to get to places that were interesting to them. These observations resonate with Christensen's (2003) description of children's focus on learning routes and paths around their local neighbourhood. In the museum, the children tended to establish specific exhibits that were meaningful to them, which they could use as 'waymarkers' to both request to go to a specific location and as a way of remembering where things were. The vignette below describes an incident when Emily remembered a specific detail from her previous visit to the museum, and worked hard to recapture the route on her second visit.

> Emily walks through the art gallery, looking around, and then wanders into the natural history gallery by herself. She seems distracted and is saying quietly to herself 'where is it where is it?' I follow her and say 'Emily are you looking for the picture we saw last time?' She looks at me and I say 'follow me I think I know what you are looking for, tell me if this is the right thing or not'. I lead her to the

> Treasures gallery, and then do not point anything out, I just say 'is there anything in here, is this what you were looking for?' She looks around, and points at a white statue in a case, she says 'oh yes we saw that' Then she walks to the end of the gallery, turns and walks back towards the statue. Next to the statue is the painting of Nelson which we spent a long time looking at last time we visited. She says 'yes we saw this we saw this!' However, she only looks at the painting briefly before wandering off.
> Vignette drawn from fieldnotes, 3rd Sept

The above vignette gives a glimpse into the work children seemed to put in to trying to remember the layout, routes and material aspects of the museum based on the previous visits. Knowing the routes seemed important to the children. In addition, the parents involved in the study often articulated a sense that their children wanted to know the routes. During the museum visit from which the above vignette is drawn, Emily's mother commented to me "I know she is enjoying it because she knows where everything is." The importance of their children's growing familiarity with the museum was a theme which strongly emerged from the parental interviews (Hackett, 2012).

As the children began to know these routes, it became easier for them to influence how the museum visits progressed. Increasingly on later visits, the children tended to lead the way, running to the places they wanted to be with their peers, while the adults followed. This extract from fieldnotes is concerned with one of the 'waymarkers' in the museum, a stuffed polar bear. The fieldnotes illustrate how both verbal negotiation and knowledge of the route played a part in Millie being able to visit the polar bear during this visit.

> The mums began suggesting that we go for some lunch soon, but Millie said 'I want to see the polar bear'. I said 'shall we go see the polar bear quickly then get some lunch? Do you know where it is?' The children shouted 'yes!'. And started running in a straight line very fast all the way through the natural history gallery to the arctic gallery, where the polar bear was.
> Fieldnotes 11th August

This example from my fieldnotes is representative of a repeated theme during the study, in which the children used partly verbal request, but mostly bodily movement, to influence and shape the visit, what the group did and where we went during each trip.

Processes of traditionalization in time and space

Through the processes of coming to be familiar with and learning the routes around the museum described above, the children created and directed their own experience of the museum. Walking the same routes to the same locations, repeatedly, gave prominence to some parts of the museum over others. In these favourite locations, the children tended to repeat certain kinds of actions over subsequent visits. As illustrated in table two, the traditions the children established during the museum study were largely embodied and mostly involved movement such as dancing, marching and running. The movement involved in these traditions also meant that many of them dominated the space, for example marching with the drum and dancing in the art gallery both involved considerable noise, and fast and slow movement along paths which filled the available space.

INSERT TABLE 2

The striking repetition of these embodied practices over subsequent visits demonstrates the repeated, imagined and collectively remembered nature of these practices. Repeated embodied practices reference the ones that happened before. So for example, the fourth time the children danced in the art gallery had a different meaning to the first time they did it. The fourth time they danced in the art gallery could be understood as an embodied expression of their familiarity with that place, and their memories of dancing there on the previous visits. Ingold (2007) writes about the process of remembering through lines of speaking, reading and walking. Re-walking the same paths or writing down traditional stories create “pathways along which the voices of the past could be retrieved and brought back into the immediacy of the present experience” (p.15). From this perspective, the children’s repeated embodied movements in the museum were a “means of recovery” (p.15) through which the children remembered and re-enacted meaningful aspects of past visits to the museum.

Within folklore studies, traditions are understood as processes, rooted in the social and enacted over time (Ben-Amos, 1984; Hymes, 1975). Hymes (1975) argues that all groups attempt to ‘traditionalize’ aspects of their culture, and this is achieved by performing the traditions, in order to keep them alive and pass them on to others. Since many traditions are passed on by *doing*, the process of transmitting them also becomes a process of composition or recreation (Ben-Amos, 1984; Hymes, 1975). Drawing on Hymes (1975), this study reveals a process of ‘traditionalization’ of certain embodied actions, which gradually

became meaningful to a specific group of young children and their families, in particular locations of the museum, over time.

In her discussion of the rhythms of lived time, Adam (2006) suggests that human cultural practices may serve to 'arrest time' by transcending the natural flow of time, or delineating it in new, human controlled ways. Lemke (2000) discusses the role of material objects or places in disrupting or defining which timescales are most significant at a given moment. He argues that objects can play a role in joining ideas across space and time, so that historically or geographically distant ideas or events become relevant and powerful in the immediate short term. Lemke gives an example of a Samurai warrior sword, imbued with the traditions and teachings of generations, being used to behead one who insults the honour of the clan. In this case, it is not only the material qualities of the sword that are relevant, but also the long-time-scale meaning it carries and transfers with it across generations. These ideas are relevant to the development of cultural patterns and processes in a classroom (or indeed, a museum). Lemke (2000: 278) argues

> Are there emergent processes and patterns in classrooms? I think every teacher and student knows that there are. There are new routines that emerge, new social groupings and the typical interactions that sustain them, class in-jokes, informal rituals, typical sayings and phrasings, favorite word usages with special meanings, and so forth. These in turn can become the raw material for more complex new patterns unique to the classroom, and they certainly constrain the probabilities of actions and utterances that would invoke these special meanings or contribute positively or negatively to social relationships.

Lemke's description of these processes is useful for thinking about the situated and temporal nature of the children's traditions in the museum. From Lemke's perspective, the material locations and things in the museum, (such as the Arctic gallery, the drum and drum sticks), evoked for the children previous practices and patterns of behaviour. These remembered visits and shared embodied experiences took on a significance or intensity, over and above, for example, the many activities and experiences they had had outside of the museum in the intervening month. In this way, the material qualities of the museum place evoked for the children the embodied sensations and ways of knowing they had collaboratively developed together on previous visits, allowing them to build on the meaning making which occurred in the same location many weeks before.

In the next section, I focus on one tradition, marching with the drum in the Arctic gallery, and discuss how it was both reproduced and modified by the children over eight different visits to the museum. The way in which the children modified marching with the drum on the later visits gives a further perspective on the significance of 'traditionalization' for children's emplaced practices in time and place.

The affordances of emplaced knowledge: an example of marching with the drum

In the Arctic gallery at the museum, the small, circular shape of the room seemed to encourage the children to march in circles around the gallery. This was a way of effectively seeing everything that was in the gallery, and also created a sense of ownership as the children filled the space with their movement. Two Inuit skin drums with drumsticks were also available in this gallery, and frequently the children picked up the drums and banged them loudly as they marched in circles around the space. This meant the space was filled not only with the walking routes of the children, but also with the noise they were making on the drums. The drums could also be a source of conflict, as sometimes either drums or sticks were missing, or there were more children than drums, meaning the children had to negotiate or compromise. All the children participating in the study marched with the Arctic drum at some point, and it was also something that the children requested to do. In total, marching and drumming happened on eight out of the ten field visits. In the vignette below, towards the end of the series of visits to the museum, Bryan and Izzy developed a variation of marching and banging the drum.

> In the Arctic gallery, Izzy picks up an Inuit drum. She bangs it loudly. A few minutes later, Izzy and Bryan are each holding a drum, banging them loudly. The two children walk around the Arctic gallery in a circle three times, banging their drums. They closely follow in each other's footsteps – first Bryan then Izzy following.
>
> After making three circles of footsteps around the gallery, Izzy and Bryan walk out of the Arctic gallery, still banging their drums as they head for the benches in the corridor. Bryan sits on the bench, banging the drum and banging the bench with the drumstick. He stands up and walks around the bench banging the drum. A few minutes later, Bryan seems to realise that Izzy is sitting on a different bench, too far away from him to interact properly. She is watching

> him intently, and banging her drum. He stands up and walks down the side of the bench, to sit right next to her. The two children sit closely together and bang their drums.
>
> After a few minutes, Izzy and Bryan walk away from the benches into the natural history gallery. They make a loop near to the huge woolly rhino, then walk into an area arranged like a domestic kitchen. Placing their drums on the floor, they drum with their drumsticks on the kitchen work surface, before beginning to play with the kitchen. Vignette from fieldnotes, 13th October

This vignette is the culmination of a series of repeated episodes of marching with the drum, and represents a significant modification. Whilst during previous incidents of marching with the drum, the children had substituted drumsticks for hands or feet, and the drum itself for a number of other surfaces in the museum, the location of marching with the drum (the Arctic gallery) had remained a constant during six previous episodes. This was the first time Izzy and Bryan tentatively left the gallery with the drums, sitting at first directly outside the gallery to drum, then experimenting further by marching with their banging drums into the next room, the natural history gallery. The possibility of drumming and marching in different locations of the museum significantly expanded the children's possibilities for meaning making with the drum. For example, the children's marching was no longer in repeated circles around the small Arctic gallery, but involved carving a path through the museum, making choices about direction from a number of different possibilities. The banging drum had a different affective quality in the thoroughfare of the corridor, and in the larger space natural history gallery.

Kress (2010) writes that the affordances of modes for making meaning shift in time and space, depending partly on social norms and conventions. Whilst it is not certain the extent to which Izzy and Bryan were aware of or testing the boundaries of the unwritten rules of the museum space (Milligan and Brayfield, 2004), moving the drums from the Arctic gallery was something that visitors to the museum rarely did. Following the episode in the vignette above, the children put the drums down, and Bryan's mother moved in quickly to pick them up and return them to the Arctic gallery. Clarkin-Phililps and others' (2013) study demonstrates how very young children can become aware of certain behavioural conventions in museums, such as standing behind a yellow line to view art work. Either on a deliberate or unconscious level, Izzy and Bryan were experimenting with an unwritten social convention when they modified their embodied tradition of marching with the drum. The

children's knowledge of the place, the route around and out of the Arctic gallery and into the next gallery, built up over a number of subsequent visits, was a form of emplaced knowledge which was essential to their ability to develop and modify the embodied tradition of marching with the drum in this particular way.

"It just feels like the sort of place you can run around in really."
Tina (Millie's mother), parental interview, February 2012

In this study, wayfaring, that is moving and perceiving (Ingold, 2007), together was the key way in which I, the parents and the children had a shared experience of knowing the museum (Pink, 2009). When the children walked and ran together in the museum, they created shared embodied ways of being in the space. This coming to know the place was reflected in how the children moved around the place on later visits, particularly through the development of and modification of embodied traditions in specific locations around the museum.

In line with the growing literature of children's embodied, sensory experience of place (Bartos, 2013; Christensen, 2003; Hultman and Taguchi, 2010), this study has sought to understand children's embodied experience of the museum, with a particular emphasis on movement (Christensen and Mikkelston, 2012; Ingold, 2007). In particular, this study has considered movement in a context of both time and space. Meanings of place are continually recreated as people move across the world in a "zone of entanglement" (Ingold, 2008: 1807) and this movement has a sense of history. Drawing on Massey (2005: 140), time moves as space changes, so that the present "here-and-now" draws on "a history and geography of thens and theres". The implications for the children, moving through a museum during the course of a number of repeated visits, is that their paths of movement take on a different significance over time. While initially, walking and running through the museum was a way for children to come to know it, movement in the museum during later visits referenced previous visits and remembered embodied practices or traditions (Hymes, 1975). Emplaced practices referencing previous collective experiences and memories had implications for the affordances (Kress, 2010) of place for the children, as illustrated by the example of banging the Arctic drum. This study has highlighted the importance of paying attention not only to children's immediate sensory experience of time and place, but to the shifting, repeated and recreated processes through which sensory experiences take on different meanings over time.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the families who gave up their time to be part of this study, and shared their ways of knowing with me. I would also like to thank Kate Pahl and Dylan Yamada-Rice for their helpful comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

References

Adam B. 2006. Time. *Theory, Culture and Society* 23 (2-3): 119-126.

Bartos AE. 2013. Children sensing place. *Emotion, Space and Society* 9: 89-98.

Ben-Amos D. 1984. The seven strands of tradition. Varieties in its meaning in American Folklore Studies. *Journal of Folklore Research* 21 (2/3): 97-131.

Burke C. 2005. "Play in focus": Children Researching Their Own Spaces and Places for Play. *Children, Youth and Environment* 15 (1): 27-53.

Christensen P. 2003. Place, space and knowledge: children in the village and the city. In *Children in the City. Home, neighborhood and community.* Christensen P, O'Brien M (eds). London: Routledge; 13-28.

Christensen P, O'Brien M. (eds). 2003. *Children in the City. Home, neighborhood and community*. London: Routledge.

Christensen P, Mikkelson MR. 2012. 'There is Nothing Here for Us…..!' How Girls Create Meaningful Place of Their Own Through Movement. *Children and Society* 29 (3): 197-207.

Clarkin-Phillips J, Carr M, Thomas R, Waitai M, Lowe J. 2013. Stay Behind the Yellow Line: Young Children Constructing Knowledge from an Art Exhibition. *Curator: The Museum Journal* 56 (4): 407-420.

Cocks A. 2006. The ethical maze: finding an inclusive path towards gaining children's agreement to research participation. *Childhood* 13(2), 247–66.

Crowley K, Callanan MA, Jipson JL, Galco J, Topping K, Shrager J. 2001. Shared scientific thinking in everyday parent-child interaction. *Science Education* 85 (6): 712-732.

Dicks B, Soyinka B, Coffey A. 2006. Multimodal ethnography. *Qualitative Research* 6 (1): 77-96.

Hackett A. 2014. Zigging and Zooming all over the place: Young children's meaning making and moving in the museum. *Journal of Early Childhood Literacy* 14 (1): 5-27.

Hackett A. 2012. Running and learning in the museum: a study of young children's behaviour in the museum, and their parents' discursive positioning of that behaviour. Childhoods Today 6 (1): 1-21.

Hall T. 2009. Footwork: moving and knowing in local space(s). *Qualitative Research* 9: 571-585.

Hallden G. 2003. Children's views of family, home and house. In *Children in the City. Home, neighborhood and community.* Christensen P, O'Brien M. (eds). London: Routledge; 29-45.

Harju A. 2013. Children's Use of Knowledge of Place in Understanding Social Relations. *Children and Society* 27: 150-160.

Hultman K, Lenz Taguchi H. 2010. Challenging anthropocentric analysis of visual data: a relational materialist methodological approach to educational research. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 23 (5): 525-542.

Hymes D. 1975. Folklore's Nature and the Sun's Myth. *The Journal of American Folklore* 88 (350): 345-369.

Ingold T. 2007. *Lines. A Brief History.* London: Routledge.

Ingold T. 2008. Bindings against boundaries: entanglement of life in an open world. *Environment and Planning* 40: 1796-1810.

James A. 2000. Embodied being(s): understanding the self and the body in childhood. In *The body, childhood and society* Prout A. (ed.). (Basingstoke: Macmillan). P.19-37.

Kress G. 1997. *Before Writing. Rethinking paths to literacy*. London: Routledge.

Kress G. 2010. *Multimodality. Exploring Contemporary Methods of Communication*. London: Routledge.

Lemke J. 2000. Across the Scales of Time: Artifacts, Activities, and Meanings in Ecosocial Systems. *Mind, Culture, and Activity* 7 (4): 273-290.

Massey D. 2005. *For Space*. London: Sage.

Milligan MJ, Brayfield A. 2004. Museums and Childhood: Negotiating Organizational Lessons. *Childhood* 11: 275-301.

Pink, S. 2007. Walking with Video. *Visual Studies* 22 (3): 240-252.

Pink S. 2009. *Doing Sensory Ethnography*. London: Sage.

Pink S, Hubbard P, O'Neill M, Radley A. 2010. Walking across disciplines: from ethnography to arts practice. *Visual Studies* 25 (1): 1-7.

Procter L. 2015. Children, Nature and Emotion: Exploring how children's emotional experiences of 'green' spaces shape their understandings of the natural world. In *Children's Emotions in Policy and Practice: Mapping and Making Spaces of Childhood*. Blazek M, Kraftl P. (eds.) London: Bloomsbury.

Rasmussen K. 2004. Places for Children - Children's Places. *Childhood* 11: 155-173.

Rasmussen K, Smidt S. 2003. Children in the neighbourhood: the neighbourhood in the children. In *Children in the City. Home, neighbourhood and community*. Christensen P, O'Brien M. (eds). London: Routledge; 82-100.

Rowsell J. 2014. Towards a phenomenology of contemporary reading. *Australian Journal of Language and Literacy* 37 (2): 117-127.

Skånfors L, Löfdahl A, Hägglund S. 2009. Hidden spaces and places in the preschool: withdrawal strategies in preschool children's peer cultures. *Journal of Early Childhood Research*, 7 (1): 94–109.

Somerville M. 2015. Emergent literacies in 'the land of do anything you want'. In *Children, Place and Sustainability* Somerville M, Green M. (eds). London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Tuan Y. 1977. *Space and Place. The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Vergunst J. 2010. Rhythms of Walking: History and Presence in a City Street. *Space and Culture* 13: 376-388.

Willis P. 2000. *The Ethnographic Imagination*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Wylie J. 1987. "Daddy's Little Wedges": On Being a Child in France. In *Children in the Field. Anthropological Experiences*. Cassel J. (ed). Philadelphia: Temple University Press; 91-120.

Table 1: The participants involved in the study

Family	Children	Participants in the visits to the museum									
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	Liam, 37 months Oliva, 11 months		X	X	X				X	X	
2	Bryan, 36 months	X		X	X				X	X	
3	Millie, 38 months Sienna, 16 months	X		X	X		X		X	X	
4	James, 36 months					X		X			X
5	Emily, 37 months					X		X			
Me	Izzy, 36 months	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	X

All children have pseudonyms.

Ages of the children are given for December 2011, when the fieldwork ended

Table 2: The embodied practices which the children repeated during the museum visits

The children's embodied practices in the museum	**Number of visits the children repeated this practice**
Banging the drum and / or marching in the Arctic gallery	8 out of 10 visits
Drawing while lying on stomachs on padded benches in the art gallery	5 visits out of 10
Pressing a button to play music and then dancing around the art gallery	4 visits out of 10
Running and carrying play food around the local history gallery	5 out of 10 visits