Ensounded bodies:
making place in London's East End

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Declaration

I certify that the thesis I have presented is my own work,
other than where I have duly acknowledged that it is the work of others.

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Index

Acknowledgments 3

1. Introduction: listening to the urban soundscape 8

I. Sounds of the city 8
II. Urban sonic compositions 10
III. The core questions 13
IV. Light on structure 16

2. Searching for the body in space 21

I. City and place 21
II. Place and space. From differentiation to collision 23
III. Body and place matters 25
IV. Multilocal place 28
V. The relational turn 31
VI. Making place 35
VII. Summing up 39

3. Senses and the body: towards relational emotions 44

I. Geographies of the senses 44
II. The sensuous turn 45
III. The sensuous body 50
IV. Emotions 57
V. Focussing emotion on the sensuous and emotional body 62

4. The soundscape 64

I. Talking about the soundscape, an introduction 64
II. Sounds in motion, sounds in history 66
III. Soundscape 74
IV. Ambiance 79
V. Listening to the soundscape 82

5. Soundscape and sensuous body in place, an unorthodox marriage between theory and methodology 86

I. Bringing the theory together 86

II. Looking for sonic inputs in the making of place 87
III. A soundscape's working definition 90
IV. Embodied and emplaced perspectives 92
V. Walking and shadowing 96
VI. London's East End 100

6. The moving soundscape 111

I. The poetics of the East End 111
II. Mechanical sounds 115
III. Sound in movement 121
IV. Authoring the soundscape 129

7. A sense of belonging? Reacting to the soundscape 132

I. Sound and cultural listening 132
II. Reactions culturally conditioned 135
III. Am I blocking the soundscape? 137
IV. Can we speak? 142
V. Are you tuning me out? 146

8. Soundscape, memory and confinement 150

I. Finding the balance 150
II. A gendered ear? 153
III. Nightlife sounds 156
IV. Sounds of memory 159
V. The City 162

9. Conclusion. The urban whisper; ensounded bodies and the making of place 165

I. Starting to finish 165
II. Listening to the soundscape and the sensuous awakening 167
III. The soundscape's relation to the making of place 170
IV. Towards a sensuous methodology 172
V. The whisper of cities 175

10. Afterword. Techniques and reflections of a sonic researcher 179
I. Thinking about the methods 179
II. The methods 180
III. Afterthoughts 189

Annexe 193

Bibliography 194

List of tables

Table 1. Categories of place 43
Table 2. Place, body and space 434
Table 3. Research Participants 106

List of figures

Figure 1. Map of all the routes in London's East End. All the streets included in the routes are in focus 104
Figure 2. Henri, Lila, Beatrice, Dave and Rosa's routes in London's East End 114
Figure 3. Shefali and Dave's routes in London's East End 134
Figure 4. Henri, Owen, Beatrice and Mar's routes in London's East End 152

1. Introduction: listening to the urban soundscape

I. Sounds of the city

The engulfing sound of airplane motors pierce the imagined quiet quality we associate with white clouds and blue skies. The first sound I remember upon arriving to London was that of the wheels heavily bouncing off the tarmac on the landing strip but listening back into my memory, there are two soundscapes that come brightly to mind though, the first one is located in London's East End. Walking east from Aldgate roundabout, leaving the sound of cars and pedestrians crossing in a rush, towards the rhythmical, yet a-synchronic soundscape that will unfold as I walk. On the left, a few young people gather outside of the coffee shop, known to many as serving a decent cup of coffee just off the tube entrance of Aldgate East. The chatter and the smell of cigarette smoke cloud the ambience for a second, like a small hiatus to the unremitting polluting sound of the car engines that use Whitechapel High street as a highway from East to West at rush hours. To the other side, in front of the Whitechapel Art Gallery, a serious middle-aged man, holding up a closed umbrella, starts a tour introducing the Art Gallery and the space. There is flair of cockney in his speech, they depart, heading West.

As I carry on East, I pass a supermarket having a couple of homeless men sitting outside asking for a few pennies, the sound of the self-checkouts slips in between the automatic glass doors, opening and closing a fairly useless sonic boundary trying to divide the indoors from the outdoors. Carrying East, to the right, on the other side of the pavement, the East London Mosque propagates its call for prayer and the rhythm of the street changes. Sounds of busy and rushed steps walk towards the mosque; small chatter in between the gathering of people getting into the mosque. All this is interwoven with the constant traffic of a busy street combined with the array of ambulances that go to and fro the Royal London Hospital. The adjoining shops' sounds, mostly opposite the Mosque seem to remain unaware, carrying on blaring their music through speakers that sizzle with the loud volume. Just before reaching Whitechapel street market, I make a left turn onto Vallance road, the metallic sound of the Market stalls as well as their calls for customers are left behind as I enter a quieter area. As I head north, some children are playing in the surroundings of the Hanbury estate, in front of Vallance gardens.

I turn West to get into the estate, I like passing along the Brady Arts centre, there are often youngsters hanging around, playing some music and adding to the drumming sound of

traffic and urban life that is steadily sounding from behind the buildings. I turn left on Deal Street, steering away from the increase in people heading West to Brick Lane and carry on in this little quiet street, where during the week one can hear the voices of the children in the school around. At the North end of Deal Street, I listen to the sounds of sheep and goats, unusual city sounds but habitual in this part of the city, as here is Spitalfields City Farm.

The second set of sounds that I remember vividly are traffic related sounds. A bike slowing down, the tires of a car speeding to make a turn with no anticipation, the strident sound of the bike break at its tightest and then the sound of wind softly caressing my ears for a split second before the sound of my body impacting on the asphalt once, the lenses of my glasses breaking and the sensation and sound of the metallic frame from my glasses twisting and incrusting itself into my nose bridge, becoming part of its anatomy violently. Imperceptibly shortly afterwards, a second impact of my head after a short but violent bounce of the upper body while the lower body carries on dragging along while burning several patches of exposed flesh; almost simultaneously to the metal frame of the bike being scratched by the road, car tires screeching, braking suddenly. And then all the musical ebb and flow that accompanies a road accident, sirens approaching through the winding roads, racing up the hill, cars doors opening and closing letting out people in different levels of distress, trying to talk, tying to get help, getting the belongings that had been distributed around the road, asking me questions without receiving an answer; all this beautiful sonic mayhem unfolding around me, being listened to from its epicentre, making me feel like a distracted director who has lost its orchestra to their own increasingly non synched rhythms. I would have never thought the sound of a body impacting the road and the orchestra of minuscule sounds around it could have such a beautiful disorganisation to it, coming together in a fleeting soundscape too elusive to grab hold on, ensounding my body in its passage.

Above, I have moved through two soundscapes etched in my memory from the years I lived in London, which is where this thesis is set. The former is the soundscape of the first neighbourhood I lived in which is also the space of the research at stake, and as such it is a set of what, with time, became habitual sounds for me. The second is a life experience that helped this research take a definitive turn towards having as a sole focus the sense of hearing, mainly because my vision just got a fast ticket to deterioration and thus, my sonic experience of the environment was suddenly brought much more blatantly to the forefront of my spatial experience. This eventually lead me to the question of how does the soundscape relate to the making of place. I will dwell on the questions organising my research further on, but first I will contextualise the research in the frame of cosmopolitan London and urban

studies. I will then go back to the core questions structuring this research and from there detail how the thesis is laid out.

II. Urban sonic compositions

Listening to the unsolicited: the urban soundscape permeates in our everyday life

Unsolicited urban compositions are around us constantly and always evolving. This urban soundscape accompanies the urban dweller from their birth to their death, night and day without interruptions[1]. We are always in amongst the urban soundscape, traversing it and feeling the vibrations of the sound waves in our bodies.

Urban life can indeed be thought of as a bombardment of stimuli (Simmel 1908) from which we defend ourselves adopting a blasé attitude but it can also be thought of as an invitation to enter into this dialogue. The city is constantly calling us upon, at times with a whisper and at others screaming loudly. It is a dialogue of which we are partakers, participants through listening to the city and to ourselves, making meaning as we listen. We are also its makers, since our presence in cities has a sonic impact, from the engines of the cars that we have invented (as a society) to a more micro-scale level of sounds such as the fabrics of the clothes we wear or the level of resonance of the materials of our shoe soles.

However, somehow becoming aloof in front of all this bombardment may have resulted in a numbing of our sentient bodies in order to cope with urban life. But how does this numbing affect us? Does listening to the urban soundscape influence our conception of space and the making of place?

Rodaway (1994) points out that our body is the only gate we have to our surrounding, hence, attending to the sensuous body is of paramount importance, as is looking at how to make the body present again[2]. In this sense, for Ahmed (2008a), the relation between place and our senses can be explored through emotions. Indeed, emotion is a gate to "recall us to our body surfaces" (Ahmed 2008a, 27), thus our emotions bring us back to attending to the sentient body (Thrift 2004; Thien 2005). In fact, Ahmed moves emotion away from the privatisation (Illouz 2009) it has been placed in, used to lure us towards consumption. Emotion becomes a tool to understand our bodies' orientations (Ahmed 2008a; 2008b). But we need to get back to the materiality of bodies, and situate the sense of hearing as a full body experience.

[1] For further discussion see Jazeel (2005).
[2] See Nash (2006) for a discussion on the senses in the city.

Hearing starts from our ear canal and hearing at the level of the outer ear, culminating in a physical stimuli of the eardrum by the sound waves, to the middle ear that translates this physical stimuli into a nervous signal via the ossicles (set of bones that transforms the pressure received by the eardrum to pressure on the oval window) which then leads to the cochlea's role of transforming this into information to our nervous system that is carried to the brain and re-translated into an impression to hear directly from a physical source[3]. Nevertheless, hearing is also a full body element, through our skin, which is the biggest sensuous organ there is. It also vibrates with sound, sometimes we feel sound that we cannot hear, but our bodies feel it[4]. In addition, re-connecting to the sounds of the urban may be a way of reconnecting with how certain aspects of society are shaped (Attali 1985).

Body matters: situating the body in the research

As Bates (2010) points out, the body has been conspicuous by its absence in sociological and cultural studies (see Blackman 2008 in Bates 2010[5]). The first step is to conceive the body as the boundary between the inner world and the outer world (the environment), having its senses as the translators between the outer stimuli and the inner making meaning. Then also understanding the body not as a phenomenon itself but as a mixing bowl. Bodies are messy (Bates 2010) and not always organised or functioning in a normative way (Ahmed 2008b). They each have their own capacities and work within their possibilities. Nevertheless, we must consider that individuals are not entirely free as we are inlayed on two levels simultaneously: the personal is tucked into the social (Smart 2007; Bates 2010) but it is also "embedded in, and so constrained by, the body" (Bates 2010, 10). But what if, instead of boarding these levels of meaning as a constraint we were to use them as a tool to better understand our processes of making sense of space? What if, through an attentive listening to our bodies and the soundscape we could attend to the making of place in a sensuously rich and awake way?

Through looking at the relationship there is among body, city and sound, and providing a transdisciplinary approach to researching the city, I am aiming to bring forward a body-centred perspective on the making of place, re-examining the role of the body as an urban maker of meaning. While this thesis is rooted in Urban Studies, it takes from the overlapping disciplines of geography, sociology, anthropology and sonic studies with respect to their

[3] http://global.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/175622/human-ear.
[4] For further discussion on the geographies of hearing and/or disability see Butler (1994); E. Hall (2000); E. Hall and Kearns (2001); Arkette (2004); S. Hall (2007); Friedner and Helmreich (2012); Barns (2014), and of hearing Dunsby (1989); Casseday and Ehrlich (1994).
[5] See also Synnott (1995); Howson and Inglis (2001); Blackman and Featherstone (2010) for a historical perspectives of the absence of the body in social research, and Kyselo (2014) for a more contemporary account.

ways of researching the urban through sound or through the body. It also draws on phenomenology, stubbornly refusing the let the body slip towards having a minor role, and placing it over and over at the middle of the discourse on place, emotions and the soundscape. Placing "real life bodies, which are noisy troublesome and messy" (Bates 2010, 10) back into the debate of the making of place that exists within Urban Studies will involve exploring the relationship among place, the body and emotions through an attention to the urban soundscape.

Working directions: thesis contributions and aims

There are two contributions of this thesis and they are intertwined one with the other. First of all, the initial contribution comes from an emphasis on having the listening body at the epicentre of the three main discourses explored: place, emotion and soundscape. Through this, I argue for a transdisciplinary approach to sensory research of the city in order to enrich an area of study that appears to be underdeveloped in the literature within urban studies that interlinks these three elements together, exploring the making of place through the listening and emotional body. As I will be exposing throughout the thesis,[6] I am arguing for the membranes between disciplines to be permeable in order to explore issues transdisciplinary, as Urban Studies allows through working with geography, sociology and sonic urban studies amongst others. Therefore, enabling the composition of different modes of attending to the urban that becomes more versatile and adjusted to its contemporary shifting. In this thesis, I concentrate on an attention to the urban soundscape. I am arguing for the inclusion of the aural into the conception and theorisation of the making of place and to value the importance it has theoretically and practically in our making of place.

The second contribution is methodological. The methodology of this thesis has grown and evolved as the thesis has progressed. By this I mean the methodology has been adapting to the process of research and mutating, as such, there has been a retake of consciousness in the methods used for the research. They have grown from spontaneous activity sprung from curiosity to be an intrinsic part of the epistemology of the project. This has been particularly the case for the act of walking and listening to space. It started off as a wandering through, much *à la flâneur* like Benjamin (2002) and ended up becoming the shadowing (Jirón 2011) and walking alongside my participants, thinking about the space, and our relationship with space. In this line, I am arguing for a retake of sensory consciousness within Urban Studies. An awakening to our sensuous bodies (Latour 2004), where the body regains consciousness

[6] Davies et al. (2008) works on the making of place through listening but the role of the emotions is quite hidden in the account, while the works of psychogeographers such as Ian Sinclair (2003) or Ackroyd (2001) are more focused on the emotional and sensuous exploration of the city without a focus on the making of place.

of its sensuous processes. Then applying this consciousness to the making of meaning from the space surrounding it.

The senses are an important way of gathering information and deciphering the meanings that unfold around us through a myriad of different manifestations. Therefore, I am arguing for a sensuous methodology for the making of a cartography of the city, growing from the bodies outwards and for this methodology to be as fluid as sound can be. An inclusive methodology that, in turn, will enhance the permeability of the membranes around Urban Studies and invite the senses into what is considered a scholarly way of researching.

III. The core questions

Asking questions: what brought me to this research

As I have mentioned through the second sonic vignette, the thesis has sprung from an experience of having had to readjust my sensuous body in order to make sense of my surrounding. Then, as I kept walking around the East End, listening to the soundscape in order to make sense of my surroundings, I wondered about the relation between the urban soundscape and the making of place. Thus, the general question of this research is how can the sensory experience of the urban soundscape reveal different processes of making place in everyday life? This research connects the sense of hearing, particularly listening when understood as a participative process[7], emotions and the making of place. I will explore in what ways the body can be placed at the epicentre of urban research through examining the relation between the sonic experience of urban space and the making of place. Urban Studies has tended to lose the corporeal experience by distancing itself from the ground and taking a zenith detached perspective, the bird's eye view quite common in urban sociology as Rhys-Taylor critiques in his work on urban smells (2010).

In this thesis, I bring the focus back to the body, from its flesh and bones and the sensory apparatus to its more ethereal parts, like emotions, memory and mind to investigate the articulation of sensing the soundscape in the relation established with urban space and the making of place. Therefore, I will review and connect the literature around soundscape, place and emotion within Urban Studies (taking from geography, sociology, sonic studies and anthropology). I strive to encourage a transdisciplinary approach to the subject, treating the

[7] Listening as a participative process entails listening as methexis (Nancy 2002), or participative process understands listening as an interaction between the body, the outside environment and the inner self. But this will be elaborated on throughout the thesis.

disciplines that tackle these themes as being surrounded by permeable membranes instead of boundaries in order to be able to bring the three together and establish a methodology for a sensuous research of the making of place related to the soundscape. In this sense, I will be stressing the importance and relevance of sensuous research being considered scholarly research and, by proxy, of the senses re-affirming themselves as having the possibility of being the focus of scholar research and one of the main sources of information and analysis, but also it becomes a way of telling about society as Becker puts it (2007) and, in this case, telling about the making of place. As Becker (2007) argues, telling about society can be done in a multitude of ways and I want to argue for being open to the phenomenal and for letting people feel and be felt.

The cosmopolis: listening to the soundscape to move away from the monochrome society

The latter issue is particularly relevant in front of globalisation discourses where the individual, never mind the body, is wiped from the map, as if it was non-existent[8] (Back 2009a). This is particularly noticeable when the perspective taken is the urban panoramic, detaching from the ground and looking from above, a top to bottom viewpoint. Some tend to flatten the world (Friedman 2007) and to a certain level expect the society of the future to become a homogeneous blend of cultural groups that regroup under a larger community with shared values (Etzioni 2003). However, the world may appear to be flat, but in this same effort of normalising processes and dynamics, an array of sensations is lost; there is global in the local but there is no global without local (Massey 1999; 2005; Tsing 2000).

The concept of the flattening of the world (Friedman 2007) is referring to the large connectivity possibilities, which have, to a certain extent, levelled the playing field for all individuals to enter a world economy. This, besides being an extremely neoliberal vision of society shows an attempt to homogenise people who are going to be competing in this newly found flat playing field (ibid). And this carries a set of problems, a focus on a flattening inevitably means a loss of sensation, where the global does not need to overtake the local. There can be a dualistic understanding or there can be another understanding that steers away from assuming we are moving towards becoming a monochromatic society (Etzioni 2003) and instead detach from thinking of the global as a representation of the local, thus reaching beyond its geographical location. Away from where the local happens. The global, or what is termed as global, is not the product of a society that has become homogenous. Contrary to what Friedman argues, although the world is indeed more connected, we do not live in a flat world.

[8] To contrast with Eade (1996); Hirsh et al. (2007); Lippard (2007); MacCann and Ward (2011).

London has recently been dubbed "a world within a city" (Raco et al 2014, 4) having a very large mix of nationalities and cultures, thus being an epitome of the cosmopolitan city (Keith 2005). When researching this city, keeping the bird's eye view not only gives a masculine gaze over the city that priories a panoramic over the details (Degen and Wainwright 2010) but also misses the hues in tonality of the city. "As the theatre of cultural exchange and the stage for the performance of hybrid identities, the cosmopolitan has been valorized as a space of opportunity, a space of social, cultural and economic renewal. Keith has some sympathy for this version of events: in the contact zones of the multicultural city new forms of cultural identification (and commodification) take place" (Jones 2006, 1225). Being the most cosmopolitan place on earth (Vertovec 2007) London is full of relations and dynamics that connect with other cosmopolitan cities (Sassen 1996) but also to its inhabitants and its own ebb and flow of rhythms. In order to listen to them, a micro-perspective of the urban is required, detached from observing panoramically and instead concentrating on the details and sounds of the mundane everyday life of the city[9].

The analysis of the urban has concentrated on examining the city from a senseless or at best, occularcentric perspective, which in turn has had an effect on urban studies[10] (Knowles and Sweetman 2004; Rhys-Taylor 2010; Allen and Cochrane 2014). This study pays attention to the relations between sound and the construction of place, which can unveil another critical perspective on the city's constitution (Back 2012). Through attending to sound, I will explore the relations we establish with the city and as a corollary; I will give another perspective of the articulation of some urban politics.

Listening to the soundscape helps us to detach ourselves from the idea of monochromatic or monotone society and instead invites the different paces and rhythms of the urban to emerge vociferously. That is why I will focus on understanding the differences of experience with regards to sound and to the city itself. I will do so by concentrating on our production of the world through our being in the world. More precisely, I will explore these processes through producing an emotional cartography of our everyday life experiences of the urban.

Therefore, this will entail an exploration of how an awakening of our sensuous and emotional bodies can shed light in our everyday practices. Hence, investigating the construction of place through an analysis of how aural sensory perception of the urban

[9] See for example Adorno (1938); Martin (1995); Panopoulos (2003); T. Hall et al. (2008); Devereux (2014) for different approximations to everyday listening and sounds.
[10] See also Tickmayer (2000); T. May et al. (2005) for further discussion on the future of urban studies.

relates or moulds our exploring and relating to the urban[11]. In this sense, walking with my participants enabled me to have an insight into their daily urban practices, seeing if their everyday practices responded the tactical subversion of the urban order (de Certeau 1988) or to resist the homogenising globalisation practices that are implicit in the urban structure.

Indeed, through listening to the urban soundscape, this research attends to how the social transpires within the body's production of place while at the same time examines the relation between the urban soundscape and the making of place, having the body at the epicentre of this exchange, both maker of place and participant in the soundscape, listener and contributor.

IV. Light on structure

This thesis is divided into two main blocks. The first (chapters 2, 3 and 4) presents my theoretical approach to the research. A transdisciplinary engagement in three stages (place / senses and emotion / soundscape) with the most relevant bodies of literature surrounding my thesis topic. The theoretical engagement concentrates on examining some of the articulations among place, emotion, senses and soundscape. The pivotal point for this articulation lies within placing the body at the epicentre of the discussion.

The second (chapters 6, 7 and 8) is an empirically informed discussion on the most relevant axes identified in the former. It exposes and analyses the fieldwork. In between them lies a chapter (chapter 5) that acts both as a theoretical synthesis and a methodological explanation of what is going to develop in the second block. The synthesis brings together the previous three chapters around the question of the sensory relations between the urban soundscape and the making of place. The methodologies explain the relation between the participants' reactions and the methodologies' evolution. However, it will not detail the techniques used. I have left them for an afterword (chapter 10) in order to make the voices and stories of my participants prevail over the research methods.

Then, in order to bring the thesis to a closure there is chapter 9. The conclusions of both the fieldwork and the overall thesis are merged together and the lines of further research pinpointed.

[11] For further discussion see McLuhan (1987).

First block, clearing the muddy waters of theory: place, emotion/senses and soundscape

In chapters 2, 3 and 4 I undertake a review of the literature but I have divided it into three main blocks because of the interconnections that this thesis has brought and the complexity of the superposition of terms within the disciplines under the larger umbrella of Urban Studies.

Chapter 2 concentrates on the concept of place. It reviews the conceptualisations of place, paying special attention to the role of the body in each manner of approaching place and striving to bring it forward. In this chapter, besides reviewing the literature on place and examining how the body has been situated in it, I bring forth my own understanding of place where I draw on parts of the literature reviewed to present a working definition that accompanies me throughout the text. This definition stems from the four attributes of place (Agnew 2011) and reinterprets them from a phenomenological standpoint, thus placing the body back at the epicentre of the making of place.

Chapter 3 begins by presenting the sensory turn within urban research, and then moves onto the body. There, it explores the role the body has had in the sensory turn and how it has been treated, exploring the being in the world of the body. Living and relating to the environment, be it urban or otherwise entails a bodily disposition, to sense and perceive it. In addition it also is a corporeal method of making meaning, through the conception of what we perceive and its role in the representation of the space around us. Therefore, we can argue that it is a process, which at the same time needs to be a way of being in the world. Then the chapter moves onto investigating the concept of emotions, through the affective turn in social research but also mimicking the way I have defined place in the previous chapter. Through a phenomenological and embodied perspective I conclude with a working definition of emotion, understanding emotion as relational both socially and individually and grounded on the body.

Chapter 4 is a review of the literature around the soundscape, it listens to sounds in history and the history of the soundscape and then carries on to explore what is it to listen participatively. Making an argument for the implication of listening as both an act of outer participation in as much as inner awakening. This is key to the understanding both of listening to and of the relationship between the soundscape and the making of place. Listening participatively invites for the listener to reflexively consider her position as a listener but also as a body in space, and therefore the relationships established with space. The chapter then, through reviewing the notions of emotion presented in the previous

chapter and bearing in mind the central position of the sensuous body, concludes with a working definition of the soundscape. Here the soundscape is presented, mirroring the working definition of place from chapter 2, as having four attributes that are tied to those of place.

Chapter 5 is the point at which the three previous chapters merge theoretically around the axis of the making of place. Here, all the work done around the concepts of place, emotion and soundscape come together in an investigation of the articulation between the three and focusing on their relation with the making of place. Once the synthesis of the theoretical part culminates, begins the explanation of the methodological element of the project. Here it is important to note that I have explored my methodologies but have not entered into the techniques or the methods. I have preferred to leave them for a methodological afterword, in a similar fashion to Rhys-Taylor (2010) and Duneier (2000). This is because of the way the project grew and in order to let the participant's stories bloom fully without the constraint of having previously determined the set of methods, I have considered it more appropriate to focus on the story and explain the methods used afterwards. In addition, the afterword has allowed me to reflect on the organic growth of my methods and methodologies and engage into a reflexive exercise of post-research to draw on the ways in which the methods emerged from a wandering to a conscious research tool.

Second block, flow of stories: analysing the research data

The second block is centred on the empirical work of this thesis. This thesis is an empirically informed theoretical one, where the theoretical input and the empirical input have fed on each other. Moreover, I have focused on identifying a space in the theory where I could make place in terms of transdisciplinarity, examining the pivotal elements in their articulation. Then I focus on a case study with a few participants with whom I worked at length.

Therefore, in chapters 6, 7 and 8 I let the stories of my participants pour over, inundating the chapters with the sounds they were listening to. At the same time I am analysing these ways of attending to the urban and, through drawing on the theoretical development of the first block, fleshing out certain aspects of their making of place through their attention to the urban soundscape and their bodies.

In this sense, chapter 6 focuses on sounds in motion, and the need to move through space in order to listen to the soundscape and make place. Concentrating on sound and movement, I stress the inherence of time in sound. I also examine the relationship between sound and

motion, both in terms of motion through space and of the motion of bodies. Chapter 7 is centred on the cultural aspects of the soundscape, and the political ramifications this may have, notably focusing on the discourses around global and local and questioning them through the ways of listening participatively to the urban soundscape or refusing to partake in said participation. Then, chapter 8 brings the triad to a close by focusing on more inner ways of making meaning through the soundscape, again bringing forward this notion that is going to accompany us throughout the thesis of listening as methexis (Nancy 2007) where the boundaries between the inner and the outer environment flex and become blurred. A reflection on the meaning making capacities of the soundscape both in terms of the making of place with the urban environment and in its relation to emotions.

Conclusion and reflections

In chapter 9 I end my theoretical and practical discussion by narrating the very last experiences of the participants in our last meeting in which they had the chance to reflexively look back at their participation and involvement with the research. These invite me to flesh out the major conclusions from the first block of the thesis and bring them side by side with their experiences, strengthening my argument for the importance of awakening our sensuous selves and, therefore, listening to our making of place. I also listen back myself and reflect on the issue of the awakening of the sensuous body, questioning to what extent there needs to be an external influence (such as myself in this thesis) or not and whether it is likely to become dormant again. Then I conclude my thesis by arguing for the importance of listening to space, our bodies and our emotions; and place ourselves at the epicentre of our urban experience. Thus bringing back the making of place to a body's experience. I then think about the future of this research and my agenda from this point on while bearing notions that have appeared through the thesis that could be further developed in future research.

The thesis ends with a methodological afterword that, as I have mentioned earlier, untangles the empirical chapters from its methods. It re-listens to the ways in which, retrospectively, the methods evolved and grew somehow relationally with the thesis. It makes a reflection on the process and outcome of the thesis from an experiential perspective. Then, it invites scholars to move away from a dead sociology towards an alive sociology (Back 2012).

I was reading a post about how we, doctorates, often think of our thesis as dragons or monsters that we must defeat or conquer. The post talked about thesis and cakes, drawing its similitude and it made me think about my own way of relating to my thesis. I think of my

thesis as a pod that somehow got planted in my head and has grown to become what it is. This is why throughout the thesis you will find a recurrent metaphor that brings the text back to the earth, tangible, full of sensory information, all in all alive.

I have, of course, played a key role in the watering and rearing. But there has been an important element of relational growth that I want to acknowledge. As I said earlier it all started by wandering around London's East End, aimlessly, just listening to what the space was trying to communicate and explore my own ways of relating to it. These experiences were incredibly magnified by a sudden deterioration of my sight and a need to rely in abilities that, at the time, appeared to be less rational. In turn, this getting back in touch with the body is what shaped the way the thesis has grown. I have gone back to the body, which is where we all depart from and with this text I am inviting the reader to do the same.

2. Searching for the body in space

I. City and place

Where is place in the contemporary space?

The contemporary city is much larger than our everyday use of it. We live in a small part of the city and create our micro-perception of it, we make place of such a large space. But, what is place? This question has been in the mind of geographers and other researchers from Ancient Greece times (Cresswell 2009). Plato and Aristotle already argued that space and place were different. For them space would be the kenon (an undetermined, not limited space) while place would be the chora, which refers to a place that is still in the building, having less of a static status (Cresswell 2009). For Aristotle, place comes first because everything that exists has to have a place – has to be located. Thus "that without which nothing else can exist, while it can exist without the others, must needs be first" (Casey 1997, 52 quoted in Cresswell 2009, 2). In this quote, Aristotle appears to think of place as a tangible, delimitated location. However, as some academics (Tuan 1979; de Certeau 1988; Delgado 1991; Graham 1998; Massey 1999; Urry 2004; Kitchin 2005; Massey 2005; Cresswell 2009; Agnew 2011) later pointed out, place has several other attributes that I will be exploring in the coming sections of the chapter. Nevertheless, it is important to note here that this discussion of space and place goes back all the way to Plato and Artistotle. To bring the terms to their contemporary counterparts, kenon would be relational space and chora would be relational place. I will expand on both these terms later on in the chapter when I explore the relational turn in geography.

In fact, in this chapter I focus on reviewing the different conceptions of place that have emerged, presenting the ones that have dominated current debates in urban cultural studies - from anthropology, sociology and geography - which inform my research in order to then be able to present my own understanding of place and locate the body in it. Place is very difficult to define in the concrete, and working on the making of place from a sensuous perspective makes it more complex. This is why I focus on place in this chapter and then move onto issues about the body and emotions in the next chapter.

Like space, place is tied to time and as such, changes at the same speed as time. Henceforth, the aim of this chapter is not to provide a seminal definition of place but rather to compile an approach to place that situates the body in a central position.

Placing the chapter: the detail of the journey

In this chapter I argue to placing the body at a central position in the discussion on place. However, in order to do that, I review the most important conceptions of place and examine where the body is situated.

In the second part, I start by introducing the moment where space and place starts to come across as two different terms. Then, I fast-forward to a current perspective – the Chicago School and its UK analogue, the Institute for Community Studies. Together they can be thought of as the birth of urban studies, even though there were precedents such as London (1903) and Mayhew ([1851] 2008). The Chicago School has been key in shaping the urban studies discipline. In these two similar perspectives, place seems to have been engulfed in an attempt to achieve urban spatial analysis, lost amongst spatial organisation; leaving no room for an embodied or emotional approach to the relationships established with space.

Next, in the third part, I examine the humanist perspective (Tuan 1979) on place where the body and its individual experience is at the centre of the discussion, this came as a response for the lack of bodily presence in conceptualising place. However, I also use their ideas to further explore the dichotomy that lies within place, half way between the measurable and the perceived. So as to investigate more this duality I relay on phenomenological theory proposed earlier within the humanist perspective to then proceed to revisit Foucault's heterotopias briefly so as to contextualise Relph's heterotopias (1991).

This leads to part four which opens a question on the extent to which place can be seen from an embodied and disembodied perspective at the same time, this is the multilocal characteristic of place and I will propose to what level can place be multilocal and how can this aid my research.

The next two parts (V and VI) are going to be departing the relational perspective on place. In the first one I situate discuss this perspective and bring forward the relevance it has to my research. Then, I bring a discussion on why I mix phenomenological and relational perspectives on place and how that contributes to placing the emotive and sensuous body at the epicentre of the discussion on place. Here I focus on relations of the making of place involving our orientations, our emotions and our sensuous bodies. Articulating the way the sensuous body is the piece that helps fit together place, emotion and sound (I deal with this latter part in chapter 5 though).

Putting the body at the centre of the discussion on place helps me present, in part six, my working definition of place in the chapter's conclusions. I contrast it with Agnew's (2011) four attributes of place and point out the need to rehumanise our conceptualisation of place in order to make the body more of an active actor of its own making, thus placing the sensuous body at the centre of the making of place.

II. Place and space. From differentiation to collision.

Schism between space and place: theoretical separation of the terms

Until mid 19th century place and space were understood as one being co-extensive of the other. "Place was understood merely as a gathering of people in a bounded locale (territory) - literally a portion of geographic space" (Duncan in Kitchin et al 2005, 16). Henceforth, place was not explored independently from space. However, in this same conception of place, arises the notion of locale and with it came the idea of having a 'sense of place'. This implies an attachment, potentially sensuous to that portion of geographic space. Once this 'sense of place' enters academic theory, place and space were separated conceptually and in form as place becomes more concrete than space. Then, around the 1970s place underwent a strong re-evaluation. It emerged as meaning different things to different people and transformed itself into a concept as, if not more, controversial and harder to define than space.

Actually, this initial conception on place failed to differentiate the concrete attributes of place from the abstractness of space, for place is the tangible that space is not. When we think about space, the dimensions tend to be much bigger than our daily usages. As an example, we may think of a forest as a space. However, as Creswell illustrated (2009), even indigenous people are unlikely to make place in the whole forest, instead they narrowed their place down to a human scale, a manageable piece of land, like the beach in his example. That is not to say that place is a piece of land; as I argue later on in the chapter, place is not only limited to a physical piece of land, but combines land, with memories, history, affects, social structure; all these conditions differentiates it from space.

Towards an urban ecology: exploring place and belonging in the Chicago School's perspective

The first systematic attempt to theorising the urban (space and place) as a discipline in its own was the Chicago School. This School represented the beginning of modern urban sociology, and therefore urban studies (Savage et al. 2002). The Chicago School did not revisit other place accounts such as Simmel's perspective on modernity or the city. In fact, it

portrayed the city from an ecological perspective, a positivist approach that sought an analysis of spatial organisation by developing theories such as the concentric ring theory (Tuan 1979). This one sees the city as divided in concentric circles (zones) each occupied by a particular social group. The Chicago School determined that the city would have its more deprived zones in the centre and as we move outwards, the more desirable zones, understanding that groups in each zone adapt to that area and, if necessary, successfully move outwards. As Lois Wirth (1938, 15) pointed out:

> The different parts of the city thus acquire specialized functions. The city consequently tends to resemble a mosaic of social worlds in which the transition from one to the other is abrupt. The juxtaposition of divergent personalities and modes of life tends to produce a relativistic perspective and a sense of toleration of differences which may be regarded as pre-requisites for rationality and which lead toward the secularization of life.

This perspective on the city was limited as it equalised the social ecology to the spatial ecology of place, as if the competition between communities over space produced natural areas or neighbourhoods. The problem with this perspective is that it argues that the forces driving communal segregation are ecological (i.e. naturalises segregation). When, in fact, there is an important element of the city's organisation that is due to social power structures and planning. Also, it reduces body, locations, spaces, buildings and roads to mere actors in an ecological model of the city (Kitchin 2005). Henceforth, and this was an issue that the Institute for community studies in London also faced, the Chicago School left out gender and ethnicity from their theories (Back 2009b).

This vision was "imported" to Europe through the influential Institute for Community Studies (ICS), a think tank founded by Michael Young in 1954 in Bethnal Green, London. Albeit following the Chicago School advances, for the ICS, spatial distribution was mainly examined through a community sense of belonging (Willmott & Young 1957; Willmott 2002; Dench and Young 2011). Place in itself was not really a term they explored theoretically as separate from space and it seemed to be an extension of space in their research projects. Even if not directly, it examined London's East End spatial constitution and construction through an analysis of how communities related to space, how they identified it as theirs and had developed a sense of belonging and making it become a home[12]. It is this very action that made place differ from space. We can thus see that some sociological work was actually

[12] However, if we take Agnew's (2011) and Cresswell's (2004; 2009) definitions of place, we notice that they both refer to the notion of a 'sense of place' which is present in the ICS perspective on the city.

dealing with a far more concrete viewpoint on space and differentiating it from place, and thus, starting to work on the making of place and place itself. The need to detach those two terms – space and place – theoretically and empirically came a bit later, particularly with the arrival of a humanistic wave, marked by Tuan's work (1979) in geography that contested these very ecological view on the urban environment.

III. Body and place matters.

Making body matter: situating the body in place under the humanist perspective

The humanistic turn in geography as Degen (2014) has emphasised came in the 1970s as a response to the more positivistic approaches to the city that were basing urban analysis on spatial organisation (Relph 1976; Tuan 1977; Samuels and Ley 1978; Buttimer & Seamon 1980). Instead, the humanist turn wanted to base the geographical inquest on humans rather than on patterns and models. The humanistic approach was based on philosophies of meaning like phenomenology, existentialism and idealism (Kitchin 2005, 37), its aim was to put the person back into the centre of the object researched, not to lose her in the process. Henceforth, their rendering of space and place is quite different from previous traditions. The humanistic sense of place came with what could be termed as a bodily turn in geography that resonated well in anthropology with research projects such as Stoller's (1997) *Sensuous scholarship*, that reaffirmed a concern with how the sensuous body was researched and how it entered the academic discourse. These concerns spoke directly to Tuan's work, reflected in her most prominent book, *Space and Place* (1977).

The humanist perspective situates the body back into a discourse that had remained mostly theoretical or disembodied. Two decades later, the body is still missing, such as in Augé's (1995) work on non-places[13], where the emphasis is placed on the transitional nature of places and their disembodiments instead of the imprint that people make to them, be it an airport terminal or an ATM machine. In addition, an embodied perspective also provides a bridge between place and phenomenology through the addition of the body to the theorisation of place, and therefore, linking the making of place with the 'being-in-the-world' (Merleau-Ponty 2002).

For Tuan, space does not really articulate without the human body. It is the human body that gives it its measure and dimension and it is in the relation between space and the body that space becomes what we understand as space. "The purpose of the humanistic critique was to

[13] See also Buchanan (1999); Arefi (1999); Seamon and Sowers (2008).

put man (sic), in all his reflective capacities, back into the centre of things as both a producer and product of his social world and also to augment the human experience by a more intensive, hence self-conscious reflection upon the meaning of being human" (Ley and Samuels 1978, 7 in Kitchin 2005, 40). As Tuan (1979, 389) points out:

> We say little more than that original space possesses structure and orientation by virtue of the presence of the human body. Body implicates space; space coexists with the sentient body. This primitive relationship holds when the body is largely a system of anonymous functions, before it can serve as an instrument of conscious choice and intentions directed towards an already defined field (Merleau Ponty 1968; Ricoeur 1965). Original space is a contact with the world that precedes thinking: hence its opaqueness to analysis.

Therefore, this already presented an important shift in the conception of space from previous traditions where the body was absent in their city models (for example, the Chicago School urban models). In addition, it retook the notion of space as constructed socially and injected into the geographical discourse the concept of social and cultural conditioning (that Mead had previously developed in sociology, 1967) by arguing the perception of space varied from person to person and between cultural groups (E. Hall 1966; Downs 1970) but keeping a shared common ground.

The humanists' perspective, as cited earlier, broke place into three key attributes. First, place had a 'spirit' (Tuan 1979), while space was profane, some places could become sacred by means of holistic beliefs. Second, place had 'personality' since they are as unique as the humans who have made them, a concoction of the land they are and the characteristics attached to them by generations of people. Finally, an attribute that is given to place but that only people can have is the 'sense of place'. As Tuan notes, "people demonstrate their sense of place when they apply their moral and aesthetic discernment to sites and locations" (Tuan 1979, 410). Henceforth, with this argument, the humanist perspective declined to accept that place could merely be a portion of space. For them place was a mix between the body's perception of space and the social inheritance that the said space carries for a given culture or group of people, together with one's own sensoriality. As we can see, this perspective shares common ground with phenomenological philosophy.

Place and phenomenology

As noted in the previous paragraph, the humanistic approach to space and place shares some concerns with phenomenological philosophy. In this sub-section I explain phenomenological philosophy and then proceed to remark the resemblances between the two. This enables me to build a base to further explore the input that phenomenology brings to an understanding of place.

Phenomenology is the study of the structures of our conscious experience and our 'being in the world' (Merleau-Ponty 2002). In a nutshell, Phenomenology is the study of experience, from emotions, thought and perception to bodily reactions and activity. Phenomenology studies our experiences at all levels, from body to language with regards to our environments and focuses its attention on the organisation and conceptualisation of said experiences through our own actions. Therefore, placing phenomenology within the discussion of space and place brings shows the importance of the body in the making of place and, beyond being one of the main origins to the humanistic perspective on place, it is also a philosophy of a bodily practice, and as such, invites us to have an embodied reading of the other spatial perspectives in this chapter. At least it provides an embodied counterpart discourse on place that puts into perspective body-less conceptions of place. I also use phenomenology as a methodology and, as such, it appears again in the methodological chapter.

Since the humanistic construction of place ties it strongly to the body, it relates to the experience of the human body. As noted earlier, place is not only a geographical land, it is also the meanings ascribed by several generations of human bodies to that land, and also the way in which a body relates and reacts to that land. In this sense, the humanist perspective of place has a remarkable similitude to the phenomenological approach to space. Indeed, the humanist approach is very interesting, particularly when mixed with the phenomenology of being in the world from which it takes many ideas. For instance, the situated body, meaning that a body is not only an independent perceiving agent but also that said perception is structured by society. The language to express it is also structured and it is also conditioned by memory and power structures, that is why they call it a situated body: it is situated at a particular moment not only in space and society but also in time and history, However, in this perspective's attempts to promote the body and locate it not only reflexively (reflexivity is a level of self introspection, of self-quest that is necessary to understand - even if partially - one's own situatedness) and sensuously it forgets to examine closely the power and structures that are in place and are active in the making of place in as much as the body is. This is why I examine the relational turn later on in the chapter. Coming back to the spatial

discussion around place, in the next section I examine how place can re-read the Cartesian dualism and then continue with this idea, explore place as a site.

IV. Multilocal place

Place as another reading of the Cartesian dualism

Entrikin (1991) argued that geography has contributed to producing a problem with the study of place. On the one hand, there is a subjective style of study, based on perception and interpretation and, on the other, an objective style, producing patterns for general understanding. He argues this has caused “a large intellectual gap (that) exists between our sense of being actors in the world, of always being in place, and the ‘placelessness’ that characterizes our attempts to theorise about human actions and events” (ibid, 7). Entrikin argues that in order to gain a real understanding of place both the subjective and objective styles must be combined. This middle point is what he called the "in-betweenness of place", an account of place that combines land and territory with human bodies making sense of it and relating to it.

Entrikin (1991) sees "emplotment" as a solution to this conundrum, i.e.: getting between places. By this, he attempts to “give structure to the particular connections that people have with places and; in doing so, ‘draws together agents and structures, intentions and circumstances, the general and the particular; and at the same time seeks to explain causally” (Merrifield 1993, 518). In this "in-betweenness", Entrikin is trying to find a balance whereby the subjective and objective intakes on space to enable a more complete construction of place. In this sense, Merrifield argues that he is trying to overcome or revisit the Cartesian dualism, which proposes a dualism between the inner and the outer world of human consciousness by using the polarity between those two readings on place to construct a better place, between the domains of the measurable and the perceivable (ibid). Having one without the other is to be missing out on a part that is intrinsic of place.

Therefore, we can argue that using Entrikin’s notion of in-betweenness of place in the understanding of place for this research, can help illuminate the Cartesian dualism in a less divisor way. Therefore, re-reading the Cartesian dualism and seeing that it does not encourage a schism between the mind and the body but instead a healthy balance between the two in order to understand the whole of human consciousness in its totality.

In addition, Entrikin (1991) is touching on an important matter that has been recurrent in some anthropology research projects, which is to combine both the personal interpretation of place with the geographical setting of said place. In fact, anthropology has suffered an ambivalent position to place before the late nineties. Place has been used as a setting for the phenomenon studied rather than to examine the dimension and depth of place, theoretically and its practical applications. As Rodman (1992, 643) argues,

> [d]espite considerable reappraisal of "voice" in anthropology, "place" has received surprisingly little attention and virtually no critical reassessment. There is little recognition that place is more than locale, the setting for action, the stage on which things happen. Anthropologists would do well to follow geographers' renewed interest (Agnew and Duncan 1989b, 2) in reunifying location (i.e., the spatial distribution of socioeconomic activity such as trade networks), sense of place (or attachment to place), and locale (the setting in which a particular social activity occurs, such as a church) to yield a more rounded understanding of places as culturally and socially constructed in practice.

In Anthropology place appears to have been treated as locale instead of investigating its more complex qualities of location and sense of place with connectedness (Low 2003; Rodman 1992; Appadurai 1998). Giddens defined locale as “the physical settings of social activity as situated geographically (1990, 18). Rodman also goes to suggest working on multilocal place research in anthropology. He does so by revisiting Relph’s (1986, 24) reading on Foucault’s notions of utopias and heterotopias:

> The term originated with Foucault (1970, xviii), who contrasted the imagined places of utopias, which directly reflect or invert "real" societies, with heterotopias, which are "a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted.

For Relph, however, heterotopias are not so orderly: Heterotopia is the geography that bears the stamp of our age and our thought that is to say it is pluralistic, chaotic, designed in detail yet lacking universal foundations of principles, continually changing, linked by centreless

flows of information; it is artificial and marked by deep social inequalities (Relph 1991, 104-105 quoted in Rodman 1992, 646)

Therefore, heterotopias are read as sites, and multilocality is proposed as a way to experience this kind of places for its connectivity. In this sense, multilocality allows for place to be read from a disembodied and embodied position at the same time since it enables a meaning that is not constructed by "the researcher" to enter into the making of these places. Thus, the "other" is included in this construction (Said 2003; Clifford and Marcus 1986). Here, Relph (1991) and Rodman (1992) are seeing the other as an anthropological other, as in a culturally and socially different inhabitant[14], probably a local who lives and uses that place on a daily basis. From a phenomenological perspective, since her situatedness (body and mind) (Haraway 1988; Rose 1997; Marchant 2010) going to mean that her emplacement is different from mine and, hence, the local is an other to me. If we are studying the making of place in a cosmopolitan city like London, as in this research, the people who make place alongside us might, or might not, come from very different cultures, societies and backgrounds. Therefore the other is then any person making place in a same space alongside ourselves. Although there is a shared sense of place that is transmitted through the daily use of space, our different cultural and socio-economic backgrounds, our different life stories may contribute to a different making of place. Hence, the importance of working towards a place that is multilocal and inviting.

As such, the idea of a multilocal place is not only interesting in terms of otherness in anthropology but can also be extrapolated to a larger research body researching the making of place in a specific area. In this case, understanding the construction of place as multilocal, as in being constructed through the experiences of the people that make use of that space and, at the same time, are influenced by all that is going on around them. This can be particularly useful in a global city. However, how do these interconnections play out? In the following section I elaborate on the relational perspective on place. To do so, I first make a brief introduction to the relational turn in space and then carry on to explore the implications this turn has for place and explore the relational meaning to place, which also goes through this relational turn.

[14] For more discussion on this see Amit (2003); Appadurai (1986); Fabian (2014).

V. The relational turn

Relational turn in the spatial discussion

> Space is neither absolute, relative or relational in itself, but it can become one or all simultaneously depending on the circumstances. The problem of the proper conceptualization of space is resolved through human practice with respect to it. In other words, there are no philosophical answers to philosophical questions that arise over the nature of space - the answers lie in human practice. The question "what is space?" is therefore replaced by the question "how is it that different human practices create and make use of different conceptualizations of space? (Harvey 2004, 5).

As Harvey (2004) points out there are three main ways of understanding space. Space as absolute, the Newtonian space; it is measurable and open to calculation. Space as relative, Einstein's space; it has several geometries from which to choose and measure, it depends on who and what is being put into perspective. Finally, space as relational, where space does not exist unless there are processes happening in it that define it, since the processes are what configures space and the latter does, in turn, shape said processes (Harvey 2004; Massey 1994; Agnew 2011; Rose 1999). In addition, Massey does not understand space as an entity itself, for her, it is useless when seen as an empty container and can only be really understood when the relationships that occur in that space are included in its study. Here I am not only talking about economic, political and human relationships but also relationships between objects and bodies. Amongst these relations lie the dynamics that the body establishes with its surroundings, in fact, the body is where these processes are gathered through embodied consciousness (Crossley 1998, 25; see below). In this section I will stress the importance not only of looking at the relationships between individuals and space but also how are these relationships play out and, more importantly, how their actors sense and perceive them. Hence the apparition and consolidation of the sensuous body (Ahmed 2008a).

The discussion on space takes a relational turn in the 1980s (Soja 1980; Smith 1990; Jonas 2009). Jonas (2009, 491, compare with Mol and Law 1994; Dainton 2001; Massey 2005) defines the relational turn as:

> a paradigmatic departure from the concerns of absolute and relative space, because it dissolves the boundaries between objects and space, and rejects

> forms of spatial totality. Space does not exist as an entity in and of itself, over and above material objects and their spatiotemporal relations and extensions. In short, objects are space, space is objects, and moreover objects can be understood only in relation to other objects – with all this being a perpetual becoming of heterogeneous networks and events that connect internal spatiotemporal relations.

Harvey (2004, 4) has a dialectical approximation on relational space that binds space with time:

> The relational view of space holds there is no such thing as space outside of the processes that define it. Processes do not occur in space but define their own spatial frame. The concept of space is embedded in or internal to process. This very formulation implies that, as in the case of relative space, it is impossible to disentangle space from time. We must therefore focus on the relation between space-time rather than of space in isolation.

This, according to the author, enables some phenomena, such as the political role of collective memory, to be addressed in an accurate manner within the urban process.

A different approach, yet having a similar flavour, to relational space comes from Massey. She defines space as having three main aspects: space is seen as "constituted through interactions, from the immensity of the global to the intimately tiny", consequently it is "as the sphere in which distinct trajectories coexist; as the sphere therefore of coexisting heterogeneity" and finally space "is always in the process of being made" (Massey 2005, 9). Massey stresses the inner changeability of space as an inherent dimension of what space is. Space is not a container we simply traverse, we are in constant dialogue with it, creating new ephemeral and decadent representations of it as we use and live it. But besides us, so are buildings, roads and interactions in a larger level. Space is not only defined by the detail that resides in it; the liminal is a key element of space's constitution and evolution and not to be put aside. In this aspect, Massey establishes a double-edged link that connects the global and the liminal, for her, to accurately render space both the tiny and the global have to be taken into account. In my research I work on a very small level, investigating the sensory interactions in the making of place. At the same time, I examine how larger processes take place in this micro making of place, thus linking both edges of this link.

Place is quite hard to define[15], some people, like Thrift (2003), consider it one category of space, some others, like Massey (1999) view it as connections. In fact, Massey's perspective on space is very interesting because of how she mixes the local and the global. For her, as Agnew examines "places may be thought of as open articulations of connections" and "identities of subjects and identities of places constructed through interrelations not only challenge notions of past authenticities but also hold open the possibility of change in the future" (Massey 1999, 288). Place, then, includes location but without the central focus on individual human agency that brings these together in the humanist perspective. Here the emphasis is on "places as sites in the flow of social relations" (Massey 2011, 20). She differentiates places from spaces through placing the individual more presently in place than in space, in this sense, she is integrating the locality of place and of affect with the global characteristic of the connections that, through their connections constitute place.

This is interesting since it is somehow in contrast with previous considerations (the Institute for Community Studies' perspective) that place and community were strongly tied and that place was defined through community and its practices. Place, however, is not limited to the practices of one single community. In the global city, the community as a fixed entity is disappearing fast, and Massey's conception of place enables both the idea of communities of practice and of global interrelations to articulate together. A sense of place emerges through a daily participation in place related to place specific events, illustrated through a sense of belonging, of neighbourhood construction and of articulation but these aspects are not hermetic. The global permeates our everyday life, through our gadgets, through the people we encounter, the practices we have, the objects we have, the provenance of what we eat, the politics and economics that govern us. Our subjectivities and our bodies are also shaped by the global, place and our lives are permeated by the global in many aspects and rooted in the local in many others. This is why Massey's definition of place as "open articulations of connections" is a thought-provoking approach on place, opening place to a much larger whirlwind of possibilities than had been previously thought. Agnew (2011, 24) has illustrated place in a similar, yet slightly more concrete way:

> Places are not bounded, isolated entities as conventional regional studies have tended to regard them. Rather, they are usually and perhaps

[15] And for further discussion Buttimer and Seamon (1980); Williams et al. (1992); Graham (1998); Duncan (2000); Gieryn (2000); Gustafson (2001); Johnson (2002); Jones (2009); Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga (2003); Urry (2004); Manzo (2005); Cristoforetti et al. (2011); Sen and Silverman (2014).

> increasingly in a globalizing world located in a series of extensive economic, political, and cultural networks with varying geographical scope.

Previously, in his examination of the term place, Agnew (2011, 22) states:

> Gone is the sense of places as natural units inherited from time immemorial. Another, therefore, is the stress of fluidity and dynamic character of places as they respond to interconnections with other places. Consequently, places tend to have permeable rather than fixed boundaries and are internally diverse rather than homogeneous with respect to their social and other attributes even as they express a certain communality of experience and performance.

Agnew (2011), with this definition of place fences in the openness that Massey proposed. In doing so, I revisit the position of the body in place through this relational perspective later on in this chapter. I propose an addition to his definition that pivots around the body and it experience.

Henceforth and going back to the discussion brought by Agnew (2011), likewise space, place is also strongly tied to time, in fact, place and time are an indivisible alliance. Agnew proposes place as being a quadric dimensional concept. The first dimension of place is location, place happens in a site in space and the relations to other places are actually also relations between locations, furthermore, these relations are fluid and diffused. Secondly, Agnew proposes the perspective of place as a locale for everyday life activities "the location is not just the mere address but the where of social lie and environmental transformation" (2011, 23). The third attribute is a sense of place, making each place particular. Last but not least, Agnew points out that both place and time are neither exclusively regional or local, instead he proposes to consider them both having attributes of both. This is particularly relevant for my approach as it connects the bodily experience of place to larger social and cultural processes. For example, the reaction to the haggling in Whitechapel Hight street market may depend on whether you are used to haggling or not, and that relation depends on your habitus (Bourdieu 1994). There is a strong link between the making of place and the local, but it can also be multi-local as I have illustrated earlier in this chapter.

To sum up, in the previous section of this chapter I presented the main elements of the spatial discussion, focussing on the relational turn there has been in geography and mostly on the discussion on place that arose from it. In it, space is understood as the dynamics and

processes that happen in it. I want to stress here why I focus on an understanding of space as a vibration of the dynamics and processes that happen in it. Investigating place this way highlights the relationality place has, it is not reduced but instead invited to relate to more, to the local and multi-local, to its inhabitants, its use. Therefore, it highlights the sensory attributes of the making of place. They vibrate and are related and make it and stress its eternal bind to time, this link between both space and place with time is explored later on when I discuss the soundscape qualities in depth.

Furthermore, in this section I set a framework for the concept of relational place, illustrating how place is constructed of both the local and the global and creates networks of articulations between dynamics. I also explored the four dimensions that Agnew ascribes to place and that enable a deeper reading of Massey's conception of place as a flux of articulations.

As mentioned earlier, place enables a larger subjective presence than space does. Space is of a larger abstraction, and has a larger scale than the body, both in terms of geographical territory as the dynamics that make space.

We can argue that place can resonates more concretely with the body or bodies amongst a determinate group of people, all users of a certain locality, feeling a sense of place and being, at the same time, globally connected. This representation of place reverberates through diverse bodies and, for a second, enters the social imaginary where it may or may not alter the representation of space. For example, the conception of the East End as a dangerous place, a conception that entered the social imaginary a while ago and has been, for quite a few years now, has been commodified into 'Jack the Ripper' tours of certain places in the East End (Roemer 2009).

In the next section I explore the making of place by introducing phenomenology, focussing notably on the notions of orientations and affect, thus linking to Thrift's conception of affect. Then, I propose a combination of orientations and affect to explore the making of place.

VI. Making place

Place, emotion, and orientations: sketching the relations between each

Relational place is understood as constituted by the articulations between dynamics, many of which are human although not necessarily of at human scale. Looking phenomenologically at

the interactions that develop between the body and place, notably in its making, calls for what Merleau-Ponty called the situated body (2002). The ordering qualities of emotion can be thought as being part of the situatedness of bodies. As we will see in the following chapter, emotion relates us to one another (Burkitt 2014) both at a social and at an individual level.

As we saw earlier on in this chapter, Merleau-Ponty conceived the body as the vehicle from which to perceive the world. However, this was not a shell capable of perceiving sensorially, it could also feel. By this I mean that the body is a medium from which to perceive, interpret and feel the world. It is with what we relate to it at all moments (Degen 2014). In addition, Ahmed's (2008a) contestation of Merleau-Ponty's (2002) and Husserl's heteronotmative phenomenology (Husserl 1992) further informed us how the body was a perceiving tool. In fact, for her, the body has certain orientations that also condition this situatedness. She stresses the aggression that the body can suffer through the social conditioning and puts into value the impact it has on how bodies transit the world, not only in terms of action-reaction (perception-navigation) but of decoding the areas that are socially forbidden for bodies responding to certain orientations. This bring us back to feminist theory and geography as set out by Massey and Haraway respectively[16].

Going back to phenomenology, Csordas (1999) examined the concept of cultural phenomenology in depth. He:

> not only acknowledges, but places particular emphasis upon the experiential and epistemological orientations of the subject, bearing in mind both the personal and cultural history that frame sensory perception. This is to say, the manner in which the subject perceives, interprets, and thus generates meaning is done so through a process that is context-sensitive (Droumeva and Andrisani 2011, 4).

The idea of bringing the experiential and the epistemological orientations into the making of place highlights the need to rethink the Cartesian duality, as Entrikin (1991) already suggested. However, when Csordas talks about the subject, I prefer using the term body. This is because subject can be understood as a rationalised self. Instead, with the body I emphasise the individual as an addition to the situated body, a situated mind and an oriented body. This seems to get lost when speaking about the subject, the latter being understood more in terms of the mind and not so much of an articulation of mind and body (Bates 2010).

[16] See also Rose (1993); Sanger (1995).

Ahmed (2008b) also explores the notion of the orientations, for her these are the bodies' sensibilities, (what the body is attuned to in every sense) ranging from sexual orientations to olfactory, gustatory or aural. Hence, the importance of a sentient body that is awake and in touch with the senses. Though Ahmed doesn't speak about place but refers to space, her argument on what orientations are and how they shape our bodies' relation to our surroundings is relevant to the making of place.

Ahmed argues that space is not a box where bodies are, rather bodies are submerged, such that they become the space they inhabit; in taking up space, bodies move through space and are affected by the "where" of that movement. It is through this movement that "the surface of spaces as well as bodies takes shape" (2008b, 53). Again, here Ahmed abides to Massey's conception of space whereby it is constituted of the dynamics and processes that happen in it, shaping and being shaped by them at the same time. Moreover, bodies are oriented in a certain manner; this orientation evolves with time and reflects both the social, subjective and natural attributes of said bodies. Bodies and objects are orientated and might be orientated towards each other or not (Ahmed 2008b). In the former case the orientation translates into a sharing of space, and, elaborating from the earlier argument, these orientations, these sharings also contribute to the shaping of space. Orientations, in turn, have a strong effect on how bodies move and what they do, Ahmed identifies orientations as a key factor in phenomenology and perception since they are the mediators to what we are attracted to:

> Spaces are not only inhabited by bodies that "do things", but what bodies "do" leads them to inhabit some spaces more than others. If spaces extend bodies, then we could say that spaces also extend the shape of the bodies that "tend" to inhabit them. (...) Gender becomes naturalized as a property of bodies, objects, and spaces partly through the "loop" of this repetition, which leads bodies in some direction more than others as if that direction came from within the body and explains which way it turns (Ahmed 2008b, 58).

Ahmed critiques the traditional phenomenology of both Husserl and Merleau-Ponty for their lack of inclusion of what is outside a white male heteronormal perspective. The concept of orientations allows her to explore and theorise a phenomenology that is inclusive and grants room for all sorts of attributes and variables. She calls this 'queer phenomenology'. In this thesis I borrow the concepts of orientations from queer phenomenology and mix it with the situatedness of bodies and knowledge, as I expand in the coming chapter; this combination enables me a comprehensive approach to the perception of the environment and enables me

to further explore the making of place. Henceforth, we can argue that phenomenology does not only enable the researcher to explore the relationship between the body and space but it also enables the processes of being-in-the-world to emerge (Merleau-Ponty 2002). Cultural phenomenology and queer phenomenology (Ahmed 2008b) are dynamics in questioning and analysing the relations that the body establishes with space. Thus, through the examination of these relations some processes of making place can emerge.

Making place: a bodily matter

As Csordas (1994) and Ahmed (2008a) have pointed out, we all establish a dynamic with space that is conditioned by our culture and social self. Conversely, our being-in-the-world is dependant on our sensory perception and emotions. This dynamic is our making of place. Place is made through the affective and orientational processes we create or enter into within space. In the sense that when our bodies are in space, in a location, they establish a silent dialogue of affections and orientations with it. This dialogue and the location specificity of that relation are what makes place. However, this does not mean that place is either made fully individually or collectively. Emotion can, at some points, articulate as collective and relational. Emotional responses that have entered the social imaginary can be deemed collective in a culturally and socially determined group of people. Even though this process may not be a conscious one, neither emotions nor emotion are truly separated one from the other (Wetherell 2012; Burkitt 2014) as I explore in chapter 3. Therefore, the emotions that are involved in the making of place may not be globally collective, but instead are comprised of several affective clusters shared by groups of people, its communities of practice. Our everyday life revolves around certain spaces, in most cases it revolves around a patterned navigational repetition among spaces. Through use and through making attachments to several dynamics of space, we make these into places.

Perec (1973 in Highmore 2002) talks about our lives being like a sleepless dream. Contemporary everyday life is repetitive, fast and, particularly in the global city, involves several spaces that are cartographically distant from one another. Perec says that the way in which we navigate through those spaces is no longer conscious. He does that by equating everyday life with sleep, a realm of the unconscious. In fact, we have developed anaesthesia to our own bodies, no longer being attuned to their sensuousness, their perceptions and affections. Going back to phenomenology, the being-in-the-world is a gentle reminder that our gateway to space and place is indeed our body. We make place through our body, and the body has to become part of the discussion on space but more importantly on the making of place.

In this section I have argued that the making of place happens through a combinations of relations to a space, some are perceptual, some are orientational and some are affective. In order to study these relations we may turn to phenomenology but also to an attention to our own bodies, awakening from Perec's sleepless dream. However, how can attending to the sensuousness of our bodies unveil some processes of making place and why must we wake them up? This is a question that accompanies me for most of this research and, through analysing the data from the fieldwork informing it with the theoretical discussion that precedes it, I endeavour to provide an answer.

VII. Towards a phenomenological understanding of relational place

A chapter on place

In the first section of this chapter I rewound to Aristotle and Plato's first differentiation between space and place in order to point out the age of this debate. Therefore, the review in this chapter has not been an exhaustive review of all the literature, and some debates have been left out as I have focussed on the most significant debates in geography, sociology and anthropology that relate to this thesis. I have explored the role place had under the urban ecology perspective, where space virtually engulfed place fully in an attempt to provide an urban model responding to patterns but losing the individual in the process. This model was of particular interest for its conflicting position on place, and place was not theorised widely. Instead, they focussed on the processes of belonging established between communities in space, hence making allusion to what would later be termed 'a sense of place'.

This is why, in the second section I moved to the humanist perspective, where the body lies at the chore of their conception on place and space. I explored how the humanist perspective and phenomenology can share a common point of view on the body in space. I also pointed out the limitations that this perspective had, notably the lack of consideration of social forces and power contributing to the construction of place. I then, in the following section, further explored the humanist perspective on place to present a way to bring the Cartesian dualism up to date and enable it to inform place so as to make it more complete. In fact, if we are to understand place in this light, it will be a more complete place, combining both the subjective and the objective aspects. From there, I discussed the notion of multilocal place and proposed it as a tool to reach a more comprehensive study of place, one that includes

several perceptions of place that cohabit in a same space to construct an overarching sense of place in the social imaginary.

This has been extremely important in the context of this research, as understanding place multilocally will enable us to unlock another layer in the making of place. In the sense that it will not only be subjected to the researcher's view but will also be inclusive of the construction of place both in the sense of other bodies (notably that of the participants) but also in a larger, more territorial way, seen in the light of this section. This incorporates the in-betweenness characteristic that balances its measurable-perceivable dualism and therefore, strengthens the notion of a global place. Hence the focus of the next section is relational place.

The multilocal attribute of space and place is connected to Massey's (1999; 2000; 2005) definition of the relational space, where space is a compendium of processes and dynamics that are related to each other. Therefore, under this perspective, space and place are multilocal. In this section, I briefly presented the relational turn in geography, impacting both space and place. I then, made an argument for the understanding of place as the articulations between the dynamics that constitute space. In this section we also have seen that space is as complicated a term as place and has had its share of discussion over the years. I have not entered into this discussion as it would distract us from the point in this thesis. Under the relational perspective, place is both local and global at the same time and its locality lies in the unravelling of everyday life. Although place is defined as the articulation of dynamics in space, it allows for more subjectivity. That said, the relation to these articulations is of an affective and sensuous nature, hence opening the path to a sensuous approximation of place that I have explored next.

In the last section, I proposed a rhythm composed of the making of place and the body, demonstrating that the notes in such cadence lie at the intersection between the senses and the making of place. In fact, once argued that place is defined as the articulations between the dynamics and processes that make space, I moved to the concepts of orientation and affects. Although these are rooted in anthropology and geography respectively, I swung between phenomenology and the sociology of affect and emotion to illustrate place from the sensuous body, assessing the complexity of the making of place from this perspective. I proposed a phenomenological standpoint for this thesis composed of queer and cultural phenomenologies. And thus, even though the humanist perspective on place offered a much needed call for the study of space and place to be centred on the human body, it lacks the more global perspective that relational place offers and lacks the overall idea of power and

social constructions. It goes too far detaching the rational from the sensational. There is a balance between them that the humanist perspective seems not to focus on. Our relation to sensation, feelings and emotions are not only an individual matter but are instead informed by a myriad of variables such as our construction of our subjective self and our habitus (Bourdieu 1993). They are not an individual psychological factor (Burkitt 2014) and the discourse we construct and the lexicon we use shape how we conceive them (Burkitt 2014; Wetherell 2012), I focus more in depth on the emotional side of sensing space and making place in the next chapter. This, in turn, will atone the perspective on the sensory body.

Place, the body and four attributes: an invitation to a phenomenological reading of relational place

As we have seen in this chapter, place is not an easy concept to define, nor is there a definition that will fit all purposes. As I argue throughout the discussion, place is not fully explained in any of the perspectives noted above but in a combination of many. Actually, I conceive place mainly as relational, as seen by the beat that the chapter has offered. Indeed, place is a set of articulations among the dynamics that constitute space. Ergo, place is a concrete expression of space and, as such, depends upon its receptors. Henceforth, when Entrikin (1991) argues about the in-betweenness of place I understand that finding a balance between the subjective intake of place, the perceived or the lived space as Lefebvre would say (1991), and the objective, the measurable, the locale (Massey 2000) is of paramount importance since it allows for the multilocal aspect of place to come afloat and this will only exacerbate the connectedness of place.

Thus, and so as to clarify, place is an array of articulations of dynamics, it is one concrete expression of an abstract space that varies upon recipient and upon moment in time. Place is as tied to time as space is (Harvey 2004). In addition, place, being articulations (Massey 1999; 2005) is a set of connections that articulate with one another, and these connections rest, amongst many other parameters, on the perception that the inhabitants of space, the transients develop (multilocal aspect - Rodman 1992). If we take Foucault's perspective on space as the world of possibilities (1991) then place is, by proxy, another world of possibilities that even extend further since its construction depends on the multilocal, the in-betweenness and the sentient body. However, I find that the relational perspective can be usefully complemented by phenomenology with a focus on senses and emotions. This places the body back into the epicentre of the discussion and the making of place around the being-in-the-world of this body. Nevertheless, phenomenology, focusing on bodily interaction, can lose sight of a local-global, multilocal, perspectives and power relations, both in place and in

the body itself (Foucault 1991) that the relational perspective on place has. This is why I propose an interaction among phenomenology, memory and emotions since they will facilitate the multilocal attributes of the making of place to emerge. I go deeper into memory, body and emotion in the next chapter.

Thus, throughout this chapter I explored different perspectives on place, putting forward what was more relevant of each perspective for this construction. I built up the different characteristics of what I consider place to have in order to propose a working definition of place, taking into account that place is, like time, an ever changing entity. This working definition is an addition to Agnew's four attributes of place. It is a phenomenological interpretation of the relational attributes of place and aims at placing the body at the epicentre of the articulation of place. This working definition is a base for my work and throughout the analysis of the fieldwork I keep coming back to it in order to illustrate how each attribute plays out in the overall making of place.

Therefore, to Agnew's four attributes of place I would add four more. I propose and define each attribute and they accompany me throughout the thesis (table 1). First, there is in-betweenness, it rests between the measurable and the perceivable. Then, place is related: its relations lie in the connections between the people who make place, time and history and the articulations between the dynamics that make space. Then, place is situated: its situation depends on the bodies that make place and their own being-in-the-world. Finally, place is global and multilocal, and, in this case, one cannot survive without the other. To wrap up, place is multifaceted, changeable, tied to time and even if it is one concrete representation to space, it remains as bound to time and changeability as space is. Place is fluid and ever-changing, however it lives in the way bodies make place and, the making of place being tied to everyday life and perception, has a side that (although varies with time) can remain recognisable. Hence, when looking at the making of place it is important to include, or in this case, base the study in the senses and the body. As Tuan (1979) argues, there can be no place without body. This is why in the following chapter I explore the sentient body and its interactions with emotions, affects and orientations more deeply, exploring issues that I have developed in this chapter but have not yet investigated duly. I keep coming back to the sensuous body and the making of place through the senses, questioning to what extent sensing brings a new piece to the place jigsaw (table 2).

Agnew's spatial dimensions of place		**Body dimensions of place**	
Location	place happens in a site in space and the relations to other places are actually also relations between locations	*Global-multilocal*	place is global and multilocal, and, in this case, one cannot survive without the other.
Locale	the location is not just the mere address but the where of social lie and environmental transformation	*Situated*	its situation depends on the bodies that make place and their own being-in-the-world.
Sense of place	making each place particular	*In-betweenness*	it rests between the measurable and the perceivable
Place-time	both place and time are neither exclusively regional or local	*Related*	its relations lie in the connections between the people who make place, time and history and the articulations between the dynamics that make space

Table 1. Dimensions of place.

Body→ Space↓	Location	Locale	Sense of place	Place-time
global-multilocal	**place**			
Situated				
related				
in-betweenness				

Table 2. Place, body and space.

3. Senses and the body: towards relational emotions

> Geographies of the senses tell us something different about urban culture and diasporic experience, providing fresh insights to corporeal relations. Conceiving them as an embodied practice enables new maps of the city - maps integral to embodied cultural geographies (Law in Howes 2005, 239).

I. Geographies of the senses

Mapping an attention on sensuous geographies

Sensuous geographies enable researchers to unveil a different manner of experiencing the city. As I mentioned in the introduction, I am arguing for a sensuous methodology so as to access different cartographies of urban everyday life (Frias 2001; Harmon 2003; McDonough 2005; Huq 2007; S. Hall 2007; Huq and Suburbs 2007; Emmel 2008). I want to attend to the relationship between the soundscape and the making of place. In order to do so, I must first situate the sensuous body in the discussion.

In the coming sections I examine the most relevant variations in an approach to sensory research, contrasting both sociology and anthropology and their distance from the senses and their research projects. I make an argument for the inclusion of emotions and their importance in the understanding of the sensuous body. I also argue for the relational qualities of emotions and see how they can facilitate a different interaction between bodies and space. Then, I position the emotions into the sensuous body and define emotion as relational between bodies.

In the previous chapter, after engaging a discussion on space and place I explored in more detail, the making of place in order to propose a phenomenological understanding of place where the senses and the body play a major role.

Therefore, in order to further link place with the senses, in the second part of the chapter I present the sensuous turn in urban studies, concentrating on the distance between the researcher and the object of research. I make an argument for the senses to be both part of the research process and of the final result. Researching with the senses and including the sensory data in the final account, like London (1903) did, enables an account that beats at the same rhythm that the participants' have narrated it.

Then, in the third, I move onto focussing on the body and examine the role that the body has in sensuous research. I present a way in which the body is both the tool to understand and to make meaning of our surroundings. The body and mind are not separate; the body is a communion between the thinking and the sensing self. Being in the world is a bodily disposition and a bodily method of making meaning; it is a process as much as a way of living.

In the fourth part, I move from the sensuous body toward emotions. I situate the affective turn in social sciences and note how in geography there is an ongoing discussion with regards to the terms emotion and affect. Then, I argue for emotions to be considered as relational, following the previous chapter's discussion on place.

In the fifth part, I go back to place and conclude the chapter linking place, senses and emotion through a phenomenological and embodied perspective of being in the world and making meaning.

II. The sensuous turn

Towards sensuous research: an approximation to sensuous research in the social sciences

> It had to be acknowledged that we make sense of the world not just through language, not just by talking about it, but through all our senses, and their extensions in the form of diverse media (Howes 2013, 4).

If we are to dissect space into the different senses it contains, we can already feel the different geographies that emerge, the smellscape, the touchscape, the sightscape, the tastescape and the soundscape if we stay in a traditional five fold division of the senses (Serres 2008), otherwise there are many more.[17] The senses all engage in our relation to our surroundings and therefore, play a role in the making of place, in conceptualising place sensorially. As Howes argued:

> The overwhelmingly multisensory character of perceptual experience should lead to some expectation for a multisensory conceptualization of place. But by and large, ethnographic and cultural geographic work on senses of place

[17] Note for instance proprioception, sense of balance; thermoception, sense of temperature; nociception, sense of pain…or more phenomenal sixth senses (Howes, 2009) or also see Trower (2012) for a discussion on pleasure and pain of sound.

> has been dominated by the visualism deeply rooted in the European concept of landscape (2005, 182).

Knowles and Sweetman (2004) also argue that the 20th century has seen a blooming phenomenon in visual research, and the creation of the visual research and visual anthropology sub-disciplines. This explosion on visually led research has opened, though narrowly, the doors to sensory research (Pink 2009). However, the occularcentrism springing from this research did not only limit the possibilities of the senses but also reflected on a social behaviour that is now, in the age of screens and the digital, more present than ever; the world of mimesis. As Nancy states (2007), vision invites imitation instead of participation, it does not invite an active reaction. However, it already supplied a step away from the focus on writing and text that Clifford and Marcus argued for in 1986 in *Writing culture*. As they argue, the social sciences are concentrated in interpreting and writing the accounts of other cultures, and later on home cultures. Their intention pulled them away from using the senses to understand culture.

For Howes (2013), Feld's *Sound and Sentiment* (1982) was one of the first texts to be seen as sensory research. I do, however, consider London's ([1903] 2007) *The people of the abyss* to be not only the birth of urban research but sensory research as well. London used all his sensorium to make sense of the conditions of life of London's East Enders, from the putrid smell of alleyways to the metallic orchestra of sounds created at mealtime in a canteen. He used his senses to research the East Ender's routine and, most importantly, wrote this sensuousness into his account. In addition, his account has a perspective from the ground, a short distance between himself and the people he is writing about. We can also see that there is a craft behind his account (Mills [1959] 2000) that integrates both the spoken and the unspoken, uniting sensation with conversation.

London disguised himself as an inhabitant of the Abyss (East London had the reputation, and according to his account, was a slum at the beginning of the 20th century and well into two decades). He carried out an ethnography of the East End, living like a poor man for two thirds of his investigation (for the other third he did have a pied-à-terre to go and get clean and sleep under a roof). The interesting part of his project is how he uses his whole body to carry out the research, he immerses himself into the East End ambiance and through living as an inhabitant of the Abyss, sensing the ambiance there, he notes smells, sounds and sweat, changing temperatures and general moods, the researcher imbued himself and his account into the sensational ways of life of the East End. Therefore, his account is as much urban research as it is sensory research, in fact it is urban research where the sensory is as

key to understanding the operations of the East End as, for example, is the work roll of Stepney (which the author describes at length) for example. This is why, I consider London's to be the first urban sensory research and to have set a very good path into bringing sensory research into scholar urban research.

Sensory data in research: tracing the senses presence and usage in the research accounts

One of the aspects that has made difficult the inclusion of sensory data into social sciences' accounts, most notably in sociology, was the need to take the bird's eye view (Rhys-Taylor 2010; Degen 2010) removing most of the sensory input and trying to write the research while being detached from what was being researched (Young 1996)[18]. Sensory research requires for the researcher to loose the bird's eye view and attend to the beauty of the detail and the unnoticed.

I argue for a focus on tacit understandings of the urban and listening carefully to the pace the participants have when living in the city, moving and making it as they go along. This is how different cartographies of the urban will come afloat and into the account[19]. Thus, contributing to an understanding of place more rooted in the lived experience of the participants, with a focus on their sensuous relations to space, hence, bringing the body in the middle of the relationship between place, senses and the soundscape. It is the pivotal piece and for that matter it is very important to grant it its correct position in the account. Mine is an embodied and emplaced account of London's East End, balancing the focus between place, bodies and emotion and the soundscape.

However, in anthropology, the focus was more geographical instead of emotional, more vested towards an investigation of a determinate group's embodied practices in a space rather than on a balance between senses, emotions and place. Although it might have focussed on the location with regards to place but it did so with all senses blaring.[20] Therefore, anthropology rendered place from an embodied perspective.

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[18] Young does indeed reflect profoundly about these issues in his book *The good death* (2004) which was his last and in which he, finally, allowed himself to pour over an extremely emotional research investigating terminal patients death and their families grief before and after death occurred.

[19] See Borden (2001) for a cartography of skateboarding. Understanding the urban from one's need and usage of it, and as such, a non-normative cartography or else Cardiff (1999) for an artistic narrated cartography of London's East End.

[20] Howes (2013) cites just a few anthropologists whose approach has been from the body onwards. "Anthropology has done the most to promote and theorise a full-bodied approach to sensory experience and expression (Strathern 1996: 200; Lock 1993; Herzfeld 2001). A partial roll-call of sensually minded scholars in anthropology would include Edmund Carpenter (1972), Alfred Gell (1977, 1995), Anthony Seeger (1981, 1987), Steve Feld (1982, 1988, 1996), Nancy Munn (1983, 1986), Michael Jackson (1983a, 1989, 1998), Paul Stoller (1989, 1995, 1997), Constance Classen (1990, 1993a, 1993b, 1997),Marina Roseman (1991), Carol Laderman (1991), Bob Desjarlais (1992, 1997), Michael Taussig (1993), Vishvajit Pandya (1993), Nadia Seremetakis (1994), Susan

It is quite understandable why approaching a different culture requires the senses to enter the research account, for in order to be able to fully understand the communities portrayed, a full re-examination of one's own sensorium was needed (Feld 1982; Taussig 1993; Feld 1994; Seremetakis 1994; Ingold 2000; Geurts 2003). The observation of any other (other as in other than oneself) should raise questions about why do we feel there is otherness in them, hence causing an initial reflexive observation as a departure point. However, in this research, I am not proposing to observe others through our senses; but instead to observe our own relation to our surroundings and our way of making sense of them through our senses. Thus, reacquainting ourselves with this us-other that has been sensing all along but with whom we forgot to keep in touch. Hence the importance of awakening to our sensuous selves (Latour 2004).

Recent sensory research works have focussed on studying home cultures and the everyday through the senses. Bates (2010) departed from the body in order to explore their lives and materiality, and from there also work on the sensing and rhythms of the body. This brings the body to the epicentre of the discussion around everyday urban life. It makes a strong argument for the body to be embodied, worked from the body as non-normative, imperfect and temperamental and highlights its visibility. In my research, the body is not only the pivot for place, emotion and the soundscape but also the key to moving around space, and ultimately to make place. Therefore the body must be seen as detached from invisible accounts of the body (Smart 2007).

Then, using a sense as the research's actor is Rhys-Taylor's (2010) project to investigate Multiculture in London's East End. The sense of smell is the absolute protagonist in this account. Through attending to the smellscape, Rhys-Taylor articulates issues around Multiculture and globalisation in everyday East London from a micro-perspective. This responds to my argument of a sensuous methodology to unearth non-mainstream ways of attending to the urban. These can help shed another light into issues around urban life, as Rhys-Taylor does with Multiculture in East London.

More kinaesthetic, Steward's (2007) project concentrates on the infinitesimal ephemeral moments of everyday life and listens to our tuning to it, our rhythmical attachment and detachment from our everyday. Steward argues for the former, attaching to everyday mundane and almost imperceptible moments that can bring out the beauty and richness of

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Rasmussen (1995, 1999), Penny Van Esterik (2000), Tim Ingold (2000), Adeline Masquelier (2001), Judith Farquhar (2002), and Kathryn Linn Geurts (2003) as well as the present writer" (Howes, 2003: p. XIII).

our routines. It appeals to the poetry of our everyday, and brings the idea of poetry into routine acts of everyday life, as can be the listening of our surroundings, just waiting for something to make us resonate from tip to toe. This brings us to the study of the mundane, the non-necessity to have the spectacular around us in order to pay attention. Like Simmel (1908) argued, urban life makes us less sensible towards the everyday life, we become anaesthetised to it. Instead, I argue for an attention to the minutiae of our routines, to re-visit them from a sensuously awake position and perceive the difference in our own understanding of our surroundings.

I go to focus on two accounts where movement and time are at the heart of the research. Also, on the everyday and integrating urban planning are Degen's two research pieces (2008; 2010) where both the urban entourage and the act of walking allow for a hidden and sensuously rich city to unravel under the author's footsteps. This resonates with my research method of walking to investigate, walking emplaced and with the body ensounded (Ingold 2007). Another very interesting multisensory approach to the city has been *Night Haunts* by Sukhdev Sandhu (2007) where each participant having the common threat of nightlife feels the city differently. This means that the account of that space is told through a set of micro-perceptions of it. It is a space that emerges through how people feel and relate to it.

I have selected these accounts as an illustration of ways of telling where the senses and the body have a central role. All of them are in dialogue with my research project as I have explained above. I am interested in examining the role of the body in dialogue with space and with the senses. Above, I have examined projects that have worked with these three elements, highlighting how the body and the senses are presented since it is one of my main arguments, to place the body back at the centre of the picture and have the senses rooted in the body. However, I have not yet approached research that deals specifically with the soundscape as I will go in depth into that matter in the following chapter.

As Law argues in the quote at the beginning of this section, it is through sensuous geographies that we achieve an embodied cultural map of the city. However, we live in a world that is dominated by the sense of sight and, consequently, space is still very much defined in terms of the sightscape. This occularcentric society invites imitation beyond participation (Nancy 2007) and, contrary to listening, looking does not normally engage an element of *methexis*. The projects commented on in the previous section all have the common element of not focussing exclusively on the sightscape, enabling the other aspects of the space to emerge and, for once, become the first port for the urban sensory experience.

Researching place through the senses invites the participant to rethink their relationship with the space, not only being in space but also making meaning of space. Listening to the soundscape can enable a different way of making meaning. However, in order to do that, we must revert back to our bodies. We must observe the relations between our bodies and the senses and how these relations shape our making of place. I elaborate further on the relation between the soundscape and the making of place particularly in the following two chapters. Moreover, as the research projects above have done, attend to everyday life through its rhythms, its smells and listening carefully to the stories that the city is sharing through its sensory stimuli. I argue for us to invest our bodies in an urban conversation without words and focus on our senses and our emotions, we must detach from producing dead sociology and instead craft new ways of telling that are more adapted to what is being told (Back, 2012). In the following section, in order to further the discussion on the senses, I focus on the sensing entity, the body. This enables me to place the body back in the centre of the matter and investigate its relation with senses and emotion.

III. The sensuous body

Situating the body in the discussion about place

In the previous chapter I situated place within a larger spatial discussion and examined several perspectives on place. I highlighted the different approaches that can lead to the making of place and have explored their shortcomings. At the beginning of the chapter I presented how the geographies of the senses have been researched. However, in the above discussion the body has been absent. As Bates (2010) argues, the body has to revert back to its central position in the telling about society (Becker 2007), she argues against disembodied accounts where the body and its 'messiness' are put aside. Bodies, whether normative or not, make place and are being-in-the-world (Merleau-Ponty 2002). There should be no attempt to erase whatever is not conforming to the normal relation with space (Ahmed 2008b) and in the last few years, sociology has been plagued by disembodied, sensory-less accounts or accounts that assassinate "the life contained within it" (Back 2012, 21). In fact, the discussion on making place cannot progress unless we acknowledge that our bodies do play an important, even key, part in the making of place. Not only do we move through space with out bodies but we relate to our surroundings with them as well. The body is not the container of our mind, it is part of it, it makes it, changes it and influences it (Merleau-Ponty 2002; Ahmed 2008b). There is a tendency in social sciences to either write disembodied accounts of subjects, or do the opposite, write about bodies that are missing a

subject (Bates 2010). This is why I want to stress that the body is not a shell, it is an intrinsic part of who we are.

In this section I introduce the perceiving body, which leads me to revisit its affects and orientations. Then, I introduce another variable, memory. This enables me to enrich the discussion on the making of place from a phenomenological perspective, and opens up to embodiment while clarify the meaning of embodied sensorium.

The senses and the body: engaging with the urban sensuous stimuli

As the last decade and a half has seen a sensory turn in the social sciences (Howes 2013), the body seems to be regaining touch with its senses; at the same time there has also been an emotional turn in research (which I will expand on later). It appears as if both the senses and the emotional are gaining strength in social research. As Merleau-Ponty (2002) says, there is no emotion without perception, thus the starting point for emotion and orientations lies in the sensuous body. As the body seems to be put back in touch with its senses, can we learn to be aware of our perceptions again?

In this research I argue for the awakening of our bodies to their senses in order to re-acquaint ourselves with the sensory relations we establish with our surroundings and their effect on both. Latour (2004) makes a strong argument for the awakening of our sensuous selves, defining the body as "an interface that becomes more and more describable as it learns to be affected by more and more elements. The body is thus not a provisional residence of something superior – an immortal soul, the universal or thought – but what leaves a dynamic trajectory by which we learn to register and become sensitive to what the world is made of" (2004, 206).

Therefore the body is not only a tool to relate to other objects,[21] it is also capable of endless learning. Sensing, or more precisely realising that we sense, is something we can re-learn and the body is hungry for more learning. We learn how to awaken our sensuous bodies, these bodies may lie dormant in everyday life (Perec 1973) and, through this awakening body and mind can reach a more conscious point about their sensorial capacities. In a similar fashion, Simmel (1908) has written about the blasé attitude of the urban dweller in front of sensory stimuli. He has argued that a coping mechanism for this sensory bombardment is to have an aloof attitude. Benjamin (2002) instead argues for a detached, yet very connected

[21] Latour coming from ANT theory, he dresses the body with object qualities. Here I will not enter into an ANT dialogue since it would deter me from the direction I want the discussion to take.

approach to the city, being a *flâneur* who follows the ebb and flow of the city, while at the same time pacing oneself within it. The latter is very important, because in order to pace myself with the city, I need to be in it, living and experiencing the space. I need to engage with the dialogues of the city; its soundscape is an invitation to reflect both on the city and its constitution. Thus prompting a repositioning of myself as both inhabitant and maker of what I perceive. The city is constantly inviting its dweller to engage with it.

However, this engagement with the city's dialogue does need to be with a sensuously awake body (Stoller 1974; Seremetakis 1994; Geurts 2003; Latour 2004; Ahmed 2008b). Thus I argue for regaining the attunement to our bodies, earning back our perceptive mechanisms, using them to re-imagine and re-map our surroundings beyond a senseless rationality that detaches body from mind.

When Stoller (1974) wrote *Sensuous Scholarship*, he intended to, through his own field research, transfer the importance of his bodily experiences, write them into the research not as a contingent part but a key part to the research process and data. *Sensuous Scholarship* calls for sensory data to be incorporated into the account. It is a proposition that, in the case of my research, enables the transmission of the researched without killing it in the process (Back 2012). It adapts the methods and the account to tell about the social in a way that makes "other kinds of critical imagination possible" (Back 2012, 29). In my research project, the embodiment and emplacement of my participants' and myself as a researcher are a pivotal point of the account and strongly gear the analysis. Deleting the sensuous is not only making dead sociology (Back 2012) but also not adapting to a social life that is asking for mobile methods of research (Urry 2012). At this point in time, it is important to note that the argument about incorporating the sensuous into the final account has been present in social research for a few decades (Stoller 1974; Feld 1994; Ingold 2000; Geurts 2003; Howes 2003; 2005; LaBelle 2010; Rhys-Taylor 2010; Scarfe 2011; Pink 2009; Voegelin 2012) and it continues to be a contemporary angst amongst sensory researchers.

There must be a balance where an embodied sensory approach to the research process is not seen as hindering the research, potentially losing a claimed but impossible objectivity, but instead as a key part of the research process and the research itself. Researching with the sentient body is a way of placing oneself in the research and with the participants which works towards the loss of the birds' eye view, and instead works towards a research in synch with some of the emotions and orientations of the people involved in the research, while at the same time, becoming more aware of one's own emotions and orientations.

Stoller elaborates on this point "like most scholars, anthropologists usually confront social reality through a disembodied gaze. Like most scholars, anthropologists usually believe that the tangled skin of human relations can be unknotted and explained. In the arena of sorcery this conceit means that one can probe behind a veil of troublesome confusions and discover principles, patterns, and hypotheses. Such epistemological confidence was once the hallmark of the natural sciences and continues to be the hallmark of objectivist social sciences" (1974, 22). For Stoller, embodiment is perceptual instead of rational and he believes that researching through the body enables a different understanding to emerge, another critical perspective on space. For this research, working through the body has enabled the participants to question their relationship body-space. Also, by attending to space through the soundscape, issues around belonging, urban living and diversity have emerged in their discourses. It has made them analyse their own situation (Haraway 1988; Rose 1997) both in space and with their sensuous selves, as I explain through chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8, and then reflect upon in chapter 10.

Phenomenology (Merleau-Ponty 2002; Gunther 2004; Ahmed 2008b; Paterson 2009; Marchant 2010) places embodiment as perceptual and informed perception. Ergo the social self is conditioning the perception, the orientations are the fruit of the habitus (Bourdieu 1993), which is socially constructed and passed on. The sentient body communicates to the rational and the sensational, the interpretation of the senses strongly geared by habitus and orientations (Ahmed 2008b), it brings past and present together through the resurfacing of cultural memories triggered by the sensory stimuli. Therefore, the sentient body is not a disconnected entity, in the interpretation of its sensations, thus in the perceiving, the sentient body brings afloat past experiences, connecting the mind and the body through memory in sensation.

However, there is a friction point in the separation between the corporeal and the rational that I elaborate on later. First we must understand the difference between sensation, which is what we sense, and perception which is what we understand we sense. In the latter, the mind has already intervened.

If we are aware of our tuning to the world, then we can relate to our processes of being and navigating in this world. Without perception there is no emotion,[22] without emotion the synergies that make place are silent. Henceforth, our bodies have to awaken to their sensuous consciousness (Bates 2010; Stoller 1974) getting back in touch with their sensation

[22] This can be controversial in some discourses on emotion and affect, but I am referring to relational emotions here as I will see further along the chapter.

and the relations that they establish. They also have to get back in touch with perception (Merleau-Ponty 2002) and the being-in-the-world that springs from it. Also revisit emotion (Thrift 2003; Ahmed 2008b; Pile 2010; Wetherell 2012; Burkitt 2014) understanding it as another relational element in our being in the world[23]. In addition, the more attuned we are to our surroundings, the more nuances may emerge and fine-tuning might arise, as Latour puts it, it is a never-ending learning curve. In the next section I examine the interplay between memory and the body.

Memory and politics: relations to the body in space

The feelings in the body (Geurts 2003)[24] or *seselelame* as Anlo people put it, entail an embodiment of our consciousness. Therefore, the mind and body, instead of being in opposing poles of a discourse, are mixing, composing a rhythm together with their beats. Geurts explains that "You can feel happiness in your body, you can feel sorry in your body, and you can feel other things, like cold. Seselelame describes all of these things because it is hearing or feeling in the body" (Geurts in Howes 2005, 165). She further elaborates "these are the ways in which *seselelame* (feeling in the body, flesh or skin), *gomese* (understanding), and *sidzedzenu* (recognition) are implicated in the making of consciousness. Consciousness implicitly involves bodily feeling and inter-subjectivity. In addition, accounts of consciousness often involve complex references to movement and sensorimotor activities" (Geurts 2005, 168, my emphasis). These sensory inputs are also tied to time and etch a score in the body and the mind together. This reverts back to the idea of mimesis and methexis, participation through the senses instead of passive observation. I dwell further in the implications of this with regards to the soundscape in the following chapter.

An engagement of the fleshy body enables the act of communion between mind and world through the corporeal. Seremetakis (1994) argues that there is no such thing as a moment in life (besides death) where there is stillness of the senses or memory, and like Simmel (1908) exposes the dangers of becoming disengaged with everyday life. As Seremetakis (1994, 19) states:

> The structure of modern sensory experience is inherently ironic. The sensory sphere is experienced in such a manner that profound transformations

[23] I expand on the debate there is surrounding emotion and affect in the section "IV. Emotions" of this chapter.
[24] Geurts (2003) studied the Anlo-Ewe people in Ghana, with a focus on their cultural meaning system. For the Anlo people, the five senses division has barely any relevance. Their sensorium and how their way of making meaning has the body as a central point, the bodily feeling is one of their main characteristics.

> occurring in it or imposed on it are rendered imperceptible to the individual eye. This is precisely why everyday life in modernity has become the site for far-reaching historical transformations. For it is there that the historical unconscious is most powerful. Everyday life is experienced as a seamless continuum, an ongoing flow of a-historical time i.e., largely un-narrated temporality that surpasses individual and collective consciousness and language. This sensory structure of everyday life is experienced as naturalized, almost cosmic time over and against which eruptive, "sensational events" such as elections, performances, accident, disasters, are profiled.

We need to awaken our bodies not only to everyday life but to acknowledge the historical continuum that conditions us (Ahmed 2008b; Ahmed 2008a), this includes our ways of being-in-the-world and making sense of the world.

In addition, it is necessary to remember that everyday life is filled with sensations, making a call for our memories, to make sense of our sensations but also of the relationship we establish with it (Bourdieu 1993). Sensations inscribe our routines, our spaces, and have an effect on the making of place as well as to our situation in space (Haraway 1988; Ahmed 2008b). The seselelame in my research also includes memory, and sensory experience can unleash memory and emotion (Rhys-Taylor 2010; Rodaway 1994; Degen 2010; Illouz 2009). In the cosmopolitan city there can be an appeal to the emotional similar to what Seremetakis is describing as *sensational events*, appealing to our emotional selves through sensational news versus the banalisation of everyday life. This is part of the politics of emotion and how our bodies are appealed to (Seremetakis 1994; Ahmed 2008a; Greco & Stenner 2008; Illouz 2009; Bates 2010). Nevertheless, even without considering a purposeful appeal to our emotions as Illouz has analysed (2009), the city is constantly inviting us to engage into her dialogue, through all the senses. As I have said, everyday life is filled with sensations; therefore in this research I have invited participants to become attuned to one sense, and concentrate on the soundscape in order to be able to identify and embrace the emotions and the feelings that come through our experience of the city.

Moreover, not only are our bodies appealed to but also subjected to the social language and expression of emotion. As Ahmed argues (2008b), we are constantly subjected to the "straightening" of our perception, ordinary perception makes us become vertical (Ahmed 2008b, 107). Ordinary perception stands for a mainstream heteronormal one, having in mind a white man who prevails both in phenomenological theory and how the urban space is

organised and used. The body is sexualised and gendered and through it enters a pattern of conducts or habits from its existence in society, in social space that may shape the way of living the urban[25] (Low 2014). For Ahmed, the person who does not conform to this pattern has to constantly fight the tendencies attempting to homogenise perception, re-orient her body to inhabit a different orientation, a diagonal one, transcending the verticality of ordinary perception and breaking away from standardised moulds. Inhabiting a diagonal orientation is not conforming to the standardised way of inhabiting space, be it because of sexuality, gender or ethnicity, space is not experienced in a single way. She critiques the phenomenology of Husserl (1992) and Merleau-Ponty (2002), as limiting the endless possibilities of perception into a one-size-fits-all normativised model. Hence her argument for a diagonal orientation towards the spaces we inhabit. This is why in I have encouraged my participants to explore their ways of being in London's-East End.

However, the habitual is not limited to repeatedly tend toward something, in fact, it entails the assimilation of what is tended toward into the body, as a pattern and, as such, reshapes our body through an organisation of our movements (Ahmed 2008b, 132). Moreover, habits are not only re-sculpting our bodies but our memories as well, and that of the society we are in as a whole. In this sense, memory, collective memory and body are in a tangled relationship. In the following section I explore the interplay between the body in space through embodiment in order to further analyse these relationships.

Embodiment in space: tuning into our senses

In the previous chapter, I talked of space as being a set of processes and dynamics and place as being the connections between said processes and dynamics. Therefore, when we revisit the notion of space from an embodied perspective, we realise that space is not only the aesthetics of what surrounds us but also the dynamics in which we can identify power structures (as raised above in terms of the straightening of our orientations for example) that we have integrated as habits. These habits may, at first, not be noticeable to us. It is through a re-acquaintance to our sensuous bodies that they may flare up again, allowing us to examine them and better understand how the streets and the buildings attempt to exert a structure over our ways of navigating (Barry and Blesser 2009). For example, the layout of a street invites a certain navigational path, although this might seem like just a habit for its transients, it is actually a manifestation of power structures governing the city at all levels.

[25] However, although there is a vast literature on the gendered body (mostly coming from feminist social researchers) in this case, because I am going to focus on emotions as being a relational practice, as I will expand later on, these orientations that the body has will surface but will not be analysed under a feminist perspective. I will stay on a phenomenological and relational perspective in order to deal with these issues and that is why I am not going into feminist perspectives on the body.

Another example is what Ahmed argues throughout her book (2008b), the living of one's own sexuality outside of the home is dictated by a set of power structures that govern the social and the urban, here we would enter into the discussion of the socially desirable and non desirable (Mead 1967).

When we tune into our senses, we re-visit our ways of making place, no longer blasé to space's stimuli. This newfound way of relating to space can help unveil a less automatic perspective to space (Perec 1973), becoming more conscious of our every move, and the reasons behind them. Tuning into our senses is not only tuning into our own bodies, but also to the space and ourselves in that space. I dwell on this triad of experience in the next chapter with a focus on tuning into our listening. In the next section I go further into examining what does that entail when we talk about emotions and then how does this feed back to our ways of sensing.

IV. Emotions

Differentiating emotion from affect

The affective turn and the sensuous turn in social sciences have happened within a few years of each other. In fact, when thinking about it, it could be thought of as the sensing and emotional body turn, since when involving the senses, includes emotions and memory most of the time. "The turn to affect is mainly a stimulus to expand the scope of social investigation. It leads to a focus on embodiments, to attempts to understand how people are moved, and what attracts them, to an emphasis on repetitions, pains and pleasures, feelings and memories" (Wetherell 2012, 2). But what are emotions and affects?

This is one of the current debates that are dominating the affective turn, the discussion between emotion and affect and the choice of term to move forward. Personally, I like to revert back to the root of the terms in order to better grasp their literal meaning. Affect, as a noun, comes from the Latin noun affectus meaning 'disposition', the Oxford dictionary defines it as "emotion or desire as influencing behaviour"[26]. In its verbal form, affect comes from the Latin afficere meaning 'to influence' and it is defined as "to have an effect, make a difference to" or "touch the feelings, or move emotionally"[27]. In this case, it refers more to a non-identified source of effect on something. In fact, Anderson (2006) characterises affect as something that transcends the corporeal and the personal; it is beyond the conscious,

[26] http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/affect#affect-3.
[27] http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/affect#affect

transpersonal and between bodies. Affect is not something that, for him, can be realised by the bodies affected.

In parallel, emotion comes from the French word "émouvoir" which is derived from the Latin emovere, coming from the root movere, which means to move. It is defined as "a strong feeling departing from one's circumstances, mood, or relationships with others" or "instinctive or intuitive feeling as distinguished from reasoning or knowledge[28]". Therefore, emotion is a term that has movement in its core (Burkitt 2014). Besides being personal and interpersonal, emotion does appear as something that can be realised by the bodies affected (Pile 2010).

Although there is an interesting amount of literature that has studied emotions on a neurological level, notably in the fields of psychology and neuroscience, I am not going to be looking at emotions under this light. I am interested in understanding emotions as a concept that makes us relate one to another and to ourselves; in fact, this movement characteristic of emotion is going to be the base from which I develop my argument in this section.

Here, we see that both emotion and affect appear to have a vast array of overlaps in meaning. They share some common ground like the fluidity and mobility and also have a phenomenological perspective since affect and emotion are situated in the body one way or another (Pile 2010).

However, for some, like Non Representational Theories (NRT) theorists such as Massumi (1996) or Thrift (2004), affect is a collective emotion and therefore, it is more relevant to deal with affect rather then emotion in terms of scale and consequences. They intend to separate affect from emotions or feelings, defining affect as something beyond emotion. Upon being a collective emotion it is no longer emotion and this deprives social research of a comfortable terminology that would enable the building of emotional ways of being (Wetherell 2012). This side-lines emotion and somehow puts affect as something that can happen to us, we can be affected ourselves, or affect other people beyond their own recognition and beyond language and discourse. As Anderson states (2006) affect is non-cognitive. It is important to base the discourses surrounding emotions and affect in language and discourse. As Laurier and Philo argue (2006) "we need to re-locate representation first as a particular kind of life practice and, then, as a particular kind of discursive practice in relation to other discursive practices" (in Wetherell 2012, 76). Thus, we need to regain

[28] http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/emotion

language to express all representational practices, even the ones that happen through a tacit understanding of our surroundings, may it be through the senses or through emotion.

Other key understandings on the emotional body are Ahmed's (2008b) concepts of orientations and affects[29]. I dwell further on the former later on in this chapter; for now, I focus on emotion. For Ahmed, emotion can stick, can slide and is not linked to any particular actor. Ahmed sees in the Latin root of emotion, the idea of movement as emotions being something that can move in or move out, emotion is therefore not located in any particular actor, and is a force, something disembodied. Therefore, Ahmed focuses on the affectations that bodies can suffer or infer, affect being embodied and trans-bodied, having the capacity to move various bodies under a same affectation, and affect being more durable than emotion in her view.

Although the latter perspective appears interesting and somehow resonates with the lager NRT view of affect, I understand the movement of emotion as a practice that not only moves between bodies but also moves bodies; emotion is therefore embodied and can be disembodied or embodied simultaneously by several bodies. In addition, according to Anderson's (2006) definition of affect, and beyond his layered explanation of its interplay with the body, it appears as if the body is one of the many vehicles through which affect transits. Emotion has at the root of its name movement, not only between bodies but also in bodies themselves. Emotion connects visibly and invisibly but emotion, and this is key, can be acknowledged consciously by the bodies it affects. Therefore, in my research emotion is a connector in the relations among the body, the soundscape, space and the self. Emotion enables the body to be placed further at the epicentre of the discussion between senses, soundscape and space.

Although I do not agree with Ahmed's perspective on emotion and affect, her understanding of bodily orientations resonates heavily with my construction of the body as explained in the previous sections. Because for her, orientations are the predispositions, acquired or learned that we carry bodily in our lives. I also consider emotion as something more durable than she does. Emotion is not only something that sticks and slides (Ahmed 2008b) but it can also frame experiences and condition new experiences (Rose 1993). Therefore, although Ahmed links heavily affect and orientations, I use her idea of orientations to bring it closer to my conception of emotions.

[29] See also Blackman and Venn (2010).

From affective practice to emotion, leaving affect behind

Ahmed's notion of orientations is close to the bodily exploration of Bourdieu's habitus (1993), which is how our habitat becomes internalised to shape our predispositions, both bodily and mentally. In this sense, the body's orientations can be affected by our habitus. Therefore, with this and the previous section, we see that, even though emotion can be seen as an individualised concept, it is not. Since we affect and shape emotions not only through our ways of understanding and habitus but also through language and representation. Habitus and orientations then shape our predispositions and also the way in which we interpret, conceptualise and represent our emotions.

Thus, we can go back to the idea of emotion[30] as something that is in motion, in constant transformation; emotion is tied to our own changes, to how we are in the world and how we sense and perceive that being. Emotions are tied to our cultural understanding of language and of our orientations and habitus. In this section, I am going to review some key aspects of Wetherell's *Emotion and affect* (2012) since it is turning point in the field.

Her definition of an affective practice is: "Affective practice focuses on the emotional as it appears in social life and tries to follow what participants do. It finds shifting, flexible and often over determined figurations rather than simple lines of causation, character types and emotion categories". However, she works with affect assuming that is it an "embodied meaning-making" (Wetherell 2012, 4), but she defines this meaning making as human emotion. Thus, emotion lies at the centre of this affective practice.

Then, this practice becomes a moment in time when these relations are created. In turn, this suspended moment in time resonates with the moment of sound (LaBelle 2010), which I will review in the following chapter. It is a moment of participation between many sources. In this conjunction, the affective practice calls upon the body and its different states to come into play. Then, emotions become a central point within the body's states and therefore are brought forward. Hence why it may be a better idea to think about an emotional practice instead of an affective practice. Once emotions are established as a core aspect of a bodily practice with regards to space, we can now examine how emotions enable relations to be established between bodies and between moments in time.

[30] See also Denzin (1980); Gupta (2004) for a discussion on emotion from an experiential perspective.

Relational and transductive emotions: connecting bodies in time

For Burkitt (2014) emotions are at and stay at the centre of his discussion on the emotional/affective turn in the social sciences. After reviewing the most relevant literature with regards to emotion, he brings forward his idea of understanding the emotions as relational. Taking into account the development of the thesis up to this point and how I am exploring space and place as relational from a phenomenological perspective. I found Burkitt's idea of relational emotions concurrent with my position in this research. Burkitt argues that *"we are always in patterns of relationship to other people and to the world, and feelings and emotions form our embodied, mindful sense of different aspects of those relationships*" (Burkitt 2014, 15, original emphasis). This approach to emotions enables an exploration of the emotional being-in-the-world and highlights a phenomenological approach to space and the relations between emotion-bodies-space. In addition it places no limit on the thinking of emotions as an independent state of embodiment, of a feeling or a thought or a sensation: I can feel pain but I can also feel fear, or sadness. Emotions are also a way of embodied making of meaning, and here I want to revert back to the notions of *seselelame* (feeling in the body), *gomese* (understanding), and *sidzedzenu* (recognition) presented as the making of consciousness. In this light, emotion is therefore part of the apparatus of the making of consciousness through an embodied and related state, an emotional state. Therefore, emotions are part of our relationship with our environment, they are an intrinsic part of the ways in which we are emplaced (Pink 2009) and being in the world.

Emotions contribute to our situatedness (Haraway 1988; Rose 1997) and to the ways in which we relate bodily to the world, hence to our emplacement (Pink 2009). In addition, emotions connect us to ourselves and to others (Burkitt 2014) and engage us with each other but also with space and with memory (Seremetakis 1994). In this sense, we can see that an emotional practice is relational since it puts us in patterns of relationship with others, with our environment and with ourselves. Like place, seen in the previous chapter, emotion can be seen as relational but also as phenomenological since it roots our bodies with the experiences they have and their being-in-the world. Hence emotions are relational while at the same time phenomenological through the need to be embodied in order to contribute to the making of meaning of the being in the world. In this sense, emotions work alongside the senses and our bodies (mind and body together) contribute to the process of embodied and sensuous meaning making (Geurts 2003).

Since this thesis is based on the sense of hearing, it would be useful to also understand emotion as a kind of 'transductive' practice. For Helmreich (2010) transductive listening invites us to listen in, out and beyond the soundscape. I will fully expand on this in the following chapter. I want to note that emotions, like sound, can be conceived as transductive since they appeal not only to affected, sensuous bodies but also through them into the realm of the rational, personal and social.

As I said in the previous paragraph, emotions are connected to ourselves and are not only in the realm our bodies and our senses (personal) but also to other bodies and to our situatedness (social) (Haraway 1988; Ahmed 2008b; Pile 2010; Wetherell 2012; Burkitt 2014). This will, in turn, impact the making of place of the aforementioned bodies and as such, enable the emergence of a vibrant representation of space.

V. Focussing emotion on the sensuous and emotional body

Sensing place with the sensuous and feeling body

In this chapter I have introduced the sensuous turn in social research, arguing that the bird's eye view so often taken in social research hinders the possibilities of the account containing the sensuous experience of the researcher and the participants at the same time. Then I have reviewed sensory literature where the researcher has indeed included the sensuous data from the research into the final account and seen how a sensuous attention to the urban environment is another way of researching, where the pace of the research intends to be attuned to the participant's urban rhythms.

Next, I have examined the role of the body in social research. Here I have argued for a wholesome body containing both the mind and the body, without falling into having a brain without a body, where the senses seem inexistent or the opposite. A body that feels and is driven by unconscious processes cannot be rationalised or put into words. The body feels and senses, and whether consciously or unconsciously interprets these feelings and sensations and extracts information that conditions its ways of moving and inhabiting a space.

From "feelings" I have gone on to explore the affective turn in social research, reviewing some of the major approaches on emotion and affect to then propose my own conception of emotions being relational and necessary for the embodied making of meaning. But what is the embodied making of meaning?

Embodied meaning making

When Feld (1982) researched the Kaluli tribe, he noticed the extend to which their sensuous perception of their environment informed their own conception of the said environment. The senses were the builders of this mapping, and the ways of navigating through space determined by the sensory stimuli received, notably sound. I argue that in our cosmopolitan cities we are not paying enough attention to the sensuous information that surrounds us. I am arguing for this sensuousness to have a larger role in our relationship to our surroundings and, by proxy, to our making of place.

Therefore, researching place through the senses focuses the research on the embodied sensorium of the participants. The inclusion of the researcher is needed since listening to the city is another way of attuning to the urban panorama; sounds tend to link us with memories and they may shape how we navigate through the city without us having thought it beforehand. Thus, presenting a research project where the focus is on the sounds listened to by social actors may provide the participants with the opportunity to explore their relationship to space at a different pace and search for their tuning to the rhythms of the city. I dwell on this in the next chapter. Therefore, embodying our way of being in the city enables the senses to play on our conception of space. This intertwines senses, memory and emotion in the representation of space and the making of place.

In addition, researching through the senses reminds us of our own relationality, not only to space but also to others through relational patterns of emotion, to our past through our memory and to the global and multilocal aspects (as seen in chapter 2) in the making of place. Researching through the senses is a tool to unearth the phenomenological attributes of place and investigate them from the very essence of their existence, the body.

4. The soundscape

> Wherever we are what we hear is mostly noise. When we ignore it, it disturbs us. When we listen to it, we find it fascinating (John Cage 1937).

I. Talking about the soundscape, an introduction

Sound in the city: signposting the coming discussion

We hear all the time, even when we are asleep[31] and yet there is so much more we can learn from sound. From a cultural sensibility (Rice 2003), to a physical approach to the constant shaking our bodies are subjected to through sonic waves (Ingold 2007).

There is no turning off the ear, no ear lids to protect ourselves from the constant sound (Schwartz 2003). We rarely pay close attention to ambient sounds although they are always there, a continuous soundscape to our lives. We do, notice when it bothers us, when it is too loud or too obnoxious, or there are building works. Nevertheless we rarely acknowledge the urban soundscape of our city life, the myriad of symphonies that accompany us at every step.

Sound has been important from prehistoric times (Hendy 2013), cavemen would sound out caves and choose the spot with the highest sound resonance to make their paintings. African tribes have been using beat drums to communicate for a hundreds of years. Sonic communication preceded speech and for many groups was and still is (Feld 1982) a primary source of information on their surroundings, a key element in spatial awareness. In fact, Hendy (2013) argues for breaking the limitations there have been among music, cacophony, silence, speech and song. Like Thibaud (2002), he argues for finding out, once and for all, the virtues of sound as a whole instead of evaluating each of its divided units.

"Sounds provide a means of us 'touching' at a distance - a form of personal contact that can work even when we are physically beyond the reach of one another" (Hendy 2013, 14). In fact, sound waves traverse space and bodies, reaching well beyond what is at arms' reach.

Then, why do we use personal stereos to cover up the soundscapes we live in (Bull 2000; 2007), avoiding this contact with the 'other' through sound and denying the one we have

[31] Although when we are asleep our bodies process the sounds we hear in a different way and we are not engaged in active listening, let alone participative listening. See Strait et al. (2011).

with urban sound? Why do we adopt a blasé attitude so as to 'cope' with a bombardment of stimuli as Simmel said (1908)? Would we not be better off embracing our environment, not only its visual manifestation but all of its ambiance and awaken to the sensuousness of our own bodies not only as a tool to perceive the surroundings but also to comprehend them, and in turn, comprehend ourselves?

In the preceding chapters I have explored the many attributes of place in different schools of thought, settling for an expansion of the four relational attributes of place (location, locale, sense of place, place-time), in other words placing the body back into the attributes of place. These attributes are global-multilocal, situated, in-betweenness and related. Then, onwards I have moved onto exploring the body and its dynamics, not only in terms of bridging the Cartesian dualism and sewing back the schism between mind and body but also bringing emotions to the forefront of our relationship with the environment. In light of this, I have concluded that emotions are relational and link us to ourselves, each other and the world around us.

Then, how does sound bring together these two? As I said in the introduction of the thesis, I am researching the influence of the soundscape in the making of place. Thus, in this chapter I focus on the soundscape, listening to its beat and attending to its portrayal in social and sound theory. The aim of this chapter is to clarify my understanding of the soundscape while providing a context for its different understandings over time, while at the same time constructing how is it going to be articulated in this thesis.

In order to do so, in the second part, I begin by navigating through sound and history, listening to how sound has been portrayed in the literature, notably focussing on sound and place. I am arguing for the conception of sound as meaning making and for listening as the process behind the making of meaning. I also investigate the way in which we listen, focussing on Nancy's (2007) theory of a participative listening. Indeed, LaBelle (2010) also talks about participation and sound when he defines the moment in sound, where there is a moment of interaction between listener and sound, hence participation. Establishing that sound can be a system of knowledge enables me to further search for a definition of the soundscape, a term Schafer coined in 1968, and then contrast it with its two main detractors, Ingold (2007) and Augoyard (1991; 2011).

Then, in the third part, I start by observing how this term evolved over time and what are the major players in its definitions or detraction. Here, I go back to its origins and then fast-forward a few decades to listen to how it is conceived today.

In the fourth part, I focus on the notion of ambiance that is the flagship of the CRESSON researchers in Grenoble. This centre for the research of sonic space in the urban environment does in-depth work into defining the sonic world. I review the most relevant part of this work and then counterpoise it with my understanding of the soundscape.

Then in the fifth section, building on the hues of the beats of the soundscape's review so far, where each little piece constructs the rhythm and pace of the meaning of the soundscape, I elaborate on how I understand soundscape throughout the thesis. I conclude by summing up the chapter and presenting my own perception of the soundscape, elaborating a working definition. I further develop it in the following chapter by counterpoising it to my perception on place presented in the previous chapter and developing it alongside the characteristics of emotion explored in the previous chapter.

II. Sounds in motion, sounds in history

Sound wave: the come back of sound studies

Works such as Sterne (2003) and Schwartz (2011) remind us that even if sound studies is a blooming field[32], the study of sound and acoustic precedes the last surge in interest in aural cultures we have seen in the last few years. In fact, Sterne traces a history of aural cultures to the phonograph and the radio, exploring the social changes they brought about. Schwartz (2011) has traced the history of sound to the big bang, but because the length of the period the book aims to cover, it comes out as not being able to go into depth as Sterne's does. These histories of aural cultures bring a humbling sense to the recent surge of interest in aural cultures that should not be forgotten. We are retaking an interest in a phenomenon which has always existed and with which we co-live (Hendy 2013). Is it just Western culture that has become deaf as a response to the modern city (Simmel 1908)?

Two of the early researchers on sound were Stoller and Feld. Stoller (1997) studied the Songhay tribe and their sorcery rites. In his study Stoller argued for an embodied approximation to research. He observed all the sounds that were part of Songhay possession rites and constitute the rite's ambience. Stoller's research has pressed anthropology and other disciplines to let the senses permeate into academia.

[32] We can observe that measuring the amount of publications that are appearing on sound in recent years, from the study of sound and technology (Bijsterveld, 2008) to more art based essays (Carlyle, 2013), sound and environment (Carlyle, 2007) sound and urban studies (LaBelle, 2010), a reader of audio culture (Back and Bull 2004), a sound studies reader (Sterne 2012), iPod cultures (Bull 2007) to cite just a handful.

Acoustemology

> By acoustemology, I wish to suggest a union of acoustics and epistemology, and to investigate the primacy of sound as a modality of knowing and being in the world (Feld 2000, 184).

An early sound researcher was Feld (1994; 2000). He studied the sounds of the rainforest and linked this to their making of place. In fact, Feld coined the notion of acoustemology, linking sound and cultural place making.

> I coined this new term to join acoustics and epistemology, to argue for sound as a capacity to know and as a habit of knowing. I needed a way to talk about sound that was neither a matter of critiquing the anthropology of music or language nor of extending their scope to include environmental ambiences and human- animal sound interactions. I wanted to have a new all- species way to talk about the emplaced copresence and correlations of multiple sounds and sources. I wanted to have a new way to talk about how, within a few seconds, and often in the absence of coordinated visual cues, Bosavi people know quite precisely so many features of the rain forest world, like the time of day, the season, the weather history. I wanted to link this kind of tacit knowledge, as well as active ecoacoustic knowing, to expressive practices, to the way Bosavi listening habits and histories Qgure in the shaping of poetic, vocal, and instrumental practices (Feld 2012, xxvii).

Feld's acoustemology is an ethnography, a study of sound as a cultural system. It is a break from research in acoustic ecology and it emerges as a critical response to it. He felt that it divided the sonic environment from the extensiveness of human experience (Feld 1987; Feld 1994, Gershon, 2011; Feld 2012;). In fact, acoustemology is the exploration of how sound is central to making meaning, to knowing. My research retakes this to explore the being in the world through sound. This is why I make an acoustemology of the making of place by placing sound at the centre of urban spatial meaning making.

Instead of doing an anthropology of sound, Feld argues that he is doing an acoustemology in sound and, in order to fully grasp it, the reader must listen to the sounds of the text, and through the text "experiment with the 'lift-up-over-sounding' of reading and listening to hear felt sentiments as the embodiment of knowing the world through sound" (2012, xxviii). This

is particularly important since it argues for knowing the world through sound[33]. Coming back to phenomenology, acoustemology can then be thought of as the heightening of an aural phenomenology of the world. In some senses, its argument has the same foundation. The being in the world can here be heard as a being in the sound and knowing through sound. Feld, in his numerous research projects with the Kaluli people, found that they relate to their environment through sound in, many times, a non-visually mediated manner. Through sound they make place, their daily life is full of references to numerous jungle sounds and they experience sound as a kind of knowing as for them having a sonic sensibility is key to having a truthful experience. In addition, Feld argues that sound is very important to memory; indeed he states that it is memory itself for the Kaluli.

Sound is a way of knowing, of listening to something that is happening before we can see it. An easy example is the ambulance's siren. Through sound passers-by, drivers, or we can know when to look out for the ambulance, or we can hear the 'tube' through the tunnel before it arrives...Sound and memory[34] have also been elaborated on by Seremetakis (1994) in her anthropology of memory and the senses in Greece. For her, sound and memory are very closely intertwined since sound can become engrained in our memory in an almost unconscious way, and also the other way around, a certain sound can trigger memories to come back to us, thus sound awakens memory and emotion. Feld is talking about a jungle context where memory and sound must be tied together for survival, not only to avoid predators, but also to remember bearings through ambient sound. Therefore, sound and memory are linked together but in different ways depending on the context. Sound is cultural memory, and here Feld is right about how sound is memory since sound, from a cultural point of view is very close to memory, again cultural memory. We sing to our children our lullabies, culturally inherited from our parents, and they pass onto generations orally, the same happens with the way in which we relate to what surrounds us. Some of these aural cues are common to many, like the cry of a baby but some are cultural, like feeling an area change after the Adnan prayer from a Mosque. For many Muslim people it is a call to prayer, for non Muslim people it has no other implications than of being a soundmark[35] of a space.

Finally, a point I would like to take from Feld's body of work is the importance, for him, of resounding. Feld talks about how the water is of paramount importance for the Kaluli land, for him the voice is to the body what the water is for the forest. The water connects many

[33] Contrast with Spray (2011).
[34] See also Morris (2001) and Stein (2007).
[35] I will define soundmark later on in this chapter.

parts of the forest and the voice connects many parts of the body by resounding (2007). This is an impressive way of grounding the sound in the body and we can connect it with Ingold's idea of an ensounding body and Hemlreich idea of vibrations. Indeed, the impact that sound has on the body is not only aural, it is also physical and emotional. In the next section I expand on this concept.

Ensounding, vibrations and listening

> La matière sonore est précisément celle qui, tout en restant matière (volumineuse et impénétrable: dans le cas présent, plutôt fortement pénétrante), s'espace en elle-même et retentit dans (ou de) son propre espacement (Nancy 2002, 77).[36]

The philosopher Jean-Luc Nancy wrote a key text about listening entitled *On listening* (2002) where he argued about the differences between sound and sight and then elaborated on the properties of sound and ways of listening. As mentioned earlier, for Nancy listening is a participatory process, a methexis. He argues that sound propagates in the ambience and through bodies, and in this propagation we feel the reverberation of sound that awakens the feeling of sensing. Here we are, once more, on the domain of the vibrational, bodies ensounded, bodies vibrating with and through sound. Erlmann (2010) goes further when he criticises the Cartesian split of body of mind[37] precisely for overlooking the connections there are between reason and resonance. If we sustain the argument presented in an earlier section to understand the Cartesian duality as an interconnected duality, then we can argue that the body is connected with vibration that goes beyond the body as flesh and extends into the mind.

Next, Nancy points out that listening is a reflexive process. For him "on sent et on se sent"[38], in this sense listening is a fine balance between being inclined towards the environment or within the inner self, and also sensing ourselves. It relates to an emotional and perceptual connection with the self. This is a dynamic that Scarfe (2010) explored in her thesis, *Resonating Bodies*, where through experiencing different sounding objects Scarfe reflects on the resonating power and influence of the objects on the body and, ultimately, of the body as

[36] Sonic matter is precisely that which, while remaining matter (voluminous and impenetrable: in the present case, rather penetrable), spaces itself and resounds in (or of) its own spacing. *Own translation*.
[37] This critique of the prevalence of the split body-mind is also retaken by Bates (2010) whilst arguing that the body has fallen invisible in sociological theory.
[38] We sense /hear, and we sense ourselves /hear ourselves.

a resounding object itself. This resounding body is not an empty vessel but instead is conditioned as we have seen in the previous chapter by orientations (Ahmed 2008b), habitus (Bourdieu 1994) and its own situation (Haraway 1988; Rose 1997). In addition, Nancy believes that resonance is not only listening but also tone. The relationship and addition of the body and listening bring the harmonic phenomenon that lies within resonance forth.

Henceforth, we might then think about resonance as a dialogue between the body and the tone that is established through the ensounding of bodies. Here, sound becomes almost like a transistor of making meaning. Hence, our everyday lives are not only shaped by how we use sound to make cultural meaning and understand our surroundings but also, and precisely related to the process of making meaning, how do we engage in this dialogue of sound, resonance, space and bodies. Ahmed (2008b) goes further into this relationship between the body and the environment through phenomenology where she argues that our being-in-the-world depends on our affects and orientations. We can argue then, that our listening-to-the-world is also dependant on emotion and orientation and as such, listening is not only participatory but it is also affective and conditioned by how we relate and are in space, as we have seen in the previous chapter.

How can sound be perceived as a dialogue and how does this reinforce Nancy's concept of sound as methexis? Is sound really a methexis and participatory or are we just, sound-wise speaking, ears that do not attend to what comes to them?

Sound as a dialogue, sound and meaning

Cluett (2011) argues that the soundscape has an active engagement to site, he states that this engagement is automatic between sound and space this engagement is automatic and in doing so, it provides a dialogue among the space and sound and the experience of both. He calls it engaged meaning. Cluett is a sound artist who experiments with sound and music from a perspective he calls post-phenomenologist (2011) where he mixes phenomenology and the being-in-the-world with technology and media. He argues that the experience of music is phenomenological since it is the experience of the acoustic, the room, instruments and other forces. Henceforth, this puts him in line with what I was discussing previously, the experience of music is phenomenological because it entails a dialogue among vibrations, sounds and bodies in space. In fact, Cluett explores how sound moves through space and notably, the way people perceive sound in a media saturated and incredibly technological world. He is looking for a connection between acoustics and perception with the sense of hearing.

Although his experiments are mostly done within the domain of the musical, and as such, his idea of soundscape is an instrumentally produced one, this concept of the overly technological environment is easily applicable to how global cities are this day and how technology is making them smart cities or technologically ridden cities. Therefore, we, inhabitants of technologically saturated cities might experience a similar problematic. That is why his ideas of dialogue among the vibrations, sound and space and engagement are relevant to the discussion here.

On that ground, we can argue that listening is a process of conscious and active engagement with the dialogue of sound (sound-body-space) and, as such, listening is indeed methexis.

Listening, active or passive?

> [T]he blink of an eye lasts three hundred milliseconds. The blink of an ear lasts considerably longer. From birth to death the ear never closes (Kim-Cohen 2009, xvii) in Thibaud [2002, 71].

Rice (2003) distinguishes his acoustemology from that of Feld's in that he studies Western sonic exchanges in an infirmary. For him the sonic experience is much different from that proposed by Feld (1982; 1987; 1994; 2000). In fact, he explains that in Western society hearing has been, through the years, built as a passive activity (Rée 1999; Rice 2003) and that we are not really sensitised to the importance of understanding sound culturally and as a key element in the production of knowledge. Rice makes a critique for the lack of vocabulary and descriptive power in sound studies, which in comparison to the vocabulary used to depict visual images is limited. This can have an impact on the ways we relate to sound, and also on the importance we give to sound. If we are not sensitised to sound culturally beyond considering it a nuisance in some instances, how are we to reflect on our making of place through the soundscape? In this sense, the body's sensuous awakening that Latour (2004) proposes can help encouraging a wider sensibility to sound and sensation. Then again, thinking about sound as a process of making meaning, it not only calls for our sensuous bodies but to also connect them to our memories, emotions (Burkitt 2014) and orientations (Ahmed 2008b). Our relation to the soundscape is also related to our memories (Morris 2001) and as such, the making of meaning is strongly related to our making of consciousness or *seselelame* (Geurts 2003).

Also questioning the extent to which we actively listen, Thibaud (2002) suggests challenging the way sound has been categorised: music, speech and noise in order to understand that noise is just never noise. By doing this, Thibaud breaks the categories that Schafer retook in 1968 and encourages a different thinking about sound, where there is no such thing as noise and, therefore, listening emerges again as needing to be active. For Thibaud, we need to rethink our whole attitude to the acoustic environment and source the immense potential it has, not only in terms of our own experience but also in terms of learning more about ourselves and our cities and places. Thibaud argues for undertaking active listening of our acoustic environment and to learning how it enables our being in the world (Merleau-Ponty 2002).

As we see in the following sections of this chapter, Thibaud is part of the CRESSON group and they believe that the soundscape springs from a fascination with the landscape, whose theory they base on psychology and criticise it for its occularcentrism, thus they prefer to speak about the acoustic environment instead. Augoyard presents the acoustic environment as inevitable. "Physiogically from birth to death, I constantly hear the world" (1991, 15) and predict that the only way to disconnect from the soundscape is to be a kind of 'ear in off' but that it entails an effort. One must want to become this 'ear in off', it is an attitude as Simmel put it (1908) to defend ourselves against the bombardment of stimuli the city offers us. This is why listening is always active but we may also have slipped into this attitude of 'hearing in off'. To that end, whenever I am talking about coming to our senses, or awakening our sensuous body I am referring to coming back to this initial point in the journey, where we hear and actively listen to the world around us, like a baby who is discovering the sounds of the world around her and feels intrigued by each one of them. This is how I envisage our ensounded bodies to realise they are ensounded and then move towards thinking about how this composition is a path to making sense of our surroundings.

Sound as a system of knowledge

Gershon (2011) has argued thoroughly that sound is the key in conceiving our surroundings. He starts by explaining that sound enhances our understanding of a terrain, taking Feld's arguments from the Kaluli forest and bringing them to NYC and to classroom sounds as well. He goes on to affirm that sounds are part of the making of sense of people and that they inform the relation people establish with spaces. He further argues that these same understandings of place strongly contextualise the manner which people constitute their

identities. All this happens because everyday sounds are central to our understanding of how we know ourselves, our relationships to our environment and to all that is in our local and non-local ecologies. These ecologies of sound are similar to what Feld found in the Kaluli forest and refer to sounds that became engrained in our cultural selves and history, we learn to relate to them through our culture.

Gershon states that sound is a form of embodied knowledge. Like Rice (2003), he also advocates for the developing of sound studies so as to be able to further explore how sound forms systems of meanings, he deduces that sound is a powerful means to think not only about human experience of a space but also about human experience as a whole; likewise Feld, Gershon is a strong believer in the power of sound as a constructor of meaning since sounds themselves are meaningful; having socioculturally constructed meanings that are based on intertwined aspects of norms and values (Gershon 2011).

Sensual understanding is more powerful when a sense is combined with more, we may then avoid any exclusion between the senses since they can work in a complementary way. Normally, we do not experience the world through one sense (Rodaway 1994), our senses mix and bring complementary information to us (Horowithz, 2014). Along this line came the project *Positive soundscapes* by Davies et al (2008a; 2008b; 2009a; 2009b; 2009c), which was a project in Manchester that explored the relationship between the soundscape and the appraisal of urban space. The researchers were trying to assess the extent to which the soundscape can invite or deter inhabitants to enter a certain space. Their aim was to then apply this information for urban regeneration policies so they do not exclude the soundscape and its design from their plans. Although they focussed on sound, they did not ignore the information regarding the other senses, much like myself in this research.

In the coming sections I dwell further on the term soundscape and the differentiation between soundscape and sonic ambiance if there is any. In this discussion, I root the experience of listening in the body, vibrating from its flesh to its brain and soul.

III. Soundscape

> There is no such thing as silence. Something is always happening that makes a sound (John Cage 1937).

The soundscape, a defined term

The soundscape is a term that entered academia in 1968 when Murray Schafer coined the term in *The new soundscape*. With the soundscape, Schafer was referring to the sounds that constituted the character of a certain area and that make an aural environment surrounding the person experiencing it, i.e.: he thought that a lot of the urban sounds were actually noise, that would diminish the quality of the soundscape in his terms. Schafer retakes the distinction between sound and noise in which noise is clearly non desirable, however, like Thibaud (2002) I would argue that there is sound in everything, therefore noise does not need to be solely undesirable as it also holds rhythm and harmony to a degree.

For Schafer, the soundscape transfers the character of a space. He defined specific sounds that makes a place identifiable, these are the soundmarks. They are sounds that may stand out from the soundscape and mark a certain place (like a church or a mosque) and sometimes also a time of the day (Big Ben chimes going off at the same time every day), the soundmarks that should not be erased and should be conserved as part of the cultural character are monolithic soundmarks (1994, 239). His concept of the soundmark unveils a different dimension to listening, for Schafer soundmarks may not always be noticed by the inhabitant, "often will take the visitor to point out the value or originality of a soundmark to a community; for local inhabitants it may be an inconspicuous keynote" (1994, 240).

Moreover, the visitor notices the soundmark while being engaged in active listening instead of passive hearing as the inhabitant which Schafer implies doesn't often listen to it at all (Schafer 1994). Here, I go back to what I argued in the first chapter. If we awaken to our senses, and swap from passive hearing to active listening we may adopt the ears of a stranger to our own place and might then be able to realise in what ways does the soundscape influence our perception and making of such place. Indeed, Schafer himself argued for the importance of being aware of the rhythm and tempo of different soundscapes (1994, 229). In fact he differentiated between a hi-fi soundscape that was constituted of more natural sounds, and that could be understood as a soundscape of good quality and a lo-fi soundscape, more industrial and urban. Each soundscape was to be appreciated in its own way, Schafer clearly showing his preference for natural sounds.

Schafer saw the soundscape as a way of rendering all acoustic environments as music, he would not want to work to the detriment of any acoustic environment. He also saw the soundscape as having a social meaning and reading (Gershon 2011). However, his denomination of monolithic soundmarks, or soundmarks raised the question of the composition and origin of these. Are some monolithic soundmarks more of a soundmark of modernity than of a certain space, i.e.: what would a monolithic soundmark of London be, the Big Ben chimes or the sound of the river Thames? When we think about current soundmarks of a cosmopolitan city like London, are we hearing technology and industry or are we hearing the true character of a space? Is there such a thing as a true character at all? These are questions raised by the way Schafer discussed the term soundscape, particularly now looking back half a century to its creation, the answers to them are relevant to the making of place since the identification of these soundmarks, in fact of any soundmarks, can be a way of relating to space and making place as well. In addition, not everybody has the same soundmarks.

As we can see Schafer saw the term soundscape as the sonic expression of space, in spite of a sense of selection in the sounds that were to enter his definition of an ideal soundscape, and noise was not part of it. Again, there is a sense of composition that comes from his perspective, this idea of composition is what has caused a major havoc with the term soundscape as I will cover in the next section.

He was a fierce defender of natural sounds and of their preservation, in some senses he appeared to dislike what contemporary cities had become. Here, it is important to acknowledge the immense work he has done with heightening the world's sensibilities to different soundscapes, most notably through his project World Soundscapes project where he, and his students, systematically recorded the soundscapes of Toronto and other Canadian areas. In his eighties, he is still organising soundwalks around the suburbs of Toronto.

The soundscape, an abuse?

The term soundscape has been widely used[39] since Schafer coined it and has, to some degree, been distorted in its use. As Ingold argues (2007), the widespread use of the term might actually lead to the same dissonance there has been in visual culture, which does not do

[39] See McCartney (1999); Burgess and Wathey (2000); Thompson (2002); Wassermann et al. (2003); Uimonen (2004); Barrio and Rodriguez (2005); Delgado et al (2005); Guillén et al. (2007); Gershon et al. (2010).

honour its name. Visual culture is not the study of being able to see or of light but the study of the cultures associated with visual imagery, far from studying the act of seeing itself. Ingold expresses his concern that, due to the current overuse of the term, the same could happen to soundscape. He argues for abandoning this term. In fact, the term soundscape is now widely used in musical-artistic tracks that mix music with ambient sound, these are very far from what Schafer first defined. Although I agree that the term soundscape seems to be emerging in several disciplines, and we can see this by rising interest around soundscape, sound geographies or sound cartographies, there is an *inquiétude* with the soundscape that cannot be compared to visual studies: it is a burgeoning field and not as settled as visual studies. But firstly, let us unfold Ingold's argument.

Ingold argues that the senses are not separated in the way in which we experience the world, it might all enter through different channels but it is still all perceived and experienced as a whole. In this sense, Ingold is close to the phenomenologists and their idea of "being-in-the-world" (Merleau-Ponty 2002) by which they refer to the experience of our surroundings by being in them, corporeally and mentally, without division between the mind and the matter.

> Sound is simply another way of saying 'I can hear'. In just the same way, light is another way of saying 'I can see'. If this is so, then neither sound not light, strictly speaking, can be an object of our perception. Sound is not what we hear, any more than light is what we see. (…) For sound, I would argue, is not the object but the medium of our perception. It is what we hear in. Similarly, we do not see light but see in it (Ingold 2007, 265).

My approach to the soundscape is one of inclusion rather than exclusion, striving to not exclude sounds by classing them as noise. Even though we cannot turn our ears off and, thus hear from birth to death, we learn (in most cases) to understand our senses inclusively, rather than exclusively, of one another. I agree with Ingold in that we hear in sound, but we also hear sound in sound, even if that can be misleading. By this, I mean that we hear noises and sounds in the soundscape, it is object and medium at once. Therefore, when we hear, we do so in sound: hearing is an immersive experience but it is not normally an exclusive one.

The differentiation between lightscape and soundscape that Ingold brings forwards (2007), where lightscape is what we see in and soundscape what we hear in, already denotes that his approach to the soundscape differs from mine. I see the soundscape as an inclusive and experiential medium *de facto*. Hence I agree with Ingold's qualms about the misuse of the term but not with the eradication of such a term. Instead, I argue for a contextualisation of

the term so as to avoid the fate Ingold sees it doomed to, and its concurrent loss of meaning. This said, I understand Ingold's fears, an increasing number of sound composers and artists[40] are using the term soundscape to refer to sonic compositions, mostly artistic heavily edited pieces. Their bases are recorded ambience sounds (Amphoux 2004; Thibaud 2011) but that does not make them soundscapes since they are an edited and artistic interpretation of that space. The pieces they are producing might be based on some urban soundscapes but they are not soundscapes themselves, since soundscapes are not produced by a single element but instead are the sounds of space, the addition of all the sounds from that space.

When Ingold is questioning the use of the term soundscape, he also seems to be addressing the issue there is between soundscape and ambience, which I focus on these later on in this chapter. The researchers at CRESSON centre in Grenoble have conducted a very lengthy research on defining ambiances, in which they barely use the term soundscape. For now, I will leave the term ambience for later on in this chapter.

Soundscape contained, soundscape transduced

In addition, Ingold (2007) proposes thinking about sound in an opposite way to how it is normally portrayed, he proposes seeing the body ensounded, instead of the sound being just embodied so taking the sound to become an inner element of the bodily experience instead of a passing element and, in parallel, to see that sound is in constant change, and constant movement through space. He concludes that "place confinement, in short, is a form of deafness" (ibid, 13).

Proposing to see place as confined strengthens the idea that Ingold is arguing against, the soundscape understood as a contained phenomenon that happens in a determined space; place and space are in constant flux and cannot be contained, nor can the sound that travels through space and through most surfaces. I think this is where Ingold has found the big change from when Schafer first coined the term, for him the soundscape appears as the wind, to follow Ingold's metaphor. Place is not limited, it transforms with time and with the experience of space both from a navigational and a sensuous perspective, therefore, when Ingold is talking about place confinement being a form of deafness is because confining place is limiting the aural experience and negating the evolution that both sound and place have with time, together with the natural evolution and expansion of sounds. Nowadays, it looks as if there is one soundscape of London, for example, as if it was a fragrance that can be

[40] Some of which can be found following this link mixturbcn.org, or see Oliveros (2007) and Wassermann et al. (2003).

contained in a perfume when in reality it cannot be done. Instead, the soundscape is alive, changing and, as place is, tied to time and with time, to eternal change. The soundscape cannot be still nor thought of as something still, therefore, the soundscape of a place is, for a person or number of people, a set of sounds that change and evolve but retain a certain impression, a *geist*. Or, as Schafer put it (1994) retain soundmarks and monolithic soundmarks.

The soundscape, instead of being an obsolete term has to be duly contextualised, precisely because of the many understandings there are of this term. As Helmreich (2010) notes, instead of listening against soundscapes, we might want to think of them from a transductive perspective. He defines transduction as a tool that can enable thinking about "how space, presence and soundscapes are produced" (ibid, 10), it is "the transmutation and conversion of signals across media that, when accomplished seamlessly, can produce a sense of effortless presence" (ibid). Even if transduction can prove to be a good tool to think about the soundscape as an event in time, it does entail a sense of surrounding that might reinforce the sense of containment. We can think about this surrounding as emotional and memorial in which case it is a fluctuation rather than a confinement. In addition, transduction proposes a different manner of thinking about the soundscape that is more focussed on vibration and bodily sensations than on an observation of sound. The body is ensounded, and the vibration goes beyond the body's flesh, connecting with the emotional and memorial sides. Transduction is all about perception, and, as the author states "hearing inside, outside and -ultimately- beyond the notion of the soundscape" (ibid). Transduction ties past and present into the moment of sound, this moment of participation between the listener and the sound where sound can take the listener, as seen in the previous chapter, to connect with their emotional selves and their memory enhancing the multi-local and situated attribute of place.

Listening against the soundscape is listening against a categorisation of sound, against making it fit into an immobile definition that does not take into account its fluid and changing characteristics. However Helmreich also states that it is listening against immersion, but transduction entails immersion to a certain extent. For vibrations to be explored fully, the body needs to live within that medium, ergo be immersed in it. Then, how can we work on vibrations from the distance? I agree that vibrations are extremely important when it comes to the listening of the soundscape, but, as Ingold noted (2007) from an ensounded perspective instead of an immersive one. When I talk about the embodiment of sound I am not referring to the body taking over sound, but rather the opposite, ensoundment. The body being ensounded then appears as a body who is traversed by sound, vibrating sympathetically from flesh to bone but also from memory to emotion, it is a whole

body and mind process that connects the listener to the sound and to himself listening. Here, we can see how sound needs a fine equilibrium between the outer world and the inner world of the listener. We listen to sounds coming from the outside but we also listen to ourselves listening, what Nancy calls *se sentir sentir* (2002) to feel oneself feel. The element of transduction does, therefore, remind us of this transversal property of sound, that traverses the body to connect to emotions and memory, effectively bringing past and present together in the moment of sound.

IV. Ambiance

> Sound is quantified time (Augoyard 1991).

Ambiance in aural architecture, case of CRESSON centre

The researchers at CRESSON propose a different perspective into the landscape and sensescapes. To begin with, they are not happy dividing the environment into different perceivable scapes (like sound*scape*). In fact, they bring forward, a term that is ingrained in their literature, the notion of 'ambiance' which can either be translated into English as atmosphere or ambiance itself. Augoyard (1991) considers the landscape as an aesthetic expression of the ambiance, therefore and by the same rationale, he also considers the soundscape an aesthetic expression of the sonic ambiance. In this section I present their conception of ambiance and I examine how it informs my notion of the soundscape as I think they can be reconciled rather than one being a portion of the other[41].

When Augoyard (2010, n.p.) talks about ambiance, he stresses its volatile characteristics:

> Ambiances are like wind for their imperceptible nature, because they are almost nothing, I-don't-know-what, but also because they cannot be fully perceived either. In this situation, they are always "already there", a "background to the world" and, precisely what, most of the time, I do not perceive. Ambiances insist and persist, and I do not spend my time trying to

[41] In order to better understand their way of framing this concept, it is important to note that the CRESSON centre is hosted in the School of Architecture in Grenoble. Even if it operates in partnership with many other schools and is considered a conceptual landmark on the study of urban sound and urban senses in France and elsewhere, it is still very much rooted in an architectural tradition. However they are not all architects, some are like Cécile Régnault, but Patrick Romieu is an ethnographer and Henry Torgue, the head of CRESSON, is a sociologist. They all share, like almost all the authors presented in this chapter, an interest for urban research. This is relevant to understand their research and definition procedures as it is all quite embedded within an architectural framework.

> describe, analyse or recognise them, or being conscious of them (my translation).

Therefore, ambiances are all around us and we do not really reflect upon what they are and how they affect our perception of our environment. Augoyard argues that although ambience is not something we usually think about it is always there, be it called atmosphere, surrounding or wind. He states that the western concern to separate the senses has hindered our capacities of relating synaesthetically to the sensorium (Merleau-Ponty 2002). Augoyard is actually arguing for the non-separation of the senses. There are 5 to 7 senses, depending on what you count as sense,[42] Henceforth, Augoyard and most members of CRESSON (Thibaud 2002; Amphoux 2003; Remy 2004; Thomas 2007; Chelkoff 2012) do not agree on the separation of the senses; the issue being when, for example, the soundscape is extrapolated from its context and treated and analysed as a standalone element. This is why the CRESSON researchers often do not speak or write about any sensescape, but instead put them under the umbrella of ambiance.

Along these lines, Thibaud proposes a four-fold definition of ambiance. First, ambiance is non divisible, it can only be assessed on its degree of vividness. Second, ambiance is immediate and it entails a certain motion, we react to an ambiance immediately even if we react by ignoring it. Third, ambiance is omnipresent, it varies but is always there. This is the main point that illustrates why looking for a non-division of the senses and use of ambiance, one may find it difficult to disregard a part of ambiance. Fourth, ambiance is diffuse, and henceforth will need the pathos of perception so as to be fully engaged (Thibaud 2002, 7).

Ambiance and place

Further, Thibaud (2002) examines the contribution of phenomenology in the research of place and the body, he writes “the notion of ambiance is rightfully inscribed in this perspective of embodiment for which our conceptual categories are not to be dissociated from our sensory-motor activity” (Thibaud 2002, 2). Thibaud sees the interest in place from an embodied perspective to be a step towards a re-examination of the Cartesian dualism. For Thibaud, the ambiance is a representation of this; he argues that it is through the ambiance that the sensuous characteristics of place come to us (2002). Through it, the making of place becomes a mental as well as a corporeal process, binding mind and body together in the perception, comprehension and representation of space.

[42] Howes even talks about thirteen senses in his book (Howes 2009) and Rhys-Taylor (2010) counts 6, smell, sight, hearing, touch, taste, proprioception.

Here, we may think that Thibaud and Merrifield (1993) share a similar concern with marrying mind and body. Thibaud argues that place does engage the sensible qualities and inhabits the body as the body inhabits place (2002, 3). Place awakens a reality in rhythmical and energetic terms in the bodies that makes it difficult to reduce place to a disaffected category, it should instead be fully acknowledged as belonging to the domain of the sensible as it engages and has sensible qualities.

In this section we have a glimpse on the work of Thibaud and Augoyard taken as a representation of the very rich body of work undertaken at CRESSON[43]. Although I speak about soundscapes and they use 'sonic ambiances' instead, we both look at place from a body's perspective, arguing strongly for the need not to deprive place of its sensuous characteristics. Although we both concentrate on one sense, hearing, we also avoid alienating one sense from the other and understand the synergies that are established between them.

Sonic ambiance versus soundscape

Therefore, understanding their terminology is relevant so as to better explain the landscape and senses. In fact, they see the landscape as mainly aesthetic (Amphoux 2003) and divide the sonic world into three main categories. Amphoux defined the sonic environment is the domain of the time-space (Cartesian orientations, scale and temporality), the semantico-cultural (where collective memory lies, and where publicity operates as well as power) and sound matter (reverberation, structure and distinction). Then there is the sonic milieu. Host to evaluation (analysis, folklore, stimagmatisation and artificialisation), to idealisation (privatisation, control, metropolisation and naturalisation) and imagination (visualisation and aesthetics). Last but not least, there is the sonic landscape that contains expressivity (immersion, belonging, interiorisation), reflexivity (schizophonia, symphonia and eidophonia) and representation (rareness, authenticity, readability). We can see that the sonic landscape, or soundscape is, for Amphoux, merely a subdivision of what encompasses the sonic world. In the course of this chapter I am working towards the presentation of my own understanding of the soundscape that I deal with in the next chapter. Although many of the authors who discuss the soundscape or argue against the soundscape do work with a perspective that is loosely similar to this sonic landscape definition by Amphoux, it may not be accurate enough to limit the meaning of the soundscape to an aesthetically based aural

[43] For more in-depth sonic ambiance work see Augoyard (1991); Amphoux (2003); Remy (2004); Thomas (2007) and Chelkoff (2012).

representation of the landscape, since, the landscape[44] is more than aesthetics (Lafon 2013; Spirn 2000).

The way in which the CRESSON researchers define the sonic ambiance (this is how they refer to the sonic world) is how I understand the soundscape. In the sense that, as I have argued before, there is an urgent need to stop de-contextualising the soundscape since this is what hinders the growth of the term. In my working definition of the term, soundscape is not limited to the aesthetic values of the sonic urban ambiance but instead includes the sonic environment, the sonic milieu and the sonic landscape all at the same time. Although its sound waves reach all the ears present in that space, it is perceived and imagined through an emotional and conceptual framework that structures its subsequent discourse. The soundscape appears then as a phenomenon that is fluid, and participates with the listener, both in its creation, and in its interpretation. I detail my working definition in the coming chapter juxtaposing it to place and emotion.

Under this point of view, sonic ambiance and soundscape are synonyms and I will be using both throughout this thesis. What I find relevant from the contribution of the CRESSON researchers is that through using ambiance they secure a non division of the senses when perceiving our environment. Theirs is an extremely inclusive perspective of our sensuous environment.

V. Listening to the soundscape

The discussion around the soundscape: the key is in the listening

In this chapter I have reviewed the discussions on sound more relevant to my research project in order to be able to provide a working definition of the soundscape. I have also explained my understanding of the soundscape and listening.

First, I have reviewed how the soundscape has emerged in the literature in social sciences through illustrating the surge in interest there has been in sound studies in the last decade. It appears as if Sterne's (2003) *Audible Past* marked a rise on the interest on sound studies. So as to further explore how the soundscape has been studied, I went back to what is for many (Howes 2013) the root of sound research, acoustemology. With it, Feld planned on investigating "the importance of sound as a system of knowing" (Feld 2000, 184). Acoustemology is the study of sound as a cultural system, of how sound is central to the

[44] See also Porteous (1990); Tilley (1997) and Revill (2014).

making of meaning (Gershon 2011). With acoustemology, Feld also highlights the idea of sound vibrations and of bodies ensounded, though not with these exact terms. He talks about sound resounding and the importance of sound and bodies, an unspoken communication. Along these lines, my research is an acoustemology of the making of place; an investigation of the making of place's meaning through sound, vibration and ensounding. Then, I have exposed the link between sound and memory, bringing emotion to the table, retaking Seremetakis (1994) and Geurts (2003) work on *seselelame* and highlighting that sound also links to collective memory, or memories that confer collective identity to place. Thus, bringing this together, I have brought out the idea that sound is a cultural and social system and the importance of ensounding our bodies in a similar fashion to allowing memories to flood our minds. Sound is not only a cultural system, it is also culturally understood. Sound has an aural impact on the body but also a vibrational one, it has an impact on the body from head to toe.

Sound entails the movement of air, hair, skin and muscle; micro-level vibrations and interrelations that are translated in the labyrinthine ear into electrical signals for the brain. Scientists do no yet understand the deep molecular structures that underlie hearing, but ultimately for both hearing and touch it all seems to come down to "a single physical parameter-force" (Kung 2005, 647). To hear is to be literally touched and to take impressions of others into our bodies whether we like it or not" (Gunaratnam 2009, 3-4). Therefore, sound and vibration are tied to each other, and as such, Ingold's (2007) concept of ensounding could not fit better. In line with this idea of ensounding and this interaction between sound and bodies, I reviewed Nancy's (2002) concept of listening as methexis (participation). There is a connection of the body with vibration that goes beyond the body as flesh and extends into the mind. As Erlmann (2010) pointed out, reason and resonance are connected, there should be more resonance in reason. Listening is thus, not only an active and participatory process but it is also a reflexive process (and as such retakes Ahmed's (2008b) ideas on affects and orientations). This is explored by Scarfe (2010) in studying the line between an outer and an inner individualisation when listening.

Consequently, we can argue that resonance is a dialogue between the body and the tone that is established through the ensounding of bodies. As such, sound can be understood as a transistor of making meaning. Expanding on this notion of dialogue, I proposed the soundscape as having an engagement to the site (Cluett 2011), hence its meaning is engaged. Moreover, if we are to consider listening as a process of conscious and active engagement with the dialogue of sound (this dialogue being between sound, body and space) then listening is indeed methexis.

Then, in order to explore whether listening is really active I expanded on the importance of being sensitive to sound culturally (Rice 2003) instead of adopting a blasé attitude (Simmel 1908) or detaching ourselves from the concept of noise to fully embrace sound (Thibaud 2002). Once we discard the concept of noise, it all becomes sound, maybe not a fully pleasant sound but sound nonetheless. Noise has acquired the characteristic of being undesirable and as such is immediately ignored (Thibaud 2002). Our cities are full of sounds and we could learn a lot if we listened to all of them with equal attention.

Next, I retook Schafer's (1968) first definition of the soundscape as the sounds that emanate from a certain space, and constitute the character of said area, highlighting that the soundscape had both social meaning and reading. This strengthens the importance of being attuned to our sensuous bodies while understanding that this attunement goes beyond the physical body. Then, I examined why Ingold (2007) critiques the term soundscape and argues for the cessation of its use. For him, separating the senses of perception makes no sense, stating that sound is what we hear in. I would like to add that sound is also what we hear in sound, we hear sounds in the soundscape, and it is the medium and the object simultaneously. From his critique, Ingold then expands on the notion of embodying sound or ensounding the body. This enables me to argue for a contextualisation of the soundscape in order for the body's ensoundment to be one of listening instead of deafness. If the soundscape is contextualised then this ensoundment provides more information on one's surroundings instead of being the end in itself, and henceforth depriving it from any surrounding information, working towards creating connection instead of containment. This leads to exploring the relations between the body, sound and vibration, which Helmreich (2010) examines through his experience of underwater sound where transduction (the vibrations underwater) helped him propose a different understanding of sound outside of the water, reinforcing the idea of the body ensounded.

In order to further explore detractors of the term soundscape, I then reviewed the CRESSON researcher's concept of ambiance and detailed why they see it is a clash with the soundscape. Ambiance is perceived through all the senses, and there is no need for a division of the sensorium (Augoyard 1991; Thibaud 2002; Augoyard 2008). They root the sensory attributes of place through ambiance, and intend to illustrate their indivisibility. Thibaud (2002) presents a similar *inquiétude* to that of Merrifield (1993, seen in the previous chapter) where he tries to overcome the Cartesian dualism by binding mind and body together through exploring ambiance from a phenomenological perspective. In addition, ambiance is divided into its sensory attributes, but is experienced as a whole. They divide the

sonic world into three parts, the sonic landscape (where they appreciate the soundscape belongs), the sonic milieu and the sonic environment. My conception of the soundscape is in response to their conception of sonic ambiance and is very much related to how they interpret place, yielding a strong sensuous aspect.

Listening participatively and interacting with the world

Listening is a participative process in which there is an interaction between the inner world and the outer world. The listener balances in between listening to the soundscape, engaging in a participative process in which they are a composer of the soundscape as much as a user, and listening to themself listen: linking emotion, past and present to the moment of interaction. Here, sound can be considered a maker of meaning, not only in the sense of making meaning of the space around us but also of making meaning within ourselves. When our bodies become ensounded with the soundscape, we not only feel the vibrations physically but also mentally, and we listen to ourselves listening, attending to that subtle balance between the making of consciousness (*seselelame*, as seen in the previous chapter) and the making of meaning of our surroundings. We can also conceive the soundscape as a system of knowledge that is put into action in conjunction with the bodies that are in it, making it and using it, listening to it or trying to avoid it. The soundscape is fluid like the time it is bound to and it is also ever changing, constantly in evolution, caressing or attacking whomever it ensounds.

For these reasons, we might do well to rethink our own relation to the acoustic environment as it can teach us more about ourselves, but also about the cities in which we live. Finally, I have finished my review by reinforcing the concept of sound as a system of knowledge in the acoustemology section of the chapter. Gershon (2011) affirms that sound enhances our understanding of terrain. Sound is then not only a system of knowledge but it is also a constructor of meaning as sounds have meaning, and tell about the space where they come from.

In the following chapter I bring together place, emotion and the soundscape in order to explore the synergies they have in common and then present my methodology in order to better attend to the role of the soundscape in the making of place.

5. Soundscape and sensuous body in place, an unorthodox marriage between theory and methodology

I. Bringing the theory together

Crossroads map: articulating place, emotions and soundscape together

In the previous three chapters, I reviewed the literature surrounding place, emotion and soundscape in order to provide the context and explain my contribution to all these aspects. However, I have not yet clearly stated how these three aspects are interconnected enabling me to build a conception of the soundscape by embracing the sensuous and emotional body and the making of place and the methodology involved in this process.

Therefore, in the first two sections of this chapter (II and III) I first focus more closely on the link I established among the making of place, the emotional and sentient body and the soundscape. In latter two sections (IV and V) I focus on my methodology.

The second section, illustrates each area (place, emotion and soundscape) with current related research so as to give a better context to my position.

In the third section, I proceed to establish my working definition of the soundscape, taking into consideration that it has to be as fluid and mobile as the term it seeks to illustrate.

In the fourth section, since the methodology has been an intrinsic part of actually coming up with these definitions, I proceed to synthesise its epistemology. I start by retaking a few of the concepts that I brought forward in my earlier chapters. Notably examining the concepts of embodiment and emplacement, and their role within the epistemology of the project while connecting it to the making of place.

Afterwards, in the fifth section, I move onto "walking" in the literature and in space, wandering around space aimlessly while perceiving the ambiance and explaining how this came to a method and a methodology. I engage in a methodological discussion around researching while using walking as an ethnographical tool and also as a phenomenological tool. These are modes of getting acquainted with space and also being a sensory methodology in itself. Placing my body in the middle of the East End and allowing it to be in

the world. Then I move onto examining how a combination of the two has given a particular hue to reflexivity and the role of the researcher. Afterwards, I bring forward the concept of shadowing and then revisit the idea of phenomenological place from the perspective of the (walking) passer-by.

In the sixth section, since this thesis is focussed in London's East End, I investigate the micro processes of making place there. I elaborate on the case study: London's East End and focus on the area of my research in particular.

I conclude by highlighting how this methodological point of view and research design might, through traversing the disciplines of geography, anthropology and sociology encourage more transdisciplinary research within urban studies, notably with a view to the use of the more appropriate tools to research the urban sensuously, regardless of their original discipline. A transdisciplinary research enables the membranes between disciplines to become more permeable and encourages a pairing of methods and methodologies more suited to each research project.

II. Looking for sonic inputs in the making of place

Listening to the works: the senses and the making of place

After the focus on discourse (Clifford and Marcus 1986), the fields of emotion and sensation have started to emerge (Pink 2009) and they bring with them other ways of telling about society, of investigating the urban. Although sensory research has been around for over a century with London's ([1903] 2007) seminal work as one of its first, it has not been until recent research that it has seen a slow incorporation into scholarly research. Howes (2005) reviews the place the senses[45] had on different disciplines in the last ten years,[46] and although the last decade saw a re-emergence of research projects where the senses are present, they are still not at the epicentre of those projects. I argue that they should be, since we are sensuous bodies that should research with our corporality and not only with our rationality, as the two cannot be separated.

[45] See also Wickberg (2007) and Syrotinski (2013).

[46] There is sensory research around the manifestation of different cultures sharing a same geography through smell (Law 2005; Rhys-Taylor 2010; Tan 2013) and quite a vast literature on visual urban research (Knowles and Sweetman 2004; Knowles 2000; Pink 2009). There is also sonic urban research (Bull 2000; Sterne 2003; Bull 2007; Atkinson 2007;Blesser and Salter, 2009; LaBelle 2010; Kanngieser 2012; LaBelle 2012; Kanngieser 2013a; ibid 2013b Gershon 2013) and sound art urban research (Scarfe 2010; Voegelin 2012) and urban sensory research (Degen 2008; 2010; 2014).

In the previous chapter I reviewed the main perspectives on the soundscape where the soundscape and bodies are brought together and examined, I also reviewed the term soundscape, from its definition to its critiques. This has been key assessing and exposing my own understanding of the term soundscape, term that I will be using throughout my research and, as such, needs to have a solid framework.

There seems to be limited literature that brings together the soundscape, the emotionally and sensuously awake body and the making of place. Having all these elements in a single piece of research, I found that when the senses are included in a sociological or geographical research, they are presented in an emotionally detached way. In this regard, Davies et al (2008a; 2008b; 2009a; 2009b) carried out a project entitled *Positive soundscapes* in which they looked closely at how four groups of people interpreted the soundscape in Manchester and London to develop a framework for integrating the soundscape study in urban planning. Their account did not dwell on the participants' feelings or connections with the making of place, it was more oriented towards understanding why some soundscapes are not received positively and the impact this has on urban planning. Even though feelings, emotions and memories were part of their research process, (how else to evaluate the positive rating of a soundscape?), there is a lack of centring these elements on a feeling and sentient body. In short, it felt a little diluted. Then again, Rodaway (1994) looked closely at the interrelationship between space and the senses, having a chapter on each sense. Nevertheless, there was an artificial, yet acknowledged, separation of the senses that made the experience feel rather out of body. In fact, he acknowledged the lack of research in this area and does encourage these intersections to be studied more intimately. Yet, the senses are mostly portrayed as being contained in the body, and it does not rely on its sensuous capacities as much as it does on its rational ones (Howes 2005; Simmel 1908).

This is why I also reviewed the more anthropological literature, such as Seremetakis (1994), Geurts (2003) or Feld (1987; 1994; 2012) where the senses are understood as being not only socially constructed but emotionally felt from the beginning, bringing a sensuous and emotional body to the forefront of the research. Feld's acoustemology explores the extent of the influence of the soundscape for the Kaluli tribe to perceive the forestall environment. In this sense, acoustemology engages in the discussion on the relation of the soundscape on the making of place and in the articulation of the tribe's life and exchanges with its surroundings, but it does not explore the urban counterpart of this phenomenon. Notably because one of the characteristics that makes the Kaluli tribe so peculiar is the unparalleled central position of hearing in their lifestyle. In my research I am also placing the sense of hearing at the centre but also exploring how the senses are strongly tied to memories and

their emotional meaning (Seremetakis 1994). Setting the research within the urban environment brings together a sense of listening to the voices of space (Barry and Blesser 2009) and takes into consideration the more mechanical and architectural aspect of sound. Barry and Blesser listened to the ways in which the urban panorama spoke and how architects had, or could, take note of the physical elements of sound and the impact they have on the urban soundscape. Their account doesn't highlight the sentient or emotional body and brings a different halo to the otherwise occularcentric perspective that reigns over cities. Exploring sound from the everyday user and yet still physical perspective, are the works from acousticians such as Drewer (2009; 2011). As we have seen, an interest in sound is nothing particularly new and there are lots of angles from which to approach a sonic investigation of the urban, or the making of place. It is very important, however, to be precise about the way in which sound will be approached since it can vary anywhere from a physical sonic wave moving through the air to a sonic ambiance.

Mixing the three: emotions, soundscape and place

As we have seen in previous chapters, I looked at place from a phenomenological and relational point of view, putting the body back into the practice of place making. I defined place as having the attributes of in-betweenness (between the measurable and perceivable), relatedness (connection between the people that make place, time history and the articulations and dynamics that make space), situatedness (depending on the bodies that make place and their own situations) and the global and multilocal. Place is changeable and can appear as quite fluid. Like sound, place is tied to time and so is its making, they evolve with time.

I also explored the sensuous and emotional body concluding that emotions are relational and so is the body, living in patterns of relations between themselves and with the environment. I have approached the ideas of embodied and sensuous meaning making and then moved onto exploring how sound acts in this relation. Sound and emotion being transductive (Helmreich 2010), their patterns of relation moving beyond the present moment into memory and out and beyond the body itself. This enables me to explore the subtle relationship that emerges when listening between the inner self and the outer environment. Listening appearing as a practice that needs to form a balance between the feeling oneself sense and sensing the rest of the world (Nancy 2002).

How can listening to the soundscape contribute to the making of place? As I argue, sound is a system of knowledge itself (Feld 1987), enabling the listener to gain a better understanding

of the space, and is also a constructor of meaning since it enables this mental cartography of sound, and as such facilitates the construction of meaning from the space that we are in.

Listening is a process of participation and a practice requiring a balance between the inner self and the outer world, and as such is a way of making meaning both from the outside and the inner self. Sound is a system of knowledge, listening to the soundscape contributes to the making of meaning of the space around us and also to the making of place, using the transductive attributes of sound and emotion, hence listening in, out and beyond the soundscape and thus connecting to both memories and emotions. Listening to the soundscape can enable the making of place through appealing to our sensuous and emotional selves and connecting us not only to the space we are listening to and also to our own emotions, memories and past experiences, and at the same time to the myriad of experiences we may have had of that space that all come into the making of one fluid, changing and evolving element: place.

III. A soundscape's working definition

Moment and equilibrium of sound: finding balance in listening

Now, let us revert back to a concept exposed earlier in the previous chapter, methexis. Nancy explores the act of listening as being in tension between the outer and the inner world. He describes sensing as "feeling-oneself-feel" [*se sentir sentir*] (Nancy 2002, 8) Henceforth, the resonating body senses itself feel while listening (Scarfe 2010). In this idea of sensing itself, there is a moment of reflexivity and the need for a tuning into one's own sensations and feelings. So we can say that there is a moment of interaction among the outside input, sensation, sensibility and reflexivity. In addition, Nancy, in this exploration draws a link between the body and sound arguing that listening is not reducible to the body or the mind alone, it is a process in which body, mind and culture participate. The ways in which we construct emotion affect our perception of listening. Nancy argues that listening is the moment in which the tension between the two worlds (inside world and outside world) clashes, since there is in the understanding of listening, a tendency to lean outwards and forget that the listening body is not only listening to the environment but is also listening to itself. We understand listening as a balanced and ephemeral communion where we are making consciousness and meanings for ourselves, the world and ourselves in the world. This is a fine equilibrium that is retaken in the idea that sound has a moment of participation, it needs an engagement with the listener in order to enable the process of awakening to happen.

Here is also where my working definition of the soundscape embraces that of sonic ambiance and brings in the emotional and sensuous body that I exposed in the previous chapter. In chapter 2, I worked with a definition of place that was divided into four attributes in order to better place the body in the process of making place. We now revert back to last chapter's conception of place. For if we are to understand place as having four body dimensions of place being multilocal and global (one cannot survive without the other), situatedness (place's situation depends on the bodies that make place and their own being-in-the-world), in-betweenness (place rests between the measurable and the perceivable) and relatedness (places relations lie in the connection between the people that make place, time and history and the articulations between the dynamics that make space) then we can propose a similar dimension to the soundscape, by rooting the body in its definition.

A four-fold soundscape: defining the soundscape in four attributes

The soundscape would then have four attributes, complementary to those of place, as the making of one is related to the constitution of the other. The soundscape is ever changing, and as such is tied to time and to the dynamics that constitute space. At the same time, the soundscape is cultural but not local. Although the soundscape originates locally, it has sonic aspects that are culturally interpreted and reproduced, such as the Mosque's call for prayer and hence, can have a similar interpretation by people from different parts of the globe who share a similar culture. The soundscape is ensounding and resonant, and thus ensounds bodies with its vibrations of sounds that hear in sound, since we are always surrounded by sound. Finally, and this adds to the first attribute, the soundscape is context dependant, not only for its interpretation but also for its creation.

Therefore, we can conclude that the working definition of soundscape brought forward in this chapter is structured through the four attributes mentioned above. The sound and hearing is tied to chronoception, the perception of time, thus the element of change is always present; but what does this bring into the conception of the soundscape? Well, this changing nature of sound has a variable speed, being a reflection of the changing nature of our urban environment, of our use of space and of the rhythms of everyday life. Instead of analysing of such rhythms (Lefebvre 2004), let us see them as a reflection of the society we are living in, very much as Schafer was doing with his identification of the monolithic soundmarks. Although his account is one of sound conservation. It is also of conservationism since it doesn't really welcome the industrial sounds of cities and their excessive volumes, (as seen by his preference for natural sounds and his definition of urban sounds as mostly noise). It

brings into question what we identify as a soundmark and whether these soundmarks are socially constructed or not. This is an issue that will be further explored through my fieldwork, through analysing how a sound can be perceived as being a soundmark of London's East End by some people and as just another sound by some others. This also links with the second attribute of the soundscape.

In addition, sound is also tied to nociception, the perception of pain. Ingold (2007) suggests this possibility when proposing the soundscape be replaced by the ensounded body as, for him, we hear *in* sound. As mentioned in the introduction, our ears are indefensible with regards to sound (Schwartz 2003); taking a more conscious position with regards to the ensoundment of our bodies may help us have a greater understanding of the reason behind some perceptions of sonic aggression. Again, we go back to the question of what is the sensory relation to the monolithic soundmarks and how does the changing element of sound helps unveil both these issues. If we are to attend to the making of place through sound, then we may be able to grasp, in a different way, our own relation to these elements, thus we can argue that attending to the making of place through sound is also another way of looking at how are our own relations to the urban and social changes that our cosmopolitan cities bring forward through the senses.

IV. Embodied and emplaced perspectives

> While the paradigm of "embodiment" implies an integration of mind and body, the emergent paradigm of emplacement suggests the sensuous interrelationship of body-mind-environment (Howes 2005, 7).

Embodiment and place

In this research I want to be able to explore the relationship of the sonic ambience in the everyday processes of making of place. My research question was: "How can sensory experience of the urban soundscape reveal different processes of making place in everyday life?" With this question I was heading towards a fieldwork aimed at understanding something as tacit as a sense of place and the making of place through the senses. I did not even know whether participants would or would not have ever thought about our relationship with the tacit dialogues of the city themselves. I chose an ethnographic approach to my fieldwork as I thought it would be the best suited to understand the experience of being-in-the-world of my participants (Merleau-Ponty 2002) and a phenomenological approach for this same reason. Wanting to explore the sensory dimension of the processes of

making place meant addressing the concept of place from a phenomenological point of view and also exploring the bodily dimension of knowledge, making knowledge from the body.

Pink (2009) highlights the importance of our own bodies in ethnographic work as well as in our relation to the field and to our surroundings. It is in the act of being in the field and in the space that we get closer to understanding what our participants may be talking about. It is through being in a space, and making connections to that space that we will get the feel for it and know and make place of it. Embodied knowledge is, for Downey (2007) a process that is at the core of the relationship between individuals and their surroundings. Therefore, the body is not only the organ through which people relate to their environment but it is also what situates them, both emotionally and rationally. The working definition of the body as understood in this research is a body being the addition of mind, the sensuously and the emotionally aware body. It is a key tool to give and receive in any exchange we engage in:

> Learning to sense and make meanings as others do thus involves us not simply observing what they do, but learning how to use all our senses and to participate in their worlds, on the terms of their embodied understanding (Pink 2009, 72).

Pink talks about an embodied understanding, a way of researching that wants the researcher to grasp the meaning of their participants' practices by living them in his/her own flesh. She carries on to affirm that "while such closeness to the experiences one is seeking to understand might not always be possible, methods that require the ethnographer to draw on the similarities and continuities between her or his own experiences and those of others can lead to understandings of how it feels to be emplaced in particular ways. Thus the sensory ethnographer would not only observe and document other people's sensory categories and behaviours, but seek routes through which to develop experience-based empathetic understandings of what others might be experiencing and knowing" (Pink 2009, 65). Attaining the same emplacement as my participants was not possible, it is impossible to be able to do that, but trying to get similar experiences, walking their paths and combining it with them sharing their account of space and their making of place, enabled me to grasp an idea of their emplacement and, from my own situatedness (Haraway 1988) transmit it into my interpretation of their accounts.

Emplacement

Pink's (2009) approximation implies two important and interrelated things: first, to be aware and negotiate the position of the researcher within and through the fieldwork; and, second, to articulate one strategy to discover the dynamic relation there is between body and soundscape.

The first point includes Pink's notion of emplacement and embodied understanding. Pink brings an historical perspective to those concepts and it is very relevant to fully understand their evolution. As the quote at the beginning of this section mentioned, Howes (2005) defined emplacement as the relation among body, mind and environment. For Pink (2009), it is a practice to engage with the positioning of her participants in the field, another way of gathering data and grasping a better understanding of what it is to walk in their shoes. In addition, she sees emplacement as being a step further than embodiment, since it brings together the mind, the body and also the environment. I align myself with most of her definition of these two concepts. At some points, however, I find that it would benefit from a more inclusive perspective that would take into consideration what Ahmed (2008a; 2008b) and Latour (2004) are exploring with regards to the body, orientations and sensuous awakening (I will expand on this in the next paragraph). Under this perspective, I believe the researcher cannot be as emplaced as their participant nor can she have the same embodied understanding since the researcher is positioned and situated (Haraway 1988; Rose 1997; Merleau-Ponty 2002). The researcher has her own emplacement. Hence, the participation in the researched person's worlds can only happen through the embodied and emplaced understanding of the researcher both of the field and of the participant's accounts.

Regarding the second point, Pink's ethnographic approach to the study of social process is very close to the Queer phenomenological theoretical model proposed by Ahmed. In fact, for her, phenomenology is the study of an individual's relationship to his or her surroundings but it does welcome variety instead of narrowness, thus allowing for the body to overcome the weight of the hetero-normal western model. In this regard I re-take her notion of orientations. For Ahmed (2008a; 2008b) the relationship the body has to space, the cultural and social construction of our way of experiencing and relating to those experiences, emotions and perception, define and shape what we will be oriented, or attuned to. For her, bodies and space are bound to each other and to their evolving processes. "What makes bodies different is how they inhabit space: space is not a container for the body; it does not contain the body as if the body was "in it". Rather, bodies are submerged, such that they become the space they inhabit; in taking up space, bodies move through space and are

affected by the "where" of that movement. It is through this movement that the surface of spaces as well as bodies takes shape" (Ahmed 2008a, 53). In addition, and so as to investigate deeper the processes of making place in the interaction between bodies and the space's soundscape, I worked on the sensuously awake body that Latour describes. He argues for an awakening of the body to its sensuous dimension. Simmel's (1908) idea and Perec's (1973) claim that we live in a sleepless dream, emphasises that our bodies are numbed by the global city, Latour proposes to his readers to wake their bodies up to their own senses and learn and expand the knowledge that the body can provide, through allowing our bodies to do what they were always meant to do: be the gateway to our surroundings, a perceptual sponge. The body is always learning and can always learn more. Hence, attending to the dynamics between the bodies, their perceptions and the soundscape will help unveil sensuous processes of making place and the interrelations that these thread together.

In this way, the body is not only orientated but it can be awakened to its own sensuality and the discovering of these orientations, sheering away from the numbing of the body. In addition, this perspective of place resonates with an understanding of place as an event (Casey 1997). Rather than an event that compiles momentum locally, I would argue that place investigated from the sentient and emotional body is a fluid event through which momentum can be built globally through the people that are using that space: through their emplacements and orientations and through the ways their bodies are ensounded (Ingold 2007) with the sonic ambience of that space. This global momentum comes from the intertwining of their making of place with their emotional and sensuous selves. It is connected globally through their memories, emotion and orientations, awakened by the relation between place, emotion and sound. This idea of the relational also resonates with place seen as an event, if we understand the body as a fluid and changing element that is influenced by habitus, orientations, embodiment and emplacement and sound as being an ever-changing (tied to time) element that also influences the body in space, then we can see how the making of place is fluid itself, due to the nature of the forces needed to make it. Thus, in order to research place as being this changing entity in conjunction with the soundscape that ties to a space but also to time, the best way of doing it is walking and moving through that space with my participants, wandering and observing their way of relating to space and making place. Therefore, this approach to the fieldwork enabled me to walk these spaces, living and experiencing them alongside my participants.

V. Walking and shadowing

Walking in the literature and walking in space

In the previous section I spoke about my approach being a phenomenological perspective on an ethnographic approach. It becomes a method to be able to better understand the embodied practices and emplacement of my participants. Walking is a practice inherent to ethnography and anthropology (Ingold and Vergunst 2008), it is also a method shared by the early urban and sensory researchers (London 1903; Mayhew 2008), the Chicago School researchers (Becker 1963; Anderson 1999; Duneier 1999) and the contemporary sensory researchers (Bates 2010; Rhys-Taylor 2010). Walking is the spine of my research, not only in terms of walking around the East End and living the space but also in taking walks in the East End of London with my participants, allowing the body to move freely, like a flâneur (Benjamin 2002).

Simmel (1971) talks about walking as the method to access urban life, to get inside of it and experience both bodily and rationally what is it to be and live in an urban environment. The Chicago School believed that in order to get a feel of the city's processes and life you had to walk it, and thus, many of its researchers (Anderson 1963; Duneier 2000) did so, shaping what participant observation has come to be (Adler & Adler 1987).

Like them, the early urban researchers also researched by walking the city and mingling with the people they were researching. Benjamin (2002) more precisely, thought that you make through walking. The *flâneur* would wander observing and thinking, the city becomes a magnificent studio for human life and behaviour for the *flâneur* to ponder. Walking reduces the area to a human and manageable scale; it enhances the individual experience by exposing the individual to space. Walking is experiencing spatial dynamics through movement; it entails navigating a space, understanding it as a changing entity, mutating with time; walking is at the heart of understanding space as being a set of processes that can affect each of us differently. Walking makes us inhabit, and therefore construct (de Certeau 1988), place as we navigate through space, consuming, resisting and using it. Thus producing very many different places from the East End.

For this research, working with the soundscape helps to the overall representation of the East End to be more connected and fluid at the same time since sound, space and time are bound to each other. Therefore thinking sonically is also thinking in motion since the sounds are always travelling through space. Telling through the sensuous binds individuals and

space in an ongoing relationship, like the spine of a book, where one page by itself gives a slim representation and is enriched through the other pages, the spine holding all of them together. The individual, when reflecting on the space with a sensuous perspective may narrate a different experience. Having the idea of a route, be it a walk or a cycle. From the beginning of the research, the body has been brought forward in space and navigating such space, the body becomes more visible in the discourse of my participants.

Walking from movement to methodology

The principal method of this research has been walking. Thinking about the walks, planning and deciding it, enhanced an aspect of the relationship to space that a series of interviews might not necessarily have done. The act of walking starts off as a movement, a way of getting in touch with space while I walk through it. Then, walking becomes an investigation,[47] an act of enquiring about space, I walk through space and I try to make my walking a tool to better understand it. Afterwards, I engage in an act of reflexivity, I walk through space, try to understand it and in doing so, I am also trying to understand my own relationship with space and with myself-in-space. In addition, this attempt to reflexively discern what walking could elucidate, the participants can actually stop and think about their own way of listening to the East End and what they considered to be more representative of their impressions. It made them engage with their sensuous selves and enter into a sensual and emotional dialogue in order to choose the most adequate walk or soundscape for me to record (Westerkamp 1974; Venor and Sémidor 2006; Drever 2009; Lee 2010).

Having walking as a method has its problems. We did not walk exactly the same paths with all the participants. Even if we were in a same space, each of them wanted to go to a particular place. Re-walking their paths. I used walking because it is how I initially went about finding myself in space, and understanding the relations established in space with me, it can also be a pragmatic way to approach the city (May 2003) you experience by being in it, through the body. But walking is not only a tool (Solnit 2001), it is a way to approach the space, and one can get lost in the lust of walking. That is why, while walking, I asked my participants to bare in mind the reason behind the walks, focussing on the soundscape and on it permeating through the surfaces, through their bodies.

Walking is a particular way of framing embodiment. It is something that can be re-done but never re-experienced exactly, like with listening, walking is tied to time. It is an irreproducible experience. Therefore, for instance, Dave, one of my participants, took me on

[47] See also Racine et al. (2008); Hall (2009); Huhtamo (2013) and Kanngieser (2015a).

his daily route to walk his dog, re-living his walk was not possible. Somewhere, there was a sense of going for a 'staged' walk, an agreed route. Hence, walking as a method brings us back to this notion of conscious re-enactment in order to awaken from our dreamless sleep (Perec 1973 in Highmore 2003) of everyday life.

In addition, walking, through being an embodied praxis, links this research back to the notion of allowing the sensuous to affect our bodies and, by extension, our minds (Latour 2004). Though walking, we expose our bodies to the urban landscape, the senses are alert, the body can become a sensory-absorbent sponge that 'feels' the space through all the senses and maps it for us. Moreover, walking also goes back to the orientations described by Ahmed (2008b) in that it puts us in touch with our proprioception (Rhys-Taylor 2010) our inner sense of orientation and of being-in-the-world. Thus, through walking, we not only become more aware of our perceptions but also of the way we navigate, or physically transit, a space. All of this contributes to inform and unearth our perception of the cultural and sociological landscape as well as our way of making meaning and place.

Shadowing

Beatrice, one of the participants, told me she had not really thought about the senses prior to this research. Having moved earlier in the year from the East End to another area in London, I found that Beatrice felt at ease comparing the two. It seemed as if her way of 'warming up' to the notion of the soundscape was by identifying sounds by differentiating both areas. After talking about her years in the East End, where she still works, she started by remembering all the private views she used to go to. These memories were not of a still event but of a journey, somehow taking her into the private view and then the journey back. Through recalling these little tours, the sensory aspect of them came up in her conversations. When Beatrice asked me to go for a walk, I 'went' to one of these private views. I am using inverted comas because what was at stake was both the attendance to this private view but also the coming and going. For Beatrice, these walks were a positioning factor both in her life and in the space itself.

As mentioned earlier, what started off as a means of getting around became a deeply reflexive exercise from which to re-acquaint ourselves with the city and our practices with it. In order to choose what to record the participants had to engage in self-reflexivity and think about what was the soundscape that for them was more representative of this space. Thus the result also reflects their position with regards to that space and how they identify with it. In this sense walking can also mean shadowing somebody in their daily routines.

Shadowing involves going with the participants to do daily routines (Jirón in Urry 2011), or what they choose to do, being with them for the time of that activity, as if we were their shadow. Jirón reflected on the experience of her participants while on the move, I did not unless the participant wanted to do so, and, in such case, we waited until the end of the audio recording to do so. Following somebody is also a way of making them more aware of what they are doing, of their trajectories, it may incite reflexivity on their part and encourage them to question their relationship with space through having somebody walk alongside them. I expand on this in the section dealing with the detailed techniques.

Revisiting place through walking

This, in turn allowed for us to revisit place from a phenomenological perspective,[48] thinking about the characteristics of place exposed in chapter 2. Being first, its global and multi-localness attribute, place is global and multi-local and in this case one cannot survive without the other, place receives an influx of global influences or flows. This flow contributes to the making of place through the inhabitant's habitus, which in turn is culturally mediated. This makes place have a multi-local aspect since its makers are bringing in aspects from their memory and orientations that contribute to its multi-local qualities. Then place's situatedness, depends on the bodies that make place and their own being in the world. Third, place's relations lie in the connections between the people that make place, time and history and the articulations between the dynamics that make space. Lastly, place's in-betweenness' rests between the measurable and the perceivable.

Therefore, walking becomes not only a way of researching, going beyond participant observation (Ingold & Vergunst, 2008) but also becomes a process both for the researcher and the researched, transforming it not in the transcendental meaning but instead as a learning process, a space for the body to learn and expand its senses. It also becomes another way to engage with place, since walking a space makes these attributes of place flare up through the bodily action of navigating and negotiating space. In fact, if we are to consider walking as a method, we could argue that it is a basic requisite of urban study at a human level, since we first need to walk to get a feel for a space. This idea of 'a feel' is the characteristics of place emerging through our embodied practice of that space; walking is a means to access that praxis. Therefore, walking in this research has become a method that connects both the ethnographic approach with the phenomenological line of inquiry in order

[48] See Kusenbach (2003).

to better understand the sensuous dimension and relation we establish with place and its making.

For a few years I lived in the East End, close to Whitechapel Tube Station, at the centre of this research's space. I walked a lot through space, and stopped and wandered. One could say I hung out, with space and with myself in space. Sensing the space at every step, it is never the same for me, I am an influence in the spaces I inhabit, the places I make. My mood, my state, my rhythm will affect how I relate to space, the ways of making place.

For this research I was looking at learning the tempo of my participants in space, so we hung out there, and we navigated the route they determined, together in most cases, but not all, depending on their choices. It was important to let them take as much control of the development of the routes as they wanted to, let them mark the rhythm and follow, listen, observe their interaction with space. Learning their rhythms meant not only walking with them at length and observing what they are paying attention to, what were their ways of walking but also what were their ways of telling about their walks, about their way of inhabiting space. Their voices, and the pace of their words, what they put a stress on and what they skimmed over while commenting on their walks and their use of space, was also a good indicator from which to gain a better understanding of their urban rhythms. This is why "Shadowing" is an interesting process because no matter how invisible you try to make yourself, you have very visible impact on that route and on the shadowed. For starters, the route may or may not be taken at the same time and in the same conditions that the participants normally take it, and their rhythms may be altered because of me being there, so shadowing is never an invisible act, it also has an impact on their making of place at that moment. Moving on from the abstract to the concrete let me present the spaces of this research as well as the participants.

VI. London's East End

Personalising the journey

The East End has attracted a lot of academic interest over the years; there is something about this space that draws researchers towards it. The Institute for Community Studies (presented in chapter 2) undertook extensive research from its creation in 1954 until the present day (they are now called the Young Foundation to honour their founder, Michael Young) producing such seminal works as *Family and kinship in East London* (Young and Willmott 1957) and focussing on social research around community and inequality. There

have also been sensory research projects such as Rhys-Taylor's (2010) study on smell. For me the more captivating projects in this space are those of the psychogeographer's[49], for example the project on London by Ackroyd (2001) or *Rodinsky's Room* (Lichtenstein, 2000) or Rhys-Taylor's (2010) study on smell, dating back to London's ([1903] 2007) account of the East End. These research projects concentrate on the ambiance of the space, giving a special importance to the atmosphere created through the account, a way of telling where the sensorium plays a key role in the development of the account and its presentation.

As mentioned earlier I used to live around Whitechapel Tube station when I first arrived in the UK. The East End I am working on in this research is between the borough of Hackney and Tower Hamlets. The East End has a large turnover of people, 33% of its inhabitants change every five years; this means that a third of its inhabitants change twice a decade. This is quite large, particularly taking into consideration that it is a quite densely populated area. The East End was the space in London where Bengali immigrants would first settle upon their arrival (Adams 1987), and remains the largest Bengali settlement in the UK. Some spaces of East London, notably around Commercial Street and Whitechapel Tube stations hold an imprint of these historical settlements, marked by, for example, a "Banglatown" arch at the beginning of Brick Lane, or the street names being signed both in English and Bengali,[50] (or the Altab Ali park named after the killing of Altab Ali for racism issues near Aldgate East tube station). With this I am not intending to paint a simplistic picture of multiculturalism, or argue that with sound ethnicity, race and religion become invisible. Quite the contrary, I am arguing for a resurfacing of nuances and differences in the modes of relating to our environment. The amalgam of sounds produced by urban living can be listened to in a myriad of manners, each conditioned both by our habitus, orientations and emotions. Talking and relating to the soundscape becomes a gateway to talking about sensations, emotions and memory and in turn, about the way in which we make place.

I moved to the East End six years before the London Olympics of 2012. Although the main part of the Olympic regeneration concentrated on the borough of Newham, both Tower Hamlets and Hackney underwent regeneration as well. In Tower hamlets, a borough termed as one of the poorest and most deprived in London (Fainstein 1994), there has been an updating of social housing, which meant tearing down the buildings that were there and building new ones. Now this is not a straightforward operation and it usually has a cost of losing some of the social housing that was previously located in the buildings demolished. The borough wants to attract investors in order to build new housing in better conditions

[49] See also Coverley (2010).
[50] To be more precise, it is Sylheti since Bengali in its written form is normally Sylheti, which is one of the dialects spoken in the area of Sylhet in Bangladesh.

and the investors have to provide a percentage of the units in each block as social housing (interview extracts from Tower Hamlets officer). This means that if a block was mostly social housing, when rebuilt, it won't be; which in turn also means that the non social housing units are marketed at much higher prices, unaffordable for the former inhabitants of the replaced block. This process attracts new business into the area to cater for the buyers of the new flats, which in turn forces the space to evolve.

The demolition and re-building of old blocks bring a new wave of people into the space and squeezes out others. Both Tower Hamlets and Hackney are two boroughs with a lot of social housing (though it never is enough) that have suffered greatly because of the urban regeneration process in terms of having inhabitants squeezed out. In fact, Tower Hamlets has been the place of settlement of different waves for immigration for over 300 years (Lichtenstein 2000) from Jews, to Huguenots to Bengalis (Sinclair 1950; Adams 1987).

In addition, by the time I arrived in East London, the area was already a popular hang-out for many artists and had some quirky tourist attractions such as the Jack the Ripper tour around Spitalfields and Whitechapel. Old pubs were being turned into cafés or bars more aimed towards attracting their clientele from the artistic youth that also frequented the space and put up their art for private views in the many spaces of the Truman Brewery. The regeneration of the Old Spitalfields Market, formerly the place where fruit and vegetables were sold wholesale, into a designer clothes market with some indoor restaurants such as chains such as Giraffe, meant the whole area around the market developed into pubs and little cafes to cater to the shoppers of the new-Old Market. Then there was a parking garage turned into a Sunday clothes market, called the 'Sunday Up Market'. The traditional Sunday market of Brick Lane, changed just before the London Olympics, from its former incarnation of old goods sold by individuals, or fruit and vegetable sellers, to a food market of cooked dishes from around the world. Pushing the fruit sellers into the streets off Brick lane and the people that used to come and sell their goods into Bethnal Green road. These are just some examples of the kind of urban regeneration that the area has undergone, to illustrate some of the ways it is changing.

Nevertheless, for this thesis, the interest is not only on the changing nature of space, from an architectural and a demographic point of view, but in the translation of these changes into the soundscape. From the East End, what captivated me sonically upon my arrival was the way in which the call for prayer would fuse together with the sounds of planes, music blaring from the shops nearby, the sounds of ambulances coming and going from the Royal London hospital and the cars roaring along Whitechapel High Street at some times in the day. Then,

listening to the peace and quiet that governed other times. I listened to it as a space full of different pitches, volumes and intensities of sound; sonically catering for all kinds of ears and all understandings of sound. On the one hand it had all the sounds of mundane urban life and longstanding residency; cars, food markets and neighbours knowing each other and entertaining small talk on the streets. On the other, it had the sounds of an area in transformation; buildings being knocked down and exchanged for a fancier, taller and shinier version, importing their own set of dwellers and urban practices. I liked how the presence of different lifestyles could be heard simultaneously, the call for prayer coexisting with the loud music from some cars, the subwoofer making your whole body tremble; from the sound of the decorative metal beads' decoration of Salwar Kameez[51] to the repetitive friction of partially synthetic suit fabric. At the weekends the panorama was completely different, spaces that during weekdays would be quite calm, such as Brick Lane or Bethnal Green, would transform and become host to a large amount of youngsters looking to club and go out to the fashionable bars and pubs that quickly adapted to become more and more attractive to this public. I don't think London's East End is more unique sonically than other spaces, though perhaps more diverse than some; every space has its sounds and it is a matter of exploring how the people who inhabit them make sense and meaning from the sounds.

The geographical locations

The space of this research has Stoke Newington Church Street as its Northern boundary, Victoria Park as its Eastern boundary, Commercial Road as its Southern boundary and Kingsland Road as its Western Boundary. The boundaries were determined depending on the routes that eight participants, that I will present in the following section, chose. The requirement being they were in what they considered London's East End. Therefore, my participants made the choice of the area surface from their conception of the East End, and I did not question it at all. However, it is also interesting to note that all but two routes, the two cycle routes, were centred around the triangle between Aldgate East tube station, Columbia Road and Stepney Green tube station; that is a much smaller and narrower portion of territory. Three participants overlapped on their routes on Brick Lane, which is one of the streets in the East End where the rapid transformation of the neighbourhood is more visible, notably when it comes to the observation of the people who frequent it depending on the times and days of the week, there appears a vast array of people who use the space in a very different way ones from one another.

[51] The traditional Bengali two piece. It is a long top that extends to the knees and trousers. Often accompanied by a headscarf.

Figure 1. Map of all the routes in London's East End. All the streets included in the routes are in focus.

Considerations and participant requests

Although I go in depth into the techniques used for this research and the reflections about them in the Afterword Methods Chapter, I am going to very briefly situate the research so the reader has a grasp of the development of the process.

This research has a very specific geographical area and moves in between different spaces in amongst it. In order to get the context of the space, I did several things. The first one, I lived in the East End from 2006 until 2009, and then kept working there until 2012 when I left London. I also did archival research at the Young Foundation, interviewing some of their workers and getting into their archives. I also went to the Churchill Archives in Cambridge to access all of Michael Young's documents, he was the founder of the Young Foundation (former Institute for Community Studies) that have always centred their research around community and the East End. I also worked at Toynbee Hall, Atlee Youth centre and interviewed the heads of Jagonari women's centre and Brady Arts Centre. All these interviews were held between 2007-2012.

In the summer of 2014, on my second part of the fieldwork, I interviewed the head of planning for the Tower Hamlets council. It is the only meeting where I was not allowed to audio record, since they did not fully believe I was a PhD researcher. He told me they had had problems in the past with the uncovering of some evidence by people claiming to be associated with universities. I also meet three times with Prof. Michael Keith, as he has been involved with the council for twenty years, he has also been several times leader of the council and has had a major role in voicing many of the concerns of the residents. In addition, Prof. Keith has been living in the East End for over three decades so he has witnessed first hand the changes in that space. I wanted to employ the meetings with them to gather context on the changes in the space, both in terms of churn of people and ethnic percentages but also to see if the urban changes have reflected and worked with the changes in inhabitants.

The research's eight participants started working with me in the Autumn of 2009 and we concluded the last meetings in Winter 2015. The first phase of the fieldwork took place between 2009 and late 2012 and the second phase from early 2014 until early 2015. There were three men, aged between 20 and 38 at the time of the research and five women aged between 21 and 37. Of these, three were from the UK and one had lived in London her whole life. For the rest, the condition in order to take part in the research was to have lived in the East End for two concurrent years right before the research. Also to either still be living there or having just recently moved, but staying in London and carrying on having a quasi-daily contact with the East End[52]. For all participants we conducted a series of meetings, some were in a café or other indoor locations, others were walking meetings and others were outdoors but in a static location. Then the participants decided what was the soundscape of the East End, what soundscape came to mind when they spoke about the East End. This walk

[52] The rationale for these choices will be dealt with in chapter 10.

was devised to go and record it. For one participant it was an indoors soundscape, for two it was a cycle route, and for the remaining five it was a walk. I did shadow them on all walks. I kept the recordings. Then, on our last meeting we discussed how it felt to listen back to the recordings almost two years after having completed them.

	Name	Profession	Origin	Arrival in London (aprox. year)
Women Aged 21-37	Mar	Artist	Southern European (caucasian)	2006
	Beatrice	Social Work	UK, countryside (caucasian)	2000
	Rosa	Teacher	Northern America (caucasian)	2006
	Lila	Outreach worker with Bengali women	Southern European (mixed-heritage)	2006
	Shefali	Student	UK, London (British-Bengali)	since birth
Men Aged 20-38	Henri	Town Planner	French (Caucasian)	1996
	Dave	Musician	Southern European (caucasian)	2003
	Owen	Barman (since art didn't pay his bills)	UK, countryside (caucasian)	2004

Table 3. Research participants.

All participants' names have been changed and I have changed several details in order to make their accounts anonymous. Total anonymity, however, being tied to erasing the specifics of the spaces transited has not been possible. Therefore, I gave the possibility to each participant the possibility to read the chapters concerning them and also honoured the request of one of the participants to let him check every quotation or section where I talked

about him and have the possibility to veto whatever he no longer wanted me to write about, though ultimately there was no veto in any of the text concerning him. Like Duneier (2000), I was concerned about the participant's feeling that my interpretation of their accounts was as close to their own experience as possible, and thus, I have kept in conversation with them in order to maximise the possibilities of this happening.

Analytical approach

My aim in this thesis has been to articulate discussions on place, emotions and soundscape together and, as seen in the first part of the thesis (chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5). Thus, in order to analyse the accounts, I have followed Ingold (2013) and avoided using the category of data to classify the way in which a person relates to their environment. In contrast, I used the categories of place, emotion and soundscape identified in the theoretical chapters in order to organise and narrate chapters 6, 7 and 8. Thus, the sensuous body becomes the pivot for these three discussions to come together. In doing so, in the fieldwork I was particularly focused on working with the participants and observing whether there was or not a process of sensuous awakening.

More specifically, I have done a compilation of different techniques for the analysis, a *bric à brac* to tailor it to the research project (Law 2004; Back and Puwar 2012). My main aim was to include their experiential knowledge and lived experience into the accounts. Responding to the need of constructing methodologies that fully incorporate the sensuous in their deployment, I have striven to make the methods as much as the analysis include the verbal (their stories) as well as the non-verbal (the sounds, the experience, the feelings, the emotions) into the final account; the senses being the spinal cord of the account. Therefore, I have not limited the analysis to only focus on their oral accounts explained in the interviews. I tried to go beyond the spoken (Crang 2005). This led me to consider, for instance, analysing an inventory of sounds recorded. Yet, avoiding the reduction of sound to pieces in a catalogue, I focused on their experience.

In order to organise their experience into chapters and further strengthen the nexus between the theoretical discussion of the thesis and the empirical fieldwork I used the result of the theoretical contribution to articulate the accounts. I have analysed their experience of being-in-the-world (Merleau-Ponty 2002) or more precisely of listening-in-the-world and having their bodies ensounded (Ingold 2007) through the categories of place (global and multilocal, situated, in-betweenness, related) identified in chapter 2 and of the soundscape (ever-changing, cultural but not local, ensounding and resonant, context dependant).

Analysing the being in the world (Merleau-Ponty 2002) of participants can be done through the use of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). This analysitic method fits a phenomenological and ethnographic approach to research.

Indeed, the aim of IPA is:

> to explore in detail how participants are making sense of their personal and social world, and the main currency for an IPA study is the meanings of particular experiences, events, states hold for participants. The approach is phenomenological in that it involves detailed examination of the participant's lifeworld; it attempts to explore personal experience and is concerned with an individual's personal perception or account of an object or event, as opposed to an attempt to produce an objective statement of the object or event itself. At the same time, IPA also emphasizes that the research exercise is a dynamic process with an active role for the researcher in that process. One is trying to get close to the participant's personal world, to take, in Conrad's (1987) words, an 'insider's perspective', but one cannot do this directly or completely (Smith & Osborn 2007: 53).

IPA can strive to build a psychological portrayal of its subjects and in this research, however, I was not looking for this. Instead of building a psychological portrait, I have used Pink's (2009) notions of embodiment and emplaced subjects in order to write the accounts, focusing on the participant's orientations (Ahmed 2008b) and habitus (Bourdieu 1993; 1994) as gathered from our time together and what they had told me through the research.

Being situated myself (Haraway 1988; Rose 1997) my account of their stories is also my way of telling about their East End. IPA enabled me to bring this account as close to their experience with the research. In addition, reverting back to the categories of place and soundscape, identified in the theoretical block of the work, brought theory and practice together. This combination of analysis provided me with a platform to be able to converse with both my thesis contributions when analysing the fieldwork.

In addition, as mentioned earlier, it also brought to light the paramount importance of the awakening of the sensuous body as I will explore in chapter 9. Therefore the next three chapters are organised through the recurring dialogues that the participants' stories were engaging with my theoretical framework.

Looking back and listening forwards: from this chapter to the empirical chapters

In this chapter I addressed the last three theoretical chapters by looking for sonic inputs in the making of place, where I have brought together place, sound and emotion and mapped out how are these three interconnected and the ways I am going to attune my perception to their intertwining. Then I focussed on my working definition of the soundscape. Afterwards, I presented the epistemology relating to my research, articulated around walking and making place. I introduced the concept of walking as trans-disciplinary, from anthropology to geography and to revert back to Pink's idea of emplacement and the importance of this when conducting fieldwork. I argue that since it is not possible to walk in another person's shoes and try to emplace yourself as your participant, a way to minimise the gap is to shadow them. By doing this, the researcher follows the participants through a set of agreed times or periods and walks with them. Shadowing can quickly become a way for the tension of the initial interview encounters to dissipate and grant way to the sensuous as it emerges in their discourse. It is a point where the relationship with space may appear as more bodily centred and being-in-the-world (Merleau-Ponty 2002). Experiencing the space from the corporeal takes the lead in the discourse, thus the consciousness of one's embodiment or ensoundment can become more noticeable.

Researching through walking and shadowing can be a way of making the sensuous take the centre stage of the research, it is also a mode of researching that springs from walking. I walked in East London, and through walking I started asking questions, and wanting to investigate, then walking became not only a way of moving through a space but of understanding the nuances of that space. Later, walking acquired yet another hue, it enabled me to research reflexively, asking questions about the space and about myself in space. Walking grows from movement to methodology.

Listening to our surroundings as a way of making meaning and researching this is also between Sociology and Anthropology as well as sound studies. This research sits within Urban Studies, and as such, it borrows methodologies from other disciplines that overlap to Urban Studies, such as Anthropology or Sociology, instead of trying to fit into the methodological epistemologies of a single discipline. Methods and methodologies should not be a constraint but instead a puzzle constructing the spinal cord in which the project attaches.

In the following chapters I present my interpretation of the participants' accounts grouped into three parts. In the first one (chapter 6), I introduce sound and movement and explore

the dynamism of urban soundscapes and perceptions in a city that is urging one to move in many directions. I present my participants as I go along and thread their stories to the overarching themes of the each chapter. The second chapter (chapter 7) focuses on the interaction between culture and the soundscape and the ways in which the soundscape, when listened to from a cultural perspective can prompt the listener to make place. Here, I base the chapters on two accounts that seem to be on opposite sides of relating to the soundscape, from attachment to indifference. The third chapter (chapter 8) focuses on micro ways of making meaning, and is rooted in an individual experience brought together by a change in the ways of listening after reflecting about hearing and listening.

6. The moving soundscape

I. The poetics of the East End

A sonic walk

The call for prayer at the East London Mosque colonises Whitechapel high street, and, particularly on Friday. It changes the way the pedestrian south side of the street is navigated. Many men rush to the Mosque for the Friday prayer, that whole stretch of street acquires a different set of rules. It becomes crowded and virtually impossible for my ears to go through without some trouble. Simultaneously, on the other side, the local newsagent is blasting away some techno music from a stereo which speakers were clearly not designed to support this kind of volume. The speakers rattle, adding to the cacophony that cars, buses, motorbikes, police and ambulance sirens bring along.

I keep walking west and make a turn on Osborne street. I can hear the cacophony slipping away behind me, and I start discerning other stereos blaring in the distance, and metal sounds. A bike zooms past me and I am left with the sound of the breeze being interrupted by the wheels turning, the plastic sound of the pneumatic tyre against the pavement and the rhythmic sound of the chain turning repeatedly. A group of girls wearing Salwaar Kameez passes by, they giggle at the graffiti there is on the wall to their right. The building works are not very far to the west, they invade the quietness of the street with the cyclical resounding of bass hammering that indicates an area is undergoing some change. The East End is undergoing a major urban shift resulting in a wild gentrification. At the crossing of Osborne street and Old Montague street there is a bizarre sense of quietude, probably I discern the hidden calmness by contrast to what I know I will find in a little while by the Old Truman Brewery.[53] There is a newish development at the western corner of this junction which height casts a shadow over the other side of the street building. The corner street clothes shop has the windows open and I can hear Indian or Bengali music playing inside; somehow it breaks up the sound of the wind breezing past my ears.

I carry on walking north on the same street. I soon encounter a metallic decorated arch that marks the start of Brick Lane, or Banglatown as it is known around here. The sound of the steps is slowly changing, here the shoe soles are mainly made from leather, causing a firmer impact yet producing less resonance, and I can hear the dragging sound of flip flops swept

[53] For further information please check http://www.trumanbrewery.com/.

along, it's summer, sunny and, for once, hot. Heat does also produce a humming sound, like still bees that are too hot to produce a high-pitched hum. There is a low-pitched sound still drilling my ears as I wash away sweat from my neck. Continuing north, on the corner of Chicksand street, the door of the restaurant has been left open and through it I hear the clunking and splashing of the restaurant dishes being washed on the lower ground floor. I get an inquisitive “what are you looking at?” look and the door is slammed shut. I carry on walking and start getting invitations from young Bengali men to enter their restaurant for a curry "*the best in brick lane... !”*

I am now past Fournier street, where one might stumble across a “Jack the ripper tour" every now and then, resulting in an annoying voice talking monotonously at the traditional bored-speaker's pitch who has recited the same words over and over again coupled with the surprised or horrified gasp of a compliant tourist who is looking for some gruesome detail to take back home. I am approaching a corner I particularly enjoy walking past. Princelet street hosts the old Synagogue above which was found Rodinsky's room (Lichtenstein 2000). It is, most of the time, an extremely quiet spot. I can almost hear the weight of the years of dust in that room, the quietness of a room left unopened for twenty odd years. The paused, suspended ambience in the air is quickly dissipated since the brewery is about 30 metres away and a couple of youngsters stumble past me probably after one too many beers. As I carry on walking north I hear voices of young *hipsters* mingling with those of the restaurant lurers for the best curry in the lane. The *hipster* voices come from my left hand side, where the Truman brewery building now hosts a myriad of *hipster* and *cool* hangout places, they are almost always packed at eating times, particularly on a hot summer day; it is full of people eating one of the burgers, or thin pizzas' while drinking *mojitos*. The sound here is very different from before; it is much louder, clinging of glasses, the cracking sound of the meat as it cooks in a barbecue, laughter, drinks, rubber soled shoes, movement, the metallic sound of the till's bell over and over, and a background of music that fills in any silent hiatus that may have occurred in amongst all this frantic activity.

This is an aural space that sounds nothing like other parts of Banglatown, as if the brewery offered a bracket space where time accelerates, steps are faster and more dubious at the same time, not so directed at delivering a trajectory, more focussed on the sociality of urban life; the aural landscape unveils dominated by the strength of urban regeneration; the trendy leisure life soundtrack being a step beyond the building works I heard earlier. In fact, we could tie the use and evolution of space researching the sounds that happen in it.

Here I presented a small vignette of one of my favourite London's moments of the week, and with it I have started to introduce the space of my research, the East End. As noted in chapter 5, this research focuses concretely on the west side of London's East end to the Homerton and Limehouse areas, in the boroughs of Hackney and Tower Hamlets.

Sonically in find this area, and by area I mean the space delimited by the four edges stated above, to be incredibly rich, having a remarkable balance between the everyday life urban sounds such as traffic, building works and general movement noise (with any form of transport) and the overlapping sound of everyday life use of the space by the different groups of people that inhabit it.

In this chapter, I talk about mechanical sounds of movement. In the second part, I explore the relationship that some of my participants have with the sound of different kinds of traffic, air and urban traffic notably and how it can shape their experience of the urban environment. At the same time, I also present how these sounds can inform us about the city. Then in the third part, I go on to examining the sound of movement that a few of my participants impose on the urban soundscape. This leads me to, in the fourth part, analyse the uses of moving through the urban environment in order to perceive and understand it. In this chapter I examine some of the attributes of place brought forward in chapter 2 of in-betweenness.

Through the experience of my participants, I illustrate the phenomenological implications of making place through, or with aid of, the senses. As I mentioned earlier, this does not mean that, even if the research focuses on the sense of hearing and the emotions and affects surrounding the sensoria, it blocks out any other input or output the participant may have had but first let me present the routes that this chapter is listening to.

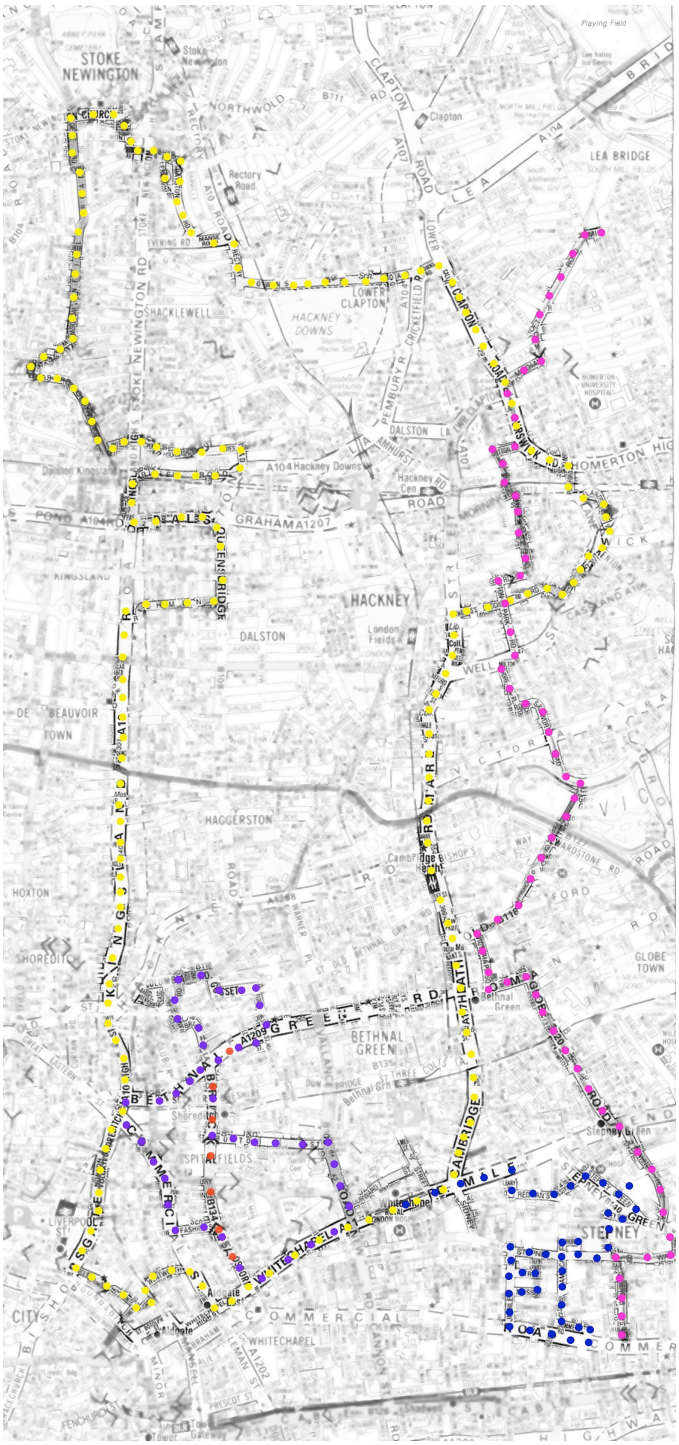

Figure 2. Henri, Lila, Beatrice, Dave and Rosa's routes in London's East End.

Henri's proposed a cycle recording and his route is yellow. He gave me several points to record along the cycle. Lila's was a walking recording and her route is purple. Rosa's was also a cycle recording, which was recorded in full heading south from Millfields and her route is pink. Beatrice's was a walk, it is the red route. Dave's recording was a walk; it is the dark blue route.

II. Mechanical sounds

When traffic and planes drown out all the rest

Dave raises his left arm, signalling a left turn to the cars behind and in front of him. He is cycling, standing tall on his bike and stops two feet away from me. He is wearing wayfarer sunglasses that cover most of his upper face and a skateboarder helmet. His pack of cigarettes is nonchalantly poking out of his lumberjack shirt, which he wears over grey skinny jeans. To complete his look he is wearing converse sneakers. This look has become increasingly common with young professionals and graduates in the East End. It is particularly easy to spot on market day, near the art galleries or at night bars and clubs. Dave parks his single speed bike and invites me to go over to a coffee shop in Spitalfield's square. When I ask him about his relationship with the East End's soundscape, Dave talks about traffic: car horns, car tyres, traffic jams and people getting stressed and upset while planes fly over them non stop. Dave is a musician and sound artist, composing musical scores for different video projects. His interest in sound sprang up after he became a member of a music group. He describes how his band influenced his perception of sound and he learned 'noise music' from studying composers such as Yanis Xénakis. From there Dave started thinking about the boundary between music and sound, "if there is one" (Dave, interview extracts); and his interest in concrete music brought him to do his own field recordings of ambient sound in order to use them for his sonic compositions. Dave was familiar with the term soundscape and some of the literature around it before I approached him and this interest brought him to take part in the research. Dave has been living and working around the East End for years before taking part in the research, having lived in another European city previously, he talks about the sonic differences between the two environments.

In order to build a sonic library, Dave went for *sonic walks* around his house, he walked to Bow and back. Dave named his walks "sonic walks" (Dave, interview extracts) and in them he recorded the sounds during his walk, so he could compile a "library of sounds" for his work as a soundtrack editor and composer. He also used to record his errands, such as the supermarket shopping or when he walked his dog. These *sonic walks* provided me with an interesting platform to compare and contrast with the walks we did for the research. For this research, I invited each participant to go for a walk of their choice, around what they considered to be most sonically representative parts of the East End and record the walk. This method provided my participants with the opportunity to think about the East End in sonic terms, having to re-orient (Ahmed 2008b) themselves with respect to their spatial awareness. They had to replace the occularcentric relationship with their surroundings with

a sonically focussed one. Our conversations did focus on their perception of the soundscape and its influence on their understanding of the surrounding space, however the conversation, although oriented to sound, did not exclude the other senses when the participants made reference to them.

Dave's account had as a conductive thread the routes he takes to walk his dog and to run errands around the Whitechapel space. It is what he identifies as the sounds of the East End. Dave seemed to be focussed on the mechanical sounds that happen in that space, he meticulously describes the sound of cars, beeping horns, tyres accelerating against the asphalt, doors slamming shut, the constant noise of traffic jams and planes cutting through the sky with their engines. For Dave the planes are, unfortunately, a common feature of London. In London's airspace there are over 14 flight paths for taking off and landing at Heathrow airport alone. The East End is affected by the sound emanating from planes landing and taking off at Heathrow (for the Western flight paths) and at London City Airport. This results in approximately one plane every 3 to 8 minutes, depending on the time of day (BAA Heathrow 2010). Dave affirms that he hears the planes more since he moved to the East End over three years ago than when he lived in Upton Park. He tells me how these planes disrupt any recordings he made around the East End. Particularly, he hears the dissonance they cause when he is trying to capture a quiet environment, such as in Victoria Park. "I am doing recordings in Victoria Park, really nice recordings, but there is just one problem, there's the sound of planes going around" (Dave, interview extracts).

Dave seems to hear the planes over all other sounds in the recordings. He is the only participant (out of eight) who says he is affected by the noise of urban traffic and planes to the point that it almost completely overshadows the rest of the acoustic panorama. For Dave, planes and traffic are "a non-sound, it's just noise, because it kills everything else" (Dave, interview extracts). When discussing the space's soundscape, Dave starts by talking about the cars and the city; rather than talking about the other sounds that constitute it. Those sounds are only found when Dave speaks about the absence of traffic. For example, in the courtyard of his home, the sound of traffic seems to be muffled by the surrounding buildings. Dave notices the birds and the noises of the daily life of his neighbours, such as cooking pots and stereo music emanating from the surrounding flats. However, the sound of the planes overflying the courtyard still dominates his perception of the acoustic panorama. The plane sound is a coloniser that permeates through walls and windows and overshadows all other sounds. Dave seems to be on the "listen out" for the sounds of planes, it seems to be a sound that deeply irritates him, as if it was a developed sensibility.

The sound of traffic is ingrained in Dave's perception and conception of the East End. He ascribes traffic not only to the space in question, but also to any city in general. He says he notices traffic sounds far more since he started living in the East End. He affirms the East End is much noisier than other spaces in London. He is bothered by the traffic and this sonic "contamination" for him totally annihilates his possibility of enjoying the rest of the sounds, it somehow hinders his listening possibilities.

This is quite a contrast from other accounts, such as Mar's or Beatrice's, where the presence of traffic is acknowledged and does have a repercussion in the overall sonic experience of the East End but it is not such a powerful presence as to eliminate other sounds from the discourse. From his account it does seem to be how he perceives most cities, though he calls himself a city lover. The soundscape of the city, as told by Dave is one of aggression, with nowhere to hide, not even one of the biggest parks in London, but there is a lot to learn from the recurring sounds of space. In the following section I will explore what can these recurrent mechanical sounds tell us.

Cars and urban regeneration

Beatrice, a teacher in her late thirties who moved across London from Tooting to the East End on the early noughts and stayed East until the early tens, talked about the mechanical sounds of that space in a different fashion, for her the cars and the planes were part of the movements of everyday life and as such, had just become part of the sonic background of the space. They were tellers of the time of the day depending on traffic and of the vicinity of hospitals and firehouses. For Beatrice, the mechanical sounds are just part of the background in the soundscape of the space, inherent to any city and she just doesn't seem to put in much more thought on it. They are there, non removable (or at least not anytime soon) and are sonic a price to pay for urban living.

However, another participant who had an interesting intake on these kinds of sounds was Lila, in fact Lila associated the change of these mechanical sounds to follow the pace of urban regeneration as well as of everyday life.

Lila came to the research almost by mistake. Lila is in her late twenties, single and lives in London's East End. She has lived there since she came to London over six years ago. Lila now works in the charity sector, focussing on teaching English to the Bengali community in London, particularly Bengali women. She does different outreach work as well as her teaching. She also does some artistic work based on the East End; virtually all of this work is

centred on Bengali women, literacy skills and creative urban practice. There is a strong issue in East London around some Bengali women not having enough English literacy skills that organisations such as Toynbee Hall, Jagonari Women's Centre and the Atlee Youth centre are actively trying to overcome.

While discussing the soundscape, Lila kept coming back to the pace of the streets. This notion of pace was centred on the audible signs of everyday life in the street, for example, the pace of steps or the roar of a car engine. Lila, having lived in the East End for a while already, noticed that some streets, as Bacon street, have had "their rhythm changed" (Lila, interview extracts) in the last few years. She believes this is due to the process of regeneration that the East End has undergone in the last decade and a half but more precisely, in the "boost" (Lila, interview extracts) in regeneration speed that the Olympics brought. In fact, the Olympics only sped up a process of regeneration that has been an ongoing feature of the East End since the late 1980s, starting by the renovation of Bishopsgate and then the transformation of the warehouses around Shoreditch into luxury apartments and offices. The East End, by its proximity to the City of London (the neuralgic business centre of London) has seen an expansion of business and a migration of City workers looking to buy a cheaper (than the West End) property still close to their workplace.

The East End is an space that has a churn of over a thirty percent in 5 years time, this means that a third of its population will change over the span of 5 years, that is an immense change. This is reflected in the way the space's urban policy evolves and tries to cater to a set of fast changing needs. In fact, long gone are the warehouses in Shoreditch space that housed tens of squatters in the early nineties. Shoreditch has been quite a fashionable must-go space, with lots of bars and pubs to cater for city workers and already quite expensive to live in for the good part of almost two decades. This has now extended east towards Whitechapel, Bethnal Green and Bow. The space around Brick Lane has changed quite a lot, and this evolution can be linked to that of the market the street holds on Sundays. Henri, who has been in the East End for the longest, has described the Sunday market at length, around the nineties it used to be a market where people would bring the items no longer needed and sell them out of a luggage and today, in 2014, it is a food market with two 'fashion' annexes where they sell clothing made by young designers, one opposite Dray Walk called Backyard market and the other one in Ely's Yard, inside the Truman Brewery called Sunday Up market.

Lila gives a sonic example of this change, one that might not seem obvious at a first glance, the car engines. Some of the streets that run east of Brick Lane (such as Bacon street) have

seen an increase in the building of gated properties. Security has become an issue for homeowners who need to feel safe, feel their possessions and assets are protected. Lila talks about the change their expensive cars and motorbikes bring to the space's sound, how the roaring of a Ferrari breaks through the otherwise musically dominated soundscape of Brick Lane. She says that this discrepancy in rhythms is a reflection of the differences in living cultures there is in a space such as the East End. In fact, the migration of City workers to the East End has brought a change in the soundscape, the apparition of many more motorbikes and car engines roaring in the streets. In addition, these sounds bring an interesting contrast to the leather soled shoes, common in the form of sandals used by some of people living in the area of Bengali or Indian descent or the sound of bicycles going past that are the main means of transport for the young university student or young professional that is usual at the Sunday market and a regular to the evening bar life (Berrens 2012). Listening to the rhythms of the space, may it be motorised sounds, transport sounds or everyday life sounds such as shoes, chatter and children coming out of school is an indicator of the everyday life that the space has and a clear cut relationship of action reaction. What we do directly affects the sonic ambiance of that space, and inversely, listening to the soundscape unveils not only the processes of everyday life but also to what processes we are attuned to, what is it that captures our attention? This phenomenological understanding of place cannot happen if we do not fully embody our role in the being in the world.

Users, composers of the soundscape

Lila makes an important point, already argued by Schafer (1994); the people living and using a space are the composers and producers of its soundscape. For her (and Schafer) the soundscape is defined and constructed through the use and life the inhabitants of that space make. Schafer used the term "monolithic soundmarks" (1994, 239) to define the sounds that identify a cultural soundscape, these are soundmarks such as church bells or, more often found in the global city, traffic sound, planes roaring across the sky and horns. "Whatever one may think of such soundmarks, they reflect a community character. Every community will have its own soundmarks, even though they may not always be beautiful" (ibid, 239). Hence, both soundscape and soundmarks function like the cultural and social stamp of a space, revealing its life intricacies and spatial use. But how to know what are the 'real' soundmarks? Is there any such thing as a real soundmark or are they culturally read soundmarks?

Hence, Lila's reflections on the rhythms of the space provide an insight into the cultural and social processes of the space, and relate to her own conception of soundmarks, for her these

are sounds that tell about a space in a significant way. More importantly, Lila's reflections and observations of the soundscape shed light on her own processes of making place within that space. Like Dave's or Beatrice's, her account of the soundscape is mediated by her own tuning to the sounds, which in turn is influenced by her subjectivity and reflexivity. In fact, talking about the soundscape is not only discussing what sounds we hear but also where does sound take us and what is conditioning us to listen for a certain sound and not another, in this sense Lila had reflected over this matter, she was trying to connect her own background to some reasons behind her feeling of comfort with certain sounds and not others. She had also thought about her role in the East End, its constitution, representation and composition, notably sound wise. She was very aware of how did her choice of clothes or shoes contribute to the soundscape. Lila could see the extend to which her mundane everyday choices such as clothes or transport mode would affect the soundscape, she understood this effect was small but it also enabled her to take ownership and acceptance of her role as a composer of the soundscape.

In this sense, and going back to Dave's account, his is one of relaying control over the soundscape. In his representation of the soundscape planes and cars are seen as noise, a nuisance that deeply affects his perception of the space. This same conception casts over his role as a composer of the soundscape. Dave is so worried about the cars and planes that he cannot possibly listen to his surroundings beyond that, let alone listen to himself listen. And it is at this moment were listening loses part of the element of participation (Nancy 2002). Dave is no longer listening to himself listen, he is suffering his hearing and missing out on the other sounds but also on gaining a reflexive understanding of his own way of listening. In this sense we can argue that it is as important to listen as it is to have a reflexive and participatory listening process, we shall not endure our surrounding soundscape but instead taste it, maybe to dislike said taste but to get this momentarily impasse in which we are reflecting about our reaction to the sound.

In this sense, Lila's account verified that this moment does occur, even if not consciously in a first instance. The repeated experience of focussing the attention on the soundscape and discussing it brought it to the forefront of their discussion. That is not to say that talking about sound will somehow make one fully aware of all of one's reactions to sound, but instead if we start to awaken our sensuousness we will most certainly enter into a different dialogue with our own bodies, and ourselves as Beatrice and Lila did, taking part in this research enabled them to become more aware not only of the sounds of a space but of their own reactions to it and to try and understand the effect it had on their making of place. In fact, both women reported at the end of the research having adopted a 'hearing out' attitude,

listening for the sounds of their surrounding, mechanical or not, and attending to their bodily reactions while navigating space. In this note, in the next section we will explore what happens when the perception of the soundscape is made by moving through the environment and why did two participants in concrete feel the need to move through the East End in order to describe what it, sonically, was for them.

III. Sound in movement

The unfolding process of sound

In this section I look at experiencing the soundscape by moving inside a space actively. This way of listening to the East End has been actively taken up by two of my participants, Rosa and Henri. With them, I visit the idea of ensounding and ensounded bodies (Ingold 2007) in action and investigate how moving through space may contribute to a wider sense of belonging.

Rosa lived and worked in the East End for seven years, four of which she was involved in my research. She lived around the Homerton area and worked by Limehouse, hers was a rather long commute to do on a bike but Rosa would try and avoid public transport as much as possible. Rosa is in her twenties, came to London from overseas for studies and stayed after finding a job at a local school. Hers is a carefully drafted account as she is very interested in words and language, notably accents and pronunciation, which makes her focus on that wherever she goes.

At one point during our conversations, she affirmed that she would not want to live or work anywhere else. “I just feel really good here” (Rosa, interview extracts). It is due to the area having such a variety in its inhabitants, she feels at home. Rosa told me that the way the space sounds, and the way she experiences this sound, makes her feel a sense of belonging. She feels part of the East End, as a contributor in as much as an inhabitant to both the space’s representation and to “the unfolding process of sound” (Rosa, interview extract). I was very interesting in her developing this idea of sound unfolding; I could not quite understand whether sound unfolded with time or with space.

Rosa talks about movement's influence on the way she represents and inhabits the space. For her, moving around offers the possibility of experiencing very many different soundscapes and intensities of urban traffic and busyness in one single trip. She talks about the bike ride

from work to home in which she will go through very busy spaces but also through Victoria Park.

Rosa's conception is that the only way to experience the soundscape is through movement. She affirms that travelling through a space and traversing different locations is the only way she notices all of these different blasts of sound that illustrate what's going on in that specific location. She says this might happen because the East End sounds vary and has such vast differences between the different places within it.

"I think one of the brilliant things about the East is the diversity in terms of people and the places and the different sounds that they bring out" (Rosa, Interview extracts). In addition, Rosa considers the soundscape something that immerses all of us, inhabitants of a space. Rosa uses the term 'to fall' into somewhere that has a particular sound. This brings back having the body ensounded, both in an immersive and transductive fashion (Helmreich 2010). For her, falling into a space with a noticeable soundscape not only makes her body vibrate in a specific way but also triggers an emotional and mnemonic response in which she travels not only through space but through her imagined or real memories of said space or others that she briefly relates to, and snaps out of this process once she falls into another sonic space.[54]

Rosa normally commutes everywhere on her bike, she bought a folding bike to be able to pop it in any transport when the weather isn't too good. However, she rarely does that. Rosa finds the bike frees her from the commuting experience that, for her, is uncomfortable and takes too long. Biking allows her to experience the space in a different way, traversing places much faster than by foot. The bike makes different cityscapes unfold much quicker. On her way to work, Rosa goes through an area of Victorian terraced houses, then traverses a Tudor churchyard, passes through Victoria Park and then, finds herself negotiating a large amount of traffic until reaching her final destination in the Commercial Road area.

Her bike ride "takes (her) through, demographically quite different, and architecturally different places. I think that is quite representative of what I think the East End is" (Rosa, interview extracts).

[54] Even though the conception she has of movement is that of a very voluntary movement, as in her consciously cycling in a way that traverses different spaces that will have a different *geist*, she still uses this terminology of falling into one area. It appears as if Rosa considers both space and the soundscape something that you 'enter', and it brings to mind the body ensoundment, as if it wasn't sound that ensounded you body through its own movement but instead you that ensounded yourself through entering that sound space.

When I ask her about what is the soundscape of the East End, she tells me it is a *'bike mediated soundscape'*, notably her ride from home to work and vice versa. Rosa talks about the tempo of the urban soundscape. “Depending on when I get to work it is a louder version of all this people moving that are meeting. People meeting, children meeting parents talking to children and I love it. Every time if I’m late and I’m a bit stressed out, as soon as I get on my bike and start my row and start paying attention, it is like wow. And the same when I get back, after school time you hear a different composition of the end of my day” (Rosa, interview extracts).

Travelling through the area with a bike is a way of experiencing space. Rosa sees it as experiencing space in motion, an alive space. She explains to me that navigating space with a bike provides a more connected experience as she lives the space like a journey through the space and its sounds at the same time. Rosa notes that the sounds change depending on the time and the day. She sees the soundscape as an illustration of the area, a way of recognising it. Rosa talks about experiencing the East End as an addition of locations. With her bike, because she moves around, she is “travelling through it, travelling through different locations” (Rosa, interview extracts) and she says that it allows her to deepen into the diversity in terms of people and sounds that the space has to offer.

The bike allows her to go "through a busy space where you’re being immersed in all these sounds and then you can so easily fall into somewhere that’s much quieter and in nature and you hear different things like birds and the wind and you feel like you’re away from it” (Rosa, interview extracts).

The bike seems to open up the space for her. As if Rosa could not properly experience it, under her own perspective, without the possibility of movement, the motion, that cycling around provides. Her account of the East End is very bike mediated, in the sense that she doesn’t conceive the East End as a place unless she can relate to it via a cycling route. Whenever she describes a section of the East End, it has to do with a cycle route she uses to get somewhere. It appears as if Rosa’s account of the East End was centred around it being experienced *'on two wheels'*.

Here Rosa is caught up in the in-betweenness attribute of place that I mentioned in chapter 2. Half way between the perceivable and the measurable, Rosa’s making of place rests not only in connecting the spaces of her everyday life through her bike rides but also in sensing

them both sensorially and emotionally. The human and historically constitution of space, the related attribute of place, also play an important role in the connections she establishes with space, not only is she listening to the rumble of the metal parts of the bike and the friction of the pneumatic tyres against the asphalt, she is also imagining how would the sound of chars and horse shoes create a specific ambiance by the Tudor churchyard she traverses twice a day. The sounds of today and those of an imagined history mingle in her making of place. For Rosa, the making of place is very phenomenological, she needs to live and saturate herself with that space's inputs of all sorts, and sound proves to be an interesting medium from which to extract her own experiences of space and the making of place.

A walk through a divided ambiance

On a similar note, Henri moved to the East End from France in the early nineties, he lived in the area for almost twenty years and has seen it evolve and change as he had. For Henri moving around was a way of living, either walking or cycling.

He is a young project manager that started off working in Advertising with a bike, doing "on the move" advertising. His lifestyle is quite particular, outside of a mainstream business '9am to 5pm job' kind of life. He has always lived in *squats,* (squatted houses) leading a communal and nomad life, moving house every six months in average.

When prompted about his relationship with the soundscape, Henri talks about music and cooking pots. Henri describes, the sounds of commuting and transport. He tells me how he used to dodge the tube fare and slid through underneath the rotators. He describes the tube as being engulfing. A "clunky chunky horrible" (Henri, interview extracts) sound that, for him, makes the commuting experience a misery. Henri stopped using the tube when the chances of getting caught increased. He has been walking or cycling since.

Because of his lifestyle, Henri has spent a lot of time on foot these last years. He describes walking as a platform to know not only the space but also its inhabitants and get the feeling for the space, capture its *'tarannà'* (character). Here, Henri's use of walking becomes a method to discover a city, by walking with him, I, too, was learning how to see the city with in a similar way (Duneier 2000). He says that the feeling that develops when walking is lost once on the tube or bus.

Pink (2009) argues that walking has become an intrinsic and key part of any ethnography as it enables the researcher to imagine somebody else's situation in the world. Even though at

no point in this research did I intend to *get into their steps* but rather re-*trace steps with them*. Walking, and more particularly walking with Henri has been a key part in understanding the dynamic and his own perception of the space's soundscape. For many years, Henri had a job that was quite flexible, which allowed him to spend several hours walking the streets of the East End, getting impregnated with its ambient. He has been a witness to the property speculation in the East End, both in the area around Shoreditch and the one around Homerton and Hackney Wick.

When I ask Henri what is, for him, most representative of the sound of the East End, as if he had to narrow it down to a particular soundscape, he talks about the music and the markets. He talks about street life and how listening to the soundscape enables him to be aware of the rhythm of life unfolding. Partially surprised, partially reassured, Henri describes the amount of urban life there is in London, be it in winter or summer, the season doesn't seem to matter. Henri uses one of his walks to illustrate his idea of the rhythm of life.

In his walk from Haggerston down towards Bethnal Green he encounters long-term residents of partially derelict estates. This is an area that, a decade ago, was already under the property speculation process. The land was re-valorised when London started preparing her bid to the 2012 Olympics.[55] There were several properties that, instead of being repaired, would be demolished and then would lead way to new developments in that land.[56] Henri talks about the neighbours not wanting to leave, not wanting to be priced out.[57] Henri calls the area around Homerton and Haggerston the 'bleak' East End. He says there was always that feeling of *'stillness before the storm'*. As if the residents were waiting hopelessly for the area to be refurbished, being made more appealing to hipsters and trendy people who would have a better income and thus, would be able and willing to pay higher prices.

Then, while heading south, Henri enters Bethnal Green street, where, if it is market day, there are the people who haven't contracted a stall and come in with suitcases full of unwanted items.[58] The ambience is busy; the rhythm is fast and chaotic. The dwellers cry

[55] Olympic Games as it was not too far from the Olympic site, based around Hackney Wick. (http://www.london2012.com/map.php)
[56] That happened with a 20-storey office block in Matthias Road. The council closed all the flats that were vacated and fought for years to try and vacate the rest. Squatters occupied the empty flats until the council came to demolish the building (Henri, interview extracts).
[57] An example of people being 'priced out', besides Matthias Road, is that of Manor Gardens allotments (Clark, 2007). Even if the users of the allotments were not economically 'priced out', their land was deemed too precious in the Olympic site plans to be used for *only* allotments. Therefore everybody in the allotments was invited to leave, and offered a new land in a much less fertile place. This is another example of the land speculation the Olympic games 2012 has brought.
[58] In reality the illegitimate sellers were sellers that had not officially contracted a market stall space, and therefore, technically, were illegal sellers. They would go faster upon police arrival so as not to get fined and have their goods confiscated.

out for the customers shouting their prices, which, as the day goes by, get drastically reduced. The aim is to go home with an empty suitcase and a pocket full of a satisfactory amount of money. Their 'street-made-slogans' intend to lure the wandering passer-by, catching their ear with a *"jumper already worn in, soft from the start"!* Then, upon managing to find his way in between the clothes and objects that are laid out in the streets, Henri arrives at Brick Lane where there is another market. The street dwellers slogans get quickly mixed up with other 'slogans' coming from the food stalls, *"£1 a bowl!" "£1 a bowl"* being the official slogan for the food stalls in any street market. Then, each stallholder customises it to suit his or her own needs.

Henri still remembers the 'banana lady'[59] that has been trading for at least 15 years already at Brick lane market, around Sclater street. Her slogan, known by many East-enders is *"bananabananabanana, £1 a bowl, best banana!"*.

Henri carries on through Brick Lane, heading south. With time, Brick Lane market has been changed and been subjected to different policies. The latest of which is that the clothes and object part of the market has been pushed out of Brick Lane, now exclusively reserved for food stalls, probably far more attractive to the tourists and non-residents. When Henri talks about Brick Lane market, he is talking about the way this one was set up eight or ten years ago.[60]

Henri walks all the way south to Fournier street, a very calm street, housing an old (and now turned museum) Synagogue (Lichtenstein 2000). At each side of the street he can hear people talking. On the Brick Lane side it is people trying to get passers-by to go to their restaurant for a quick curry. On the other side, it is of the locals at the Ten Bells pub.

He goes west towards the pub and is quickly in Commercial Street. There, he can hear the cars passing by, faster than expected, and the people talking, grabbing a pint before they carry on with their journey. The hubbub of the market is replaced by a more urban like sound, cars and passer-by's. Somehow reminding the wanderer that he is still in the city. He is heading south towards Petticoat Lane market. He wants to see the record seller that was

[59] The '*banana lady'* is the name Henri, upon others, gave to a lady that has been trading fruit and bananas from the back of a lorry in the crossing between Sclater and Cygnet street, just off Brick Lane. She has become part of the *charm* of Brick lane market. She never allowed me to interview her directly, she was afraid I was part of the Council, trying to "shut down her stall" because of her "loud slogan" (quotes from talks with her).

[60] The market was at the top end of Brick Lane and it was a market where you could buy and sell anything imaginable, used and new. The *illegitimate sellers* as he refers to them (In reality, the illegitimate sellers were sellers that had not contracted a space, and therefore, technically, were illegal sellers. They would go faster upon police arrival so as not to get fined and have their goods confiscated) were in Bethnal Green road, spreading to the sides of the 'real' market. The beginning and middle sections of Brick Lane did not have much activity then.

then one of the first stalls in the market coming from Commercial street.[61] Henri used to go there quite often and look at the 45s (records) while nibbling on a falafel he had bought in the nearby shop.

Petticoat Lane market appears calmer than the Brick Lane frenzy but is still part of this bubble, where the rhythms of the metropolis change to accommodate the urban wanderer who, like Henri, walks the city without a particular aim beyond that of observing how urban life evolves and happens day after day.

Listening to the beat: the rhythms of the city

In the above example, walking is a way to get imbued into the space's rhythms while at the same time observing social phenomena happening in it. Talking about the space in a sonically reflective manner provides the tools for Henri to deepen into his memories and sensations and reflect on his way of making sense of the East End. For him the East End is a place under change and he found it very interesting to talk about the urban experience as shaping his conception and representation of space. Henri says that he doesn't really like the changes that the space undergoing. "But you can't say it was a beautiful place before either, it was hard, it was quite hard actually before. I guess what is more interesting for me is the transformation" (Henri, interview extracts). He tells me about the beats he finds in space, some are slower and accompanied by the vision of several buildings awaiting renovation or destruction and some appear as having a more jovial tempo to them. It is a reflection of the inhabitation and use of the space, and also of Henri's own rhythms in traversing said space. The inhabitants of both bleak and new east end are defining part of the sounds and impressions of space by using it and living in it. Henri considers that the soundscape of the space is one of the many ways in which a space can be conceived and represented. He told me that his way of relating to the soundscape of the space was not something he thought of ever before my research. He said that must have been "because I am a very visual person" (Henri, interview extracts) so for him the sound and the image came together often, using visual adjectives to define sound and visual metaphors, visual images…

Henri was surprised to see how transport and walking were two topics he didn't seem to be able to separate. He heard in our conversations how he made many allusions to walking and how through walking he could really get to know *the feel for the space*. This *feeling* is that of the rhythms that might not come across to all passers-by. It might be a *feel* that is particular

[61] The record seller has moved since then. Henri talks about the East End mixing the moments in time, for him time appears as a continuum of events but they have no particular order when he recalls his experiences.

to every person. Or, at least, to which every person reacts in her own way. For Henri, talking about the space's soundscape provides him with a tool to access some street cultures that would otherwise have remained unnoticed.

Rosa believes that each individual has a different reaction to the soundscape. She says that, as humans, we look for likeness and similarity, "everyone has an individual relationship to a space, like sound is just as powerful as any other senses, and brings on memories and is built up...our relationship to it is built up on our previous experiences, which I don't think can be...it's not the same for anyone" (Rosa, interview extract). Thus, we search for human sounds. Her perspective is that we will listen for sounds that are familiar to us. Rosa says she grew up in the city but with a strong connection to the countryside and she listens for very urban sounds with intervals of nature and quietness. She affirms she finds the most adjusted balance for her in the East End as, when moving a couple of streets north, she goes from the busyness of the Haggerston area to the quietness of a residential neighbourhood close to the river Lea. This idea of moving towards sounds that resonate to us, can be likened to Bourdieu's notion of the habitus (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992; Bourdieu 1994); the habitus has its root in how we have been acculturated, in our predispositions not only behaviourally but also in terms of interpreting our senses. Habitus is a set of acquired and learned predispositions that condition our relationships with others and the world, they come from the social, economical and cultural structures we were exposed to. I further explore the link between the soundscape and collective identities in the next chapter. In this case, it appears as if Rosa is conscious of how her habitus influences her way of making place through sound.

Rosa's perspective that everybody has a personal reaction to the soundscape, implies that there is also an individual and non-transferable relationship to it; once more, we find the notion of the habitus as a major influence in our understanding of the acoustic panorama. As Rosa says, the soundscape shapes the relationship she establishes with it, and by extension, it shapes her way of making place. In her case, and taking into account the way she explains her need for the duality busyness/nature sounds, moving through the space is the only possible way of experiencing an addition of sounds on one journey. That is why, for Rosa, relating to the soundscape of the East End can only be achieved through movement.

To this *'constituted-through-movement'* soundscape, Rosa stresses the importance of not forgetting that language is an intrinsic part of the urban soundscape. For her, the languages spoken and heard in a space are a non-dissociable part of its soundscape. Not only do they reflect the people who live in it but they also provide (for Rosa) a reference point from which to position herself. In this context, we can affirm that Rosa is making a further statement

with reference to the soundscape: we are all active participants in the way the soundscape is formed.

IV. Authoring the soundscape

Using and contributing: users as makers

In this first empirical chapter, I presented two of my interviewees and their relations to the urban sonic ambience, notably mechanical sounds. A focus on those has enabled me to present very divergent perspectives on the soundscape. On the one hand, Dave felt that the sound of the traffic made the soundscape become aggressive and he felt attacked by it, with no way to avoid the sounds that bothered him so much. The sound of the city, therefore, hinders his overall urban experience, which can be thought of as the sound that makes the city be as cosmopolitan as it is, with planes and traffic moving people, merchandise and making connections with London's many other spaces.

Beatrice thought of transport sounds as part of what urban living brings, a constant but not aggressive background to the cityscape. Lila heard in them a mirror of the urban and social transformations of the space. Here the soundscape is heard not as a kind of decor that is either bothersome or just in the background, but as an tool of empowerment.

In fact, Lila raises an important and interesting question in the sonic ambience discussion, to an extent, we, users of a space, are authors of the soundscape. With this comes a notion of responsibility to one's own sonic manifestations but also of participating in the soundscape instead of feeling it as an imposition. We cannot turn our back to the soundscape, deeming it a nuisance, or as noise (Thibaud 2002) since we are partially responsible for its constitution. What I am trying to express is that it can be more useful to listen carefully to the soundscape and to ourselves listening to it, not only as recipient but as emitters of the soundscape, than to deem it too aggressive. It can be very aggressive, but the question remains then, why do we feel aggressed by it? Is it a matter of relinquishing control? Or volume? What do these sounds appeal to that brings a feeling of being uneasy? Attuning to the soundscape will, in this light, raise awareness of making meaning through the soundscape.

When Lila talks about the unfolding process of sound, she is talking about a sound that evolves with time (and acquires sense) as she moves through the space and listens to the sound, space and time coming together. The metaphor of unfolding sound fits perfectly to conjoin indefinitely sound time and space and highlight that there is not one without the other, inseparable. In addition Rosa highlights her movement through space but also the general movement there is of sound and life, bringing into the spotlight the eternal changing attribute of the soundscape, tied to time and tied to the users in the area. Next, when Rosa talks about her imagined memories of historical sounds while traversing space and listening to the sonic ambience, it accentuates the fact that the making of place is not an immediate process. The making of place is influenced by the living, loving, thinking, using and sensing space and therefore when Rosa is talking about imagining how would chars have sounded on the Tudor's floor slates, she is using her intellect in order to project a deduced or imagined sound onto the current soundscape which has an influence on the making of place. The making of place is not only tied to the soundscape but also to a myriad of other factors and here, Rosa is illustrating one.

Henri is also portraying how nostalgia plays a role in the making of place and in his own understanding of the soundscape when he talks about the division between the 'Bleak' and the 'New' East End. In the former, the sonic ambiance together with the stories told by the inhabitants of derelicts buildings and the sight of a space in the midst of an urban transformation give Henri the impression that it is bleaker than the latter. The making of place is not an immediate process; it is linked to all the senses including sound. As told earlier in the research, for some participants there is a need to have the simultaneous input of more than one sense, like Henri for whom it is very difficult to separate image from sound.

After exposing those variations in the process of making place and the role of the soundscape in it, I have, through introducing mechanical sounds and movement, attended to the process of making place that involve a movement, not only physical but a mental situation from which to acquiesce the process of sound and place unfolding. I like this metaphor as it enables a clear visualisation of understanding place as an unfolding process as well, not as much as unfolding an object but more tending towards the temporal and logistical qualities of a musical score unfolding in time and being listened to it with a continuous uninterrupted attention in order to make sense of it.

In this chapter I explored the ideas of continuity through different sounds, notably mechanical sounds that are a constant background in urban cosmopolitan living, and of an engagement with this continuous process of making place and of listening. In the following chapter I further probe into listening and then proceed to start exploring the different variables that account for the soundscape's attributes. and that have a strong influence in the osculating of the sonic ambiance. Finally, I analyse the difference between hearing and listening and, through drifting in the participant's account, set up the clear effect this has not only on the soundscape but also on the processes of making sense of our environment.

7. A sense of belonging? Reacting to the soundscape

I. Sound and cultural listening

The relations in the chapter: Shefali and Dave

In this chapter I explore the cultural understanding of sound and its effect on the making of place. Having introduced the space of my research and some of the participants, I looked at the relatedness and the in-betweenness of place in the previous chapter, and then I concluded the chapter on both Rosa's and Henri's impressions that the relationship to the soundscape is a partially individual crafted one, and conditioned by a larger social process through their habitus.

In this chapter I seek to further this line of thought but looking for a culturally mediated approach to the soundscape. In order to do so I will explore and analyse two of the most striking accounts, which are on opposite extremes in terms of acceptance and integration into the world reflected by the soundscape, and their perception of the soundscape. On the one hand, I explore the discourse of belonging and on the other the exclusion through their practices of listening to the urban environment. By doing so I work on the phenomenological attributes of place and explore how can attending to sound enables the acknowledgement and embodiment of making place.

In the second part, I present my participant Shefali and then dwell on her exploration and explanation of the soundscape of East London as well as her account of how this soundscape conditions her overall spatial experience highly conditioned by a shivering sense of belonging and representation, reflecting the unsteadiness of her own perception of her surroundings. Further, I bring her discourse to our last meeting, two years after the bulk of the fieldwork was done and explain how her change in circumstances gave her a new perception of the soundscape, one of peace and acceptance, finally cementing her sense of belonging.

Then, in the third part, I tell about Dave's account, once the planes and traffic noises have given way to other sensations and how his discourse about other elements of the area is very much guided by the same sense of discomfort as the mechanical sounds dealt with in the previous chapter. In Dave's soundscape I explore a racist discourse emerging from comments on the soundscape and dwell into the consequences of such deafening.

I link his perspective with the larger overarching argument, in the fourth part, that sound could be a practice that needs to resurface in globalisation discourses and that it is a practice of inclusion rather than exclusion, diversity rather than of homogenising and finding a one size fits all pattern, exploring the different hues in tones instead of looking for the monochrome tonality (Etzioni 2003). Then, I re-visit Dave's sense of alienation, not so of himself but of his vision of alienation of an East London community and how that bridges the gap between listening and hearing. Focussing on the sense of hearing as methexis (Nancy 2002), I return to the corporeal (body and mind) and analyse the differences between hearing and listening in the wake of the accounts presented.

Finally in the fifth part, I move on to reviewing the attributes of the soundscape briefly only to come back to the importance of a phenomenological understanding and approach to the soundscape. I state that listening is a full body engagement. In fact, attending to the soundscape is another means of making meaning of our surroundings.

Geographical clarification

In this chapter I focus on Shefali's and Dave's accounts. The focus here is cultural as well as geographical. The overarching theme of this chapter is an attention paid to the cultural elements of the soundscape and their influence on the making of place but more precisely on the personal reaction to the soundscape, and therefore to place. For the sake of a fairer comparison, both Shefali and Dave chose sonic walks that either centred or departed from Whitechapel street market. In the case of Shefali, her sonic walk was from the East London Mosque, situated at the intersection between Plumbers road and Whitechapel High street, until Cambridge Heath road. It was a West to East walk. Dave, on the other hand walked from the intersection between Whitechapel Hight street and Vallance road (one street down eastwards from Plumbers Road) until Stepney Green park and then backstreets until the Royal London Hospital, so in his case it also was a West to East walk via the main streets and then back West via backstreets. Shefali and Dave share a large portion of their sonic walks. This is also why the contraposition of these two accounts is so striking.

Figure 3. Shefali and Dave's routes in London's East End.

Shefali's was a recording of a walk, here signalled as the orange route. Dave's was also walking and it is the dark blue route.

II. Reactions culturally conditioned

Shefali has been warned: a cultural reading on the soundscape

Shefali comes from a very close-knit family, all living in the East End since her parents and uncles came from Bangladesh, over thirty years ago. She feels a strong bond to her family, their culture and religion (they are Muslim), because, as she says, "blood is thicker than water" (Shefali, interview extracts) and she is convinced that family will stick together no matter what, to such an extent that she several times expressed the need to put their interests and happiness in front of hers when making life altering decisions. In Shefali's discourse, culture, ethnicity and religion intermingle without a clear distinction, she talks about those three things as if they formed a 'familiar identity' together that she calls "her culture"[62]. Shefali lives and studies very close to her home in the Stepney Green area, only leaving the East End for university (though only going a few tube stops away). She is now currently more detached and attached to the area in a certain sense, working at the other end of London and living much more comfortably than her origins and the East End.

Her account illustrates how she lives in her surroundings. Shefali is a person in this research for whom the soundscape has an important conscious cultural reading, thus going back to the cultural and situated attribute of the soundscape as defined in chapter 4. This element evolves with her and with the research, she comes to attest it fully at the end of the research in our sum up meeting. This doesn't mean that there are no cultural elements in the soundscape for the other people taking part in the research but for them, its manifestation is not as obvious as it is for Shefali, it is why I use her account in order to exemplify the point of the effect of the soundscape on a sense of belonging.

Shefali insists that the soundscape "warns" her of the appropriateness of her being on "Bengali ground". Shefali thinks the soundscape is composed of the languages heard, the music blasting from shops, clothes and fabric sounds and traffic. She does notice the subtle (or not so subtle) changes in these sounds. For example, on Fridays, between noon and 1pm the Adnan prayer is heard throughout the vicinity of the East London Mosque. Upon hearing it, Shefali knows not to approach the Mosque "you avoid that place and you know what's going to be, so you walk on the other side to avoid it". There is also an element of "not being seen by the men" that leads her to "hide" in a British and non-Muslim shop where the call for prayer has no moral influence. She says it provides her with the comfort of not having to be

[62] Religion, nationality and culture are not the same thing nor is one the origin of the other, however, since she was mixing them together I have brought her discourse forward as it was.

seen as a "good Muslim" as in the British shops people are less aware of the moment market by the call for prayer. In this sense, the soundscape is an indicator and a reminder of the behaviour expected of her from her family, or, as she says "from my culture". Shefali's account perspires an intense need to conform to her family's points of view, and particularly during the main block of our meetings, there is this looming presence of what it is to be a "good Muslim" (Shefali, interview extracts) and the constant reminder that family is what sticks, thus steering away from doing things that may annoy her family. And this is reflected in her making of place, which is quite intensely sound influenced; when Shefali explained to me the sonic cue of the call for prayer, I could not understand it, until she told me why she would avoid certain shops and certain spaces near the Mosque. For her it was what needed to be done, not against her will but still more of an obligation than a pleasure. In this sense the soundscape seemed to be a reminder, constant and never stopping, of her Bengali Muslim heritage, she defines herself as Bengali and as British, as a Bengali born within her family, she needs to be Muslim and acquire certain attributes, as a young British woman she doesn't feel this need. For Shefali the Bengali Muslim culture is centred towards providing a good image and responding to obligations when the British culture is more geared towards a self-realisation process: i.e. the pursuit of individual happiness. For her British culture also provides a certain sense of invisibility, that according to her mother, she cannot have because "I am brown". Her sense of belonging is conflicted by these two sides she of herself.

So there is a push-and-pull situation between these two heritages, reflected in her way of attending to the soundscape and its influence on her making of place. The sound of the call for prayer taints the space culturally and conditions her abilities to move in it, conditions the ways in which she inhabits this space: the sound somehow brings her back to her felt 'obligations' as Bengali and influence her making of place culturally.

Sound: habits and comfort

For Shefali, the soundscape also represents comfort. She talks about the soundscape, of *he*r East End, her sonic walk, as being the sounds around Whitechapel High Street Market. Shefali describes the haggling, the speaking loudly and the *cultural sounds* she ascribes to Asians, who she perceives as having a *noisy* cultures. She talks about the metallic clanging of the market stalls whenever they are put up or taken down. Shouting, haggling and Asian music invade the street from the neighbourhood shops. You can also hear the sound of people sweeping the shops quite late in the morning. These are some of the sounds that make her feel "at home" (Shefali, interview extracts). Because she understands Bengali,

Hindi and Punjabi, she feels at ease with the languages spoken around Whitechapel Street Market. That is where she and her family go weekly to buy fruit and vegetables.

Because of her recurrent exposure to the soundscape, She identifies a duality that has been increasing in the last few years. She says this becomes more noticeable as she approaches Bishopsgate, but it is also spreading to Whitechapel. On the one hand, there are people on the street, attending the market on a quasi-daily basis. They do their shopping and, at the same time, socialise, talk and carry on a cultural practice that Shefali identifies as being intrinsic to Bengali day to day life. They entertain each other, shopping and conversing with people who want to talk and socialise. On the other hand, Shefali notices an increase in the number of people who have a sandwich in one hand while racing along the street, as if they were permanently late. Shefali notes that the sound they produce is the fast repetitive '*crhhcrhhcrhh*' of their arms scrubbing against the clothing on the sides of their chest. She also hears the sound of fast-paced steps, half way between walking and running. These sounds break through the soundscape of the street's life and rhythms; an accelerated pace that doesn't quite integrate in the sound of the haggling but that coexists alongside it. This sonic contrast is a reflection of the urban speculation and regeneration that I have introduced in the previous chapter and has a lot to do with this side of the East End's closeness to the city of London and Liverpool street station notably. The interesting point here is not only the duality but also the way Shefali is presenting them as two completely detached realities which point of contact is the space and in doing so she further realises to what extend our perceptions mediate our cultural selves, our background and way of understanding the environment. She reflects on how sound can be listened to in a different way by, for example and to keep with the call for prayer, a Muslim and a non muslim. Therefore, Shefali is getting to awaken her sensual self and question her reactions to events in her everyday life that she considered habits and to which she pays no attention. This enables her own situatedness to resurface and brings into play the role of memory in her comfort (Seremetakis 1994). The soundscape awakens the consciousness of an affective response to space and on the making of place. The question of whether this is a place that remains the same, works with remembrance and/or evolves with her.

III. Am I blocking the soundscape?

A deafening volume: covering the soundscape

Shefali says the soundscape has a routine that she has learned to anticipate after being exposed to it for some time. For her, it prepares her for her day, and sets her mood. She

treats moods in the same way she treats any other commodity; she can pick and choose from the sounds available. The soundscape becomes part of a soundtrack, and can thus be turned on or off. She feels that at some points, she needs to "turn it off" so that it doesn't bother her. She says the urban sound can be very annoying, it can be "too much", a sensory overload she is not willing to take in: "when it is too early in the mornings". Then, Shefali plugs her iPod into her ears and plays loud music (sounds she has chosen to hear). She says that "[you] drown everything out. You don't want to listen to the sound, the noises of outside" (Shefali, interview extracts). Here, the iPod works as an isolating tool, allowing her to choose the most appropriate soundtrack to accompany her mood. Shefali walks on the opposite side of the road from the market when it is early in the morning, feeling unable to cope with the hubbub associated with the street market. She prefers to take refuge in the comfortable predictability of her often-listened-to playlists, which are categorised and used according to a particular mood. For example, she says that if she needs energising she will listen to more upbeat music. The problem is that the volume and intensity of the market hubbub is not adjustable. It also becomes a nuisance, and is drowned out by the loud music of her iPod. Here, we note how place is made differently, maybe this is the part where she is seeking her own happiness instead of trying to fit in what she sees is a 'one-size-fits-all-Muslim-Bengali-woman' behaviour mould.

Bull states that: "iPod culture represents a desire for uninterrupted and continuous experience as a central facet of the user's urban experience. This desire for a subjectively empowered sense of continuousness is enabled by, and facilitated through, iPod use, which enables users to link disparate places and moods through the temporal immediacy of iPod sounds" (Bull 2007, 53). Shefali uses her iPod in a similar fashion to that described by Bull. For her, it goes beyond having a continuous urban experience. The attraction of the iPod is that she can control the urban soundscape by replacing it with her personal stereo. Not only is Shefali isolating herself from the *hubbub* that annoys her in the market. She is also isolating herself culturally. All of a sudden, when Shefali talks about the urban experience mediated by her iPod, there are no boundaries, cultural or religious, that she is scared to cross. She no longer feels the need to hide and actually perceives that the space is her own. At this point, her navigational compass, previously governed by restraint and control, allows her to experience the city in a totally different way. As if she were wearing a set of tinted lenses of which she controls the tincture. The iPod diminishes the urban soundscape and with it her sense of being watched, instead she attunes herself to the music to liven up or accompany her. Shefali has a mixture of playlists that she uses to get into, or enhance, her mood at the time. For example, one of the playlists is more upbeat techno music, for when she needs energising.

This duality in Shefali's attitude to the soundscape of this area is very interesting. Shefali localises the soundscape to a section of the East End that she relates to very deeply because of her family roots. "In the market they see me, I understand the language they speak (…) They know I'm one of them" (Shefali, interview extracts). She identifies her roots as being more unconcealed in the market area than around her house. Regarding the soundscape near her house, she affirms that there isn't much noise in her neighbourhood, at least none that she can relate to. Instead, she keeps coming back to Whitechapel Street Market as her family has done every Saturday since they first settled in London. It is important to note here that in our conversations about the East End and its soundscape, Shefali kept referring to what she calls "a tangent", explicating the meaning of the different sees that she finds in Whitechapel Street Market. She felt it was not related to the research, however, it actually was a wonderful insight into what she called "Asian shopping" and its practices explained by somebody who understands the languages and the practices. I cannot help but notice the extent to which Shefali gave importance to these practices, the shopping, the haggling and the loud voices. Her discourse becomes more confusing when the iPod enters the dialogue. This seems to put a value on the dichotomy between the person that Shefali feels she *has* to be and the person she *wishes* to be. After discussing the sounds of her daily walks, which she tunes out with different methods, we talked about the strong cultural constitution of her navigational compass. It appears as if Shefali's habitus (Bourdieu 1994) permeates through and conditions her way of attending to the soundscape and making a place. In other words, her way of understanding and relating to the East End is her way of moving through it.

"The 'outside' world becomes a function of the desire of users and is maintained over time through continuous listening" (Bull 2007, 187) so the Walkman allows the user to mould their desires into the space via a musical score. This sonic mediation of the world enables Shefali to privatise space, making it become a private place in which the restraints she otherwise feels are eliminated and replaced with a newfound sense of freedom and control via the manipulation of her music playlist depending on her moods. "The world becomes one with the experience of the personal stereo user in a potentially perfect mimetic fantasy that denies the contingent nature of the user's relationship to the world beyond his or her chosen soundworld" (Bull 2007, 185).

Here there is a stress in the constitution of the soundscape, as there is with Shefali herself. She acknowledges that, for her, it is difficult to juggle the demands of her British and Bengali heritages. By the end of this research, Shefali was aware of how much her Bengali culture makes up her way of relating to the space. She could no longer ignore how her soundscape influences her way of moving through the market space. For her, this research not only woke

her sensibilities by a process of learning affected by the senses (Latour 2004), in which she became more aware of how the perception of our surroundings informs our way of relating to them; being affected by the urban soundscape also made her unearth the sensibilities of her relationship to her Bengali and British heritages. In our last meeting Shefali actually shed light on this duality herself. She explained to me that during the first part of the fieldwork she was struggling with some personal issues. Shefali is an atheist but precisely because of the strong ties to her family and her sense of responsibility towards being what her mother would hope her to become she was finding it difficult to accept her atheism. In this sense, the soundscape acted as a constant reminder of a culture that she "needed to shun" in order to overcome her own anxieties about her choices. During her acceptance period Shefali felt the need to disconnect from the soundscape via the iPod since the sounds were bringing too many memories and cultural associations that she was trying to leave behind. In fact, in the last meeting we had, Shefali reported enjoying the soundscape of the market, having regained her confidence, her associations from the soundscape were emotions and feelings that she was happy to have. No longer tainting her making of place with negative feelings about her place within her culture, she now walks an even longer route so as to listen more to the sonic ambiance. What before felt like a stress is now a sound, and a place, that she associates with belonging, relaxing and calm.

A culturally mediated ear: interplay between culture and listening

Shefali's account helped me decode some ways in which the senses and our backgrounds intertwine, be they personal, social or cultural. For Shefali there was no option for the conceptualisation of place through the soundscape to detach from her cultural reading, and she became more and more aware of the extent to which her culture and background had permeated her own making of place. Hers is an intense and difficult journey, she has struggled to find her place amongst what she once considered a culture that would not accept her views. For Shefali, her construction of place is mediated by her cultural self, and waking up to her sensuousness enables her to identify ways which her making of place replays patterns of acquired behaviour, particularly because Shefali used this research to better understand her relation to Whitechapel. She was very active during all the research process and engaged in deep self-reflexivity, which would come across in our conversations. In Shefali's making of place we find the situatedness of place as well as the multilocal attribute of place. Place is situated, not only spatially but also in the balance between space and its users. Who are also situated and oriented (Haraway 1988, Ahmed 2008b). Place's situatedness is relative to that of the people making place, on an individual and social level, individually depending on one's orientations, situatedness and habitus that reflect the

society in which said individual has been raised. The making of place is strongly influenced by the understanding of our senses, which is mediated by our social and subjective self, henceforth, a cultural decoding of sound has impact on the making of place.

As Shefali pointed out in our last meeting "by listening to this tape, I don't want to sound offensive… but I feel it is foreign, this could be a market in Bangladesh…" and she is able to connect those two points finding the multi-local in place, connecting not only her upbringing but also a very localised space, such as Whitechapel high street market, with another location, known to her by a few visits but mainly through cultural heritage. Shefali is recognising in the local a global that has been transmitted to her culturally, socially and hereditary by her surrounding family and friends bringing to the forefront of her place making the intense ties that culture has with the listening and decoding of sounds, may it be culturally specific sounds such as the call for prayer or more globalised sounds such as traffic. We also find in this, the multilocal attribute in her making of place since she connects different spaces of her memory or her family's memory in a same place. And in line with this same thought, but decoding sounds that are culturally alien to oneself, in the next section I present another way of culturally interpreting the soundscape, one that instead of pushing towards a feeling (albeit sometimes almost forced) of belonging[63], leans towards isolation and incomprehension.

Sound, place and experience: linking through sensing

"Sounds are as close to us as our thoughts" (Berkeley quoted in Rée 1999, 36) is the acknowledgment that sound and our experience of space are linked, beyond the visual. Sound appeals not only to our thoughts but also to our memories, affects and orientations; Shefali is a good example to examine the extent the influence of sound has on our perception and experience of our urban surroundings. She uses sound as a metonymy for her personal, embodied and affective approaches to her dual heritage and her religion. This is made apparent when, at our last meeting, it finally appears verbally in our conversation. Her taking distance from the Whitechapel soundscape with the aid of a personal stereo was one of the ways in which she could enact her discomfort with her own indecision regarding whether to come out to her family and community as an Atheist or not. Once this situation was resolved within herself, she no longer felt the need to "shun" the soundscape of what she identifies as her culture. This is very important as it exemplifies the link between the effect of sound and our affects, emotions and memories. These in turn, have an impact on our

[63] For a discussion on the dynamics of belonging see Mumford (2003); Mulgan (2009); Savage (2010), and for a discussion on senses and belonging see Rhys-Taylor (2013a); ibid (2013b).

understanding of the space surrounding us and on our making of place. For Shefali, the sound of space makes her be uneasy, and as such the making of place created a place that needed its sound replaced in order to offer some daily comfort, "to help her moods" as she put it. In her account we can see the extreme intertwining between sound, place and experience, notably when the focus of attention is the sensorium and the way it permeates our relationship to the world. In the coming section I focus on the experience of hearing and listening to our surroundings and further explore how tuning in or out of certain sounds affects not only our sonic experience of the urban ambiance but also the ambiance as a whole and also of our making of place.

IV. Can we speak?

Soundscape of languages: the input of languages in the composition of the soundscape

In this research, the mention of the language within the soundscape appears at various stages of the accounts. Rosa reckons the soundscape is the manifestation of what happens in a determinate space, she ties it strongly to the languages spoken, and most concretely, to accents. For Rosa, one of the main attractions she finds in the soundscape is to listen for language and try and listen to how are words articulated and pronounced. This came up several times during our interviews, and it is related to two of her own attributes, first she is a teacher who focuses on phonics, second she is a foreigner. She has found herself in situations of misunderstandings because of other's or her own accent. What is interesting to note here is not only how Rosa listens for language within the soundscape but this idea that by listening to the languages that the soundscape carries, one can start to get an idea of the languages spoken in that space and so, of the communities of people who are in said space. In this sense, there is a reinforcement of the previously discussed notion that the soundscape is a composition on which the users of space have influence in its creation and dissemination. This is a reflection of the multilocal attribute of place, connecting two possibly remote geographical spaces into the same place at the same moment, not only calling to the user's languages but also to the user's memories and sensibilities when constructing the multilocal place. Rosa found this characteristic of space very pleasurable and rather endearing, so this sonic influence on the making of place was positive and enhanced her place-fullness.

Both Beatrice and Lila found in the soundscape of languages a rather conflicting element of the sonic ambiance. For both of them it was a reflection of the issues regarding community integration and cohabitation in East London. As mentioned earlier, the East End is the

largest Bengali settlement in the UK as such the presence of this community allows some streets to be labelled both in English and Bengali. Beatrice was telling me how whenever she tried to engage with her Bengali neighbours at her flat it was difficult because of the lack of English fluency that of mother, the person that she saw more often, had. This claim was further brought in with Lila's account of the English literacy classes that used to run at Toynbee Hall as part of the Deesha program. These lessons were not only aimed at introducing Bengali women to the language, they were aimed at equipping them with basic navigational tools so they would not feel the need to have their husband, brother or any other male relative with them in order to successfully navigate the area themselves.[64] Both Lila and Beatrice commented that this strong language element of the soundscape made them think more about isolation than about variety. For them it appealed to their personal memories of struggling women, which doesn't mean that all Bengali women struggle but that they both had a personal experience of seeing, in different ways, the isolation that the lack of or incomplete understanding of the country's language can produce.

In this sense, the making of place for both of them was, through the phonic input of the soundscape, appealing to their memories and affects which gave a negative connotation to place at that point in time.

What I am trying to say here is that to reinforce the importance and impact that both memory and emotions have on the cognition of the soundscape and therefore on the making of place. As we have seen earlier, our being in the world, our construction of the world and our making of place is conditioned by our own construction as subjects. We move, perceive and decipher these perceptions in accordance to our situation, orientation and affects. Our memory and personal background plays an important role in the ways in which our environment affects us. This has transpired through the research at several stages, from Henri talking about how the sound of metallic clanging of pots in the kitchen reminded him of his childhood home and the cooking, to Rosa trying to find a balance between urban and natural sounds similar to her town's…These are positive reflections that emotions give to the urban soundscape. Therefore, the soundscape and making of place suffers from a strong individual sway in its making, conceiving and sensing. In the examples I have given here, the influence of personal circumstance is visible, however, sometimes one's reaction to the urban

[64] Toynbee Hall partnered with a few centres down Brick Lane where women could go and visit other women that were either knitting or doing some kind of manual craft and invite other women as a sort of outreach work in order to foster a greater understanding of English within the Bengali women. This was a problem at the time (I am unsure about the current situation) as there was a growing concern about family safety, trying to make sure that if a woman was to be attacked by a member of her family, her kids would not need to become the translators with the police and translate the narration of the attack from Bengali to English. The Deesha program did a lot of work to empower and ensure that the women participating or using the drop in sessions or the English lessons would find their own set of navigational tools and develop a basic level of English literacy that would make certain they could transit the city virtually unaided.

soundscape is not as straightforward and, in those cases, the role the soundscape plays in the making of place is different. In the following section I examine one of such examples and then carry onto concluding through differentiating between listening and hearing.

Listening or hearing: it makes every difference

I have introduced Dave in a previous chapter; here I want to dwell further into this perspective both on planes and cars but most notably on the "Other" he refers to repeatedly.

As discussed in an earlier chapter, the first thing that springs to Dave's mind when I ask him about the East End's soundscape is traffic. When he expands on it, it looks as if it is the first thing that Dave thinks about whenever he thinks about any city, which I find troubling. Not so much as per the affirmation itself but more because Dave seems not to want to engage with me in developing this thought. This vast generalisation seems to be geared to a general lack of curiosity to go beyond what he calls "the obvious" (Dave, interview extract) and for him it's traffic and planes that is what sonically defines any city in the world for him. To a degree, it is true that cars and planes are present in most cities globally but the soundscape is not limited to that. While trying to unearth how he got to such a conclusion, I come across something Dave does not really want to share. It appears as if this negation of participation in the soundscape is a localised event, localised to the East End and according to his account. I deduce that may be related to his view of the Bengali community. During our conversations, Dave talked about this "strange" community without narrowing it down to being Bengali. For Dave, they are the "people that speak weird" (Dave, interview extracts), mainly clustered on the East End and do not participate in the global life of the area according to his view. This struck me as surprising, since Dave had been living in the area for the last three years and has moved around the globe quite a lot; it showed a strangely uncurious, potentially narrow minded perspective on one of the groups that constitute the East End's population in which Dave lived and spent his everyday life. It also struck me that he did not even seem to care as to whether they were Bengali or from any other Eastern country and I found that very difficult to empathise with, and to write about. In this sense, Dave is the participant I have had a harder time connecting with, let alone walk in his shoes *à la* Pink (2009). In addition, Dave didn't seem to be comfortable at all with the Bengali presence but somehow he felt that his lack of awareness was due to the Bengalis, instead of himself. "It's more a problem with the Bangladeshi that they don't integrate, really seem to [be a] narrow minded community. But that's fine for me" (Dave, interview extracts). Here, Dave's attitude responds to what Bonilla-Silva (2006) refers to as being a hidden racist

discourse. That is, Dave might not see himself as being racist but his words and attitudes point towards racism.

His view of what he terms "the Bengali community", namely anybody looking or sounding Asian, is quite devoid of any interest to demolish his own preconceptions. In fact, Dave felt the soundscape was closely related to this *Other*.[65] Like his view that plane noise engulfs other sounds, it seems as if the Bengali community's impact on the soundscape has overtaken other sounds. At some point Dave said that if he didn't know he was in the East End, he would think he was somewhere in Asia, possibly around Bangladesh or Pakistan. "If you walk through Whitechapel Market, you could say you were in Pakistan or somewhere like that" (Dave, interview extracts). Dave's account is one of the politics of place; his relationship to sound and place is one of negation between what he wants to identify and what he wants to ignore, in his case the politics of place is a cosmopolitan city emerge. There is a dichotomy between what he is trying to block out, making a real effort to not relate to it, not even grant the sound the identification of its origin, forcing it out of his auscultation into the *out-auscultation*, and what does indeed construct the soundscape of that space. Here the paradox is between what he is trying to block out and what he blocks it out with. So, he is blocking out the sound of this identified other with planes and cars, which in turn are what one arrives into the East End with. So there is a metonymy here, the planes take an incredibly large presence in the area to make up for one of the things they represent. Dave is here resonating with the homogenising globalisation perspectives (Sassen 1996; Putnam 2001; Friedman 2007;) where the globalisation of the sense of place inevitably creates a 'one-fits-all' category (Etzioni 2003) in which variety and Multiculture die at the hands of a normative mainstream patterns of relating to sound and place, one where the other is eliminated, not recognised and erased from the sonic ambiance of space so as to revert back to the urbanism concept of elimination of unwanted noise and otherness (Willmott and Young 1957; Willmott 1987; Willmott 1989; Dench and Young 2011). His making of place is through differentiation instead of inclusion, enhancing his sense of not being as this other he identifies as culprit for most of the unwanted sounds. Sound is not bringing homeliness but instead strangeness and a sense of isolation that is very different from Shefali's account. His account is one of elimination instead of inclusion, isolation instead of dialogue, it is an account where, to go back to this section's title, we cannot speak.

[65] Here, I use the capital O for other because I gathered from our conversations and my field notes that for Dave, the *Other* is anyone different from himself, not a set group of people. Like Shefali, he felt the influence of the Bengali community in the East End's soundscape. See also Gupta and Ferguson (1992); Haldrup et al. (2006).

V. Are you tuning me out?

In this chapter I explored the weight of culture in the relationship with the soundscape. The first was a case of a cultural reading on the soundscape, where Shefali heard the soundscape as a reminder of her Bengali cultural heritage, a sonic reminder of the attitude that she considered to be expected of her. She also found it as a source of comfort and providing a gratifying sense of belonging. However, in order to "control" the soundscape she would use her iPod so as to best suit her moods. Bull (2007) identifies this use as an individualisation of space, a pseudo privatisation where the use of a personal stereo expands the sensations of privacy and security that one finds inside of the home, in one's intimate space. By such use, Shefali was depriving the space of its soundscape, to which she related to in a strongly culturally-mediated manner and instead implementing her own sense of place through a personal stereo. For her the soundscape extended an invitation of inclusion that, once she came to terms with her own religious view, enhanced a feeling of belonging and of peacefulness with the surrounding. Dave's conception of the soundscape was one of exclusion working both ways, on the one hand exclusion from the area as they all sounded from an Eastern country and on the other, exclusion of that other community through his *out-auscultation*: refusal of ensounding his body with "their" sounds (Ingold 2007). In this sense, and from the accounts in this chapter there are a couple of issues that I think the chapter has reflected on. First the influence and importance of the cultural self and the cultural soundscape (understood broadly) in the making of place and the corresponding habitus and orientational influences in this process. Second, the impact of this onto the body being twofold, an initial ensounding impact and a deeper impact on the listening as a bodily and emotional participation. Here I would like to stress that the aim of listening to the soundscape is an attempt to make meaning from our surroundings (Wetherell 2012) and as such, we engage not only our sensuous selves but also our minds, memories and emotions in a full body action.

Listening, a body engager

Going back to the previous example, for Dave the soundscape of the East End was invaded by "non-sounds" as he termed it. Listening past them proved to be quite difficult for him. He talked to me at some length about the differences between hearing and listening. He felt the *sound walks* had been a powerful tool for learning the difference between the two. For Dave, hearing was an automatic reaction we all have whenever we are exposed to any sound; therefore, we are always hearing, even in our sleep. However, Dave said that listening required an active desire to comprehend what is being heard. Listening included a conscious

act of concentration. In this context, it appeared to me that hearing and consequently listening to the sounds of planes and traffic set Dave's navigational compass. When listening to those, Dave seemed able to hear the rest but not listen to it.

Listening seems to warrant an engagement with the sound (Connor 2004; Nancy 2002), though Connor thinks that the difference between hearing and listening tends towards the difference between an intake of sound with action (hearing) and intake of sound with a response to that sound (listening). So Connor argues that hearing "can participate in both forms of the sadism of sound; which is to say domination exercised both through and over sound" (2004, 163) while listening involves "overhearing ourselves; so we cannot listen without taking into ourselves the sounds we hear" (2004, 163). Hearing might become an act imposed on our bodies, and listening inevitably engages our bodies. Dave, equated listening to strive for an understanding of what was being heard, so he was indeed hearing the Bengali element of the soundscape without a will of comprehension. Following Connor's rationale, in hearing that soundscape, he was making the planes and traffic 'talk over' it erasing it from his conception of the sound and the making of place and thus, making a very different place to a participant welcoming a larger variety of sounds.

The consequences of tuning out certain sounds, or hearing sounds instead of listening to them altogether can be a diminished sense of comprehension (voluntarily or not) to what is around us and making a place suited to our lack of listening. In the case of Dave the example comes forth by itself, through his actions and through his discourse, through the telling of his account. I have used this in order to emphasise the importance or the effect of listening/comprehending and of wanting to engage in our construction of our being in the world.

Schafer (1994) points out that foreigners are more likely to identify monolithic soundmarks than locals. So what does that tell us about a general attitude to the soundscape? Well, it is in 'the background' and not much thought is put into how we relate to it. I found that particularly telling in the wake of an account like Dave's, this partial deafness to another culture. In fact deafness to what made him uncomfortable was striking; not the deafness in itself but the very clear delimitations it had. This made me think a lot about the difference between hearing and listening that Dave so clearly told me. Listening is hearing with a comprehending will, it is an attitude that finds a balance between the outer and inner world, on the one hand tuning our ears outwards to listen to the sounds and on the other making an inner effort not only to situate our bodies within that sound, ensounding our bodies with it

(Ingold 2007) we also vibrate personally and physically with the sound, letting it ring with our emotions, ring in our past and jointly make meaning of what we hear.

Erlmann et al (2004) discuss the validity of claiming that the awakening of the sensuous body will to some extent cure our social attitudes to the outside world, and in turn to ourselves. There is no such thing as a single handed cure or even anything in need of curing in such a patronising way, not society, not us and certainly not globalisation. If we pay attention to the exercise at hand we will see, notably through the account hereby presented, that this is not only a sensing exercise, this is an exercise of making meaning through sound, of understanding and illustrating our attitudes towards space using as a medium our senses. In this way, it is just as important as to what is in the soundscape, as what is erased from the soundscape. That is why attending to space through sound, not only unveils our making of place and the way in which sound interacts with its making but, also ensounds our bodies at all levels, mental emotional and sensational. The focus on sound appeals to relate to our emotions and memory to then talk about place from a participative position. When Nancy is talking about the participative nature of listening he is alluding to this sense of togetherness of body and mind in which, though participation, we make meaning through sound.

In turn, this speaks to the four attributes of sound described in chapter 5. Through listening in participation, we can appreciate that the soundscape is cultural but not local. In Shefali's case reading the Bengali cultural attributes of the soundscape have passed from generation to generation without the need for her to have been brought up in Bangladesh in order to decipher the cultural meaning of the soundscape. In addition, in this chapter we see how the soundscape is ensounding and resonant, and more particularly is context dependent. Lila and Beatrice's intake of the languages in the soundscape reminding them of isolation is extremely context dependant for its interpretation. Likewise Rosa heard in the same languages the idea of variety and cohabitation in a same space. Because this methexis involves our understanding of the soundscape phenomenologically, we can argue that listening to the soundscape involves our meaning-making practice and talking about such listening can encourage a wider consciousness of the sounds we hear and their creation, reproduction and role in the constitution of the soundscape but also of our understanding of ourselves, through relating deeply to our ensounded bodies. It is of vital importance to carry on the engagement in the participation of the listening process as it enables, in itself, for the relationship between the soundscape and the constitution and variability of place to continue.

In the following chapter, I bring these ideas to the discussion, I expand on the first attribute of the soundscape: its ever-changing nature tied to time and to the dynamics of space. I explore those dynamics from an ensounded and awakened body perspective, focusing on the role of emotions and memory in the interpretation of the soundscape and in the making of place.

8. Soundscape, memory and confinement

I. Finding the balance

In the sixth chapter I discussed issues around mechanic sounds and movement. In the seventh, I explored the influence of culture in the conception of the soundscape and place. As I said previously in this thesis, conceiving place from an ensounded perspective brings us a threefold connection. From having the body as an antenna to incoming vibrations and making meaning of them (hence having a focus on the outside), to having the body and the making of consciousness (*seselelame, gomese* and *sidzezenu*)[66] bringing together memory and emotion (hence with a focus on the inside), to finally having the body as a participative listener,[67] where the inner and outer mix in the act of listening, both to the outside and to oneself listen. We must note that even though this layered progression towards an ensounded perception of place presents three stages, the separation of each is not clear-cut. Thus, there isn't really an exploration of the body as a vibrational receptor without questioning one's own consciousness both bodily and existentially. The three layers are interconnected both temporally and consequentially. So far I analysed the body as a receptor and meaning-making of vibrations in the former and have expanded to explore the body and one's own consciousness of belonging and of being in the latter, exploring different aspects conceiving place from an ensounded perspective. In this coming chapter I investigate the latest point of this triad, the listening in balance between the outer and the inner world.

In this chapter I present three personal stories with the sound of the East End that appeared in my fieldwork and, although quite different from the arch of the last two chapters they are relevant to the making of place through the ensounded body. These three stories present the ensounded body from a closer perspective, delving into the sensations and the being-in-the-world.

In the second part, I expose a case of a gendered ear and analyse how this came to be for Mar. Then, in the third part, I move onto the sounds of nightlife through the lenses of Owen, a barman who dislikes nightlife and feels imprisoned by it. These two snapshots on the experiences of Mar and Owen enable me to move onto Henri in the fourth part. He has been a long term inhabitant of the East End, joining this research project at the end of his time in London and his account is deeply rooted in past memories of a place no longer there. With

[66] As defined by Geurts (2003) and seen in chapter 3.
[67] Departing from the concept of listening as methexis (Nancy 2002)

Henri, we will walk through a space that has changed a lot in the last two decades, listening to the *prégnance* of his memory.

Finally, in the fifth part, I round up the chapter revisiting the notion of ensounded body (Ingold 2007) in light of the information provided in the last three chapters and further explore the differences in the understanding of sound and its effect on the making of place.

The participants' walks

I geographically situate the walks and soundscapes recorded for the three case studies in this chapter and then draw a map of the area so the reader can have a sense of orientation. In this chapter we walk and listen with Owen and Mar, both have particular *déambulations* in the East End. First, Mar is the only participant whose "walk" involved no movement at all. Hers is a soundscape of the East End that is perceived from the immobility of inside a room, her first room upon moving to London's East End, in one of the oldest estates there are, Clifton House in Clubrow street. Owen worked and lived in the East End, in a pub at the junction between Bethnal Green Road and Brick Lane and lived just a bit further East off Bethnal Green Road. Owen asked me to record a night soundscape involving his workplace, however Owen was one of the three participants who did not wish to come with me for the recording nor be in shift at the pub that evening. I go further into the analysis of both these decisions later on in this chapter.

Henri decided to have a bicycle route around the East End because there was quite a vast array of locations to cover. Because of a timetable clash Henri could not accompany me on my bike route but had discussed it at length with me, both the route and what to listen for. Because Henri's account of some spaces was quite out-dated, the result of his recordings was interesting both for me and for himself.

Drawing of area

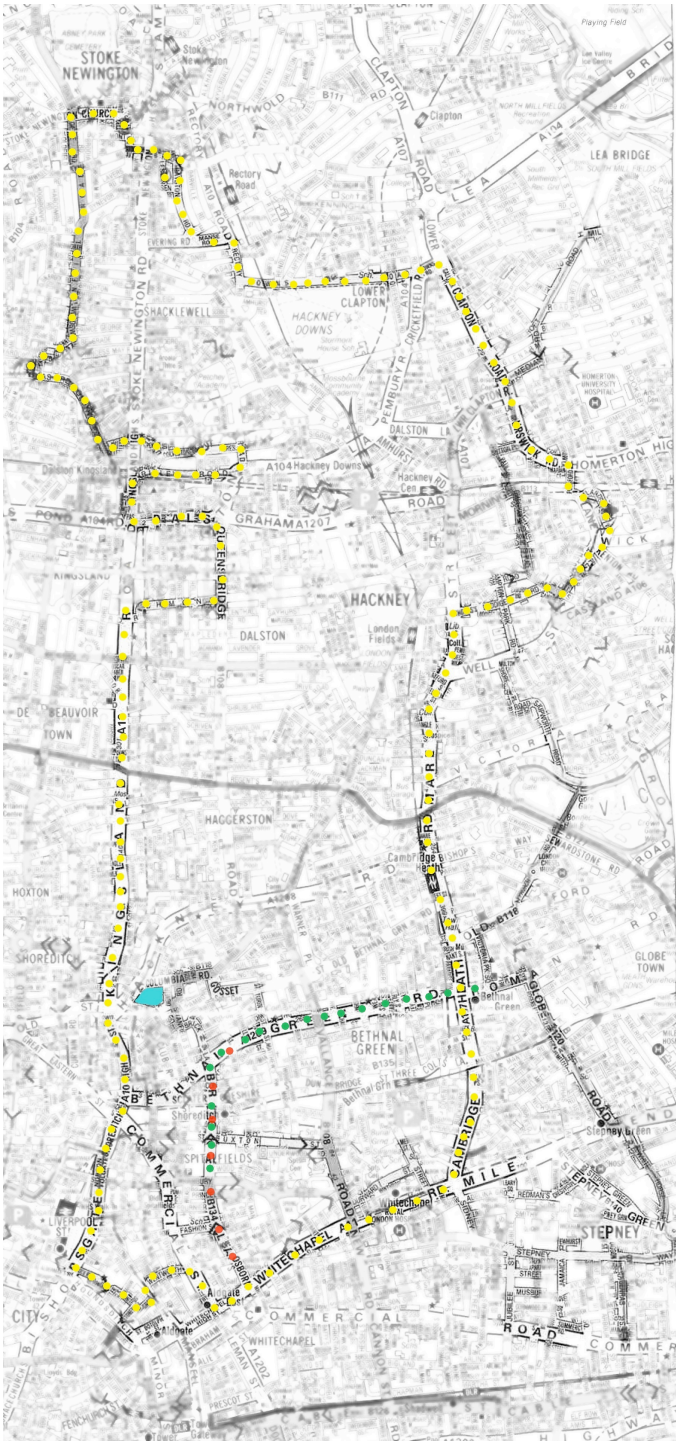

Figure 4. Henri, Owen, Beatrice and Mar's routes in London's East End.

Beatrice's route was walking along the gallery openings there are in Brick Lane, it is red. Henri's was a cycle route here marked in yellow. Mar's was from her bedroom, here marked as a bright blue patch marking her building, right next to Kingsland road, under Columbia

road. Owen's was a route covering his route at the end of his shift at the bar, here marked green.

II. A gendered ear?

Is the soundscape still? An indoors perspective

Mar is an artist and a curator, ascribing herself to the creative class (Florida 2006). She came to London in the noughties and started some artistic collaboration with different entities and artists. She looked for a flat in East London as she wanted to live where the hype was, and ended up living in Clifford house, Clubrow street. Clifford house is an old red brick estate in East London, at the verge between Shoreditch and the City of London; Mar told me it was one of the oldest estates in that area of London and she enjoyed living in it because of the sense of retreat that the flat gave her, notably to her room. She talks very quietly when she speaks about her room and her feelings when she is there. She has a sense of calm when there, somewhat a stillness that transpires through the grain and volume of her voice as well as little hand gestures. The room is painted white, with most of the furnishings either white or wooden colour, this is in contrast to the images and textiles in the room which are bright. It is a small attic room, with a window overseeing the estate courtyard.

When talking with Mar about her perception of the soundscape she brings up a dual notion of sound, for her sound is both comforting and upsetting at the same time. She wants to feel an element of control over an uncontrollable event, the urban sonic ambiance. Hence when she tells me what she would like me to record the sound in her bedroom when the window is partially open, as her representation of the East End's soundscape, I find it very coherent with regards to her discourse on sound. Mar feels that the sound in her room is something she can have an active influence on. She can adjust the width of the opening of the window, endeavouring to either invite in or shut out the sonic ebb and flow of the city as it bounces back and forth inside the small court at Clifford house.

Mar talks about her identification of the East End's soundscape with her balcony's background sound. Taking into account that her room was her working and living space at the same time, she spent a lot of time there. It was an attic room in a top floor flat, with a dormer window leading to the courtyard of the estate from which she hears the city. It is interesting how the sound bouncing off the courtyard makes Mar feel like she hears the city as a background, giving her a "panoramic over the East End".

Living at the edge between the city and a more, then residential, space, the sounds that emerge in the courtyard are a mix between sirens, heavy but distant traffic and everyday sounds made by the inhabitants of the estate and the surrounding streets. She finds the distant sound of the city soothing, because "you know it is there, at a safe distance but close enough" (Mar, interview extracts), there is a continuous trickle sound of sirens, quite a "packed soundscape" (Mar, interview extracts) but still there seems to be a notion of stillness, like an ambient sound that is there without really being listened to, a sense of comfort in sound established by its continuity. For Mar, the sounds she hears in her bedroom, may they be from the City of London that is further south-west or from the courtyard or the adjacent streets which constitutes what she identifies as the soundscape of the East End.

The enclosed ear: listening from within four walls

Mar appears in need to feel a sense of protection away from an imminent startling or loud sound, the seclusion of her room allows her to sense the soundscape in a fashion where she has a (small) element of control, volumetric mainly, and involving the closure or opening of the window. Sound permeates through the single glazed window and regardless how far away the source is, it still travels through and comes uninvited until reaching our eardrums (Oleksik et al. 2008). This sense of control is more a control of a personal anxiety than the soundscape itself. In fact, Mar speaks about the need to have a background sound but for it not to exceed a certain volume. She finds it annoying when she, for example, needs to concentrate on something, but cannot phantom living in an environment devoid of this constant background. The persistent presence of the soundscape placates her anxiety by providing her with a never ending confirmation that there is something going on and she considers she has a choice on whether to join in or not.

This conception of sound as the metonymy for the city life happening at her doorstep has a supposedly positive outlook for Mar. The bedroom is a tool for her to control her anxiety, it is a known and regulated environment in which she can feel safe and calm, instead of being in the streets surrounding her house where, in the evening, she gets scared by the sound of what she terms "tramps and drunken people" (Mar, interview extracts).

There are different stories about experiencing the soundscape from a room. Lila says that for some of the women in her English lesson group, the home is their primary and almost only realm, going outside without a family male member accompanying them is difficult and frowned upon by other members of their community. The city is then experienced from the

boundaries of their home, constantly mediated by the walls that enclose them. Because sound penetrates through most surfaces, notably glass, the soundscape can still be experienced. Nevertheless, the making of place in both these scenarios is in conflict; I have argued during this research that the soundscape has an influence on the ways in which we conceive, represent and navigate space, making it our own, inscribing it with our orientations, affects and emotions, but what happens when the soundscape is experienced away from the space from which it emanates?

In order to engage with this question I must first address the ways in which this enclosing may be connected to gender[68]. One of the reasons Mar identifies East End's soundscape as being the one she gathers in her bedroom is because she has a sense of calmness and comfort, it is her bedroom and she has made it hers, the space perspires her making of place and there is a tacit sense of security in her discourse. She is safe in her room, away from the aggressive sounds of the city (Schwartz 2003). Lila's students report a similar sense, the home is felt as a safe environment for them to carry out their activities. Then, we can agree that space is gendered (Haraway 1988; Bates 2010; Degen 2010; Massey 2000; Degen and Rose 2013; Low 2014) in its use, so is its perception, and by proxy the experience of the soundscape. In the examples above we can see that the ways in which these two women react to the soundscape are strongly influenced by their response to space. And this reverts back to the notion of orientations we have been working on from the beginning of the research. The politics of space permeate in the same way sound does and there is a hetero-normal organisation and expectation of usage of space (Ahmed 2008b), sound however filters through uncontrolled. Attending to the soundscape may clarify the orientations one has with regards to the hetero-normal politics of space. Do we comply with them or do we look for a vertical relation to space that enables the construction of navigational paths that transcend, or transgress this politics. In this case, Mar, much to her own surprise, seems to experience space hetero-normally. She is a feminist and strongly makes a stand against such politics, not only through her way of dressing but also through her bodily attitude, and her bold tone of voice when she talks about feminist issues. Her relation to space once the sun is down is one of fear and subjugation, one where traversing an empty square through its centre would not appear as a good idea. The dialogue she establishes with the soundscape transpires a need to control but at the same time a need to find something that reassures her comfort.

With Lila's and Mar's accounts of the ways in which the soundscape is perceived we can hear a gendered ear coming through, this will become particularly noticeable later on in this chapter when I counterpoise it with Owen's perception of the night's sonic ambiance. The

[68] See also Fenster (2005) and contrast with Brown (1996).

notion of the gendered ear wants to echo with the ideas and research on gendered ways of navigating space, recently brought up by Low (2014) in her study of two squares in Costa Rica. Both her observations and her diagrams clearly portray a different navigational path in those squares segregated not only by time of day but also by gender. She argues that the making of place in the squares depends on the embodiment of space, which differs according to several parameters, one being gender. This responds to the hetero-normal organisation of space and the orientations that every person inhabits. In the current case, Mar expressed concerns of safety with regards to the sound in a street, in a similar fashion as people who are fearful when a street is poorly lit at night, and therefore her spatial bearings are marked by these emotions and orientations, which in her case, add up to the sense of control over her environment she needs to feel, control and, to a degree, predictability. She needs an urban-background sound to feel safe since silence or quiet sounds, heighten her sense of anxiety. Mar is listening to herself listen in that she actively and consciously has analysed her own disposition to the soundscape because of her anxiety. Her need to tame the anxiety has prompted her to get to know its triggers and then steer away from them. In the following section I explore another relationship to the sound of discomfort but instead of being a relationship steaming from control it is one that comes from a sense of entrapment.

III. Nightlife sounds

I must work here, but I wish I didn't: transferring negative feelings towards the soundscape

Owen is preparing to go to the pub, finishing off his day job that, cannot yet sustain him economically, hence he works night shifts at a pub. He prepares his bag and zooms on his bicycle towards the corner of Bethnal Green road and Brick Lane road, to the pub where he will spend the next eight hours on night shift. Owen earns his living as a barman in one of the busiest pubs there are in the Brick Lane area. He tells me about his job, his team mates and the boss, all working amongst a variety of languages and how communication is difficult sometimes because of a language barrier. This is overcome with a good dose of non verbal language. When he comes back home Owen remarks the eeriness of birds tweeting that have been tweeting for hours, and the sounds of people setting up a market ready to start their day when he is about to go to bed and finish his.

When I ask Owen about the East End's soundscape, he recalls a constant noise, but his memory is mostly associated with nightlife. When he speaks about his daytime experience, he notes he used to live under the Overground line, between the Globe and Rome Roads and it was very noisy, he lived in an ex-council flat and recalls "no sounds out of the ordinary". By

this he means the roaming of vans and cars, children playing, doors slamming and people shouting in the flat above. He speaks of the area as having a "young middle class crowd" that has moved in and therefore it is now difficult to tell if one is an outsider. He considers it a trendy place to live in and wonders about whether there are "heirs" to the area, and who they are. This responds to the dual construction of *real community* and *rightful heirs* typical of some globalisation discourses in urban theory (Zukin 1995; Sassen 2002) and community studies discourses (Gavro, Dench and Young 2011[69]). It is contrary to the notion of community brought forward in this research, as elaborated earlier on, where community is seen as transnational and fluctuating (Gupta and Fergusson 1997), without heirs or rightful inhabitants. Therefore, it enables the focus on a shifting population, which is a reality for the East End and their dynamics. This is why when Owen was questioning the situation of the heirs of the East End, I explained that in my conception there is no such thing, every user of space is rightful in their use.

This is in sharp contrast with his night-time soundscape, which is governed by a sense of volume oscillation within a constant bothersome noise ambiance. The repetitive dry sound of brushes sweeping, the watery sliding of mops cleaning, the echoing bang of items thrown into dustbins, the static continuum of plastic bags dragged with the musical composition of bottles bouncing inside lead way to drunken customers needing to be invited to leave by the patron or walking in the streets around, stumbling as they try to make their ways to destination unknown. His account feels suffocated, lacking space, as if it was held in a vacuum, probably in a time vacuum in which Owen feels trapped and needs to provide for himself.

A trapped anxiety: discomforts through the soundscape

I want to explore this sense of time vacuum. When I ask Owen about the recording he wants us to do, he is the only participant who does not want to be involved with the recording. Owen, Henri and Beatrice's are the recordings I did by myself. Henri and Beatrice's unfortunately were a clash of timetables but Owen categorically did not want to be involved in it.

He told me that his biggest and more recurrent memory of sound is that of a "really loud noise of lobbing an industrial bin bag full of empty bottles carelessly onto the bin and it smashing" (Owen, interview extracts) when reflecting on it says that it was probably quite a

[69] We can also find more on the impact of the publication here http://www.theguardian.com/society/2007/apr/25/communities.britishidentityandsociety.

big nuisance for the neighbours as he really wasn't paying attention to the volume of the bottles. By that time he had already finished the bar clearing up and was about to finish his shift, one of his last jobs being to throw the empty bottles in the bin. He acts out the bodily movement of lifting the bag and throwing it in a semi circular motion from his back to the container in front of him. The bag goes from a synthetic continuous sound of being pulled over to a silence in the air until it crashes on an uneven bang of glass against metal, only briefly muffled by a thin layer of synthetic plastic, slightly thicker than regular house bin bags. Owen asked me to record this sound and in the background have the last slow stream of partygoers leave the pub.

Far from the fascination shown by Sandhu (2006) or Morton (1926), Owen's night account is one of routine, obligation and transpires a sense of entrapment, an anxiety to leave as soon as possible, making the choice of soundscape quite cunning. In fact, this soundscape marks the moment he has finished his duties at the pub, and is about to leave. This is in contrast with the uncanny tweeting of the birds coming earlier than dawn, from the first hours of the day; a sound that is contrary to the bottles' for its subtlety and rhythmical demeanour.

This account reveals an anxiety and uneasiness in the perception of the soundscape. It mirrors his own sense with regards to having a 'paying-the-rent' job that he dislikes. Owen comes from a middle class family, well established in the UK. He attended an independent school outside London and did his degree in London. Owen's day job is his passion and what he devotes a good amount of his time towards, he is in the creative industries but it does not yet yield enough for him to make a living of it. He must work in another job to pay for his living expenses, but he does not like it; when meeting with him it is as if his night job was robbing him of energy to achieve his passion.

Owen felt a trapped sense of anxiety towards the sounds of his job, and he associated it widely that space with that feeling, his making of place in that space was strongly conditioned by this anxiety. This came out in our last meeting, where we summed up the experience after he listened to the tape, that was the first meeting with Owen were he was relieved to some extent, and when I asked him why had he refused to come to do the recording with me he said that he did not want to experience that sound unless he absolutely had to and that was the reason behind his refusal. He said that listening back to the tape brought back more positive than negative memories.

When we spoke about the sounds of the East End, it took Owen a little while to engage in our conversation, he circled around the thematic of sound reflecting about the area and his

involvement in it, giving the impression it was not a theme he had ever thought about in a dedicated manner. Once he started talking about the sounds, and he focussed on his job, the level of description given to the sounds was interesting, as they were sounds poured with emotion. Unbecoming sounds, unintelligible sounds, ordinary sounds, and sounds of repetition, leading to an acknowledged soundtrack of obligation that repeats itself on every night of shift and that somehow, overshadows other sonic inputs the East End he might have contributed towards. This is similar to the account Mar gave, where anxiety played a part in the conception and making of place, in fact place was compartmentalised into sections of 'anxiety' or 'control'. Both Mar and Owen felt themselves listening, not only listening to the incoming sounds but also sensing themselves while receiving the aforementioned sounds. Theirs was a process of introspection and reflexivity, that came out when we started speaking about the soundscape, then a realisation of said process came to light for them and they told me it had helped them understand why the city is like it is for them.

IV. Sounds of memory

Squatting soundscapes: sounds of change in the city

Henri's experience of the East End is quite different from that of the two previous accounts. His is not an uncomfortable sensation but quite to the contrary, he is very fond of his memories there. As I have said earlier, Henri has been the participant who has lived in the East End the longest. Moving there in the nineties from France, Henri discovered squatting and started living with a group of squatters, moving often from one to the next. Henri, talks at length about cooking pots and music. He tells me about his life as a squatter and the sounds that a squat, generates. There is music playing often, DJs come and have jam sessions, the amplifiers are quite loud. This is coupled with a sense of openness to newcomers who stop by for a few nights. This was a gathering of people who all cooked together "we didn't have heating or hot water so we used to heat the kitchen by opening the electric oven and sitting around it like a fire" and share their space, food and time. Henri feels the squat is a place where loneliness is not really an option, and as much fun as he describes it, it has a sonic impact. Henri is surrounded constantly by a loud ambience at home.

Then when he goes out, traffic is not something that bothers him because he is used to loud volumes and a busy sound ambience that it does not seem to affect him. However, he finds the sound of the tube unbearable, a horrible clunky sound. Henri tells me that the tube's sounds are horrible and make for a misery of a commute, making the commute experience

even worse than having to cross the city in order to get to work. When we speak about what would he like for us to record for this project, Henri has an ambitious request. He wants me to go to several locations where he used to live in squats and record the urban soundscape at that doorstep. I, half bemused half amazed at the amount of locations he is naming, ask how long ago did this happen. Henri's conception of time is somehow squeezed into "then" vs. "now" dynamic making the recalling of the years becomes a little bit of a job, to avoid confusions and establish a clear timeline. Next, is an exerpt of one of our conversations, Henri and I were talking with a map, trying to define the bike route to do all the recordings.

"Flanders way is where I used to live, and where I discovered squatting as one of the flat on our floor got squatted and a pirate station was installed there 'Bedlam FM' it used to be called the tag line was how low can you go as the dial was the lowest on the bandwidth; my friend who ran it used to play most cassette tapes of squat party techno mixes; but also set up the desks for live DJing." Then Henri looks back at the map and remembers another squat that he also wants to include in the tapes "Glenarm road, from September 1997 for 8 months". Then he also wants a recording of a place he used to attend "the junction of Dalston Lane and Pembury road, there used to be a place called the Pembury that was squatted for a very long time by Headfunk sound systems they used to organised a lot of after parties". Then, while revisiting his nightlife he also proposes "the checkpoint a underground - as in physically underground - squat at the corner of Dalston lane and Queensbridge road.

They used to do after parties on Sunday nights until Monday very late. Now he is back to squats "the next place is 5 St Marks Rise our last squat where we stayed about 1.5 years the longest I think" and with squats, he talks about his skipping days and his wanders around the market "Ridley road market which I always liked and where we often used to go skipping for food etc…" Where he would wander *à la flâneur* (Benjamin 2002), observing life unfold, knowing that the days he did not have to work on the bike advertising company he had a lot of time in his hands.

Then Henri carries on pointing places in the map "The next two places are the Arundel Arms pub on Boleyn Rd where we squatted for a long time and where we organised regular parties. This was around 2002 and 2003 I think so more recent in terms of my squatting timeline!" and then he stumbles upon Lancell street "we squatted the last house for a while, and then the last place I have put is the last place I rented in London". At the end of his London time, Henri moved into a rental accommodation with his partner it was a big old converted warehouse around Fountain road, in North London which was a shared space with a lot of the old squatters, each having their own small apartment.

Memories and sounds

Henri was very fond of his memories and we spoke at length about his perception of the East End. Having lived there for so long Henri was testimony to some of the urban regeneration processes. We spoke mainly about the sensation that the knowledge of being in an area in the process of being changed left hanging in the air. Most of the buildings Henri had squatted in were about to be demolished and give way to new developments like the Ability Plaza, east of Kingsland road, next to the Haggerston station of the 2012 refurbished and extended London Overground[70]. Henri used to go skipping[71] around Haggerston and the northern parts of Hackney. He tells me of his *flâneur*-like walks around the area in order to find furniture and maybe some food and how these wanders ended in conversation with several local people who either were not working or retired. Here is where the ambiance of the urban regeneration process is felt by Henri, the people of whom he spoke were, according to him, waiting for it to go away and for the council to invite them to leave their buildings in order to demolish and build another one that would attract "another kind of people and drive the prices up". Long term residents were being forced to leave, as Henri recalls, when this happened in a tower block in Haggerston (one of the locations I later recorded) he was squatting in a fourteen floor high tower and there were only another two flats lived in, the last residents resisting council eviction. Henri talks of this space as being bleak. He divides his perspective of the East End into the bleak East End, covering the Haggerston and Hackney Wick areas and the New East End, around Shoreditch, Bethnal Green and culminating into the Aldgate East - the old Guildhall University area (Metropolitan University City college). He tells me that he feels the bleak part as an area where nostalgia reigns, there is this sense of upcoming and unavoidable change, while the new East End has already undergone a major reorganisation and is now more vibrant, or maybe vibrant in a way that is more eye-catching. I don't get a sense that Henri prefers the 'new' to the 'bleak' spaces, in fact most of his squats have, as is quite understandable are located in the bleak part of the East End and he holds dearly all the memories coming both from the squats and also the nearby community centres, libraries and street lives unfolding, even if they do so at a slower than further south.

Thereby, when Henri proposes the long set of recordings, it is more a choice made through the nostalgia he mentioned earlier, than through a sense of identity as the other participants had done. For him it is not so much that he can crystallise the essence of what he considers

[70] A detail of the renovations phases can be found here: http://www.railway-technology.com/projects/eastlondonlineextens/

[71] Skipping is going to find bits and bobs of furniture and furnishings left in the street by other people. It can also be looking for food that is still good and has been discarded by restaurants or supermarkets. A practice less and less easy to carry after a lot of containers have been fit with a key operated lock.

the East End in a moment or a trajectory, Henri has more a puzzle perception of the area, for him the East End is an amalgam of experiences and memories. And this is where it gets really interesting in our interviews as Henri starts threading the sounds that he recalls, memory sounds with his own experiences in London indistinctly.

For Henri, the soundscape of the East End is not so much a series of sounds but a set of experiences, this is why he asked me to make many recrodings. Henri asked me to record over five different locations, each corresponding to a different mark in his perception of London. Far from the soundmarks proposed by Schaffer (1994), recognisable to many, but still questionable when it comes to establishing the character of a said space as mentioned in Chapter 4, Henri's is oblivious when it comes to anybody but him. This does raise an important question with regards to the soundmarks, who are they soundmarks for? Are they recognisable sounds of a space or are they the essence of the space? In that case, would we consider Big Ben's chimes to be a soundmark? Is it only a soundmark of industrial London? This brings us to the concept of identity formation and space, and in this sense, we can argue that it is influenced notoriously by one's affects and orientations but also by a collectively made identity; at least not initially. Here, habitus (Bourdieu 1994) and the transfer of memory culturally (Seremetakis 1994) not only condition one's orientations but also the ways in which one reacts to the sound and its experience. In Henri's case, we can agree that his choice of recordings for the East End is a manifestation of his need to revisit sonically the spaces he made of places where he stayed. Through this sonic revisit, Henri is then confronted with change, not only his change of circumstances, becoming a parent and moving to the United States, but also of his own perspective of the East End and of London as a whole.

V. The sonorous City

Different sonic approaches to the city

This chapter focussed on three accounts of the space and the soundscape that are rooted in a phenomenological experience of space. For starters, the ear has not been the only receptor of sound. The phenomenological relation to sound is built from the ear and skin inwards; we receive from the ear but also with our bodies. The resonance of sound does not only ensound our bodies but also our brains, we vibrate with every sound wave. Then, our habitus, orientations and affects help shape the way in which our sensations transform into our conception of space and the making of place. A same set of sounds, like night sounds for example, can be perceived as part of a work routine and resented for what they mean in

terms of lifestyle, like in Owen's case. Or, in Mar's case, they can trigger a sense of anxiety and non-safety, making the person become more inclined to prefer a more continuous sonic background.

As Schwartz (2003) notes, the ear is seen as indefensible and vulnerable to the aggression of the city sound. Sound can be loud, continuous and tied to space: there is no way of eliminating it fully. For people like Mar sound is also necessary, it provides a comforting background that gives us a sensation of safety and calm e led by silence. For Owen there are sounds that obfuscate one's existence, becoming a constant reminder of what one wants but does not achieve. As mentioned in chapter 5, one of the properties of sound is that of transduction and this chapter provides three examples of such thing. They hear in sound, they hear the sounds in the soundscape. They hear out of the sound, having the sounds awaken a sense of resentment or anxiety. Finally, they hear through sound, sound connecting their past and present experiences.

The three accounts of the East End's soundscape have contributed to the clarification of the phenomenological attributes of place presented in chapter 2. In fact, if we are to look at them again, we might be able to further understand how an attention to the soundscape can be a useful tool in order to understand the phenomenological composition of place.

As I mentioned in chapter 2, place is global and multilocal, the experience of the soundscape allows for a connectedness between different locales through memory and experience. In this chapter we explored this through the account provided by Henri. Henri's sonic account of the East End is already an account of different locales through memory that all come to constitute the East End as place. Then, place is situated and in this chapter we have seen how the being-in-the-world of the bodies that make place contributing to the situation of place through their own situations and through their orientations and habitus. Third, place is related and in this chapter we have visited this relatedness through linking the experience of the soundscape with the relationship that people are establishing between space, time and history; both of the space (like in Henri's and Owen's case) and their own. Finally, place's in-betweenness, which is the attribute that has least been explored in this chapter as it has been further investigated in the first empirical chapter.

We can conclude that a phenomenological approach to the urban soundscape contributes to further inform the phenomenological attributes of place enumerated in chapter 2. At this point, it is interesting to note to what extent the participants of this research realised the ways in which their own relationship to the urban soundscape might have contributed to the

making of place beyond what their discourse was constructing. In other words, did the point at which they became aware of their sensuous bodies become a conscious moment during the research?

In the next chapter I endeavour to answer the questions proposed through examining the last meeting I had with each of them, almost two years after having made the recordings with them. The next chapter explores their reactions after listening to their recordings and for which some participated.

9. Conclusions. The urban whisper; ensounded bodies and the making of place

I. Starting to finish

Back to the introduction

In the introduction I presented two sonic vignettes. The first introduced the space of this research, London's East End. The second introduced a traffic accident. I am partially blind and photophobic because I banged my head twice on the asphalt in that traffic accident. My eye's nerves are perfect; it is my brain that is blind. As such, the soundscape has become central in my relationship with space. It is now an intrinsic part of my urban habitation process and making of place. Also I like to listen to life unfolding. I guess it has to do with spending a long time not being able to communicate properly and being in the dark. I remember listening to the noises under the door of the dark room I had to lie in for weeks. Once I resumed everyday life, I thought about concentrating on listening and engaging with the city's dialogue. Listening while I perform my mundane everyday tasks to myself, to the city and to our mingling. I like to attune myself to the beauty there is in the subtle instants of everyday life that are overheard (Cerón 2008).

This study has brought place, emotion and the soundscape together through the making of place. I examined how this articulation pivots around the sensuously awake body, exploring the relationship between this body, emotion and the soundscape in the making of place. This has two main implications.

On the one hand, it puts the body at the centre of the discussion on place, emotion and soundscape. Thus bringing a phenomenological reading to place, a relational and bodily centred reading to emotion and invites the soundscape to be understood as ensounding (Ingold 2007) and transductive (Helmreich 2010) connecting us both to our bodies, emotions and memories. Researching the articulation among place, emotion and soundscape has also brought forward the importance of listening participatively, by engaging oneself and the soundscape at the same time.

On the other hand, it strengthens the need to bring forward a sensuous methodology to investigate, which prevents a dead sociological account (Back 2012) and will also include the

sensuous data to be central in the account. In turn, this methodology also unearths different cartographies of the everyday that are accessible through listening to the soundscape. Another critical perspective on place and space that can also bring a different outlook to the politics of space.

Articulating the end: outline of the chapter

In the next part of the chapter (II), I revisit the last meeting I had with my participants, investigating the sensuous awakening of the body. Attending to our sensuous selves is a route to awaken our sensorium and integrating the already existing sensuousness into the processes of making place and living in the urban soundscape. It is there, but becoming aware of it enables us to use it to better understand our relations to the urban space, to sound and to ourselves. After having explored the theoretical background that this thesis has, and analysed my empirical work, I argue that the soundscape is a key element in the making of place and it is an always present and changing element. Here, I will stress again the meaning making attributes of the soundscape and bring back the idea of listening as participation. If we listen to the soundscape we can bring the making meaning of space to another level, explored in acoustemology and brought into the urban sphere. Then, sound is also a way of making meaning of ourselves listening, bringing back emotions and memory to decipher and interpret the sounds we hear. Our representation of the urban and making of place is deeply tainted by our own emotions and our memory altogether conditioned by our habitus. We find meaning in, out and beyond the soundscape, connecting past and present in the moment of sound.

In the third part (III), I concentrate on my first contribution through further exploring the articulation among place, emotion and the soundscape. Instead of revisiting the articulation between the three discussions, as done in chapter 5, I focus on the soundscape. Then, through revisiting the soundscapes' attributes as laid out in chapters 4 and 5, I make a final argument for listening as methexis (Nancy 2002) and its engagement between body, soundscape and space: stressing the argument of the sensuous body at the centre of this engagement. Then, via a final clarification between listening and hearing I strengthen the importance of a participative listening in our cosmopolitan cities.

In fact, next (Part IV) I present some of the cartographies emerging from my fieldwork analysis. I depart from the argument that a sensuous attention to the urban can help make audible issues that may otherwise be overpowered by the asynchrony of the urban cacophonies some might experience. This speaks directly to the second contribution of the

thesis, the importance of a sensuous methodology. Then, through a sensuous attention, both experientially and methodologically, other cartographies of the city can appear. The politics of sound and the cultural politics of sound are two aspects of what listening to the urban environment can unveil. An attention to the soundscape is another tool to understand place from a different perspective, place and its politics.

In the last part of the chapter (V), I reflect on the areas for further development in future investigations and set my research agenda for the coming years, drawing on what has come out of the present thesis and expanding on its possibilities and applications.

I would like to bring forth the fact that cities are in constant dialogue with us, they want to speak with us, to sing and to resonate with us. Allowing our bodies to ensound with the urban soundscape gives us the key to part of the tacit information that the city is whispering and, through an attentive listener the dweller can learn more about the space, but also about itself, connecting to its emotions as well as to the cities. They become relational phenomena that evolve with its dwellers. In fact, attending to the urban soundscape is a way to understand how rooted we are in the evolution and, above all, representation of cities, from the making of place to its politics and its growth, we are part of it; and in as much as we are part of the city, and therefore, it is not a homogenising element, our senses are part of ourselves and we should embrace our sensuous, emotional and rational selves as all part of what we are.

II. Listening to the soundscape for a sensuous awakening

The calling back to the sensuous body: the last meeting with my participants

As I said in the previous chapter, my fieldwork concluded with a final meeting with 7 out of my 8 participants.[72] These meetings were held after they each had listened to the recording(s), either done together or done by myself as per their instruction. These last meetings were held between July 2014 and March 2015. Only three of my eight participants were still living in London at that time, the other five were Skype meetings. Instead of thinking about it as being a fieldwork in two stages, they spoke about the time when they took part in the research as if it was in the past and well over by then. This proved to be a very positive, albeit not quite expected, way of finishing the fieldwork. Through this last meeting they reconnected with their ideas and sensations but from a distance, so they became quite self-reflexive about themselves.

[72] Unfortunately I have not yet been able to get hold of Dave for that last meeting.

Beatrice listened to the tapes and then wanted to listen back to them while I was there, we met in her flat in South London this time, on a sunny afternoon and I could tell that she was feeling quite excited. She told me it was really nice to hear the tapes and then she carried on speaking about how London's East End had changed since we did the fieldwork together. It took me a while to fully understand what was happening, Beatrice thought that the files I had passed for her to listen were 2014 recordings of the entrance to gallery openings, like the ones she had asked me to do back in late 2012. When I told her that those were the files I had produced back in 2012, she was very surprised. For her, it did not sound at all like she remembered it, she thought that the Essex accent of a passer-by was the tell tale about how recent the files were.[73] Upon discovering their age, she found it bizarre that she could not relate to them. She could place where the sounds had been recorded (outside one of the galleries from the Truman Brewery buildings) but she just could not relate to them in the way she was expecting to.

Mar told me the sound was "perturbing, dirty, disturbing background noise, constant, very grey, bothersome" and that she could not relate it to when she was living there. Rosa felt a sense of disconnection. Not being able to place her body in the listening position, as in, not being able to ensound her body with the sound and the movement of sound (since Rosa's was a bike ride's recording) making her experience of listening back to the recording a rather negative one. In a similar fashion, Lila could place the sounds in space but could not relate to them as she had been while we were recording it.

For Henri[74] and Owen, instead of causing a negative disjunction, it brought back a positive sensation from the sounds. Re-listening to the tapes was like finally rekindling separate music scores under a larger one, that of the city itself. Owen told me that he could now look back without having that resentment that he used to feel. Shefali said that she had spotted that the second file I had sent her was not one we had recorded together. Well, needless to say, both tracks had been the result of our recordings together. This just comes to prove the extent to which Shefali felt disconnected to a set of sounds that we had been talking about at length. Through this thesis I made an argument for a different mode of attending to the urban, concentrating on the sense of hearing and its relation to the making of place. In the coming section I am going to link this back to the awakening of the sensuous body using the last meeting we had with my participants.

[73] Beatrice then told me that the East End has become a must go night scene for many people from the outskirts of London, and Essex particularly.
[74] For a discussion on sound, community and cultural identity please see Gluck (2005).

The constant element of the soundscape swings from a feeling of comfort (in Rosa's account as seen in earlier chapters) to a sensation of being aggressed (Mar), which many of the participants related to in the last meeting. This disjunction between their accounts and their last meeting comes to show that sound does matter in our relationship to space and the making of place. Moreover, the sensation of disjuncture between what they remembered and what they listened to is an indicator that they were missing their bodies being ensounded[75]. They connect it to the present, the moment of sound (LaBelle 2010) and also the fine balance between the outer environment and the inner self (Nancy 2002). Through this appeal to the inner world, they also connect it to the making of consciousness (Seremetakis 1994; Geurts 2003), making of meaning of ourselves through our emotions and memory. The body is awake sensuously and connected to the outer environment and to the inner self (Haraway 1988). As Rosa put it: "it was very difficult not to be able to place myself at that moment", that is the moment of sound, where the participation between the body and the soundscape happens through the act of listening participatively.[76]

Not many of the participants had given much thought to the soundscape of the city or the relation that this may have with our ways of making place. The moment they decided to take part in the research and initiated their thinking about the soundscape, their relation to it changed and they started to question it. The process of awakening the sensuous body lies in that moment of thought, noticing that there might be more to the sounds we hear than their temporal attribute, than their temporality. Thinking about the sonority of the city and their relationship to it and space triggered their aurally sensuous bodies to start awakening and it has been positively received. They did awaken their body, by questioning their bodily relation to space and the soundscape and by being open to the invitation I gave them to embark into a journey of discovery of these relations.

Attending to the urban through the sense of hearing enabled the participants to connect with their bodies but also with their memories, orientations (Ahmed 2008b) and habitus (Bourdieu 1994). This in turn, shed light into their processes of moving and reflecting about the urban space they inhabited. It ended up making them think about their ways of making place, notably the relationship among the urban soundscape and their living and making of place. Therefore, we can argue that attending to the urban sensuously has, in this case, unveiled a relationship among the body, emotion and the making of place. It has made more

[75] As I mentioned in the first chapters, the body is ensounded when the vibrations of sound traverse it.
[76] Listening participatively entails the process of methexis, participation between the listener and what is being listened to.

evident the connection between them, particularly through a reflexive practice on their spatial inhabitation.

We can argue that sound has played an important role in the awakening of the sensuous body and in their making of place. Through listening to the urban soundscape, they also listened to their relationship with space.

Therefore, I conclude that in this instance, the process of a sensuous awakening has carried on because it was based on a self-reflexive journey in which our meetings and conversations served basically as vocalising their own thought processes and making them more aware of their own relation to both the soundscape and space. The aurally sensuous awake body has remained awake in their cases and they duly noted it by having this sensation of separation with the recorded tracks I gave them; it now informs their everyday experience of the urban environment and enables them to grasp an understanding of the urban, and of their balance between the inner world and the outer environment that is, at least, louder and more active.

III. The soundscape's relation to the making of place: 1st contribution

Listening participatively to the soundscape

In the introduction I said the question behind this research was how can the sensory experience of the urban soundscape reveal different processes of making place in everyday life. While in the last section I argued for the importance of the body to be sensuously awake. I have also exposed this body as being not only awake but connecting place, sound and emotion. It is the gate for us to experience to urban corporeally. I have not yet reviewed my argument for a focus on the soundscape.

In order to do so, I will first go over the soundscape's attributes that I mentioned in chapters 4 and 5. The soundscape is ever changing, tied to time and space's dynamics. It is also cultural but not necessarily local, it can be multi-local as with place (seen in chapter 2). Then, the soundscape is ensounding and resonanting as we have been seeing in the previous section. It depends on listening as a way of entering into this ensoundment. Finally, the soundscape is context dependent, and this reverts back to its first attribute, its dependence lies with its interpretation and its creation. If we are to link the soundscape's attributes to place's we need a middle element, which is, the listening and ensounded body. The phenomenological relationship to sound is built from the ear and skin outwards. At the same

time, the phenomenological relationship to place depends on the situation of the body at a geographical level, at a global level, at a relational level and personal level (and here is where the habitus comes into play). They both depend on the body. Their interaction is tied to time, in their ever-changing nature and also to the ensounded bodies that make them both.

I have argued that place is situated and made by situated individuals who are conditioned by their habitus. And place is also related to the connections between the people who make place but also to the articulations among the dynamics of space that make place, and the soundscape and the people are key elements of these relations. Bodies are not only dependant on society but also on their own bodies and their own listening, albeit it being socially conditioned (Smart 2007) and linked to habitus. When we attend to the soundscape in order to gain a better understanding of the processes of making place, we are only focussing in one of the variables involved in the making of place. Since the relationship between the ensounded body to sound connects to experience, history, time and space, then we can argue that this attention brings forward an understanding of the making of place deeply rooted in the body's sensorium.

As such, I am arguing that listening to the soundscape engages the body in a meaning making process that is three-fold. It engages the body with the outer environment, with itself and with itself listening. It sheds light on the making of place and place's construction by proxy, but also on the body's process of the making of meaning of the urban, of oneself's sensing and of oneself sensing the urban. In this sense, attending to the urban soundscape unveils a profound meaning of the making of place, that, because of the characteristics of the soundscape, goes in, out and beyond the bodies that make place. I have argued that indeed, we find meaning in, out and beyond the soundscape. Connecting past and present in the moment of sound through a participative listening, and by doing so, we also find the meaning in, out and beyond the making of place, re-situating our position within the urban towards an, at least, more informed and balanced one.

Bodies connected

The difference between listening and hearing is that listening warrants an engagement with sound, entering into the moment of sound (LaBelle 2010), hence listening participatively (Nancy 2002). Participating is relating. It is to position the body the maker of place at the epicentre of the relationship with the soundscape. The listener must engage with the soundscape. She can do so either passively, through substituting it with another soundscape, as Shefali would at some points with her iPod (Bull 2000; 2007). Or else, actively, like we

have seen in this research and in acoustemology research (Feld 1994, 2005; Gershon 2011). As I mentioned in the fieldwork, it is of paramount importance to adopt a hearing-out attitude. It will place the body in the midst of the soundscape, being ensounded inside of it (Ingold 2007). Also, it will in a very physical sense, make the body feel the vibrations of sound through the thick and thin of our physical constitution. Thus, it will ensound the body and connect it to itself, to our own relationship with the environment and to ourselves listening.

Moreover, this way of listening highlights the connectivity of sound, or the transductive aspect of it (Helmreich 2010): meaning to listen in, out and beyond the soundscape. Then the connecting element of listening is enhanced because it moves across space, time, memory and emotion. It links the body to its emotions, which are tightly bound to the senses. Interlaced between the ways we react to our senses and how we interpret them (Rodaway 1994; Degen 2014). As we have seen earlier in chapter 3, emotions are also relational (Burkitt 2014). They connect us to each other and to ourselves, and they establish patterns in which we relate to the world (Geurts 2003; Burkitt 2014). Moreover, they are intrinsic to the embodied making of meaning, and our consciousness. They also relate to our emplacement (Pink 2009) both as makers of the soundscape and as listeners. Understanding listening as participation sheds light on the relation between the soundscape and the making of place.

In this section I argued for the importance of placing the body in the middle of emotion, soundscape and space in order to understand the making of place from a phenomenological perspective. By doing this, I have sought to investigate the making of place in a transdisciplinary way. Inviting the boundaries between emotion, sound and space to become more permeable and, through a sensuous methodology, awaken the sensuous body. The ensounded body is an awake sensuous body, listening and participating in this listening. It is, as I have been arguing, a connected body. It is connected to place, to sound and to emotion. The ensounded body is therefore, a key to revealing different processes of making place in everyday life.

IV. Towards a sensuous methodology

Phenomenological place: a corporeal experience

As we have seen in the previous section, sound has a relation to the making of place. In this section I go back to the main points on the investigation of the relationship among the

soundscape, body and the making of place. I strengthen the argument that a sensuous methodology and research creates different cartographies of the city where the body stands at it epicentre. This, while speaking to my initial contribution of positioning the body at the centre of three urban discourses: place, emotion and soundscape, also speaks to my second contribution. In it, I have argued for a sensuous methodology in the study of the urban to enable access to less explored ways of attending to the city.

From the analysis, we have seen that the focus on sound encourages my participants to talk about how listening mattered in terms of making place. It was relevant on two levels, it made them think about space differently as it did about their bodies. Thus they enhanced their own feelings of makers and composers of the soundscape through understanding listening as an act of participation.

Therefore, thinking about place from a participatory position brings up a body-centred perspective on place. It is not only relational but also phenomenological. As said in chapter 2, place is global and multilocal in a mutually dependent relationship. It is also situated, and its situation depends both on the bodies that are making place and their own being in the world. Place is in-between the measurable and the perceivable in its making. Also, it is related to the connections between the people who make place, time and history as well as the articulations between the different dynamics that make place. My participants thought of the soundscape as a meaning making practice. Talking about the sounds encouraged them to widen their consciousness of their listening and thus, the relationship they established with the soundscape. It made them expand their own understanding of the space (hence, their making of place) through relating to their ensounded bodies. Then we can argue that listening to the soundscape and reflecting on the ways of listening is a key element in bringing out the body from the background. In doing so, the phenomenological attributes of place listed above become more apparent.

When place is explored phenomenologically, we are actually visiting the city as it is, a corporeal experience (Degen 2014), an encounter between a series of stimuli and our bodies. Through this encounter we make meaning and negotiate ourselves in the city. We make place from the body, but we also make place for the body. As I have argued, we must awaken our bodies to their sensuousness in order to make this phenomenological outlook on place emerge more clearly. Attending to the urban through its soundscape would enable this process to happen.

In addition, in order to account for the sensuous awakening and living the city as a corporeal experience we must go towards a sensuous methodology that allows for the senses to be the main data gatherers but also for this sensory data to be central to research projects. A sensuous methodology in the investigation of place involves using the body as a data gatherer, from soundwalking (Westerkamp 1974; Back 2010b; Lee 2010) to interviewing, a sensuous methodology allows the methods to be live and adapt to the depiction of a live phenomenon (Back 2012). Walking has been a way to be in space but also an invitation for their sensuous selves to perceive a different kind of urban life (Drever 2009) through listening. It is there already, we must just make our bodies and our methodologies sensitive to its observation and investigation. A sensuous methodology can be an invitation to revisit the tactics of space (de Certeau 1988), providing a critical listen to the making of place, which at the same time brings a different attention to the politics of place, space and the urban (Back and Puwar 2012).

Politics of sound

Throughout the thesis, we have seen some issues emerge that have to do with urban politics. In the introduction I brought forward an aim of this thesis to, through attending to the soundscape, bring another critical outlook on the politics of sound. This is possible through an attention to the soundscape and a sensuous methodology. Hence, through attending to the soundscape, the participants reflected about their relationship with the city, enabling some issues around politics of space to emerge through listening to the soundscape.

Keith (2005) notes that the cosmopolitan city is a space for opportunity. However, listening to the soundscape has highlighted issues of belonging and exclusion, as seen through Shefali and Dave's accounts. This brings into question the idea of London being an example for cosmopolitanism (Vertovec 2007) since it points at segregation instead of a commodification of cultures (Jones 2006). It also highlighted issues around white invisibility by comparison to other louder cultures (as Shefali puts it). Therefore placing a strong emphasis on the way of sounding and race (Smith 2007; Back 2010) are associated.

I want to bring the idea of vertical orientations (Ahmed 2008b) back from chapter 3; this issue goes back to reacting to a normally orientated pattern of behaviour. Through attending to the soundscape, some of these patterns come afloat, inviting us to reflect on the ways in which they articulate and their self-renewal. Listening to the city might provide us with the tools to identify and hopefully interrupt the vertical orientations of space we have and instead, adopt a more diagonal orientation to prevent these issues from being passed on.

Space is gendered and it conditions our navigation through it (Low 2014). Moreover, as we have seen through Mar's and Shefali's account, it has an impact on the relationship we establish with sound. This appeared briefly, and in a very person specific case, in chapter 8 when analysing Mar's relationship to the soundscape and the city as an indoor mediated one. It contrasted with Owen's account, which albeit being a night soundscape, did not even present an ounce of fear. Both soundscapes were very close geographically. It appeared as if the sounds Mar identified as frightening, Owen rationalised as just drunken people's sounds. Attending to the soundscape makes the gendering of our relation to space to be made more evident, like when Shefali talks about the position of a Muslim woman on the time of the Friday call for prayer in opposition to that of a man's.

In this thesis I only signposted some of the issues around spatial politics that arise when we listen to space and to our relation with it. The relation between urban politics, regeneration and soundscape is a fascinating area of research that I only glimpsed at during this project. Because the emphasis of my project was on the articulation between place-emotion/senses-soundscape, I did not go in depth with these issues. Instead I chose to signpost them but leave them to develop in the future in other research projects. In the next section I draw on other areas that have been signposted in this research but have a lot of room for further investigation. Then, I first sum up the main conclusions of this chapter and the overall thesis.

V. The whisper of cities

Closing circles

In this chapter I started off by exploring the outcome of the last meeting with the research participants. Through it, I have further analysed the processes behind the sensuous awakening of the body. I also argued that an active participative listening is a key element in the aural sensuous awakening of the body and that such awakening persists and evolves as long as the listening stays participative.

Then, I concentrated on further investigating the relationships there are between the soundscape and the making of place, arguing that the ways in which I conceptualised place and soundscape pivot around the figure of the body. As such, the body becomes not only the centrepiece of both conceptualisations but of their dialogue as well. It is the receptacle and the projector of the relations established between both, and the meaning making potential

the soundscape has requires the body to fully bloom. I also reiterated my argument that an attention to the soundscape is an important element in order to gain an in depth understanding of the making of place.

After, I focussed on the sonic cartographies of the everyday. Retaking the soundscape attributes reviewed earlier in the thesis, I argued for the importance of the micro-processes of making place and of urban everyday life practices. These not only enable us to gain a better understanding of ourselves and our making of place but also get a sensuous insight into larger global flows that inform our practices. I would like now to focus on some areas of the research that can lead to further investigation

Listening for future research

After a theoretical discussion on place, emotion and the soundscape, I embarked on the exploration and analysis of my fieldwork. The empirical part of the thesis enables me to 'test' the most important questions raised in the theoretical investigation. For example the relevance of the position of the body with regards to the senses in everyday life urban experience and also, the awakening of the sensuous body. In order to do this, and to look for the nuances of the sensuous bodies, the group of participants remained manageable with 8 people. Being small also provided the possibility to achieve a deep involvement with each participant. This has, in turn, been extremely positive for my methodology. This thesis has a methodology and methods that are evolving within the thesis and are quite experimental for me. Having a small group is useful to be able to experiment and adapt the techniques used as the research progressed. Along these lines and since my thesis has been at such a micro-level, a further research line would be to expand with the population sample. Having now an established methodology, I could try this across different cross-sections of a population such as a larger sample or concentrate on disabled people or people with literacy problems. These last two would enable me to concentrate on the senses. I would like to have the opportunity to work with different abled bodies. The only disabled person in my research was myself and although that informed it, notably in the angle it has, I would like to be able to work with differently abled people, not only blind people but also those with dyspraxia and people for whom the urban environment may be different in varying degrees. This may be a future research and would enable me to find out whether sound is used as an international language to understand cities: potentially helping with cultural misunderstandings or transnational adaptation.

A future line of research would be to explore issues surrounding urban regeneration through the sensuous body. Going beyond the relationship between architecture and the senses (Barry & Blesser 2009) towards an investigation of the sensuous body and the everyday of the city and to explore the sensuous body through the changes in urban regeneration, the effects and affects it has. It would be another way of tailoring urban regeneration to better suit the ways of living a space, incorporating the sensory accounts of everyday life.

Another line of research springing from this thesis involves a sensuous awakening. Studying its stages in detail would enable me to research the link between sound and consciousness as a key moment in this sensuous awakening. It would further inform the understanding of the relationship between the sensuous body and the city and would require some interdisciplinary research with neuro-sociologists. It would be key in determining processes of awakening but also degrees and factors contributing to or hindering it.

Finally, in terms of future research, I would also like to expand this research into the smart city, investigating the possibilities of a participatory listening model within a smart city environment and how could an attention to the urban soundscape help make city use smarter.

Closing circles. Cities whisper, are you listening?

In this chapter I began by exploring the outcome of the last meeting with the research participants. Through it, I am able to further analyse the processes behind the sensuous awakening of the body. I also argued that an active participative listening is a key element in the aural sensuous awakening of the body and that such an awakening persists and evolves as long as the listener stays participative.

Also, I concentrated on further investigating the relationships there are between the soundscape and the making of place, arguing that the ways in which I conceptualised place and soundscape pivot around the figure of the body. As such, the body becomes not only the centrepiece of both conceptualisations but of their dialogue as well. It is the receptacle and the projector of the relations established between both, and the meaning making potential the soundscape has requires the body to fully bloom. I also reiterated my argument that an attention to the soundscape is an important element in order to gain an in depth understanding of the making of place.

After, I focussed on the sonic cartographies of the everyday. Retaking the soundscape attributes reviewed earlier in the thesis, I argued for the importance of the micro-processes of making place and of urban everyday life practices. These not only enable us to gain a better understanding of ourselves and our making of place but also get a sensuous insight into larger global flows that inform our practices.

To sum up, I would like to stress the importance of the sensuous transdisciplinary methodology used in this research. It had a relational growth, evolving with my participants, with our rapport to each other (Haraway 1988; Ahmed 2008a, 2008b; Pink 2009; Ingold 2013) and to space. The relationship we establish with space and the making of place, while carrying on walking and listening, shaped it to become what it has become. I want to reiterate my argument that more transdisciplinary sensory research is needed in scholarly work and, like London (1903), we must bring the senses into the research and into our accounts. As I said in the introduction, bodies are messy and they are unique in their ways of functioning, relating to both their physical limits and their social relations but ultimately, bodies are imperfect and very sensuous (in both senses of the word), let this transpire and permeate into the research. In turn, this will unveil another critical outlook on place, and by proxy on its politics, critically exploring the constitution of the cosmopolitan city through an attention to our sensuous selves.

Next, a phenomenological approach to place through the senses helped enormously to unearth the phenomenological attributes of place by making a dynamic relationship between the body and place, and in doing so, also it has strengthened it, having it more tangible and present. I want to argue that it has made it unforgettable. Learning to listen participatively, sensing the changes in our relation to place, to ourselves and ourselves in place means that we give the body the tools to carry on learning sensuously. This is an awakening we don't want to lose.

On a final note, I would like to stress that if we engage with the subtle conversation cities are constantly whispering to us, we may yet learn more about the tacit life of cities and its more global ramifications. We may also learn how listening to their whispers and sounds goes far beyond sound and into ourselves. Also finally learning that an inclination to a participatory listening is nothing less that a balance between our sensuous selves and the environment. That moment of balance is where the meaning making possibilities of the soundscapes are at their peak. Listening to the urban soundscape is not only engaging with the tacit dialogues of cities, but also engaging our own.

10. Afterword. Techniques and reflections of a sonic researcher

I. Thinking about the methods

An afterword

During this thesis I have, through the use of a sonic vignettes and little moments of scattered information through the chapters, written myself in the thesis. In this partial portrayal I appear as the project's researcher but also in another role that is strongly connected to the first, as a differently-abled body. As implied in the thesis, the main consequence of my head trauma, has been hearing adopting a central position in my perception of the environment. Of the other western central senses (Howes 2013) sight is not as it used to be, and when I am under a stressful situation taste and touch are numb, unable to discern between levels of flavour, temperature or intensity of contact. Smell has, through the years, developed as well, but the most obvious and immediate change for me is hearing.

In this afterword I want to reflect on the methods I have used and do it after the reader has already listened to the stories of the participants unfold. Rhys-Taylor (2010, 221) argues: "Simply that the questions invited through the application of multi-sensory methods often threaten to obfuscate what such methods yield." And, that is exactly what I have wanted to avoid by putting a methodological afterword, to override the stories of the participants. Letting them unfold as the soundscape they tell about (Becker 2007) enabled me to unearth their rhythms, instead of trying to encapsulate them in my own composition.

In addition, as I have already remarked in chapter 5, my methodology grew and evolved with the research[77]. What started as a wander around London's East End, ended up in the methodology for a PhD research project, notwithstanding the back and forth it has had until the walking was really established as a key method. In this afterword I want to explore these little things that have not come up earlier on in the thesis, and reflect on the evolution and growth of a sensuous methodology.

Pivotal methods

Throughout the research I have argued for an embodied and emplaced perspective and experience of space to facilitate the characteristics of place to become more accessible to the

[77] See Yardley (2008) for methods that evolve with the project.

sentient body. In order to do this, I structured the methods in two sets. The first one was walking with senses blaring, ready to experience space through the sensuously awake body. These walks were key to the development of the research because they put the participants in touch with the space after they had talked about it with me for a long time. This regaining of a corporeal consciousness of space initiated the awakening of the sensuous body (Latour 2004). In this sense, there was an element of sensory subjectivity (Pink 2009), where the participants explored their own sensations and feelings and how they came about.

Understanding the way in which somebody hears is quite hard, not only because of physical differences in hearing, varying between sexes and ages but also depending on the wave lengths the hearing apparatus has been subjected to (Corso 1963; Morrell et al. 1996), and also because of how our orientations (Ahmed 2008b) and habitus (Bourdieu 1994) have conditioned our ways of listening. In this way, it is important to note that my sense of hearing has changed considerably in the last few years after I partially lost my sight in both eyes, so in this case, my sense of hearing may have been considerably different to that of my participants. In fact, although I have been interested in hearing cultures for a long time now, it was not until my own sense changed that I was so adamant to try and understand the role it plays in other people's perception and conception of space. Thus, in my case, I have endeavoured to walk alongside my participants and strive to make sense of their reflections and reactions to the urban soundscape, being aware of my own situatedness (Haraway 1988; Rose 1997; Smith 2008).

The second pivotal method has been recording these walks or cycle routes, as we will see in the following section some participants chose a walk, some a cycle and one chose a static recording. It allowed for me to get a better understanding of what had been discussed in our meetings and it also enabled the participants to retrace some of their everyday steps with a different frame of mind. As I have explained earlier, the soundwalks were key to the fieldwork and the research, both while conducting them but also while replaying them. In this research the soundwalk, or soundcycle becomes part of the process of acquiring an emplaced perspective (Pink 2009). Those two always had a diverting element and was the pivotal point that enabled the participants to become aware of the phenomenological characteristics of place and thus, of the making of place. Next, I explicate my methods, and also how I initially planned to input these methods and what happened during the fieldwork

II. The methods

Talking

At the beginning of the research, I knew some participants directly (like Mar, Rosa, Lila and Shefali) or indirectly (like Dave, Owen and Rosa) except for Henri for whom I did not have any connections at all. He replied to an ad I posted at a university's alumni blog and that is how he came to be involved in the research. However, I wanted to gather some general information about each participant, like where they came from and why London, particularly how they ended up living in East London. I wanted to gather it to get to know their background a little but also to try to understand if sound had been something they had thought about, or if they described their upbringing as having any particular sounds. I wanted to listen for cues that would then allow me to better understand and interpret their accounts of the East End.

In addition, I wanted to get them talking at ease and comfortable around the idea to speak about the soundscape of the East End; term with which many were not familiar because I wanted them to try and talk with sound in mind. Listen to what came up, what kinds of sounds, how often, and also listen for how many different senses were accompanying these sounds. For example, Dave would link virtually any sound with plane sounds. But Rosa would talk about sounds and visually describe the spaces in which she listened to them. For Shefali sounds had to do with childhood memories and were strongly tied to her upbringing and her culture. Mar associated urban sounds with countryside sensations. The degrees of togetherness of the senses varied between each of them but in general the senses were working together (Rodaway 1994).

So the process started by doing face-to-face interviews with my participants, which were quite long (McCraken 1988). I prepared initially a set of topics I wanted to cover, namely a bit of their background and influences that they thought might have shaped their way of living in a city. It turned out that most of them, if not all, went through the bulk of themes themselves, while having a monologue about their own perception of London's East End. This was positive, as I initially hoped to have to intervene minimally and let their stories flow. I wanted them to feel at ease with myself, with my recording and also with the dialogue in a research that wanted to listen to their listening. This point was much easier with the participants I did not know personally, as they appeared to want to present themselves in a way that they considered more thorough, for example, Henri gave me a full history of houses and villages he had lived in since his childhood. Owen and Beatrice detailed their arrival to

London and their impressions coming from the countryside, particularly the sensation of busyness, 'things always happening' as Beatrice used to say. However, the participants I already knew tended to assume I knew about their background and this was not always the case; I did not know Mar's background and it turned out to have an immense influence in her thin balance of the soundscape between comfort and anxiety. I had to be a little bit more interventionist in their stories, asking more questions and asking for things to be clarified.

Therefore, the first two meetings were to get to know the participants, hear about their backgrounds[78] and how they came to be in London's East End, this last part was quite relevant because it revealed whether the East of London had been a choice of location or it had been where they had found accommodation by chance, as was my case when in first arrived in London in 2007. I was interested in tracing their stories of coming to the East End, as this would provide a valuable insight into their sense of place. From the initial interviews we kept in touch, either via SMS, Skype or email. I was quite glad to receive some questions or thoughts from the participants regarding the research through this media. I did invite them to contact me with whatever information they thought might be relevant or was in their minds regarding the East End and sounds. From the very beginning I also invited them not to crop their sensory imaginary, meaning that if they would bind sound and image or sound with any other sense then to bring it to the research without censoring the non-aural, as it may make the task more difficult to concentrate on a single sense in order to provide an account (Rodaway 1994). The interest here was to focus on sound but also noticing what did each participant associated it with and how the sound operated in their making of place.

Following the initial meet-ups we started having some more informal meetings in which we discussed their relation with the East End presently but also what they thought was the soundscape of the East End or if there even was such a thing as the soundscape of the East End. In the initial encounters we had talked about the soundscape and the East End, but we then focussed on trying to identify what it was, from what they had been telling me, that they considered the identity of the space. I must say that for most of them the term soundscape in itself was a new one so we also discussed at length what they understood by it and how they saw it applying to the urban context.

Initially I did not expect I would get such a positive reception to the idea of reflecting about the urban soundscape in our conception and making of place, somehow the participants were interested and, after concluding the research they still dwell on this aspect of their daily

[78] For a discussion on biographical methods see Merrill and West (2009).

routines. As I have said in the conclusions, because the awakening of the sensuous bodies (Latour 2004) came from their own curiosity and reflexivity, it remaines awake. As the Mexican poet Cerón and artist Castro explain, it is important to focus on the beauty of the mundane (Cerón 2003; Castro 2012). Everyday life is full of mundane events that do not need to be presented as sensational (Perec 1973).

The meetings varied from person to person but I found that it helped them to chose the locations and, by then, we had already started to know each other quite well, so the conversation was flowing much more. Choosing locations and thinking about the East End in this way enabled the participants and myself to, a certain level, detached from the routines of our everyday lives through talking about them and reflecting about them. Retrospectively I would have liked to maybe standardise the amount of meetings with each person, however, there were some that were keener on meeting than others. I had a little bit of trouble with a couple of participants to get them to meet with me, it seemed a bit like a burden (which I can understand as it has taken a lot of their time) and I did not feel it would be acceptable for me to provide incentive beyond producing the extracts that I was writing and share the information regarding themselves when prompted. With some participants, the research led to a friendship and to a mutual interest in each other's lives and what were we doing, besides the research itself, which in turn made the meetings for the research much easier.

In these informal meetings we decided how the 'shadowing' would take place. As Jirón states (2011, 41) shadowing involves "accompanying the participants individually on their daily routines, observing the way the participants organise and experience their journeys, sharing and collaboratively reflecting on their experience on the move". As I said in chapter 5, the wandering lead to thinking about space and then about myself in space. Before I invited them on a recorded route, I did not know this was shadowing, I was not very concerned to follow the sort of techniques that I was reading in methods books (May 2003; Adler and Adler 1987). I wanted to take something that was part of their routine and unmake it a routine. Sensationalise the mundane, but not how Perec says (1973), not through sensational acts that disrupt the everyday. I wanted to concentrate on the routine, and by reflecting on it sensuously, bring back the sensational (as in from the senses) into the forgotten, the automated.

In this research I was going to shadow them in through what they had identified as being their East End. By theirs I mean the East End they felt a connection with, the East End they used on a daily basis, it had to be a route they related to very closely and was something they did very often. The shadowing would involve accompanying them on one of these routes, in

the medium they considered fit to transmit the pace and rhythms they had been talking about. We agreed that I would make an audio recording during the route. On afterthought I realise that not one of the participants talked while we were on the move. Dave, for example, would stop walking in order to tell me parts of the route that had a memory connection with him. And then become silent and carried on. There was something solemn about being recorded. Maybe because of this effort to take out of the ordinary the ordinary that made them become introspective. As a method shadowing enabled me to give them the leash of our pace, our rhythm and the route. For a brief moment in the research, they were dictating the pace of our meeting, I would follow, walk when prompted, walk faster if they accelerated, stop just after them. Reflecting almost two years after the routes were recorded, there was something both daunting and exciting in the recording of the route for them, they were effectively acting their routines under a completely different perspective (Steward 2007). It was no longer a routine, and had also changed their way of relating to that act in their everyday together with furthering the awakening of the sensuous capacities of their bodies (as discussed in chapters 3, 4 and 5).

Walking and cycling

As we have seen along the research, five participants designed walking routes, one wanted a static listening and two participants designed cycling routes (which technically speaking proved to be the most challenging in terms of getting the gear to function properly and the recording not to be too obscured by the bike sounds). We agreed I would record all the routes and I would make a map with all their routes as well as keep an audio archive of them all. Five of the participants accompanied me on those routes. Three decided they wanted me to go and record it myself and then get back to them with the recording to comment whether it matched or didn't match their expectations. From these, two had a clash of timetables and were unable to come and one just categorically refused to come, and as we have seen in the previous chapters, it was because he did not want to revisit a soundscape that, at that point, he associated with resentment. This sensation cleared up after having a listen to the recording over a year later.

Walking with the participants, either navigating their routes or through having our initial conversations while walking in the space, helped me get a better understanding of their own emplacement in that space in relation to the sensory stimuli that it emanated. Walking also gave me the possibility of getting my own emplacement within that space. In doing so, I got a detailed relation of the changing nature of the sounds of that space, and tried to mimic as much as possible the routes, paces and spatial choices made by my participants. For many of

them, their routes were everyday occurrences, and we were only going to navigate and record it once, disrupting their normal attitude to the space, having wandered through space helped me get a better position from which to strive to understand their emplacement and making of place.

Listening to the recordings is something that I did with all the participants. After navigating their routes together, and once I went back to London to finish the fieldwork, we met again and had an informal chat in order to discuss their experience and retake some themes from our previous chats and see if anything had changed. I invited all participants to listen to the recordings. Beatrice, Shefali and Owen are still living in London, and Shefali is the only one still in the East End. The rest of the participants have all moved abroad. Therefore, this last meeting was held in person for the people I could meet in London and over Skype for the others.

The time elapsed between the making of the recording and the listening varied between slightly over a year and a half and slightly under two years. So, there had been plenty of time both from our conversations and from the recording done. That was not a decision I had taken before of while I was in the first phase of the fieldwork, but it is how it ended up happening and it turned out well since this time elapsed allowed the participants to have a bit of a break. As seen in the previous chapter, this time allowed for the participants to reflect on listening back to the recordings as if they already were outside the research project. Their reflection was about a past event. As seen in the previous chapter, listening to the recordings made very tangible the lack of having the experience of their ensounded bodies (Ingold 2007). By proxy, it also enabled them to think about the awakening that they had undertaken and whether their relationship with the urban soundscape had changed or not. This invited them to question their own listening to the soundscape in the past but also in their present lives. Therefore, even though it was totally accidental, this gap between the first phase of the fieldwork and the second may just have been what the participants needed.

Thinking back, it would not have been possible for them to be able to reflect like this on the recording should time not have passed. They all moved onto different projects and were at a different stage in their lives, notably those who had moved city, country or continent. But even Shefali, Beatrice and Owen had found other jobs that were giving them a different sense of stability and also a different timeframe to explore the space around them. Owen no longer works night shifts for example, and his work takes him to travel for months at a time outside of the UK. Shefali graduated from university and was in her second job and Beatrice has

been awarded funding to develop her own outreach project, and as such had moved to a 'managerial' position. I will go further into the recording as a method in the next section.

Recording a route, embodying technology

As Ingold and Vergunst argue (2008), walking alongside a person enables the researcher to get a deeper understanding of how somebody traverses a space, and not only does it provide cues to their orientation but also in the deep cultural meaning that they give to their environment, as we have seen in the thesis, notably in chapter 7. For this research it was very important to see how all the rational, emotional and sensory attachment that each participant had detailed during both the interviews and the talks transformed into an experience while navigating. In some sense, talking about it did, according to each participant, make them more aware of their own place and sentiment in the East End. I found that to be the case, notably when they were each deciding what route would they take me on. How to best synthesise their experience of the East End in a route they used daily or quasi-daily.

Since this research is concerned with the relationship of the soundscape on the making of place, recording the routes seemed like a way to highlight the auditory aspect of navigating the urban and thus, making explicit the fact that our experience of the urban is related to our experience of the soundscape. I did not want to use video or to take any photographs as I wanted the sound to stand for itself. Although the soundscape is never received on its own, it was important to isolate it while audio recording from the visual input that normally accompanies it. When re-listening to the recording in an out-of-context manner, some participants did notice that it was filled with sounds they had not picked up on. I thought that if the recording was reproduced with image it would somehow bridge the gap between the recorded location and the listening location, notably decreasing the possibility of the participants to focus on listening to the recording without any other sensory input taken from the route. But having the sensory inputs of the location where the recording was listened to.

I had made sure they had the chance to become familiar with my recording device as I had taped all the interviews with that same machine for my own reference. Also, I wanted to take them for me (to refer to them later) but also for them to have seen the recording machine and have become at ease with it since we are not talking of a small pocket recorder but a medium sized piece of machinery that once is fully fitted with its complements is far from discrete. Most participants were somehow slightly shy in front of the recorder and did not

really want to ask any questions or talk during the course of the route was I have noted earlier in this chapter.

However, once the route was done and I had turned off the machine, they commented on their feelings doing the walk and we talked at length about it. As we have seen during chapters 6, 7 and 8 and most notably in the second section of chapter 9, the process of sensuous awakening (Latour 2004) comes from curiosity and a will to put the body back in touch with its senses. It then unleashes the learning capacities of the body, which is an avid and fast learner. In this case, talking about the urban soundscape enabled the participants to get re-acquainted with their senses. The sound recording came at a late stage in our work together, therefore, when the machine was off they reflected about doing that particular route and their impressions. Taking a route that was part of their routines and navigate it with me while recording did change their perspective of that route for that day but also made them question how out of touch they were with their routines. It highlighted the awakening that had already started happening when they reflected on their relationship with the urban soundscape much earlier on in the process.

In order to record the route I used a remote controller to start and stop recording and a grip so I would not be touching the machine as well as a wind stopper that in many cases stopped to muffle the wind slightly without silencing it fully. Although I used a muffler, I did not want to fully mask some elements that, upon listening to the recording, would become bothersome such as wind or the sound of our clothes or steps. The aim of this recording was to become a real record of that moment and not a stylised version of it. That is also why the files have had minimal edit on them. Limiting the edition to a cut at the beginning and end to avoid displaying the sound of the set-up. The recordings were made using a handheld recording device and with the use of binaural microphones that were placed on my ears.

Binaural recording

Binaural recording is the method closer to biological hearing. "Our ears have a hemispherical polar pattern, largely dictated by the lump of meat cunningly positioned between them. (…) The head creates sound shadows and timing differences for the two ears, so a binaural recording format has to replicate those actions" (SOS 1997, n.p.). Although binaural microphones are the ones that may provide a recording that can reproduce tracks the closest to what a person has heard, it best re-creates a hearing experience if it is listened to via headphones.

In this research, I give the account of my participant's accounts, thus I subjectively mediate the data by authoring it (Barthes 1993[79]). With the sound, I am also mediating the way in which I present the recordings. I am not providing headphones; the sound is to be experienced simultaneously through amplifiers. This is because I do not want to claim to re-enact an un-mediated sonic experience, they are also mediated by the way in which they are presented and by their process of recording. I went for a walk with them, putting the microphones in my ears, thus embodying the technology and becoming a recording device myself. This also means that my body was mediating their sonic perception. Likewise with the writing, my body is also mediating their verbal account by rephrasing it, my fingers typing their words, interpreting their words. As a researcher, reflexivity is key to an honest account, I need to know my own situatedness (Haraway 1988; Rose 1997) but also emplacement (Pink 2009) both when conducting fieldwork but also when writing it up. In this thesis I have argued for a sensuous methodology, and an important part of this is that the sensuous has a central role in the final account. As such it requires reflexivity from the participants' and from the researcher. The issues of reflexivity has been in the background of my work from the beginning, through presenting my different sensuous perception of the world to putting the sensuous body at the epicentre of the discussion on place, emotion and the soundscape. It is there. However, in this research, I doubted whether to write myself into the research or not. It wasn't until final drafts that the small sections referring to the traffic accident found their way into the narrative, thus positioning me as a differently abled body. It also positions me as a different listener to my participants' and as such may impact my interpretation of their own accounts of the East End. Part of my sensuous methodology has been to think about theses issues, while in the field. Later on in the writing stages there is an acknowledgement that there has been an evolution for all. For the participants there has been a change in their relationship to their sensuous selves which is true for me as well. Through the research I have come to reflect on issues surrounding my own listening, not only in terms of finding differences but also of finding common ground: resonating with their accounts. Try to listen to their recordings from the emplacements and situatedness that they narrated, understanding that evading mine is just not possible.

Therefore, I wanted the walk to leave a physical imprint on the recording. Not only am I recording the soundscape, but also the influence that both of us have on it by being there, by transiting that space. Our steps are audible and so are the frictions of our clothes, the breathing and coughing. This goes back to the phenomenological approach that this thesis has and permeated the talks with the participants. The cultural landscape of place is dependant on and different from each person's perception to the others'. This has to do not

[79] Barthes reflects on the mediation of different techniques and the subjectivities that each of them carries.

only with the way we each perceive space, our situated self (Merleau-Ponty 2002), but also with our habitus (Bourdieu, 1994) and the impact we each have on the landscape and how our presence amongst it modifies it (Merleau-Ponty, 2002). The recordings are carried out to reflect on this perspective, thus tying the theoretical and the practice part of this research further.

The reason why I did not place the binaural microphones in the participant's ears was not only because of convenience and ease but also because this is my account of their accounts of the East End, the presence of the researcher is not only seen through the text but, in this case, it is heard in the recordings, as is their presence. I thought it made more sense to place the device in my ear since I am the one who is trying to make sense of the influence of the soundscape in their making of place. Also I did it in order to keep continuity since three participants had asked for me go and do the recordings by myself and otherwise the recordings would not have been made in the same way every time. The only exception for this are the two bike routes because I had to stick the binaural microphones to the outer part of my ears, in the helmet straps so I could hear the traffic well and not put myself in danger.

III. Afterthoughts

Thoughts on the fieldwork

My aim with this thesis was to articulate the discussions on place, emotions and soundscape together as seen in the first part of the thesis (chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5). As mentioned earlier, the sensuous body became the pivot for these three discussions to come together. Thus, bringing back my second contribution, a sensuous methodology for research that would position the senses at the core of the research process and of the account. In the fieldwork I was working with the participants', observing whether there was or not a process of sensuous awakening, hence relating to both these contributions.

I have always thought that this thesis came upside down, as I mentioned in chapter 5 and earlier in this chapter, it all started with my wander around East London. This in turn means that it came from my being-in-the-East-End and that was put into the spotlight with an interruption of such ways of inhabiting space. In fact, it was more of a disruption than an complete interruption, even at my worst stage, I was still able to hear sounds so there never was an interruption in terms of being cut off from a sensation of being-in-the-world (Merleau-Ponty 2002). We can say that this research started with my own re-acquaintance to this new state of being and relating to space and to myself. Going from wandering around

space, to wondering about myself in space. I then wanted to investigate the relationship between the soundscape and the making of place, since the soundscape was my main sense, but not necessarily other's main sense and, according to Knowles and Sweetman (2004) since we live in an occularcentric society.

Therefore, and linking back to the second paragraph above, the fieldwork's aim was to work with the eight participants in order to listen to their relationship with the soundscape and space. Implicit there was another aim of listening to their sensuous selves articulate through their accounts of the East End. There was yet another aim, on-going since the onset of this investigation, to bring this research back to the idea of researching as a craft (Back 2007) and producing an alive account, live sociology (Back 2012).

Rhys-Taylor concludes his study on multisensory formations in East London by stating that:

> What multisensory ethnographic methods provide above all else – and this is not of any less social scientific value – is an embodied understanding of the traffic between the researcher's own body, and the sensoria and social forms constituting the field. An increased sensory attention within ethnographic practice enables the researcher to map the development of sensibilities, to record the complex sensory landscape of the research field, and to map corporeal responses to it. It is above all the increased definition with which the social world appears through such practices that provide the strongest case for 'coming to our senses'. Through such methods and their correlated representational practices, it is possible to start answering Georges Perec's questions about the significance of the everyday, to reveal the struggles inherent in the banal everyday experience, as well as the human potential that is secreted within it (Rhys-Taylor 2010, 231).

I would argue that sensory methods also ground the researcher in the craft of the research. They are an anchor to working through the process of research and a constant reminder of the changing rhythms that a research will take the researcher through.

Back and Puwar's manifesto for live methods encourages to "make sociological craft more artful and crafty" (2012, 9). As scholars, it is in our best interests to revert back to the craft of a discipline and its imagination in order to be able to "meet the cultural expectations that are coming to be demanded of them [us]" (Mills 2000, 14). Sometimes, our disciplines methodologies can seem limiting, or asphyxiating. Or else we may become too excited with

the means and cease listening to the needs of what we are producing. Leaving an account that does not reflect the process of researching, casting a shadow over the parts of it that are what make researching a craft, and a passion (Game and Metcalfe 1996).

We tend to forget that researching requires us to adapt to our projects instead of adapting the projects to fit a set of methods. Sensory research aligns us with what makes us artisans in the research, our learning processes. The sensuous awakening is yet another way of relating to the pace of life, becoming more aware of our ways of inhabiting space. To link it back to sound, ensounding our bodies, being open to sound ensounding our bodies is becoming receptive to being connected to the sound, but also to our making of place and our situation (Haraway 1988; Rose 1997) in the ebb and flow of urban life and of ourselves.

The methodological journey of a novel sound researcher

In conclusion, I found this project to be a methodologically complex project to approach, because I did not feel scholarly comfortable in the design of my methodology and was torn between carrying on evolving my methods with the research or try to fit it in a traditional methodological framework[80]. I also felt like I was approaching the fieldwork from my own experience as being-in-the-world (Merleau-Ponty 2002), and somehow I never felt it would be seen as enough. Foote White (1993) states, we do construct the methods as we make the research, in our experience, it is a working project until it is done and then we can look back and analyse our own process of making (Ingold 2013).
After the last meeting with the participants, I am glad the project has grown with their interest in the topic as well. I wanted to explore their own outcomes from the project and that is why there has been a second take to the fieldwork which has enabled their personal relationships to the project to evolve and be reflected upon over a year after the conclusion of the first part of the fieldwork. This has been deeply enriching research not only to the account but also to the project itself, coming to affirm the theories developed in the first five chapters of the thesis and to make the importance of the sensuous body stand out.

The relationship of sound in the making of place may not be the same for every individual, as we have seen in this thesis. For example, Dave felt exclusion and nuisance while Shefali felt control and belonging. As seen in this thesis, sound is accompanied by emotion, past and present. I need my body to be ensounded in order to make sense of space, I need to listen to the waves of sound and sense how do they traverse my body to grasp is an object, its motion

[80] See Agar (1985); Bryman and Burgess (1994à); May (2003) for a discussion on traditional methodological frameworks. Contrast with Kleinman and Kleinman (1991); Crang (2005); Glass (2005); ibid (2008) for a discussion on methodological boundaries.

and my own position in front of it. I listen to the urban sounds like Daniel Kish (Kremer 2012) listens to his own tongue-made sounds in order to echolocate in space (like a bat), and through sound we make a different sense of space (Back 2012), connecting to the 'nuances' of our everyday life that may otherwise remain overheard.

This research took shape after my crash, I had been previously working in the East End, researching the role of sound in cultural understanding and had had a few experiences doing work around using sound as a language, so I was already working with this idea of cities speaking to its inhabitants and asking what would an engagement with this urban dialogue bring. But I only asked myself the role of sound and emotion in other's making of place after having to rely heavily on it myself. This research has enabled me to get a glimpse of other's emplacement in the city and their relationship with the soundscape and it has been interesting to confirm how forgotten sound is, and how little attention we pay to listening. I am not talking about noise, I am talking about listening these inherent dialogues that the urban environment is constantly inviting us to take part.

We live in these urban spaces, we hear the urban soundscape constantly, during the daytime and while we sleep so why are we not engaging with our listening? What happens if we listen to the urban soundscape and we sense ourselves sensing? These are the questions that initiated this research and that have brought it to become what it is now. I am far from being able to provide a generalisation about our ways of listening to the city but, from the eight experiences narrated in this research, I have heard that when we do indeed engage, the city opens up to us in a new way, allowing us to gain a different understanding, a perception with many more hues to the tonality of the urban background, and more importantly, a perception that places us in direct dialogue with the city and with ourselves. And this is the main point and what I have learned to appreciate from bashing my head, a three-way dialogue between the city, the urban listener and the self listening; noticing the ways in which sound connects us to the environment but also to each other and to ourselves.

Annexe

In order to access the sound files please visit

https://soundcloud.com/yukrla

Then select the files you want to listen. Files are labeled with the participant's name. Where applicable, there are several files for a same participant. They are all from the same route. Sometimes the participant would ask me to turn the machine off to speak and then start again.

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