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WALKING LANES / WALKING LINES: BODILY ALIGNMENTS AND PASSING THROUGH DOORWAYS

Abstract

There are very few studies that analyse the role of artefacts as shaping joint locomotion in public places. By video-recording pedestrians passing through doorways in a mall, we have observed how openings and doors contribute to mobile formations such as walking lanes or files. Doors play a major part as a focus for common direction. Doors occasion a modification of speed and a re-arrangement of spatial proximity between pedestrians during the process of passing through. We argue that mobile formats such as walking together in public places are based on culturally-methodic dynamics of bodily orientation to others. They are also based on a conjoint orientation to apertures that afford entry spaces to doors through which pedestrians wish to pass. Physical-artefactual boundaries such as doors, sidewalks and lanes play a major role

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in shaping joint locomotion. We would like to focus on a particular case of locomotion driven by artefacts: the passing through doors shaped by serial arrangements of pedestrians in a following/followed format. We treat this case of mobile formation as a specific genuine form of aggregate in its own right, distinct from side-by-side walking and other forms of mobile file.

Keywords: body alignment, walking lane, side-by-side walking, doorways, membership categorization

INTRODUCTION

This paper¹ is a contribution to the ethnomethodological and Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) approach to the analysis of public spaces, clearly following on the heels of seminal work on situated mobility [Ryave, Schenkein 1974; Lee, Watson 1993; Watson 1999]. We propose to analyze a seemingly mundane phenomenon—pedestrians passing through doors in a shopping mall – as a practical local accomplishment revealing the interior, endogenous organization of mobile formations. This approach is also in line with the ethnomethodological programme as articulated by Garfinkel to render the “achieved order” visible in the concrete details of ordinary action. This order is achieved “from within”: these local orders are “self-organizing”, that is to say, such local orders are “self-organizing” in relation to particular circumstances.

In this paper, we treat the production of a walking line as a local and situated accomplishment grounded in both a spatial and social environment, both of which are conjointly orientated towards by pedestrians as what Harold Garfinkel, following Aron Gurwitsch, terms a single “gestalt contexture”. The format of a walking line is at once produced and displayed by the conjoint movements of pedestrians passing through doorways in entering or exiting the shopping mall. Such formats are also displayed in the perceived order of locally enacted categories [Sacks 1972, 1992].

The formation of a walking line phenomenon is sequentially organized in two main interrelated phases:

- (i) A preparation phase to draw a line-shaped “trajectory” or “lane” that emerges locally by a coordination of pedestrians to a common entry zone before selecting a particular door;

¹ An earlier version of this paper has been presented to COOP 2014 Workshop *The Role of Artefacts in Social Coordination* (Nice, France). Bernard Conein was an early contributor to this paper but, sadly, died during its preparation. We dedicate this paper to his memory.

- (ii) A passing phase when pedestrians are manipulating the selected door when passing through it whilst being aware of who is preceding them and who is next.

This study is based on video-recordings of short sequences of conjoint movements enacted by pedestrians passing through doorways of several shopping malls in France. The embodied and material aspect of passing through doors is conjointly perceived through observations of bodily orientations of pedestrian walking in a line and during the passing of the door.

MAKING A WALKING LANE: MOVING TOWARDS AN ENTRY ZONE

When pedestrians walk together in a crowded environment, they tend to build up various mobile formations. These formations (or formats) are incidental, contingent and fluid in order to forestall collision and detours. The formations are always dependent upon given pedestrians' specific practical activities. These various arrangements produced by body orientations exhibit distinct modes of pedestrian alignment such as side-by-side alignment or alignment in line. Such alignments display weak or strong orientation and commitments to a set of different membership categories. Some of these categories are assigned because they are visible according to recognizable attributes [Jayyusi 1984] or locally coherent assemblages (visible as, e.g., "friends" or "family"), while other categories ("first in line", "follower" "next in line", "last") emerge from mobility activities and their spatial and material anchorages.

STATE OF THE ART

In their classic study, A. Lincoln Ryave and James N. Schenkein [1974: 265] consider walking as "the concerted accomplishment of members of the community involved as a matter of course in its production and recognition". They explore various embodied walking practices through which pedestrians walking together produce and maintain the recognizability of their "we" relationship while dealing with many contingencies: the narrowing of the lane, oncoming others, etc. Other mobile formations involving two or more members have been analysed in the literature. Lorenza Mondada [2023] has examined the various social practices through which "withs" (when two or more individual people are counted as a single unit within the space) are produced, maintained and dissolved

in public places. Other mobile formations involving two or more members have been finely analysed in the literature. From an avowedly Sacksian orientation, Esther González-Martínez [2024] identifies a “distinct mobile formation” of staff members walking through a hospital. Previously, González-Martínez and her colleagues [2017] had carefully shown how staff members walking in a hospital corridor practically accomplish passing-by checks while adjusting their mutual directions, trajectories and distance to the corridors.

In their study of video materials gathered in Paris and Manchester, Lee and Watson [1993] have developed the concept of “turn-generated categories” such as “back-of-queue” or “next-in-queue” in order to analyse how members assemble themselves in “mobile formations” and “visual arrangements” in public spaces. The conceptualization of categories as sequential objects and sequential products was inspired by Sacks’s lectures on “caller-called” as categories. Such organizational arrangements such as “back-of-queue” and “next-in-queue” activate local devices of practical categories that are conventionally tied to sets of rights and obligations. For instance, someone who is the next in line in a queue might be expected to move forward once the first in line has been served. Or they may be expected to reclaim their earlier position in the queue after leaving it for some reason [see also Livingston 1987], etc.

Of course, such mobility arrangements also exploit various features of the material environment. For instance, Weilenmann, Normark and Laurier [2014] are interested in how members manage a specific type of door which is never completely opened or closed, the “revolving door”. They focus on how people who are visibly walking in a group “manage to maintain themselves as a formation”, while passing through such revolving doors. The authors observe that doors, especially revolving doors, are a “one-at-a-time technology”, which fosters a distribution of incoming people between a first party to go through and then “next” parties, again in distributed order.

In this paper, we will develop a parallel interest in how (intersubjective orientations to) doors feature in the emergence of such local categories and organizations.

DATA AND APPROACH

The study is based on video-recordings of naturally occurring pedestrian movements at doorways in several shopping malls in France. Short sequences were selected in which multiple pedestrians approached and passed through doors in a relatively unobstructed field of view, and in which the emergence and dissolution of a line-shaped formations could be tracked. The recordings capture both

the approach to entry zones (often consisting of several adjacent doors) and the subsequent passing through a selected door.

Analysis proceeded through repeated, detailed inspection of the recordings in order to identify recurrent patterns of trajectory, body orientation and door manipulation. For key fragments, timings were noted to highlight the progressive transformation of formations (for example, from side-by-side walking to a following/follower line) and the moment-by-moment appearance of positions such as *first in line*, *next* and *last*. Still images reproduced below as figures correspond to successive frames taken at short intervals; arrows and annotations indicate directions of motion, orientations and categorial positions.

The analytic approach follows the ethnomethodological and, as we have said above, conversation-analytic concern with sequential organization, while also drawing explicitly on MCA and taking a step toward bringing these two concerns into a reciprocal relation. Rather than the analyst imposing categories, our analysis examines how participants themselves, through their in situ practical actions, display and ratify positions such as *first in line* and *follower*. Our analytic account remains closely tied to the video data so that the described phenomena are discoverable in the material and not merely inferred. It is in that sense that we see our analysis as what Schenkein has called a “non-intuitive analysis”.

Our work has been inspired by that of Harvey Sacks, not on this particular topic but through what Sacks’s student James Schenkein termed the “analytic mentality” [Schenkein 1978: 1-6] that Sacks devised. This mentality is firmly rooted in Sacks’s own considerations [Sacks 1984]. One of the crucial features of Sacks’s approach, which has been underplayed in subsequent studies, is that it does not consist in a set of “one-size-fits-all” methodological rules that are presumed to apply to researching just any and all social phenomena, but rather to a flexible array of analytic dispositions that may be sensitively attuned and adjusted to whatever particular instance the analyst is addressing. Those instances of phenomena to be studied in this way are, without any exemption, to be ones that are real-world, naturally-occurring, naturally situated and naturally organized. Sacks insists that these instances should be analysed “as they fall” (as he expressed it), i.e. as they naturally occur, which means that at least some will be unanticipated by the analyst. Consequently, Sacks insists that these instances should be described and analysed “as they are found” without recourse to aprioristic “hypotheticalized-typicalized models” which would import a presumption concerning what phenomena would be found, what such phenomena would look like and how they should therefore be analysed. His *Lectures on conversation*

[Sacks 1992: *passim*.] contain many instances of his having devised purpose-specific ways of analysing “just this” conversational phenomenon in all its distinctive detail.

Moreover, as part of this radically-naturalistic orientation, Sacks’s approach preserves and examines participants’ own intersubjective/cultural orientations to the phenomenon throughout the course of its conjoint production. This mentality is uniquely fitted to the capturing of the fine interactional detail of participants’ conduct in any given setting. Such detail, often fleeting and occasional in its character, is all too often overlooked or even dismissed by more “mainstream” social scientists as being trivial and/or merely random. By contrast, Sacks – with his distinctive analytic mentality – demonstrates that order can be found in this fine detail of concerted actions. Sacks’s way of expressing this matter is that if one cares to look, one can find “order at all points”.

The analysis in our paper also relates to several leitmotifs in Sacks’s work which we found, upon inspection of our data, to be pertinent. One is that of sequential organization, to which we have referred above – sequential organization in all its vastly varied, naturally-occurring forms. Another is that of identification categories for persons – what, in his early work, Sacks termed “membership categorizations”. This concern has spawned a cottage industry called “Membership Categorization Analysis” (MCA). However, our concern here with membership categories will of necessity be more limited than theirs, though there are, conceivably, some shared affinities.

A SPECIFIC MOBILE FORMATION

We should like here to examine a particular kind of mobile formation that appears in a crowded environment such as a mall when pedestrians walk in a uni-directional line to go in or to go out. “Doing walking together” in a line with following/followed format seems to produce a distinct mobile formation from that of side-by-side walking.

Moreover, the mobile sets that pedestrians produced when walking in a mall, are mainly perceived and achieved as an ongoing mobile formation in order to enter or exit:

- (i) the “mobile formation” [see McIlvenny, Broth, Haddington 2014] is mainly constituted by a partition between an inside and an outside;
- (ii) the conjoint movements of pedestrians make us aware that embodied actions with a common goal (a “lane”) are achieved (going in or going out) by passing through a door;

- (iii) a serial arrangement in line progressively built up as a following/follower format.

The conjoint conducts of pedestrians are perceived as people walking together and also as people in line to pass the door one by one. The maintenance of a common direction with spatial proximity and a common pace toward a spatial partition between inside and outside and toward a certain door displays a sense of “togetherness” to this mobile lane. It is when the pedestrians have selected a common door through which to pass that the walking line is produced and recognized as a specific line-shaped mobile formation.

The maintenance of a common orientation towards a door is what permits others to see that these people are “together” but are together in a certain order: one behind the other. There is a mutual interdependence between an alignment to a door, the making of a line and a certain order of coordination. This sense of mobile agency is broadly visual, and a central feature of the activities here described is their exhibitory properties, their self-displaying nature. First, we see people walking, then see them as walking together when they align themselves to a common entry zone by moving in line as they commonly orient to a door. The selection of a particular door acts as an external support to a specific mobile formation.

We start to have a clearer idea of what is meant when we say that a door can “contribute” to the shaping of a mobile formation. By being open or being openable, a door invites people to pass and at the same time the door “specifies” the direction of locomotion of pedestrians to go out or to go in. Moreover, doors afford many different practical inspections. Some are individually produced, as Don Norman noticed: “You come to a door. In which direction does it open? Should you pull or push, on the left or the right? Maybe the door slides? If so, in which direction?” [Norman 2013: 1]. However, doors in public generally “invite” one to visually identify how people approach, push or hold them. Doors can animate “explicative transactions” [Pollner 1979] for incoming members who approach exits or entrances.

COMMON DIRECTION AND COMMON PACE: SIDE BY SIDE OR SERIAL FORMATION

When pedestrians walk in the same direction, maintaining spatial proximity and synchronizing their speed, they become visually recognizable as “walking together,” [Ryave, Schenkein 1974] and this recognition is also a practical orientation for the walkers themselves. Ryave and Schenkein identified three recurrent features of such mobile formations: sustained proximity, a shared

direction of motion and a synchronized pace. These features also organize the formations examined here, but the presence of doors and passages modifies how they are deployed. In side-by-side formations, these features are combined with a horizontal arrangement that permits mutual gaze, talk and bodily contact. Such formations often instantiate a “with-relationship” in Goffman’s terms. The relevance of these features is demonstrated by the implications of their violation: if people start to walk at a too long distance from each other, or slow down or accelerate or move to distinct direction, the mobile set will collapse and the sense of walking together will be destroyed unless repair work is not done “on the spot”. Ryave and Schenkein remark that a modification of distance requires “speeding-up” to restore the set:

The requirement of spatial proximity is illustrated by the observation that (a) a participant who has lost some proximity will engage in repair work ranging from hurrying for slowing to calling out or later explaining the separation, (b) violation of the maintenance of spatial proximity fundamentally undermines the enterprise of walking together and can be seen as an interactional breach ... [Ryave, Schenkein 1974: 272].

By contrast, the walking lanes documented here involve a serial arrangement in which one person walks behind another, oriented to a doorway that can be approached and passed in line through only one at a time. The serial arrangement restricts many of the interactional opportunities available in side-by-side formations and contributes to what may be called a “weak” or “light” togetherness: the distinction between walking alone and walking together is attenuated when a following/follower format emerges incidentally.

This distinction between side-by-side formations and walking lanes is not simply spatial; it also has categorial and sequential implications. In walking lanes, positions such as *first in line*, *second* and *next* become salient, and pedestrians treat these as relevant for how they approach, manipulate and relinquish the door. Such positions echo those found in queues, yet the formations here are more fluid: pairs may sometimes pass together, entries or exits from the lane may occur, and obligations to maintain strict serial order are comparatively weak. The analysis below therefore treats walking lanes as mobile formations in their own right, while examining how queue-like categories are contingently achieved within them.

One way of understanding the distinction between the two forms of mobile formation is to see them as inter-related in the dynamics of the emergence of a line. Walking together beside the other and walking in a mobile line, one by one, are intrinsically inter-related in our observations of public conduct in a mall:

two people walking side-by-side join a mobile line as they intend to pass a door for entering or exiting.

Lee and Watson [1993] suggest the term “flow files” to name this specific mobile formation by which people organize themselves when walking in some crowded urban areas. When pedestrians walk in some given direction on a curb, they usually have to avoid the oncoming pedestrians walking from the opposite direction on that same curb. The other pedestrian appears as an “obstacle” to avoid in the same way as Ryave and Schenkein report.

This ordinary, practical work of walking can be achieved through “one-walker-at-a time” adjustments or through other kinds of organization, such as the flow-file [Lee, Watson 1993]. While walking, people can orient to some preceding pedestrian who walks in the same direction as “someone to be followed” and not as someone to be beside. In doing so, they adjust their pace with the pace of the followed, while keeping a minimal distance between them. By keeping a minimal distance, they maintain a feature shared by the side-by-side format and the following/followed format. This second format provides an elegant embodied way for the solving of several navigational problems: avoiding collision with the incoming pedestrians, making a detour in front of an obstacle and passing through an opening each at a time. There is no need for mutual one-to-one adjustments with them: this coordination is mainly achieved by the “first in line” and the serial order of following a precedent. Once a third, then a fourth pedestrian have adopted this “following” way of walking, they begin to adopt a “flow file format”, namely, “following/follower”. Constitutive features of queues and files, such as ranking (“first position” or “second position”, etc.), become accountable occasional features of serial mobile formation which others can “join”.

Becoming an “incumbent” of a category as “first in line” is attached to several attributes [Sacks 1992; Watson 1999]:

- Rights (being the expected next in line to pass)
- Obligations (keep moving forward, don’t get stuck)
- Actions to deliver on time (opening and holding the door)

While moving, such pedestrians orient themselves to a common pace. In a light sense, they walk together, and maintain a common co-orientation through continuous embodied mobile work. In all these aspects and more, we may observe that the co-ordinated activity of “passing through doors” involves an impressive array of cultural competences and intricate activities on the part of those involved.

In the following analysis, we would like to consider two local phenomena of line shaped formations where 1) the artefacts “intervene” and 2) how an entry zone

made of several doors jointly shape walking together as a flow file and provide an ordinary “solution” to the “problem” of passing through doors together by maintaining a file as a lane in walking through the door.

THE EMERGENCE OF A WALKING LANE

The emergence of a flow file as a walking lane cannot be detached from the orientation taken by pedestrians when moving to a particular entry zone and/or to a door that is selected from the others as a potential entrance. In the emergence of a flow file, the door as an artefact, related to an entry point, intervenes in the making of a walking lane. As a particular door is selected, pedestrians place themselves into a serial arrangement in order to pass the door one at a time, avoiding both collision and detour. By doing so, the door becomes an important external aid in the solution of the navigational problem in a crowded environment.

From our observations, we see two main features of the making of an “oriented-to-the door walking lane”:

While approaching a door, a walker is publicly seen as selecting it as a first possible member of a virtual line or trajectory, whereby others collectively arrange themselves into a walking lane behind him (Figs. 1 and 2).



Fig. 1. A orients himself to a closed door which is a possible exit



Fig. 2. As A reaches the door to open it pedestrians align themselves to the first in line as followers

By orienting to an entry zone or by selecting a particular door to pass through “A” attracts others, i.e. following pedestrians, to align themselves to this exit zone. The “attractor” is neither the door itself nor the first walker to pass but the pair “door/first in line”. Thus, the door as an artefact can display two opposite properties: 1) obstacle when closed or locked and 2) an opening when not locked, so long as it is inserted into a course of action. This common orientation to the door and to the first in line is a first step in the constitution of an emergent line shaped file. In Fig. 1, we see a man approaching a door to get out. The visible “coupling” of this man with the door he is about to pass through turns out to be recognizable by other walkers who are on their way out in the same direction (Fig. 2): they recognize a possible first in line. Then they speed up, position themselves into a line, a mobile formation in which they are following and followed units. Here is another instance of the emergent formation of a walking line from outside the mall:



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5

As they enter into the field of the camera, several pedestrians (A, B and C) are observed to be walking in the same direction. A common orientation has already been adopted by these three pedestrians, an orientation that is distinct from the orientation of other passers-by, such as T, who is walking in parallel with the opening zone. In addition, pedestrians A, B and C are directed to a specific entry (door labelled 3, Fig. 3) amongst the five doors. At this distance, the selection of the particular door is, however, still uncertain. One can clearly see two pedestrians (A and B) entering the field walking side by side, with reduced mutual distance and at the same pace. Both pedestrians show that they are “together” [Ryave, Schenkein 1974]. While T, the mobile phone user pursues her walk without displaying any attention to them, both A and B adjust their trajectories in order to maintain the direction of their path while avoiding collision: A pivots to her left, while B deviated slightly to his right. This is a nice way of keeping a “side by side” mutual orientation while maintaining a common orientation to the entry

zone 3 and facilitating T's crossing between them (Fig. 4). However, no door has been selected so far. D and E are progressing in the same direction, while being positioned in a lagged manner relative to each other and towards the "with" unit [A–B]. This positioning allows D and E to keep a clear view of the entrance while continuing to walk and preparing themselves to walk in a line.



Fig. 6



Fig. 7

At this very moment, both the "selection problem" (which door to pass through) and the methodological issue (how to organize the passing) will be jointly solved. While B speeds up in direction to the right door of the entry zone 3, A slows down and changes her direction to her left. B becomes "first in line" for the others who are walking behind them; A is ready to pass after him; C, D and E align themselves to the same direction and form a line (Figs. 6–7).

THE SOCIAL COORDINATION WITH OTHERS BY HOLDING DOOR

The accomplishment of passing through doors implies an active manipulation of the door and a modification of body orientation. The manipulation of the door modifies the serial ordering. Body orientation to others changes according to the phase of passing. But more interestingly, the door itself, the way it is grasped and held shapes and expresses a distinct mode of coordination between the passing pedestrians and different assemblages of category-membership and category-relations.

We can notice first how the temporal process of door passing is accomplished through specific co-orientation between the passing walker and the door. The process of passing through doorways is made of distinct phases with distinct manipulations of the door that are related to the continuity of the process: achieving continuity is a key aspect of this process. So, after orienting to the door, the first interaction concerns the movement of grasping the door. We see the pedestrian extending his arm to reach the door and to manifest that she/he could be the next to pass. It is the case when the person is passing the door as the first or solo. When she is already inside a walking lane, she aligns to the preceding walker to retain the door for herself. This action is followed by an active interaction and orientation with the door: retaining the door to pass through it by pushing or by pulling. If this second action can be achieved by a quick look to the next follower as we see in different examples, there is discontinuity between retaining and holding the door.

Thus, the last action of holding as distinct from retaining is optional: holding the door makes the door available for the next in line. The last action is optional as it is depending on the cooperative coordination between the preceding and the following parties. When the walker passing through is releasing the door, the next in line can take the reins as we see in the three moments of “handing on” the door to the next: the second in line is reaching and grasping the door on the spot by aligning to the first in line; the third in line is following the second by extending her arms to retain the door.

Apparently, there seem to be two kinds of bodily orientation between the door and a walker: 1) a self orientation (retaining the door for oneself) and 2) a cooperative orientation (holding the door for the other follower). How the door is held and retained might display two distinct embodied orientations and two distinct modes of coordination.

However, there is in fact a complex continuum between the two orientations towards the next in line depending on the continuity in the way the door is manipulated. When retaining and holding is a continuous process, deciding whether the door is held for the next in line or only for the one passing through is not straightforward.

We suggest that the different moments of passing through a doorway with a partner (or a next) are adjusted to the material properties of the door (e.g. heaviness and inertia) and in reflexive relation with visual cues related to the conjoint movements of pedestrians. Action is realized by activating and at the same time discovering doors' affordances and the impact of the body's engagement during walking through a door.

Several ways of passing the door can be identified, which are closely related to the manipulation of the door and to how a pedestrian is displaying her/his orientation to a next.



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11

Here, B, first in line, creates an opportunity for the next to move close to him while adopting the format follower/followed. We suggested previously that, when the

passing walker is releasing the door, the next in line “can take the reins”. Here, A, as the second in line, synchronizes her passing by accelerating and walking next to the first in line (Fig. 8 to 9). The third in line (C) is extending her arms to retain the door (Fig. 10). Adopting this pattern, B and A found an embodied way of displaying a “we” relationship while organizing their successive passing through the door. On the contrary, C passes through the door “alone” while she retains the door for herself. Then (Figs. 10–11), she holds the door for the next (D) who herself does the same for the next in line (Figs. 12–13).



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14

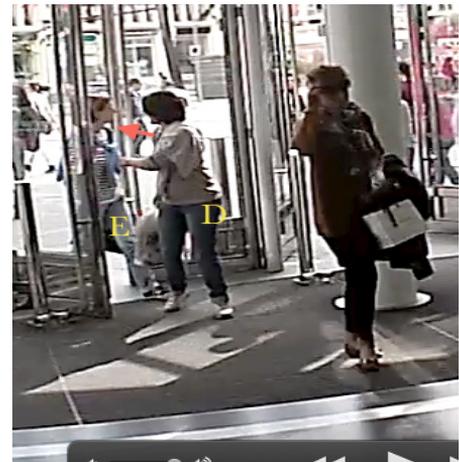


Fig. 15

In Figures 12 to 15, ways of passing through take this format: passing with another is accomplished by making the door “retainable” for the next. We can observe that C is retaining and holding the door for D and D for E. This way of “passing through” is clearly expressed by the pedestrian’s bodily orientation toward the next, as observed in the pictures. This way of passing is observed to be based on visual and spatial cues like pace and proximity with the next or the preceding. Checking whether the next is “in time” to grasp the door appears as one element of this format, an item of conduct that is tied to the turn-generated category of “next in line”.

CONCLUSION

In this paper, we hope to have contributed to three areas. First, it extends ethnomethodological and Sacksian work on public space by offering a fine-grained analysis of how walking together in line is observably accomplished. Second, it examines how participants make categorial positions (first, next, last, opener, follower, together, alone) practically recognizable and consequential in mobile formations. Third, it engages with ethnomethodological studies of materiality by examining how doors feature in the sequential organization of joint locomotion and the making of a walking lane.

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PASMA RUCHU PIESZEGO / LINIE RUCHU PIESZEGO: DOPASOWANIE CIAŁA I PRZECHODZENIE PRZEZ DRZWI

Streszczenie

Istnieje bardzo niewiele badań analizujących rolę artefaktów w kształtowaniu wspólnego poruszania się w miejscach publicznych. Na nagraniach wideo dokumentujących pieszych przechodzących przez drzwi w centrum handlowym, zaobserwowaliśmy, jak wejścia i drzwi przyczyniają się do tworzenia mobilnych formacji, takich jak pasma lub linie ruchu pieszego. Drzwi stanowią punkt organizujący wspólną orientację kierunkową uczestników, a proces ich przekraczania wiąże się ze zmianami tempa ruchu oraz reorganizacją dystansu przestrzennego między osobami przemierzającymi

się. Dowodzimy, że formy mobilne, takie jak wspólne poruszanie się w miejscach publicznych, opierają się na kulturowo i metodycznie ukształtowanej dynamice dopasowania ciała względem innych osób. Opierają się one również na wspólnej orientacji względem przejść zapewniających przestrzeń prowadzące do drzwi, które piesi chcą przekroczyć. Fizyczno-arteaktowe granice, takie jak drzwi, chodniki i pasma ruchu pieszego, odgrywają kluczową rolę w kształtowaniu wspólnego poruszania się. Szczególną uwagę poświęcamy przypadkowi przechodzenia przez drzwi, w którym ruch pieszych przyjmuje postać szeregowego ustawienia w formacie prowadzący–podążający. Proponujemy traktować tę postać mobilnej organizacji jako odrębną formę agregacji interakcyjnej, odmienną zarówno od poruszania się obok siebie, jak i od innych typów przemieszczania się w układzie szeregowym.

Słowa kluczowe: dopasowanie ciała, pasma ruchu pieszego, poruszanie się obok siebie, drzwi, kategoryzacja uczestnictwa (ang. *membership categorization*)