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# A Design Anthropology of Place in Service Design: A Methodological Reflection.

## BIOGRAPHY

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## ABSTRACT

This paper proposes adopting a Design Anthropology perspective when considering the design of community based services for the elderly. Drawing on two service design projects located in the Byker area of Newcastle, which brought together Ordnance Survey, Age UK Newcastle and a service design Post Graduate Masters programme, this perspective utilises anthropology's ethnographic method and a specific anthropological theory, to expand service design discourses and reframe the importance of place and place making in the design of community services. The paper is informed by Tim Ingold and a phenomenological perspective to explore notions of life as lived to reveal alternative conceptual frames that can often be overlooked in service design. These methods and concepts adopted from anthropology both reveal and theorise the messiness of everyday life. The work goes on to examine the challenges of commensurating these community practices, with the values that the research revealed and to integrate them into viable services of the elderly.

## INTRODUCTION

This paper applies Design Anthropology to understand place and place making within service design. The paper focuses on two Masters projects that were

undertaken with Age UK Newcastle and Ordnance Survey [OS], the UK's mapping agency. I draw on the disciplinary similarities and differences between design and anthropology and the convergence of the two to explore the importance of place and place making in community services for the elderly.

The methodology for the design research was participant observation with the richness of description both textual and visual used in anthropology. In addition, Design Anthropology provided insights on people and places with the practices of co-designing, aiming to commensurate the richness of daily life into visualisations and service design solutions. In this article, I suggest the need to adapt and reflect on the relevance of service design tools when understanding place and place making and the challenges faced when commensurating everyday life with the design of services.

The paper looks at multiple theoretical positions for understanding place but focuses on considering anthropology and place within a phenomenological tradition. The work of Arjun Appadurai (1996), Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson (1997), Edward Casey (1997), Alfred Schutz (1962) and in particular Tim Ingold (1993, 2007, 2011) offer anthropological concepts of place that are relational, temporal and based on processes of making, which all emerge from the Byker project.

The paper also examines the practices used in service design to visualise research and questions how they can sometimes fail to capture the flows of daily living. A process of reflexive engagement used by the students suggests an alternative method through creating forms of maps that contain lines of movement and networks that are more entangled than linear.

## BACKGROUND

With over two hundred years' experience of mapping the UK, in 2009 Ordnance Survey, based in Southampton, embarked upon an open innovation competition called 'Geovation'. Organised and delivered by the service innovation consultancy Nonon, a social challenge is identified and developed each year by a panel of experts. Central to each is the notion of creating social value to a specific location through the application of OS's digital open geographical data. Ideas for each challenge are crowd sourced from across the UK and through a series of competitive processes four winning ideas are developed. In 2012 Age UK Newcastle was shortlisted for the UK's third Geovation challenge entitled "How can we transform neighbourhoods in Britain together". Although the project was unsuccessful in the final round of bidding it was decided by the leader of the Geovation Challenge at OS and myself, a judge for the competition, that the idea had significant potential as an MDes service design student project, both in exploring digital geomeia in community based services, and in offering an opportunity to demonstrate the role of design methods and practices in understanding place in service design innovation for Ordnance Survey employees and future Geovation participants; the project was funded by OS for the production of a short film that would show the service design process and how it engages with geomeia. As a tutor for the course I undertook to support the students' projects.

At a meeting in Newcastle at Age UK, it was decided that Byker in the East End of Newcastle would provide a suitable location for the project with the focus on the development of some form of peer-based, person-centred network of services for the elderly. Designed by Ralph Erskine, an architect recognised for his social housing, the Byker Estate, built between 1968 and 1982, is a notable landmark in the area. According to Pendlebury and Gilroy (2009: 179) the Byker Estate, which is adjacent to the main shopping street in Shields Road, has an unusually strong sense of a place-bounded community which pre-dates the housing development and which is considered to be a distinctive feature of the area. However it is also noted by the authors that Byker is economically deprived with high levels of unemployment that reflects the decline of traditional industries. Indeed, the 2001 census showed 13.5% of the ward is unemployed compared with the Newcastle average of 8.0%, with the never-worked or long-term unemployed totalling 4.1% compared with the City's 2.4%. The age range 65-74 years make up 8.1% of the ward compared to the City average of 8.4%, with the residents who are 75+ of age representing 7.4% of the local population. Whilst this is below the average of 7.6% across Newcastle the district has particular needs, which are exacerbated by the local economic conditions (Byker Census, 2001).

## SERVICE DESIGN AND DESIGN ANTHROPOLOGY: INTERSECTIONS & METHODOLOGY

Design Anthropology emerges out of the two distinct disciplines and modes of knowledge (Smith, 2011: 3) creating a hybrid of 'anthropological and designerly practices such as interventionist forms of fieldwork and design that works through iterative cycles of reflection and action and employs a range of methodological tools such as mock-ups, props, provo-and prototypes, tangible interactions and enactments.' (Gunn, Otto, Smith 2013: 11). The methods are designed to be versatile, to mediate the facilitation of collaborations within specific social contexts and to draw out and share daily practices that can contribute to change. This paper adopts this Design Anthropology approach as it offers a particular frame of reference to understand the world, one which can inform service design and, in particular, the design of community based services. Of course, the two disciplines do not share the same epistemology: anthropology has a long tradition of research-based theoretical knowledge whilst design research has a longer history of practice and training outside academia (Smith 2011: 2), when brought together they offer a 'bricolage that combines making sense of what is there with remaking what is there into something new' (Petersen, Sperschneider, Kjaersgaard 2001: 41).

The OS / Age UK Newcastle project shares Design Anthropology's characteristic of engagement with 'peoples and places where a problem is not always given' (Gunn and Donovan, 2012: 11). Here Design Anthropology 'is concerned with making tangible what allows people to keep on going and the ways peoples are making sense of technologies, systems, plans, while carrying out every day practices' (Donovan 2011, in Gunn and Donovan 2012: 12). Visually revealing what Levi-Strauss describes as 'the unconscious nature of collective phenomena' (1963: 18), in the Byker study, Design Anthropology exposed the entanglement of everyday life

with place that could not have been imagined through more formal methods of questionnaires and interviews, common to other social science disciplines, for example, sociology and psychology.

This five month project is framed within a Design Anthropology methodology, incorporating the richness of ethnographic description of context with practice, and the 'flow and transformation of materials and things during processes of designing' (Gunn and Donovan: 11). The methods of observation and participation, combined with improvisory co-designing interventions, were essential methodological tools for engaging with the older members of the Byker community.

Design Anthropology and service design 'both share a strong interest about human activity in or on, or jointly with the world' (Smith 2011:3), with ethnography within service design 'focusing on the experience of people in their own context during all stages of the design process' (Holmlid 2007: 4350). Over an eight week period the two students, researching this project, spent three blocks of one week volunteering and participating in daily activities (tea-dances, Tai-Chi classes, lunch clubs) throughout the Byker area. As one of the supervising tutors, I visited the students and observed the sites that the students had identified for integrating anthropological concepts to understand place. Through a process of reflexivity, the students developed tools for engagement that created a richer understanding of place and its fragility.

*Commensuration: A Service design Dilemma.*

Commensuration is 'the expression or measurement of characteristics normally represented by different units according to a common metric: it may be rankings, ratios or prices' (Espeland and Stevens 1998:315), including visualisation using maps. This is a process of 'transformation of qualities into quantities, difference into magnitude as a way of simplifying disparate information into numbers that can be easily compared' (316). For the authors this 'alters our relationship to what we value and how we invest in things and people; ultimately it abstracts and reduces information and strips away empathetic identification, context and relationships to become abstractly represented by numbers' (317). As the unifying characteristic of Western rationalism that emphasises calculation and standardization of processes and the displacement of social relations (Brubaker 1984: 29-35), service design is faced with the dilemma of commensurating human centredness into systems and forms that are often stripped of their human and cultural identity (as evidenced in the increasing use of call centres and the automation of services). As part of this research process and the service design solutions, the students used the OS online map application 'Getamap' to customise their own maps of Byker and to locate the available services for the elderly. These cartographic explorations revealed a number of interrelated issues that problematize issues of commensurability within service design. Each drop-pin that located a place on the map was stripped of the richness of human activity, providing instead a summary of the service offer rather than the relational and social places that made these points on the map so significant for the community. Similarly with call centres and the automation of services, within mapping and cartography through 'the drawing of lines and the bounding of objects' (Pickles 2004: 4), we have also reconfigured the world within

the sciences and presented them as the ideal knowledge founded on notions of truth that are abstracted forms and measurable points of location. To overcome this highly rational approach, Design Anthropology offers an alternative means of dynamically engaging with place both through practice and by place and place-making within a specific phenomenological framework.

## THEORIZING PLACE

Understanding place is explored, for example, by other academic disciplines; computer supported collaborative working and sociology have both recognised the importance of 'place as a social product, a set of understandings that come about only after spaces have been encountered by individuals and groups' (Harrison, Dourish 2006). Equally Gieryn (2000: 467) speaks of a sociology that will be most effective if it is informed by place, 'tying in three defining features, location, material form and meaningfulness'. Gieryn emphasises how 'place saturates social life; it is one medium (along with historical time) through which social life happens'. Place is also conceptualised in experiential landscape methods and practices, where it shares a human centredness similar to that of design and anthropology and offers a way of 'looking at the world as a spatial and experiential whole, constituted from outdoor places that people use during ordinary daily life' (Thwaites and Simkins, 2007: xi) particularly in landscape architecture. Asset Based Community Development (ABCD) too, offers another methodological approach to understanding place. Taking as its starting point the 'existing assets and strengths, particularly strengths inherent in community based associations and other social networks' (Mathie, Cunningham 2003: 177), ABCD uses a set of principles and practices to build this understanding. Closest to the field of Design Anthropology, and a catalyst for its emergence is Suchman's book on Plans and Situated Actions (1987) that explores through the relationship of design and anthropology how actions depend 'upon its material and social circumstances. Rather than attempting to abstract action away from its circumstances and represent it as a rational place, the approach is to study how people use their circumstances to achieve intelligent action' (49). These different theoretical perspectives all share similar methodological practices but for this research the ethnographic and participant observation and its framing with anthropological concepts and the use of experimental and interactive prototypes, mock-ups and designerly practices situates this work within Design Anthropology. The ethnographic method of participant observation, and 'its drawing together of varied elements, situations, behaviours, statements and responses within an understanding of the context,' (Gay y Blasco and Wardle 2007: 37) in this instance, to reveal social interactions of in-door and out-door places, is only one part of the process of understanding place. Anthropological concepts also frame the social and material dimensions of Byker 'revealing surprises, recasting assumptions and reframing relations' (Kjaersgaard 2011, in Gunn and Donovan 2012: 6). The work also extends beyond the ethnographic into Design Anthropology by guiding co-design processes through concepts, tools and frameworks through the material engagement with users.

I have chosen to explore and theorize place from the perspective of Design Anthropology and in particular from within a phenomenological tradition as this concerns itself with 'the human encounter, experience and understanding of worldly things, and with how these happenings come to be possible' (Thomas 2006: 43). For this research project, the methods of anthropology - ethnographic and participant observation - focus both on the social interactions of in-door places, as well as the daily movements and personal networks around Byker.

### *Anthropology and Place*

A seminal work by the anthropologist Appadurai (1996: 178) sees locality as 'primarily relational and contextual rather than as secular or spatial'. Extending this explanation further, he presents place as 'a complex phenomenological quality constituted by a series of links between the sense of the social immediacy, the technologies of interactivity and the relativity of contexts'. Place making is also presented as a repetitive and social activity of the quotidian that acknowledges the work of Malinowski (1961) and his recording of the 'magical ways, in which small scale societies do not and cannot take locality as a given. Instead, they seem to take it for granted that locality is ephemeral, fragile and unless hard and regular work is undertaken to maintain its materiality, it will disappear' (ibid: 180).

Similarly, the anthropologists Gupta and Ferguson (1997) ask how understanding of locality, community and region are formed and lived, and answer by suggesting that we look 'away from the common sense idea that such things as locality and community are simply given or natural and turn towards a focus on social and political processes of place making conceived less as a matter of 'ideas' than of embodied practices that shape identities and enable resistances' (p.6). The philosopher Casey's (1997) phenomenological stance also sees local knowledge as ingrained in place, stating:

*Local knowledge is at one with lived experience if it is indeed true that this knowledge is of the localities in which the knowing subject lives. To live is to live locally, and to know is first of all to know the places one is in. (18)*

According to Casey (ibid: 24): 'Places gather, they gather things in their midst, they gather experiences, memories, even languages and thoughts'. He reminds us to think of what it feels like to return to a place you know, how place triggers memories of familiar things, which he contrasts with the new and the strange.

Ingold (2007) extends the argument regarding the centrality of place to human experience, contending that lives are led not inside places but through, around, to and from them. He uses the term 'wayfaring' to describe the embodied experience of this perambulatory movement that takes us from place to place. It is therefore as wayfarers that we human beings inhabit the earth (Ingold 2007: 75). For Ingold existence is thus place bending, unfolding not in a single location, but along paths.

*Proceeding along a path, every inhabitant lays a trail. Where inhabitants meet, trails are entwined, as the life of each becomes bound up with the other. Every entwining is a knot, and the more that lifelines are entwined, the greater the density of the knot (Ingold, 2011: 148).*

In an earlier work Ingold (1993: 4) notes how 'place owes its character to the experience it affords to those who spend time there, to the sights and sounds and indeed smells that affords to its specific ambience'. Ingold connects this sensory experience to the activities in which its 'inhabitants engage'. It is from this relational context of people's engagement with the world, which he refers to as the business of dwelling, that each place creates its unique significance.

The relevance of time within place is noted in the work of another phenomenologist Shutz (1962: 16). He sees life as characterized as a process of 'growing older together'. For him sharing a community of 'space implies that a certain sector of the outer-world is equally within the reach of each partner, and contains objects of common interest and relevance. For each partner the other's body his gesture his gait'. [1962: 16]. Shutz adds that connecting place to a community of time 'concerns not only of outer (chronological) time, but of inner time implying that each communicating partner participates in the on rolling of life of the other, and can grasp in a vivid present the other's thoughts as they are built up step by step. They may thus share one another's anticipation of the future as plans or hopes or anxieties' [p: 16].

When considering design's role in the design of services and social innovation it is easy to overlook this weaving together of lives as lived, the everyday journeys of the 'wayfarer' and the role location plays in defining an individual (Ingold 2007: 76). service design can gather these often fragmented pieces and experiences of daily living and turn them into stories of places connected by visits, ephemera, and diaries that record the lived life, through time in place. This is the approach that was taken by the students whose understanding of Byker grew and provided inspiration for their service concepts.

## THE NATURE OF PLACE: THE BYKER RESEARCH.

Age UK Newcastle initially suggested focusing on three sites of service provision for the elderly in and around the Shield's Road area of Byker: the leisure centre and its coffee shop, a community lunch club run by volunteers at the Byker Community Centre, and an Age UK lunch service at a local Church, St Silas's. The two students whose work I focus on in this paper selected the two latter locations. Their aim was to map and visualize the daily lives of those using such services in Byker. Through the observational work it emerged that there was an intertwining of services that were not specifically designed for the elderly, but were formed in places that were particularly socially enriching for the users.

The students volunteered at the two local lunch clubs and observed and undertook co-design activities. They used the Age UK bus collection service, observing its social utility with many of the elderly users seeing the driver as one of the most important contacts within their weekly activities. As a result of their frailty, at St Silas' Church, a group of elderly people are picked up by the bus service, to spend their morning at the centre with planned activities and lunch. A second group arrives later for the lunch and then stays on for the afternoon activities. These sessions cost £10.00 each and many of the members find this too expensive but value it socially. Indeed, for



many it is the highlight of their week and there is a waiting list for this service with each person only allowed to use the club at one of the three weekly sessions. For some, this is their main hot meal each week. The second lunch club, independent of Age UK, is situated one kilometre away from St Silas at the Byker Community Centre. This club takes place once a week and is run by volunteers and costs £3.00 for the lunch.

As well as the incidental sociality of the bus ride, other locations outside the Age UK or local authority provision were observed. For example, Pam's hairdressing salon on the Shields Road serves between 38 to 40 ladies a day, many of them elderly, who use the place as a social meeting point. With a walk-in scheme, the women sit and chat with a cup of tea until an appointment slot is available. Talking to the customers and to the staff and photographing the scene, students were told of peoples' long-term relationship with the hairdresser many using it for more than 15 years.

Using co-design tools such as picture cards, diaries, the students gathered the snippets and trails from the daily lives of those they studied from the Age UK St Silas lunch group and the Byker Community Centre lunch club, as well as the hairdressing salon. With the shopping receipts, diary records and photographs taken by the lunch club members, the students were able to thread together lines of human life, 'as a process that involves the passage of time' (Ingold, 1993: 1). And it is the combination of place and time that was central to the findings of the students – one cannot be understood without the other.

The students used diaries and cameras as cultural probes (Gaver et al., 1999) to gather stories of memorable occasions, events that the people had visited and their concerns and hopes for the future. The lunch club members shared their earliest memories from being evacuated to the countryside during the war, their experiences and stories of living overseas and how they have knitted since childhood. In one case the reflections on recent meaningful experience became expansive, taking the person beyond everyday sense of the material. In a diary entry in response to the question 'What was the most interesting thing that happened to you during the week?' Margaret an 84 year old lunch club member wrote:

*"I looked to the Northern Skies to see falling stars anticipated in August. Cloud cover prevented the wonder but the dark clouds strewn to the west were dramatic".*

This recalls Ingold (2011) who notes that wherever there is life and habitation, the notional interfacial separation of substance and medium is disrupted to give to mutual permeability and binding (p.115).

At Byker Community Centre, the students captured the importance of such places and the interconnectedness of time and place. Joyce 79 years of age, who attends the Tea Dance and Lunch Club, volunteers to support Gladys, an 85 year old, the Community Champion. Gladys has been involved in the Community Centre since 1965 when she joined the dance club with her husband. Joyce shares the story of the couples who met during the activities at the Centre who are now living together. For Gladys her fear is that once she is gone no one will run the lunch club. In many of the co-design activities and subsequent discussions, time emerged in what Munn (1992)

refers to as temporalization, a 'symbolic process continually being produced in everyday practices' (116). In Byker the community volunteers referred to past, present and future relations and creating what Munn sees as people 'being "in" a sociological time of multiple dimensions'. These dimensions are lived through the 'various meaningful connectivities among persons, objects and space, continually being made in and through everyday work' (ibid: 116).

By framing the ethnographic observations, participating and co-designing activities with a Design Anthropology approach, place is revealed as relational, temporal and based on processes of making; it is formed over time with past, present and future occupants connected through objects, people and location. In particular, and reflecting Appadurai's observation already noted (1996) the ethnographic and design activities showed that place cannot be taken for granted, it is inherently fragile and efforts are required in order to sustain it.

## VISUALISING PLACE

As the stories unfolded and the interweaving of place and time into social and daily practices emerged, the suitability of the customer journey map began to be questioned. Seeing the lunch club members' day as a journey map with a start and finish did not reflect the entangled nature of place and the toing and froing that comprises quotidian place making. Instead, Student 1 focused on place-making maps (Figure 1) where people's lives could be drawn out around Byker, in knots, routes, lines and movement that reconfigured place in what Ingold (2007: 96) refers to as a 'nexus within which all life, growth and activity are contained'. Ingold discusses how lines, to indicate possible moves, may join locations or positions on a map and how they form a network in which every place figures as a hub. The place-making maps made visible these non-linear, messier and more entangled flows than would not be revealed by a more typical customer journey map. The place-making maps also reflected a more embodied notion of location that enabled the students to make tangible a dynamic community of support networks.

This informal network became the basis for Student 1's service proposal where lunch club members sign-up for a locally based, Age UK reward card at either the St Silas lunch club or the Byker Community Centre. Personal details are collected by lunch-club volunteers at either of the centres and the reward card is issued. The card provides discounts on products or services at participating businesses in the area and each time it is used, the owner collects a stamp. When the card is full it can be dropped into a lucky draw box at either St Silas or the Byker Community Centre where winners will be picked out at lunch club events. Local Age UK volunteers are also allowed to sign-up for the card. The participating businesses will sign-up online and their details used to locate them on the Age UK website and local map, thereby building up knowledge within the Charity of local, informal age supporting services. In return the participants will receive free advertising on Age UK's website and also receive an Age UK business partnership certificate to promote their premises. The prototype deliberately adopted a low-tech approach for the card and commensurated the daily activities of the hairdressers and the cafe into a simple

reward scheme that provide more information to Age UK on local services and its members and their activity, whilst also drawing together and making visible services that were often overlooked within the area.

### **Figure 1 – Place making maps**

Student 2 translated the downloadable OS application map, with specific local data, into an actual 3D representation of the people and places, moving them within the physical landscape of Byker like counters on a gameboard (Figure 2). This dynamic map focused on the Byker Community Centre as one of the hubs within the community, capturing the movements and location of the different lunch clubs and its members in relation to daily and weekly activities. Kjaersgaard calls such material manifestations, 'knowledge pieces, transitional objects facilitating the move from individual research knowledge to tangible and collective design material' (cited in Gunn, Otto and Smith 2013: 58). He sees these as 'liminal objects mediating between knowledge and design, present and futures, as well as between different knowledge traditions' (ibid: 58). For Lenskjold (2011: 5) mapping within Design Anthropology presents a 'mode of critical engagement that can be seen as a designerly way of articulating the matters of concern surrounding an issue'.

### **Figure 2 – Image of the 3D physical map.**

Through the physical 3D mapping and observational work, the significance of the Byker Community Centre's contribution to the local community grew. Established in the 1930s the Centre is run as a charity for the community but the council can no longer support it and the Centre faces the challenge of becoming self-sustaining from 2015. For the student, the physical mapping with daily activities enabled a dynamic interaction with the complexity of the daily lives of the Centre and the intertwining of past, present and future lives that embodied the personal investment in volunteering and participating in the Centre's activities. Commensurating the value of such places as budgetary figures is particularly challenging, as it detaches their connectivity to the lives of individuals. For the tea dance members, with their ages ranging from 79 years to 93 years old, the closure of the Community Centre will isolate them, decreasing their mobility and physical exercise and separating them from social activities such as the knitting, crafts and lunch clubs that make up the threads of their lives.

As a service touch point, the creation of the OS customised map, of local elderly friendly businesses and community centre services, located the informal, relational and often invisible offers that had been established over time. Through this geomedia positioning, Age UK and its volunteers and out-reach workers could visually picture the range and diversity of the community services for the elderly as well as their own formal services within the area of Byker. Yet, although this touch point had the potential to provide valuable information for Age UK, the limitation must also be noted in the commensuration of the quotidian into map location pins and summary descriptors that removed the richness of social activity and the shaping of place.

For Ingold (in Otto and Smith 2013: 145) the creativity of design is not 'found in the novelty of prefigured solutions to perceived environmental problems but in the capacity of inhabitants to respond with precision to the ever-changing circumstances of their lives'. Making the distinction between innovation and improvisation, Ingold (2011: 216) views the latter as reading forward, 'following the ways of the world as they unfold rather than seeking to recover a chain of connections from an end point to a starting point on a route already travelled'. The service proposal, prototyped by Student 1, revealed the threads and knots of daily life, drawing together and capturing the pressures on an ageing community (the oversubscribed lunch club, the proposed funding changes to the Byker Community Centre) and the fluctuating landscape of services for the elderly. The co-design methods and the prototypes were used as tools of reflexivity throughout the design process to understand the uncertainties of the future. In addition the prototypes from both the projects offered the lunch club members involvement in the conceiving of a future with Age UK exploring future possibilities of employing geomedial mapping in mapping invisible informal local services.

## CONCLUSION

This paper demonstrates that place and time can be considered in alternative frameworks using Design Anthropology methods in the context of service design. Further, by integrating phenomenological approaches into service design projects via alternative forms of research and visual expression, deeper understandings of lives as lived are revealed, as well as more suitable outcomes for those for whom the services are being designed. This new paradigm acknowledges the processes and challenges of commensuration where a lunch club or a community centre is reduced to a series of linear visualisations or economic transactions. Contrastingly, the values that were observed in the OS / Age UK / Byker project had to be felt and followed before being gathered and acted upon by the students.

These two diametrically opposed discourses, and the research methods they engender, need to be fully recognised and made overt when designing community based services. The methodologies developed and drawn upon by the students, produced a form of visual commensuration which reflects place more richly than the point-to-point (Ingold 2007: 88) journey maps we so frequently employ as service designers, or indeed the numeric economic value that is commonly used. The place-making maps the students created translated the entanglement of everyday life into visual, human-centred forms, capturing the social and cultural practices - volunteering, knitting groups and personal histories - that are vital to understanding a community.

As I have argued, the more common frameworks of commensuration in service design, whether economic value or constraining visualisations, abstract the quotidian, forcing the threads and knots that make place into shapes that inhabitants may no longer recognise. A central question thus emerges from my reflections on the students' research: how can service design make visible, capture and commensurate the values that are central to place-making, values that are

incommensurable to models that reduce them to metrics or journey maps, values that are tied-up with the fragility and ephemeral nature of everyday life? I conclude by contending that it is critical for service design to recognize the limitations of some elements of the current tool-kits and methods and to be open to, and experiment with, other methods and approaches as it moves into developing community based services and new realms of action.

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## Figures for the Paper:

Figure 1. Place making maps. How individuals move and dwell is essential to understanding place?

Figure 2. 3D Physical map of Byker with movable figures and places.

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