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ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE VOICE: EXPLORING ORAL HISTORY,
LOCATIVE MEDIA, AUDIO WALKS, AND SOUND ART AS SITE-
SPECIFIC DISPLACEMENT ACTIVITIES

SIMON BRADLEY

A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Huddersfield

February 2016

Archaeology of the Voice: Exploring Oral History, Locative Media, Audio
Walks, and Sound Art as Site-Specific Displacement Activities

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Abstract

This thesis develops a notion of an archaeology of the voice that is situated between three principal areas of research and practice: oral history, locative media, and sound art.

The research takes place in the context of contested urban space in Holbeck, Leeds one of the most deprived neighbourhoods in the U.K. Through a reiterative and reflexive process of extensive interviewing, soundwalking and field recording the area is deep mapped and material gathered in order to produce a percipient led site-specific presentation of oral history I term 'phonoscape'. Although the technology exists to connect oral history to place via locative media within a database aesthetic, a practical and conceptual gap is identified between these technologies for those working with audio interview material. In this context a purpose-built app is developed to enable oral history audio archives to be distributed geospatially, becoming navigable aurally on foot. In order to distribute a polyvocal sampling of an archive in time-space, techniques and principles from contemporary sound art are introduced, in particular a form of field composition involving an understanding of constitutive silence, soundscape, and voice editing techniques. Research into contemporary audio walk and memoryscape practice confirms that non-linear, fragmented narrative forms are used the construction of polyvocal understandings of place, and this is taken forward within a conception of the embodied hypertextual affordance of locative technology. The findings are then brought together in a transdisciplinary manoeuvre that introduces *Displacement Activities*, a translocational form of site-specific participatory performance art, providing a public vehicle that draws attention to phonoscape, its oral history content, and the archive itself. As an open work that is generative and reflexive, *Displacement Activities* extend the notion of site-specificity, finding global analogues before returning to the original site to begin the work again.

Acknowledgements

This research would have been impossible to undertake without a generous award from the Arts and Humanities Research Council. Also the University of Huddersfield has provided crucial funding enabling me to extend my engagement with fellow researchers at home and abroad.

My sincere thanks to my main supervisor Prof. Paul Ward who has been unwavering in his patience and support throughout the work, and to my second supervisor Dr. Rupert Till who provided inspirational and timely advice whenever things looked as though were about to fall apart. I would also like to thank my examiners Dr. Rob Ellis and Prof. Mike Pearson for their helpful advice and comments, and for their willingness to brave the wind and rain of Holbeck exploring the phonoscape.

I am very grateful to friend and colleague Phil Legard of Leeds Beckett University who developed the LOAM app, without which the phonoscape might never have been realised.

I would also like to thank Graham Smith and fellow oral historians at the Oral History Society who have provided much help and advice when needed. Also I am grateful to Dr. Stephen High and my friends and colleagues at Centre for Oral History and Digital Storytelling at Concordia who introduced me to some of the fascinating inter-disciplinary projects going on over in Canada.

I would like to thank the whole crew who made the 2011 world premiere of *Displacement Activities* at Leeds Light Night such an incredible success. This was a major turning point in the research process. Thank you Layla Legard, Seth Cooke, Mark Shahid, Robert John Lee, Helen McDonald, Emily Clavering-Lee, Anzir Boodoo, and Stu Bannister & James Islip from Lumen. Also for their endless inspiration and assistance in the translocational *Florentine Displacement*, a special thanks to Greta Grendaite, Pamela Barberi, Guy Wouete, Pietro Gaglianò, and Marina Bistolfi and everyone who made it possible.

The work has relied on many friends, colleagues and fellow artists along the way, and I am extremely grateful for their help and encouragement, in particular Toby Butler, Graeme Miller, Jeremy Hight, Jeff Knowlton, Teri Rueb, Jason Farman, Alex Harker, Martin Howse, Derek Hayles, Jackie Calderwood, Ross Kinghorn, Tim Waters, and Silvie Fisch deserve special mention. I would like to single out sound artist Phill Harding, who has become a true friend over the years it has taken to complete the work, provided calmness and advice to get me through some of the most difficult times. Phill's engagement with *Displacement Activities 2011*, and *John Cage 4'33" ~ M621 Underpass* has become part of my own place memory, the stuff of legend.

I would like to thank all the people in Holbeck who were involved in the project either directly or indirectly. In particular, in the early stages Steve Ross at the Dewsbury Road One-Stop Centre, and local resident and blogger Steve Peacock opened up many avenues for fruitful research. Also Susan Williamson, temporary guardian of Temple Works, opened the way to unprecedented opportunities for field recording and interviewing in and around that strange and wonderful building. I would like to express my eternal gratitude for the generosity of the sixty-four interviewees who shared their thoughts and precious memories so freely, without which nothing would have been possible.

I am grateful to my children Josh and Anna for their good humour and assistance throughout this extremely long and gruelling process, and for putting up with me when I have ventured into sub-human territory. Finally, there is no way this work would have been completed without the love, encouragement and support of my wife Sally. Thank you.

To the past, present and future people of Holbeck

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Abbreviations

LOAM Locative Oral Aural Media. This is the name of the Android app designed to deliver the phonoscape.

MPR Material:Performance Ratio. This is a time-based concept concerning the relative amount of available (audio) material that may be eligible for performance at any given time. A high MPR means that a large archive is available but only a small time window is present, thus the chances of any single clip being played are small. Weightings may be applied in order to bias the probability of particular clips being played, if required.

Chapter 1

Introduction

The Deep Dark Secret of oral history is that nobody spends much time listening to or watching recorded and collected interview documents. There has simply been little serious interest in the primary audio or video interviews that literally define the field and that the method is organised to produce. (Frisch, 2008:286:222)

During the course of this practice-led research, exploring Holbeck through oral history, audio walks, locative media and sound art, I discovered that if you concentrate long enough on a piece of ground roughly one mile square, you will end up finding a portal to the rest of the world. To venture through the portal, requires a modest suspension of disbelief and an acceptance of the activity of displacement.

This particular displacement lies at the intersection of these thriving areas of research and it is inspired by the possibility of a future archaeology that pieces together layers of located audio to form a fluid and adaptive understanding of voice as constitutive of place.

The notion of an archaeology of the voice first arose in a pair of conferences in Wales in the mid nineteen-nineties as part of an exploration of the voice in performance.¹ Independently, however, I had arrived at my own conception of an 'archaeology of the voice', based on the notion of each voice having a place in space and time within a landscape, akin to the concept of *genius loci*. Apart from one review article sketched out by theatre artist and academic Mike Pearson (Pearson, 1997), the idea has remained almost completely dormant until now. Pearson had outlined three modes whereby the voice could be said to carry the past: the voice *in*, *of*, and *as* the past. Recorded oral history re-presents the voice *of* the past, and for me, working freelance in community-based oral history, the quest was to connect each voice with its place. Around ten years later, with the advent of smartphone technology, I realised it might be possible to extend the idea of an archaeology of the voice as a method of situating oral history in the landscape by using geo-locative media and GPS coordinates. Audio files could be connected to specific places so that wherever you went you could trigger a voice of the past and learn something

¹ The two 'Archaeology of the Voice' conferences took place in Cardiff in 1996 and Aberystwyth in 1997, organised by the Centre for Performance Research as part of the *Giving Voice* series.

from someone who knew, someone who was once there. Thus connecting each voice to the landscape and to one another, constituting a field of possibilities.

From the point of view of oral history, there are two ways in which a voice can be connected to place, one as a place of utterance, a place *where* something is said; there is also place of reference, a place *about which* something is said. A site-specific performance of oral memory might combine the two modes into one in a ritual remembering of deeds carried out 'on this spot', as a tour guide might say. Where the voicing of personal memory occurs referring to something that took place 'on this spot' there is potential for very powerful affect. Site-specific oral history as an ancient art extends back to some of the earliest forms of human memory and place-making (Chatwin, 1988), but it has recently undergone a resurgence in interest as mobile forms of audio playback have become available, opening the transmission of place-based oral testimony to a wide audience (Butler, 2007b). The delivery of place-based oral history has found expression in the form of an expanding interest in audio walks and trails fulfilling a demand for historical information of all kinds on heritage sites and other places of interest.² Locative, GPS-enabled, smartphone technology has offered many new ways of extending this practice beyond simple routes and 'on this spots'. One of the aims of this thesis is to see how the practice of oral history might learn from and use this technology.

In 2008, oral historian Michael Frisch had let oral history's 'Deep Dark Secret' out of the bag (see epigraph), pointing out that current practice was largely neglecting the actual audio that it was gathering in favour of producing transcripts and texts, and that harnessing the power of database technology might facilitate working with that audio (Frisch, 2008). It seemed to me that connecting up the dots between site-specific oral history as audio with database and GPS-technology might form the basis of the archaeology of the voice I had imagined. The stated need to take the

² It is difficult to ascertain commercial figures for this assertion, but the number of academic publications on the subject has surged as revealed by the returns of relevant search terms in Summon, the University of Huddersfield's proprietary search engine. Between January 2000 and December 2014: 'audio walk' : 3661 to 9062; 'audio trail' : 1556 to 3382; 'heritage trail' : 3225 to 6349; 'sound walk' : 20,118 to 37, 521 (Summon, 2016).

audio seriously together with the availability of the necessary technology in the form of Hewlett Packard's MediaScape platform provided led to the initial research question of this thesis: how might oral history be placed in the environment as a layer of augmented reality (AR)?

Conceiving of oral history as an AR layer raised the question of how to organise the audio as an experience. Taking the audio material seriously in this context implies more than simply considering where it needs to be placed on a grid, what is required is an understanding of the arrangement of sound as a stratified field of experience.³ This field should encourage the listener/walker to explore or navigate a site aurally, a true archaeology of the voice. This meant that alongside the oral history and locative media components of the thesis, a third element was required, that of sonic composition. By interrogating some of the methods and techniques found in sound art practice, a layered and nuanced composition might be developed as a matrix in which to situate the shards of testimony. It was clear that the disciplines of both oral history and sound art could learn from one another and that a reflexive practice could be built around the convective technologies of locative media and database. The question then became how could these three activities be brought together to produce an experience of oral testimony as sound that would deepen our understandings of place.

The final element to put into position before the thesis could start walking was the approximate mile square of earth referred to at the outset, the neighbourhood of Holbeck, Leeds. At the time I first visited the site as a prospective research area in 2009, rapid change was occurring. An ambitious regeneration scheme had been underway for some time leading to a multiple displacement of people and buildings

³ Although beyond the scope of the present thesis, a three-dimensional sonic equivalent of the Harris Matrix might ultimately be developed for any given site using existing Geographical Information System (GIS) software to plot located oral history and environmental field recording data. Widely used in archaeology, the Harris Matrix provides a way of producing 'stratigraphic sequences', defined as 'the order of the deposition of layers and the creation of feature interfaces through the course of time' (Harris, 1989:34), to be recorded and correlated via simple grid system that allows for vertical (section) and horizontal (plan) site records.

accumulating absences and silences in its wake. As with archaeology, in oral history work there is an element of emergency oral history where change is so rapid and deep that whole layers of memory risk being irrevocably displaced along with the rubble, if rapid action is not taken. Once existing communities have been dispersed and new ones brought in, it becomes extremely difficult to piece together the experience of places past. And so it was that I was welcomed into the community in order to set about the task.

Given the context of regeneration, the research area was what might be termed 'contested space', there were many different views of what the situation was, what it had been, and what kind of future it should have. It was clear that the oral history component would be the work of many voices, to paraphrase Raphael Samuel's well-known adage.⁴ I was already aware that oral historian and architect of memoryscape Toby Butler and artist Graeme Miller were favouring non-linear, fragmented narrative as an appropriate mode of delivery for ambulant oral history rather than constructing grand meta-narratives (Butler 2006b; Butler & Miller, 2005; Butler & Miller, 2006). This kind of 'history from below' seemed appropriate for a contested space such as Holbeck, and I resolved that the piece would have to make provision for polyvocality.⁵

My methodology splits across the three main disciplines, oral history, sound art and locative media, and these find focus with a fourth interdisciplinary category of audio walks which underpins the delivery system and informs the experience. A fifth, transdisciplinary methodology *Displacement Activities*, arose in the course of the work, and this serves as a way towards constructing a productive and generative relationship between the constituent elements. Each of these elements has a

⁴ In *Theatres of Memory*, Samuel argued for history as a social form of knowledge entailing 'the work of a thousand different hands' (Samuel, 1994:8).

⁵ The term 'history from below' has been accredited (Black & MacRaild, 2007:113) to E.P. Thompson's seminal 1966 Times Literary Supplement article where he uses it to refer to a 'people's history' that focuses on the disenfranchised, poor and marginalised.

chapter to itself where methodology is discussed in more detail, here I can provide a brief overview together with some key definitions.⁶

Firstly, I can define archaeology of the voice as used in this thesis as the recording and placing of oral testimony in the environment according to either where the utterance occurred and/or to where the utterer refers. Smartphone locative technology is used as a delivery system here, but other systems including those of ancient traditional oral history telling may perform the same purpose where the recording device is human memory rather than a machine. The placing of voice can be highly specific, referring to 'on this spot', or as vague as 'on this earth', and the site of the utterance may be known precisely or not at all. Precision is desirable where possible but not essential. Current smartphone GPS systems tend to drift a little depending upon a range of variables such as geographic, atmospheric and architectural conditions, so a looseness of fit is inherent in the process.⁷

I suggest that the locative audio pieces resulting from the practice of the archaeology of the voice might be called phonoscapes, to distinguish them from current audio walks and soundwalks. The Greek word φωνή, meaning voice or sound, combined with 'scape', which finds its counterpart in soundscape seems appropriate. The reason for using a different term from Butler's memoryscape (Butler, 2007c), which also has oral history content, is that the phonoscape need not be restricted to memory or memories, the voice is the key element and it is set within a matrix of sounds drawn from its contextual soundscape.

For the purposes of the thesis, two main sound sources are required to provide material for the phonoscape, the voices recorded in oral history interview, and field recordings providing both the context of utterance and that of the places referred to, the prospective site of the phonoscape.

⁶ It is worth noting in passing that a conventional literature review covering all the disciplines separately is not included in this thesis. Where necessary major reference works are referred to, and the space freed up has been devoted to a more extensive review of audio walks, which is deemed more relevant to the overall subject matter.

⁷ On average between 5 and 8 metres, which accords with my experience in Holbeck, but up to 30 metres in some cases, (Zandbergen & Barbeau, 2011).

The oral history methodology involved recording interviews of people from many different walks of life who had experience of Holbeck either through their work, pleasure or as a resident. Since the quest was for memories and reflections directly concerning Holbeck, this provided a restricted focus for the interviews, but within that remit, the interviewees were usually free to wander as they wished. I was as much interested in the sounds of the voices and the modes of expression as the content. Extending the standard sedentary methodology of interview recording, I also undertook walking interviews and made contextual field recordings.

Fundamental to the field recording methodology was a process of extensive walking in and around the site in order to build up a deeper understanding of the sonic context. This methodology has precedents in Situationist *dérives* (Debord, 1981; Edensor, 2010b; Pinder, 2005), World Soundscape listening or soundwalks (McCartney, 2014; Schafer, 1994), and is a valuable component of deep mapping an area (Bodenhamer et al., 2015; Pearson & Shanks, 2001). As part of this phase of the research, an extensive testing of existing audio walks in the UK and abroad, was considered essential in providing a range of possible techniques and approaches.

Regarding the method of delivery using locative media, the HP platform upon which the thesis proposal was predicated was withdrawn within weeks of research commencing, so an unforeseen series of testing existing apps for suitability ensued resulting in the development of a purpose-built platform to deliver the phonoscape. This involved collaborating with another media researcher, Phil Legard, who coded the app, which is still in beta stage, but it is sufficiently functional to demonstrate the key aspects of the phonoscape (Legard, 2015).

The next methodological stage was to conduct public testing of phonoscapes as audio walks constructed using oral history material and field recordings. During the course of this research an unexpected turn of events led to the development of *Displacement Activities* which is a further set of strategies loosely defined as: site-specific ambulatory performance works that utilise geo-locative media to explore a fluid phenomenology of place. Born out of displacement, the *Displacement Activities* constitute performances of deep mapping that operate through 'juxtapositions and

inter-weavings of the historical and the contemporary, the political and the poetic, the factual and the fictional, the academic and aesthetic depth' (Pearson, 2012:66). One-dimensional understandings of locality are *détourned* by combinations of oral history, sound art and theatrical intervention. A prime methodological directive of *Displacement Activities* is to unearth every possible level where displacements may be operating, finding and exploiting fissures occurring in monistic, fixed, representationalist, or metahistorical characterisations of place. *Displacement Activities* are a form of opportunistic bricolage designed to extend co-presence and elicit response in an ongoing exchange within and between people, voices and sites. The pursuit of *Displacement Activities* methodology has begun to draw new connections between the practices discussed and offers a way of extending beyond the mile square of the original site-specific work of the *Holbeck Phonoscape* to other places where connections are being made, generating new site-specific works and further displacements that reflect back on their points of origin.

The archaeology of the voice in Holbeck is a work in progress along with Holbeck's history, its deep mapping exercises and countless other living processes. The aim of this thesis is to first introduce and define the idea, provide the means to deliver it and offer some conceptual and practical tools to assist in the process. The thesis will show how a combination of sound art and oral history mediated by phonoscape and expressed within *Displacement Activities* methodology can help to develop a form of aural navigation of the past as presence.

In order to trace the work outlined above in finer detail the thesis is divided into six central chapters.

The first questions concern where the phonoscape is to be set, and who will provide the voices. Accordingly, in chapter two I provide an introduction to Holbeck, its history and people and the divisions and displacements within and between communities. The context of regeneration is depicted as being spread over three zones each of which has a very different ambience. I also discuss aspects of deep mapping regarding the water that determined Holbeck's existence. Details concerning my oral history methodology, ethics and the creation of a public archive are then discussed. The creation of a truly polyvocal presentation of the oral history

material is deemed to be appropriate for the divided situation in Holbeck, and presentation via a phonoscape offers a way for anyone to access the diversity of experience.

Chapter three provides an overview of the inception of *Displacement Activities* as an ongoing practical and theoretical engagement that acts as a vehicle for site-specific phonoscapes. By drawing attention to the phonoscape through curated ambulant experiences, *Displacement Activities* events bring audiences/participants into contact with the site in which the phonoscape is set. The phonoscape, in turn, draws attention to the archive. The chapter shows how through a process of generative translocation *Displacement Activities* act as seeds generating new experiences and phonoscapes in other places. A discussion of cognitive, linguistic and historiographical implications of displacement activities has resulted in the discovery of the importance of metonymy and the key concept of contiguity as a theme that runs through the whole thesis underpinning fragmented narratives, embodied hypertexts, montage, soundscape and the unsettling co-presence of past and present that occurs while experiencing a phonoscape. *Displacement Activities* may be seen as operating within a new dramaturgy (Van Kerkhoven, 2009) incorporating urban performance, combining artistic and academic enquiry and creating new heterotopias that constitute *détournements* of place and space.

Next, it is necessary to look at how previous and existing ambulant pieces have tackled the issues surrounding the placing of oral history and other audio material in the environment. In chapter four I review audio walks from a wide range of disciplines in order to grasp some ideas and methods that will be useful for phonoscape construction. The shift from route and ordered playlist to field afforded by locative technology is crucial in the development of an ontology and provides new compositional potential. A major theme is the presence of fragmented, non-linear narrative, and a reluctance to provide monocular summations of historical material.

Chapter five moves onto the issues surrounding locative media. I review the rapidly changing context of locative platforms that contributed to the demise of MScape and necessitated the building a new app, Locative Oral Aural Media (LOAM), in

collaboration with Legard. In developing LOAM to deliver the phonoscape the requirements of the oral historian and the sound artist are drawn together in producing a seamless experience able to integrate with a database aesthetic and an efficient working environment for authoring in sound. This component requires further development to reach fruition, but the basic requirements from the oral historian's point of view are outlined here and a way forward suggested. A notion of the embodied hypertext is introduced as an important theoretical concept with direct practical implications for conceiving of new narrative possibilities of locative technology. Further clarification of the field approach to composition is provided in the context of randomisation and database technology. Although current platforms of locative technology are very recent developments, the essentials of locative technology are shown to be very ancient and provide some insights into ethics and community responsibility that are relevant to the siting of phonoscapes.

Chapter six considers the findings and implications of the previous chapters in relation to sound art practice, addressing questions of how the principles and techniques in sound art assist in the construction of the phonoscape. Four key compositional themes are identified and explored. Firstly, silence as a constitutive element of composition is discussed in relation to its presence in oral history and within the phonoscape site as Void. Next the techniques developed by the World Soundscape project are discussed in relation to the research tool of soundwalking and the composition of soundscapes. Again, the moral issues raised here link up with the concerns of oral historians and the purveyors of ancient locative technologies. The third section concentrates on how to organise the sounds gathered within a phonoscape composition that is embedded in an existing (urban) environment. The work of John Cage, among others is seen as highly relevant to the exploration of field composition approaches. The issue of high Material:Performance Ratio (MPR) is resolved by applying chance procedures within indeterminate compositions and a speculative methodology of mesostics. Finally the different ways the voice might be used within composition are discussed in relation to a shifting continuum between semantic and granular forms of editing. This chapter provides a range of powerful tools both conceptual and practical for composing phonoscapes.

The findings from chapter six are put to work in chapter seven on sound art praxis which details some of the techniques I have explored in recording and manipulation of the voice and field recordings in the production of the phonoscape. The guiding principle of the archaeology of the voice that only material from the site should be necessary in the construction of phonoscapes is explored and adhered to. An overview of sound recording, Electro Magnetic recording, Impulse Response recording, and various other recording setups deployed in Temple Works, Holbeck Cemetery, the M621, and a performance of 4'33" in the underpass are discussed to accompany the pilot phonoscape app that is included with this thesis. Finally the role of chance is discussed briefly.

It should be noted that the larger public work of the *Holbeck Phonoscape* together with the Holbeck Oral History Archive will be published after the thesis has been completed. At present these projects are works in progress, however, the pilot phonoscape demonstrates all the key features necessary to support the current research.

Guy Debord describes the technique of the *dérive* it as 'a rapid passage through varied ambiances' (Debord, 1981). In that spirit, the following pages should be read and hopefully a momentum will be maintained that inspires further research into the archaeology of the voice.

Chapter 2 Introducing Holbeck and Oral History

Introduction

This chapter is divided into three main sections. Section 2.1, *Holbeck History and Context*, introduces Holbeck, its history and topography, and provides an insight into the context of the *Holbeck Phonoscape*, highlighting the elements that have been taken forward into the construction of the pilot version included with the thesis. Section 2.2, *Approaching Interviews*, provides an account of my approach to oral history and the methodology surrounding the interviewing process, sharing authority and transcription. A final section 2.3, *Oral History, Polyvocality and Representation* concludes the chapter by reflecting on polyvocality and representation in oral history, themes underpinning an archaeology of the voice and phonoscape creation.

The first section, 2.1, shows how constructing a phonoscape requires an extended knowledge of the site, achieved by walking and becoming sensitised to the rhythms, ebbs and flows of the everyday. This kind of walking has its roots in psychogeography pursuing ambiances arising from the interactions of local elements of geology, geography, architecture and human activity, articulated by Guy Debord in his 'Theory of the Dérive' (Debord, 1981), and also developed in Henri Lefebvre's 'rhythmanalysis' (Lefebvre, 2004), which emphasises the importance of urban rhythms and human interaction with space, and further deployed in the more recent strategy of 'deep mapping' (Pearson & Shanks, 2001). Noting how these movements have shaped, and continue to shape, the area over time is relevant to an understanding of both site and the oral testimony that is the primary focus. The materiality of site contours and configures the oral testimony directly, particularly evident with place-memories, reminding us that we occupy a fleeting place in a flow of vast material forces and cultural affordances. In this context, boundaries of all kinds become porous and indeterminate (Bennett, 2010), shaping and responding to our agency. Creating a phonoscape becomes a constitutive act, altering the people and site it engages with. Accordingly, much of the description in this section is allowed to flow freely within its material constraints, what is sought is an impression of its emergent themes of water, displacement, transport systems, movements of people and transforming industry.

In section two, 2.2, I discuss my approach to interviewing and oral history. Fundamental to ethical oral history practice is the notion of 'shared authority' (Frisch, 1990), I discuss the concept and how it has been used within the academic community and its application during the course of this research. I then move on to address the practical issues surrounding the inclusion and exclusion of subjects, interview protocols and techniques and the importance of obtaining fully informed consent. This enables the interview material become part of the phonoscape as a public entity. When producing a polyvocal piece, qualitative judgements must be made regarding the material, especially regarding some of the conflicting interests within and beyond the community. Accordingly, it is necessary to consider to what extent the phonoscape represents any given interest. When working with located audio as the primary material, the requirements for transcription are different from those geared towards textual outputs, and I explain how this has configured my practice. I then move to provide an overview of the archive of 64 that will eventually be accessioned into the Holbeck Oral History Archive and become a freely available resource to the community. This section concludes with a discussion of issues surrounding the topographic placing of testimony within an archaeology of the voice.

Constructing a phonoscape entails approaching oral history from a site-specific sound point of view, placing unique demands on the researcher. When the intended output is purely textual, sound is only relevant as a step towards transcript. In linear text, contradictions or inconsistencies become more obvious than with listening or speaking. In a sound piece, experienced on location, inconsistencies can slide unobtrusively into the piece as different voices demand momentary attention and then fade off into memory. Ordinary conversation is replete with anomalies, hiatuses and voids that encourage the listener to fill in the gaps. I consider this looseness of fit essential in creative communication and sense making activity. Oral history is replete with examples, and Portelli, for one, acknowledges that this inherent fluidity provides the historian with a vital resource to analyse (Portelli, 1991). In producing a phonoscape, however, the step towards analysis will not be undertaken. I am more concerned with revealing the site, and presenting the material than looking for hidden meanings and connections. The materials in question are purely sonic, made up of interview, field recordings and archive. Rather than editing the interview

materials to support a particular interpretation or argument, the editing is carried out according to principles developed within my approach to sound art.⁸ The emergence of complete place-based stories within the testimony provides important topographical and semantic lexia that serve as armatures to construct the phonoscape around, but fragments of ideas, sentences and words are also important materials in the archaeology of the voice.

The final section, 2.3, 'Oral History, Polyvocality and Representation' dwells on some of the historiographic implications of the phonoscape approach. In championing the cause of academic oral history, Paul Thompson maintains that: 'All history depends ultimately upon its social purpose' (Thompson, 2000:1). One of the key functions of oral history is to give voice to minorities and marginalised groups who are often overlooked by more orthodox documentary histories. In investigating Holbeck at a time of transition, I have not championed one group or another, and have sought out as many different perspectives as possible in the time available. The interviewees do not represent a particular group of people, if anything they represent a diversity of interests that have intersected with Holbeck over the past 80 years. My social purpose has been to reveal this diversity in a publicly presentable format without making any judgements on validity, truth or interpretation. From the point of view of the interviewees, they were all keen to add their voices to the phonoscape, to take part in it, experience the outcome and perhaps leave something to posterity. In a broader sense the social purpose of the phonoscape is to become part of the heritage of Holbeck, to affect understanding of the area and encourage deeper listening. Whereas the interview material will form an archive available to all, the experience of the phonoscape and its associated locative trails will only be available to those who visit the place, it will become part of Holbeck itself.⁹

⁸ Editing is discussed in the Sound Art and Sound Art Praxis chapters.

⁹ It must be noted that the archive and pilot phonoscape accompanying this thesis are illustrative of the intended outcome of work that is ongoing. The complete *Holbeck Phonoscape*, and *Holbeck Oral History Archive* will depend upon future funding for which the thesis provides the necessary impetus.

2.1 Holbeck History and Context

This section is divided into four parts which combine to outline the situation on the ground, the past and present situation in which the research takes place.

In Section 2.1.1 A Vanishing Oral History, I discuss how the project began and describe where the research takes place. In Holbeck I came across a community that had already undergone population displacement and lost most of its jobs and industry. Now the people were coming to terms with an ambitious regeneration project that appeared to ignore them.

This is followed by section 2.1.2, Existing History of Holbeck, which constitutes a brief survey of existing textual and audio-visual material relating to Holbeck, it may be considered as a literature review for this part of the thesis

In 2.1.3, Follow the Beck, I provide a brief foray into deep mapping, and explore how Holbeck is connected with far off places through watercourses, at the same time maintaining an understanding of social division common in many cities undergoing regeneration, while navigating both North and South as well as up and down the river.

Holbeck History and Context concludes with section 2.1.4, Holbeck's Three Zones, identifying further divisions within Holbeck itself: three zones with markedly different socio-economic conditions and ambiances. An understanding of the area in these terms provides a guide to how the archaeology of the voice extends research beyond the narrow confines of discourse, exploring as many elements of the context of testimony as possible.

What follows is an orienteering exercise providing a very brief overview of Holbeck that will establish a backdrop to the issues discussed in more detail later in the chapter, and throughout the thesis.

Holbeck from Domesday to Present Day

The written history of Holbeck goes back to the Domesday survey of 1086 as part of the property of the de Lacey family (Cited in Blackshaw, 2013:33). Originally it was a separate village that expanded independently with the development of hand weaving in the eighteenth century, only merging with Leeds in the mid nineteenth century with the rise of power weaving and factories such as Marshall's Mill. It was still listed as a separate out-township as late as 1878 (Pearson, 1986:5), and was routinely cited without reference to Leeds. As Robin Pearson points out:

The industrial suburbs had a dynamic of their own. They were not characterised by any of the accepted 'ring', 'ribbon' or 'nodality' models of urbanisation, nor were they stimulated by the expansion of an urban transport network until the twentieth century. (Pearson, 1986:6)

Accordingly, Holbeck has only been considered part of Leeds in its relatively recent past, for around 130 years; it is even possible that some of my interviewees in their early childhoods may have heard accounts from their great grandparents from the time when Holbeck was still an independent entity. The tenacity of some of the older residents in fighting the cause of 'Old Holbeck' is embedded in this historical context, and a palpable pride accompanies accounts of its industrial heritage.

The major industrialisation that took place in the latter half of the eighteenth, and earlier part of the nineteenth centuries has left its indelible mark on the predominant architecture of northern part of Holbeck towards the River Aire. From being a relatively rural hamlet, the rapid change was noted by contemporary eyewitness, Edward Parsons: 'Holbeck is one of the most crowded, one of the most filthy, one of the most unpleasant, and one of the most unhealthy villages in the county of York' (Parsons, 1834:179). The mills of this period still dominate the area: Round Foundry, an engineering works built by Matthew Murray and James Fenton (1795-97); Marshall's Mill and Temple Works (1791-1840), a flax mill complex built by John Marshall; Tower Works factory founded by Col. Thomas Harding (1864-66) with two further Italianate towers added 1899 (Giotto Tower) and 1919 (plain Tuscan).

During the twentieth century, fortunes wavered and then declined. The heavy engineering industry, represented in Holbeck by large enterprises such as Monk

Bridge Iron and Steel Co. Ltd. (taken over by Sheffield company Doncasters in 1953), was a major source of employment, particularly with the upsurge in demand during and immediately after World War Two. This declined rapidly, however, in the 1970s and the final closure of Doncasters Monk Bridge in 2005 signalled the end. During the period from 1956 to 2004 Kays Catalogue, sited at Temple Works, was a major employer in Holbeck, making 1,100 people redundant when it finally closed (YEP, 2008).

In terms of population, due to frequent boundary changes it is impossible to disaggregate the Holbeck figures precisely, but the following provides a good idea of the population displacement that has occurred since the 1920s. Extrapolating from District Parish figures, the population of Holbeck was 38,152 in 1921. Between 1971 and 1981, the City and Holbeck population declined by more than 25 per cent to 22,400, and from 1981 to 1991 the decline was a further 8.4 per cent (Unsworth, 2007:731).

In a recent survey, the population figures for Holbeck in 2010 were 4,470 (LCC, 2010:14). The breakdown in terms of ethnic grouping confirms the overwhelming majority remains white working class at 89.6%. The next largest ethnic group is Pakistani with 4.4%, followed by Indian 1.7%, Mixed 1.5%, Black groups 1.5%, with the remaining Bangladeshi, Chinese, and 'Other groups' totalling 1.4% (LCC, 2010:14).

Poverty, ill health, and deprivation has continued to define Holbeck since the 1970s and, according to the Government's Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD), 2010, Holbeck was ranked among the most deprived areas in the UK being 398 out of a total of 32,482 (DCLG, 2011).

2.1.1 A vanishing oral history

In the autumn of 2009, I was invited to a showing of *Ripples Out* (Lippy Films, 2009), a local community documentary film concerned with the reception of a recent

regeneration initiative, Holbeck Urban Village. As a freelance oral historian, I receive many invitations to community celebrations of heritage and reminiscence sessions across Leeds, but it was unusual to come across one that sought to tackle some of the complex ongoing issues surrounding regeneration through extensive interviewing of all parties involved. Lippy Films had been commissioned by Yorkshire Forward, a major player in Leeds regeneration and urban development at the time, to produce a 45 minute film 'to understand the impact of its major regeneration project, Holbeck Urban Village, on neighbouring areas of inner city Leeds' (Stein, 2009), namely, Holbeck.

On October 7th 2009, I arrived at St. Matthews Community Centre, a deconsecrated nineteenth century Anglican church overshadowed by a phalanx of dilapidated 10 storey blocks of flats awaiting demolition.¹⁰

The community centre was packed, and expectations were high. The film crew had spent several weeks interviewing residents, planners, architects and local business people to get an insight into the situation. It was explained in the preamble that although participative editing had been attempted, the 50 hours of footage gathered proved too much for a community of non-professionals, decisions had to be made swiftly and efficiently in order to publish the film in time for it to be relevant to the unfolding regeneration plans. As a result, Lippy Films were forced to adopt a more conventional approach to the editing.

There was no commentary added to the *Ripples Out* film, which was constructed solely from the edited interviews and voices of around 50 participants. The film consisted of 10 sections which indicated the main themes tackled: 1. Histories, Perceptions and Vision; 2. Creating the Urban Village; 3. Visiting the Holbeck Urban Village; 4. Links with the Surrounding Communities; 5. Impact in Holbeck; 6. Visiting Holbeck; 7. Physical Connectivity; 8. City Living; 9. Personal Connections &

¹⁰ St. Matthews Church, surprisingly elegant but shrouded in soot, was built in 1829-30, deconsecrated in 1981. It was the last active church in Holbeck (Green, 2006). Holbeck Towers, opened by Rt Hon Hugh Gaitskill on 16th May 1960 have since been demolished. After four years as an empty site, work is now underway on a new housing development.

Aspirations; 10. Conclusions & Hopes. It was clear that there was a disparity between the deprivation of Holbeck and the investment and aspiration that had gone into developing the Holbeck Urban Village. Many of the residents had no idea what was going on in the Urban Village, but were fully aware of the poverty, neglect and lack of social cohesion in their own neighbourhood. While there were tentative hopes expressed in the concluding section, it was clear that many problems still had to be faced when trying to connect modern aspirations with entrenched neglect. Civic Architect, John Thorpe, reflected ruefully that 'design will not solve social disconnection', and acknowledged that the many social concerns and problems facing the communities had yet to be taken as a whole.

While a good balance between the views of the planners and those of the local residents was maintained throughout the film, it soon became clear that there was a rising sense of frustration among the local people as it appeared that the regeneration plans were oblivious to their needs. By the end of the film, I noticed that competing views were becoming polarised, and some of the residents were visibly and audibly angry. They made it clear that they felt alienated from the planning process and demeaned by half-hearted offers of 'concierge and cleaning jobs', such as expressed by one of the planners in the film. This perception was confirmed during subsequent interviews, for example Phil Kirby, local writer and blogger, provided testimony indicative of local sentiment:

There's a bit of resentment... they can afford to drink in fancy pubs, my neighbours have been cleared, houses knocked down, they've been dispersed... no one cares... all the money's gone to the Village [HUV] and the rest has been starved... I watched the *Ripples Out* film...one of the guys said local people have superior concierge skills, I could've thumped him!the guy from HUV said something about "the indigenous people" it's like ooo, I'm an indigenous person but I don't wear a loincloth and bow and arrows! It's ridiculous... that's a bad attitude. HUV is not there for the locals, it's there to attract outside investment (HAWKirby-015a:38'-44')

Most of the people in Holbeck I have talked to subsequently, including the majority of the interviewees, have been aware of the film, but few have been negative about Holbeck Urban Village itself as a development. For many it was an incomprehensible non-issue, they were more concerned about the lack of local

amenities and a planning system that apparently had no regard for their interests. The discourse of 'regeneration', 'connectivity' and 'community cohesion' did not cut much sway with the residents who saw a shiny new city being built for someone else rising above swathes of rubble and deprivation.¹¹ Clearly a strong community identity and pride had been maintained through generations, despite successive clearances, demolitions and apparent short-term fixes. I sensed a unique and valuable history that could too easily be dispersed, if all went according to the current plans. Leeds City Council and Yorkshire Forward hoped to attract a rich, young, mobile elite and promote a thriving e-commerce centre based in Holbeck, and the plans had largely overlooked the needs and aspirations of existing residents.¹² Before the meeting had finished, I had gathered together my first cohorts in the quest to build an oral history of Holbeck. The work towards this thesis forms part of that quest, and it will continue beyond its scope.¹³

To conclude, the primary reason for choosing Holbeck was the prospect of a vanishing oral history that was being erased by ongoing regeneration plans that would either ignore or displace local people and import new e-media/e-commerce elites. *Ripples Out* provided evidence of a contested space; a mismatch of interests between developers and planners on the one hand, and Holbeck residents on the other that revealed itself in the frustration and anger of the local audience. This experience guided me towards the choice to develop a polyvocal piece along the lines of the *Ripples Out* documentary, but rather than a sedentary film, it would be an audio walk encouraging people to experience the place itself and witness an alternative presence, and possibly envisage different ways ahead.

¹¹ I took the photograph used for the thesis cover at this time. It shows the new development of Bridgewater Place rising above the demolition of Holbeck Tower Blocks.

¹² Urban Design Compendium has removed the original webpage that expressed the stated aims of HUV, but a subsequent report confirms that they were outward looking rather than being concerned with the local population (UDC, 2004).

¹³ I refer to *The Holbeck Phonoscape* and Holbeck Oral History Archive that are works in progress.

2.1.2 Existing history of Holbeck

There are no professional oral history audio archives fulfilling the usual standards of consent available for the Holbeck area in the public domain, so the proposed archive resulting from this thesis will be the first of its kind. To date, the *Ripples Out* film provides the best source of audio that includes memories, reflections and thoughts on Holbeck and Holbeck Urban Village.

Lippy Films' *Ripples Out*, commissioned by Yorkshire Forward and Holbeck Urban Village, is available online (Lippy People, 2009) and so is public domain. Before using the audio in the phonoscape I checked with its creators and was given the go-ahead to use the audio provided the material was not taken out of context. Director Dave Tomalin explained the conditions of re-use: 'We would ask that you keep the comments in the context that they were given and not re-edit them to create a different meaning to those contributions' (Tomalin, 2012). Unfortunately, I could not gain permission to access the rest of the unedited archive, I was told that there were 'a number of ethical and practical reasons' why this would not be possible (Tomalin, 2012). The carefully constructed balancing act that Lippy Films had undertaken needed to be preserved. This posed no problem since I was interested in producing a polyvocal piece without metanarrative in the spirit of the original film. What struck me immediately upon first listening to the audio on site without the visual content was a distinct difference between the accents and speech patterns of the contributors, it tended to divide up fairly clearly between the (South) Leeds accents of the, largely sceptical, local people on the one side, and the various shades of received pronunciation of the planners and architects who were generally positive and aspirational on the other. Although transcripts might convey many semantic aspects of the material, listening to the audio in its locational context adds several dimensions to what is being said and how it is intended. Listening in this manner became an early part of my research methodology, and it became clear that reducing testimony to words and phrases on location does not necessarily subvert the meaning of the embodied voices.

In 2006 artist group WochenKlausur, specialising in sociopolitical interventions, were commissioned by Media and Arts Partnership (MAAP) in association with Yorkshire

Forward, Leeds City Council and Bauman Lyons to engage with Holbeck and the Holbeck Urban Village development. The project was entitled 'Overcoming Social Barriers' and provides a snapshot of the contested space at that time. Along with the social deprivation in the area, the 'social barriers' were also acknowledged to be physical. I was granted access to the full WochenKlausur video archive (MAAP, 2006:1-19) filmed by Paul Emery which is stored at MAAP, Leeds. The archive comprises approximately 20 hours of footage shot throughout the group's Holbeck intervention. The footage itself charts formal meetings, open sessions, videoscapes in and around Holbeck, and interviews with local people and officials working to realise the regeneration plans surrounding Holbeck Urban Village throughout the month of August 2006.¹⁴ The archive provides a valuable insight into a particularly divided period in Holbeck's planning history when local people were beginning to think they had been ignored in the planning process and that grand schemes to re-open the iconic Holbeck Viaduct to improve 'social connectivity' were being perceived as misplaced in the context of pressing social deprivation.

Moving onto textual oral history, the Leeds City Council Leodis Archive (Leeds City Council, 2015) provides a good source of quasi-oral testimony in the form of comments on archive photographs of Holbeck. Many people have added their personal place memories in this format. Some of the comments include contact email addresses, and where they are withheld it may still be possible to make contact for the purposes of oral history interviewing via Leeds City Library who curate the archive. As well as being a source of contacts, using this resource both as an aide-mémoire and to triangulate accounts proved useful. There have been several reports published in association with Leeds City Council (For example, LCC, 2005; LCC 2013; Unsworth, 2007; Renew, 2008) concerning regeneration and Holbeck Urban Village, and these provide a good starting place for industrial and architectural heritage but they contain very little oral testimony.

An overview of more traditional memory-based textual histories would include *Back-To-Back Memories: A Look Back at Life in the Old Cobbled Streets of Leeds*. Leeds,

¹⁴ The whole archive is eligible for inclusion in the *Holbeck Phonoscape*, and an edited version will be an important addition to the Holbeck Oral History Archive, but it has not been included in the pilot.

and the sequel *More Back-to-Back Memories: A Further Look Back at Life in the Old Cobbled Streets of Leeds*, publications by Sam Wood (Wood, 1991, 1993). These cover Holbeck and other areas in Leeds. Wood was born in 1903 and raised in Holbeck and his texts provide a wealth of detail and are tantalisingly oral, but I have not managed to uncover any recordings of him to date. Kathy Miller's *Another Line from Leeds: Memories are Made of This: with Special Reference to Holbeck 1914-1945* (Miller, 1989), is a scrapbook resource compiling the oral testimonies of eleven women attending reminiscence sessions at the Ingram Gardens Day Centre, Leeds. This vernacular history strings together memories and reflections with scans of original photographs and documents owned by the participants. Its themes cover the two World Wars, work, religion, fashion and a section on 'Life in Holbeck as it used to be', for example. Although it is meticulous in its detail and the participants share a treasure trove of memories, there are no verbatim records and the themes are presented in third person singular and plurals rendering the testimony tantalisingly opaque, and with no audio archive. The book is a good example of a form of history from below which eschews most of the conventions of the historian's craft, but nonetheless provides a useful talking point and was known to some of my interviewees, who indeed recommended it to me as a place to start.

One of the most useful concise histories suitable for heritage trails and accessibility is '*Swaps*' *Holbeck*, edited by Steve Truelove (Truelove, 2000); this combines snippets of oral testimony with some information gleaned from the Thoresby Society Archive. According to the editor it was 'thrown together over 2 or 3 months' (Truelove 2012) as part of a community project run by local community group Groundwork, and bearing that in mind, they have done an excellent job. The individual oral history quotes are unattributed and probably lack formal consent since people were interviewed informally in pubs and shops as well as at the local community centre. There is a general list of contributors, however, that a legendary figure, the late Cynthia Brooks who is sorely missed as a living archive of Holbeck memories. No audio archive exists for this resource.

Richard Hoggart's *The Uses of Literacy: Aspects of Working Class Life* (Hoggart, 2009), originally published in 1957, charting 'changes in working class culture during the last thirty or forty years' (Hoggart, 2009:xxix) is undoubtedly the locus classicus

for the history of South Leeds during that period, and also a founding text for Cultural Studies as a discipline (Hall, 2007). The book combines a variant of participative ethnography, oral history, documentary research and masterful, richly descriptive prose to produce something that is at once a review of how things were in 'An "Older" Order' (comprising part one of the book), but also presents a challenge to rising post-war consumerist values promulgated by the rise of mass culture that demanded 'Yielding Place to New' (comprising part two). Hoggart is suspicious of the displacement of a more traditional, organic working class world with a new mass, urban sensibility.

we are moving towards the creation of a mass culture . . . and that the new mass culture is in some important ways less healthy than the often crude culture it is replacing. (Hoggart, 2009:13)

His descriptions are so vivid they could provide scores for phonoscapes, this one almost certainly refers to Holbeck of the 1950s:

Houses are fitted into the dark and lowering canyons between the giant factories and the services which attend them ... goods lines pass on embankments in and around, level with many of the bedroom windows ... The viaducts interweave with the railway lines and the canals below; the gas works fit into a space somewhere between them all, and pubs and graceless Methodist chapels stick up at intervals throughout... Rough sooty grass pushes through the cobbles; dock and nettle insist on defiant life in the rough and trampled earth-heaps at the corners of the waste-pieces, undeterred by 'dog muck', cigarette packets, old ashes, rank elder, dirty privet, and the walled off space behind the Corporation Baths. All day and all night the noises and smells of the district — factory hooters, trains shunting, the stink of the gas-works — remind you that life is a matter of shifts and clockings-in-and-out. (Hoggart, 2009:45-6)

Hoggart's observations illustrate the social background of the predominantly white working class community that exists in Holbeck today, and resonate with the oral testimony of my interviewees who lived through this period. But, despite the beautiful prose, the sounds of people who contributed to his oral accounts and his own voice remain silent. As a basis for performance and re-enactment, however, the material provides a rich source of inspiration and catalyst for memories.

Hoggart's work forms a key part of an academic assessment of fluid culture between 1945-2010 by Tony Blackshaw (Blackshaw, 2013). This book is based on oral history interviews, and does have some material that relates directly to Holbeck, although it is also concerned with adjacent neighbourhoods and beyond. It is focused on a generation of 'Inbetweeners' born in the late twenties and thirties who came of age after World War Two but before the accelerated change in the 1960s. As is usual with text-based works, the interview audio archive is not made publicly available. The transcripts provide the empirical basis for a fairly abstruse academic argument drawing on Hoggart's exposition of 'cultural Fall' and Zigmunt Bauman's notion of Interregnum between solid and liquid modernity instantiated by the 'pure event' of the new, mass consumerism of the 1960s. Oral testimony is selected, transcribed and presented as fragments of varying sizes which sometimes include complete (from the speaker's point of view) stories, but the overriding concern is with associating, comparing and analysing smaller lexia. This is the model for much academic oral history to date, where an over-arching interpretation, often ensconced within an explicit theory, is interpreted and made to yield a meaning behind or between the testimonies (Portelli, 1991; Portelli, 2007). This is not to say that Blackshaw is not acutely sensitive to the people and context in which he works, and his efforts are geared towards letting their voices and interpretations be 'heard'. Blackshaw knows the area very well and he names one chapter 'Walking with My Thesis', in which he takes the reader on a walk in order to familiarise them with Beeston and Holbeck, very much in the spirit of Hoggart.

As this brief overview suggests, there is certainly scope for producing the publicly available audio archive that will be one of the eventual outcomes of this thesis. The spectrum of loosely framed chapbooks of memories to formal oral histories deployed within academic arguments share a reliance on a meta-narrative in one form or another in order to be accessed by their readership. The texts surrounding the *Holbeck Phonoscope*, such as this, do act in this way but the material itself is available in its locale without the mediation of transcript. Where personal stories are excerpted, they are not done so in pursuit of an argument, they are split as audio in order to provide a sonic context for the whole stories of which the fragments form a part. By leading a potential audience towards a source archive and place,

phonoscapes work in the opposite direction of textual approaches that lead to other texts and interpretations.

2.1.3 Follow the Beck: deep mapping the water and geology of Holbeck

Those were the days of our childhood,
Good old days? Were they 'eck,
We didn't go to the seaside
We paddled in t'mucky old beck.
(Wood, 1991:15)

'Deep mapping' is a term used by Mike Pearson and Michael Shanks to indicate an approach that is broadly archaeological in its research phase, and expands to encompass anything imaginable that can be associated with a place

Reflecting eighteenth century antiquarian approaches to place, which included history, folklore, natural history and hearsay, the deep map attempts to record and represent the grain and patina of place through juxtapositions and interpenetrations of the historical and the contemporary, the political and the poetic, the discursive and the sensual; the conflation of oral testimony, anthology, memoir, biography, natural history and everything you might ever want to say about a place. (Pearson & Shanks, 2001:64-65)

There is an underlying trust in all forms of material to underwrite any given performative output. In deep mapping, nothing should be left out in principle, but in practice any deep mapping will be provisional and incomplete. Not only is the potential amount of material fluid and dynamic, appearing and disappearing as we engage in it, but also there is the logical problem of incompleteness: how to include the deep map itself as 'something you might want to say about a place'. With totalising ambition ruled out from the beginning, the deep map provides an open invitation for any excavators of place to look up from their narrow trenches and

collaborate with other disciplines in a diversity of creative outputs involving archaeology, heritage, performance, locative history, guided tours, and so on.

In the spirit of deep mapping and sharing authority, I accepted the advice of one of my interviewees, Stephen Peacock, to 'follow the beck' as a way of exploring the history and context of Holbeck further. Deep mapping encourages the use of experimental cartographic and walking-based research methodologies (Pearson & Shanks, 2001; Schiavini, 2004-2005), and offers a useful methodology for constructing phonoscapes. The remainder of this section combines walking with subsequent documentary research.

The area south of the River Aire is a floodplain, and the original medieval field system, preserved as the diagonal boundary of the Tower Works site, indicates that Holbeck was developed initially as agricultural land.¹⁵ Holbeck is named after its beck: *Hol* (from Old English *hohl* : a hollow, hole, or void), and Beck (from Old Norse *bekkr* small stream). Walking towards Holbeck's beck where it runs alongside Water Lane in a magnificently engineered stone conduit, a clear choice presents itself: upstream or downstream? Both are significant. Following Hol Beck downstream leads to the River Aire where it flows beneath Victoria Bridge. The convergence of beck, river, canal, rail and road marks the heart of Leeds. At some point in human history someone, or a group of people, made the crucial decision that the area where a small beck joined the larger river was a good place to stay. Indeed the remains of a Roman ford were found near where Hol Beck joins the Aire, but the significance of this confluence is likely to be much older. Maintaining the south side of the Aire, Holbeck extends underneath the City Station in a subterranean Victorian warren aptly known as the Dark Arches. The resonant roar of the river is a potent soundmark for the heart of Leeds. Now there are two more choices: follow the River Aire to its source high on the Pennines above Malham Tarn, or go back to Hol Beck on Water Lane and trace its source. Crossings, getting from one side to the other, moving from north to south, finding the best place and pausing, all are significant activities tied to specific locations in this landscape.

¹⁵ This line once formed the original Parish Boundary line between Holbeck and Leeds.

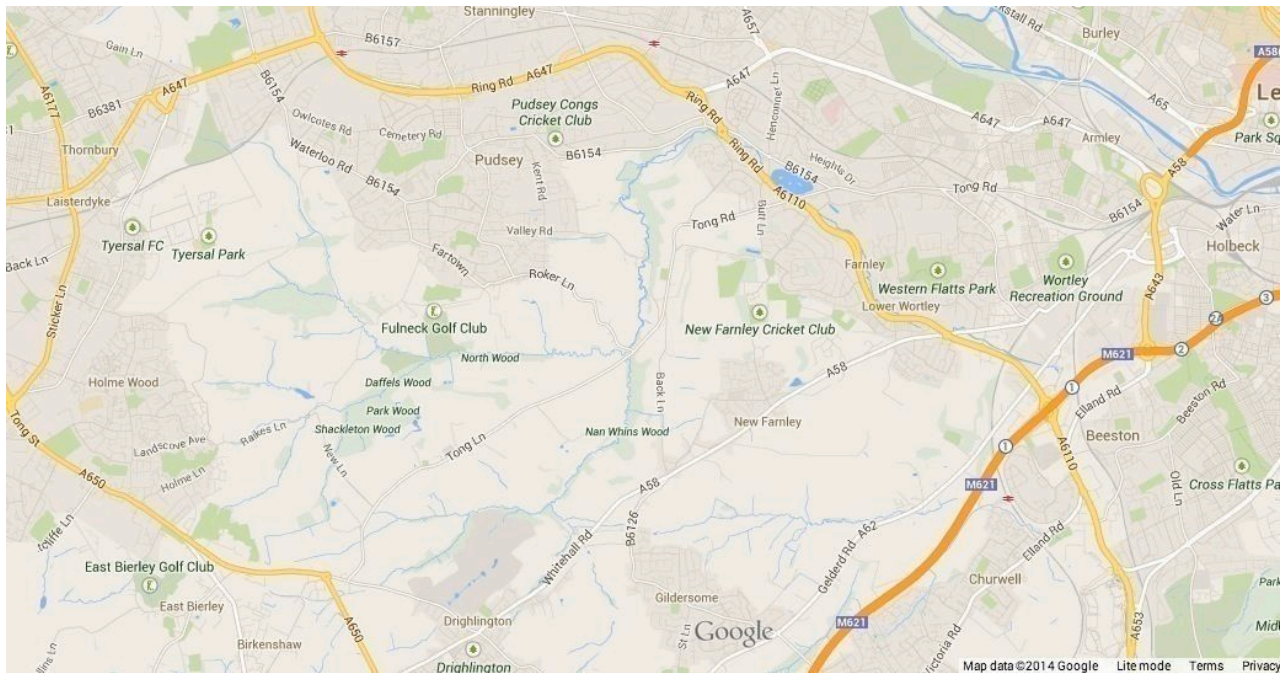


Figure 2.1 Hol Beck Main Catchment Area (Leeds top right)

Holbeck is in the top righthand corner of this map south of Leeds city centre. The map is framed to show Tong Valley, the water catchment area for Hol Beck. What is immediately obvious upon inspection of this map, even more obvious with a more detailed map, is that Hol Beck has no single source. If you follow it upstream you find that it disappears underground where Water Lane joins Springwell Road (see below), and now only small stretches see daylight until you reach Wortley. Recalling when the beck used to flow through and beside Holbeck Viaduct on its way from Wortley, Stephen Peacock recounted watching it carry its load of black stinking filth from the tanneries through 'Stinkbomb Alley' (HAW-8-3-10-Peacock-006a). It ceases to be called Hol Beck when you enter Wortley. Continuing to the source of what appears to be the longest tributary, you will find yourself walking along Wortley Beck, Farnley Beck, Pudsey Beck and finally Tyersal Beck, which trickles out from under Leeds-Bradford Odeon on the outskirts of Bradford. Unlike the River Aire, Hol Beck loses its identity immediately outside Holbeck, it has no clear and definable mountain tarn to draw its unnamable source waters from, and so my quest for its source peters out somewhere under Bradford.



Figure 2.2 A Binary Source of Hol Beck

This indicates something about the utilitarian naming of small, local becks that generally take on the identities of the communities they flow through; Holbeck is thus unusual having incorporated the beck into its name rather than the opposite.

While Hol Beck does not convey as much water as the Aire and Leeds Liverpool Canal, it played a vital role in servicing the mills and tanneries of nineteenth century industrial Leeds. Holbeck's strategic position was further enhanced through water when the Leeds Liverpool Canal was completed in 1816, and a continuous navigable waterway between the West and East coasts sliced England in two.¹⁶ East meets West in Holbeck (Fig. 2.3).

¹⁶ This included the Aire and Calder Navigation which connected Leeds to the east coast and had been completed in the eighteenth century.



Figure 2.3 Coast to Coast through Holbeck

Unfortunately for those who had invested in water transport, 1812 saw the world's first commercial steam railway running coal from Middleton Pits into Leeds. By 1834, Leeds was connected to the world's first inter-city railway system. Holbeck inventor and businessman Matthew Murray involved himself in the rise of the railway by inventing a crucial rack and pinion system for the Middleton Railway locomotive. He continued to propagate the global influence of Holbeck throughout the rest of his illustrious career. Matthew Murray's house 'Steam Hall', disregarding the Romans for a second, was reputedly the first house in the world to have central heating. The supply of steam in Holbeck relied on an abundance of local coal and water. Hence the water catchment area formed a crucial element in the triumvirate Coal+Water=Steam that powered Holbeck, Leeds and the Industrial Revolution itself. Water was thus of fundamental importance to the fortunes and influence of Holbeck both locally and globally.

Throughout the nineteenth century Leeds' rapid industrial expansion wrought great changes in population, architecture, transportation and ecology that configured both the physical and psychogeography of Holbeck, the beck itself was displaced and forced to follow the line of Water Lane. The intimate dialectics of water and human activity have been played out in names and stone conduits, from Hol Beck to Holbeck, and from the determination of a rationalised watercourse to the exigencies of Water Lane.

Once the various watercourses and railway lines had been consolidated they formed radii of transportation and utility for Leeds itself, at the same time, paradoxically,

creating material barriers between Leeds centre and Holbeck. The most direct routes are either across the canal at Office Bridge and through the Dark Arches to Dark Neville Street, or across the river via Victoria Bridge to the same gloomy portal beneath the mainline railway. Although bridges make the boundary porous, they constrict flow and there is a distinct psychogeographical contrast between the north and the south of the river, enhanced by a ritual traverse from light to darkness to light.¹⁷

Surface water is particularly important in Holbeck, but also more subtle geological features that are less visually evident are intimately bound up with water. Leeds sits within a very ancient river valley and flood plain consisting of alluvial mudstones, sandstones and siltstones, sandwiching coal measures and marine bands resting on top of the Upper and Lower Bowland Shale layers, one of the largest shale basins in the world (The Ecologist, 2014). As the flow of technologies pulses through Holbeck, so natural resources seem to rise and fall to the occasion. As I write, the fate of "fracking" shale to supply fossil fuel energy in the UK is under debate.

In the upper layers of the Lower Coal Measures runs a sulphurous aquifer that supplied Holbeck Spa on Water Lane, well known in the nineteenth century. "Springwell Lane" suggests a local spring source, and St. Helen's Well was sited at the junction of Marshall Street and Water Lane (Bennett, 2010). Apparently there were/are several springs in Holbeck: the Leeds Directory of 1857-8 states:

Holbeck township and chapelry, on the South side of the Aire... is noted for several copious springs of Spa Water, which is slightly impregnated with sulphur. (Cited in Blanck, 2004)

Having explored Hol Beck and seen how water shapes Holbeck's fortunes, it seems an appropriate element to attend to for deep mapping, and for phonoscape building. By focusing on the sounds of water and other geological resources within an

¹⁷ The theme of darkness was picked up on by Bauman Lyons Architects who were behind the 'Light Neville Street' project working with sound and light artist Hans Pieter Kuhn to brighten and enliven the gloom with sounds and LED lights. Despite various setbacks and delays due to the 2008 recession, the project was completed on 23rd October 2009.

archaeology of voices, listeners are encouraged to make their own connections between these elements.

The ongoing dialectic has reached a crucial point at the time of writing as work has just begun on the £45m Leeds Flood Alleviation Scheme to prevent Hol Beck and the Aire from reclaiming their natural floodplains. Extra 'Linear defences with provision for future connections', will soon be placed atop the stone conduit along Water Lane (Morton, 2015).¹⁸ This intervention will have major implications for the soundscape down by the beck, making any recordings already made part of a newly lost sound world.

2.1.4 Holbeck's Three Zones

The boundaries of Holbeck have moved over time, but my interviewees broadly agree on where it lies: bounded by Leeds City Station and the River Aire to the North; the M621 to the South; the East perimeter follows Victoria Road, overlooked by Bridgewater Place (known locally as 'The Dalek'); the West is defined by the A643 feeder road joining the M621 to Armley Gyratory. For the interviewees, the North and South boundaries are more debatable than the East and West. Holbeck, Hunslet, Middleton and Beeston, taken together form the bulk of South Leeds. Hunslet and Middleton were great industrial centres and the locus for employment throughout the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth century. Beeston, on the other hand, has more in common with the residential part of Holbeck that centres on Holbeck Moor.

Through walking and researching the history of the area, I have found that Holbeck splits into broadly three areas with radically different ambiances: Residential Holbeck is where the majority of housing is situated, including a few shops and amenities;

¹⁸ The scheme is funded by Leeds City Council, the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, the Environment Agency and the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills. A video fly-through of proposed work (ArupVisualisation, 2015) has been made available.

Transitional Holbeck is mostly post-industrial, or brownfield, sites and buildings that are either under-utilised, or derelict. There are various light industrial units here, a few car park areas, but few residential buildings; Holbeck Urban Village used to be part of the industrial complex but has since been converted to office, leisure and modern residential.

Residential Holbeck

The latest boon and barrier to affect Holbeck was completed between 1972-75 as a result of Leeds' bid to become 'motorway city' in the 1960s. The M621 has undoubtedly done much to enhance the connectivity of Leeds, but it also carved an unremitting swathe through Holbeck chopping bits off the south part, marooning the area around Cambrian Terrace, and further distancing Holbeck from its adjacent neighbourhoods. At around the same time, the A643 was completed joining the M621 to Armley and Wortley but also turning the surrounding area into hinterland, making it difficult and unpleasant to navigate on foot (see interview with Harjinger Sagoo AoV-T0248-27-3-13-SagooA).¹⁹ Now Holbeck is completely defined by transportation networks. This has had several effects: on one hand, the area is cut off from its surroundings, but on the other hand it has helped foster the unique identity that is 'Holbeck'. When I first met some of the residents, I encountered a distinct 'Custer's Last Stand' feeling as buildings were being demolished, amenities were disappearing and Council money running out. Perhaps one of the most interesting effects from a walking and psychogeographical viewpoint has been the incidental creation of many 'non-places' throughout the area, byproducts of development; unrecognised, unloved and seldom frequented.

It seems appropriate to see Holbeck's disused railway viaduct as a huge, iconic 'non-place' that presents an equally massive challenge to planners and visionaries alike. The concept was originally articulated by Henri Levebvre in 1970: 'Now there is also

¹⁹ Interestingly enough there is evidence that Matthew Murray School had a say in covering over the dual carriageway that was proposed to bisect its playing fields (The Motorway Archive, 2009). Since then, however, the school has been demolished and now the tunnel has no function. As one blogger comments: 'I've always wondered about that, on my daily commute through a tunnel under nothing and, seconds later, a railway bridge to nowhere' (Cooky, 2013)

an elsewhere, the non-place that has no place and seeks a place of its own.' (Lefebvre, 2003:38). Since then, the term has become more popularly associated with Marc Augé (Augé, 2008), but Lefebvre's version is closer to my meaning here.

Alongside these infrastructural developments there have been successive housing clearances carried out in Holbeck. Bulldozers first went in during the 1930s, culling the slums left behind by the decline of Leeds' major textile industry.²⁰ Eventually over half of the 78,000 back-to-backs in Leeds were demolished (Hammerton, 1952). The "Turbulent Priest", Reverend Charles Jenkinson, vicar of Holbeck, was a tireless campaigner for demolition, displacing his own church, St John and St Barnabas, and its congregation from Holbeck to Belle Isle where he became responsible for around 14,000 Council houses.

Since 2009, during the course of my research in Holbeck, five of the six Holbeck Tower blocks, and several dozen back-to-backs have been demolished. The hastily converted internal architecture of St Matthews Church, deconsecrated in 1981, now serves as a community centre, playing a vital role in co-ordinating a diverse community, but there is a sense of the unfinished and not yet fit for purpose.²¹ It is not surprising therefore that many of the residents have a shifting sense of place that is always provisional. Talk of 'where such and such used to be', and 'that's gone now', pepper accounts of the locality. There are now few shops and amenities in the 'Old Holbeck' and virtually all the pubs have closed down. Over the past thirty years most of the original residents, predominantly white working-class, have dispersed into other areas of Leeds. Local people complain that it has become a 'rat run' for the many commuters who travel through Holbeck to or from work in Leeds, or to see Leeds United at Elland Road on the southwestern edge of Holbeck. Also it has been the traditional haunt of sex workers and other marginalised groups for many years.

²⁰ There were also earlier clearances in the nineteenth century, particularly following the cholera epidemics of 1832 and 1849.

²¹ St. Matthews Church, surprisingly elegant but shrouded in soot, was built in 1829-30. It was the last active church in Holbeck (Green, 2006).

Transitional Holbeck

As Void, the undeveloped part of Holbeck is replete with non-places, and whilst there is a feeling of bleak deprivation in the area, it is also full of potential for small interventions to take advantage of its liminality. Wildlife and illicit trading flourish.

It is impossible to walk around the streets of transitional Holbeck without being reminded of industry: derelict rubble fields and car parks with subtle hints of past use, ghost buildings imprinted on brick walls, the faint grids of factory foundations marking out the ground underfoot, magnificent dinosaurs of extant architectural forms caught between worship and carpets, flax spinning and shabby chic film sets.

The theme of mobility recurs in the rising and falling of buildings as they are built and demolished, and modes of use change as technologies and livelihoods shift over time. Perhaps the buildings that manifest this most are Temple Works (one mainstay of the flax industry, currently an arts centre); Marshall's Mill (part of the flax complex, now mainly residential), the Round Foundry (changed from heavy to e-industry), Prospect United Methodist Chapel (now Holbeck Mills Carpet Warehouse), and St Helen's Mission Room (now a band rehearsal space Old Chapel Studios). Others have been demolished or burnt out: Holbeck Union Workhouse (demolished), Holbeck Towers (demolished), the engine repair sheds of Nineveh Road (disused, half demolished), and Kays Northern Distribution Centre (demolished), Spotted Cow pub (burnt out). Some buildings hang on, struggling in their old functions; Holbeck Working Men's Club and the few local shops. Yet others are dormant, awaiting re-use or demolition such as the disused railway viaduct or the derelict 1952 'Reality' building (once part of Kays Catalogue, probably destined for demolition). All of these, at one time thriving centres of life and work, are now in transition.

The converted St. Helen's Mission Room on Czar Street achieved a successful transition when it became Old Chapel Studios in 1992, providing rehearsal and recording rooms for musicians. Old Chapel has survived economic ups and downs, and is now supported by the Kaiser Chiefs, who used to rehearse there. Planted firmly in Transitional Holbeck, the enterprise promises to be an important part of Holbeck's future, a good example of how the spontaneous interests of people,

business and community can combine in hybrid forms within a heterogenous context, developing grass roots regeneration in even the most difficult circumstances.

Off Marshall Street, a more complex situation is taking place in the development known as Temple Works, Marshall's iconic flax mill modelled on the Temple of Horus at Edfu. This Grade I listed edifice is one of the architectural marvels of nineteenth century Leeds. It boasted 'the largest room in the world' at the time it was built, covering almost 2 acres the main workroom was constructed to an idiosyncratic plan that confounded standard architectural practice (Dr Fitzgerald interview AoV-T0252-3-4-13-Fitzgerald). With a grass roof maintained by a small flock of sheep, the Temple created perfect conditions for flax spinning

In the 1950s Kays Catalogue mail order company took over Temple Works, and began building its empire in the North. Kays eventually used the whole site, building a classic 1950s building next to the Temple and in 1981 a large redbrick distribution centre. People from all over Leeds were employed, supplying the nation with anything from mascara to bicycles. In 2003 Kays was purchased by property speculators the Barclay Brothers when they took over the entire Great Universal mail order business. The business was closed down within twelve months. By 2009 the distribution centre had been demolished, the 1952 building was derelict, and the neglected Temple Works suffered structural failure in December 2008. Scraping along on a shoestring budget and enlisting help from the local arts community, the building has survived (Susan Williamson interview AoV-T201-11-2-13-Williamson). Its fate is currently under negotiation with developers and is expected to receive a sizeable HLF grant for refurbishment (BBC, 2015).

Holbeck Urban Village

In 1999, the northern part of Holbeck surrounding the Round Foundry was designated an 'urban village' and given the go ahead for redevelopment. In 2006, regional development agency Yorkshire Forward supported an ambitious initiative, Holbeck Urban Village, to renovate and refurbish the Holbeck area nearest Leeds centre. The regeneration was intended to continue into residential Holbeck, creating

a new and vibrant area based on an aspiring e-business model, and turning the tide of degeneration and neglect that had characterised the area for the past 20 years or more. But while the new builds and tasteful renovations were of high quality, the development caused resentment in the residential areas that remained in the bottom 2% of the UK's Index of Multiple Deprivation (DCLG, 2011). This volatile context proved to be an intriguing milieu for constructing a polyvocal oral history.

The main developments took place between 2000 and 2008 and centred on Matthew Murray's almost derelict old works and various surrounding properties on Water Lane including two pubs, the Midnight Bell and the Cross Keys. Marshall's Mill on Marshall Street had already been refurbished in the 1990s, before the designation of Holbeck Urban Village, but has been incorporated in the plans for business and residential development of the Round Foundry by developers Igloo.

The refurbishment of the old together with striking modern additions around the Round Foundry bears the hallmark of the 'urban dentistry' of retired Civic Architect John Thorp, who had a well-respected role in shaping the strategic vision of Holbeck Urban Village, instantiated in these restorations and new builds complex.²² Much of his vision is yet to be realised, and some of it has been discarded or disrupted along the way. It is refreshing to find that the section on Holbeck in his fabulously realised book *From the Tile to the City* (Thorp, 2012) is centred on walking through the area. Thorp's approach works very well as the heart of Holbeck Urban Village, and it has fared better than the more ambitious high-rise visions of Yorkshire Forward.

Bridgewater Place, originally conceived as part of an aspirational 'spine of very tall buildings (23 in all) leading to the motorway' (Stillwell & Unsworth, 2008:52), is a 32-storey erection, known locally as the 'Dalek'. The building epitomises the heroic planning initiatives set up by the now defunct Yorkshire Forward, and barely finds a mention in Thorp's book (Thorp, 2012). The vision is articulated in the FPI document of the time:

²² Thorp had a major influence on the development of Leeds over his 40 year involvement with the Council - in particular his work with Renaissance Leeds project has helped steer the post-industrial shape of Leeds skyline and footline, see (Thorp, 2012:2).

Notwithstanding the existing spine and the emerging themes of 'strings' and 'clusters' it was also felt that the existing 'tired looking' skyline should be broken dramatically with a few super tall iconic towers to assist in creating a new recognisable skyline that would reinforce Leeds's identity and sense of place – an urban silhouette not to be confused with any other. (Stillwell & Unsworth, 2008:52)

Aligning itself with the skylines of Canary Wharf, London, and La Defense, Paris, the tallest building in Yorkshire was set fair to lead the way to a tall new dawn back in 2007.

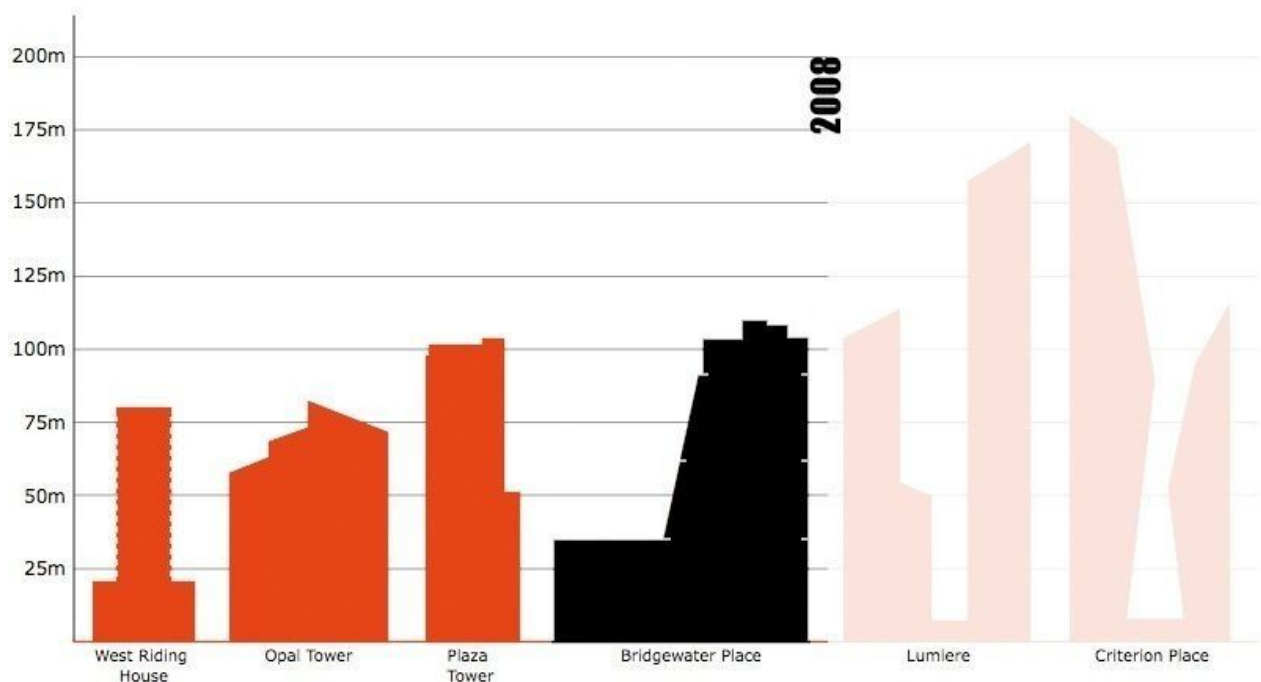


Figure 2.4 An unrealised vision for the Leeds skyline

The 2008 financial crash brought things down to earth though and Bridgewater Place now stands marooned without its fellow vertebrae. Unfortunately, the building is not only ridiculed or reviled aesthetically, shortlisted for the uncoveted *Carbuncle Cup* award in 2008, it has become notorious as a wind hazard and has subsequently been subject to various court cases. Even on a calm day, the wind around its base is often noticeable, and when high winds strike the area is now closed to traffic. Tragically, wind caused by the building has caused death and injury to pedestrians,

and has taken the roof off the local Victorian pub three times (see Rachel Scordos interview: HAW-20-7-10-Scordos-022). The pub in question, The Grove Inn, hangs on despite the radical changes going on around it, the tiny nineteenth century gem stands its ground under the shadow of the Dalek. The anomalous Grove Inn, self-proclaimed 'oldest single venue folk club in the world' seems to be thriving as a result of the influx of thirsty office workers into Holbeck Urban Village.



Figure 2.5 Juxtaposition in Holbeck Urban Village

Although the initial development of Holbeck Urban Village went ahead apace, the 2008 recession stalled proceedings. Now, the local community is more organised in its response, and its voices are beginning to be heard. While the full version of the *Holbeck Phonoscape* will include this area, covered by *Holbeck Audiowalk* (Bradley, 2013), the pilot phonoscape is focused on the area surrounding the M621.

2.2 Approaching Interviews

My approach to interviews was centred on place memories that would be suitable for presentation in the *Holbeck Phonoscape*. The driving principle was to cover diversity of experience as far as possible, but not to struggle for deeper and more extensive understandings, or pretend to a comprehensive representation of Holbeck. The initial perception of an 'us and them' situation between planning and developing interests on one hand and local residential needs on the other provided an incentive to encourage participation from people on both sides of that divide.²³ Through the course of interviewing, it became clear that any bi-polar characterisation would be inadequate, or worse, misleading.

In order to find subjects suitable to interview, I identified a number of 'gatekeepers' such as Leeds City Council staff at the local One Stop Centre, Lippy Films, staff at Holbeck Elderly Aid, and other charitable organisations. Referring to agencies or third parties as 'gatekeepers' is common practice among oral historians (Bryson et al., 2014:57). Some argue that it is advisable to 'leave gatekeeper[s] at the gates' (Bryson et al., 2014:57), however, when a diverse range of interviewees is required. Accordingly, I decided on an initial round of interviews with past and present residents of Holbeck and those involved in delivering the regeneration plans in order to establish a foothold in the community.²⁴ By asking interviewees for further recommendations, subsequent rounds of interviews accumulated through 'snowballing' (Bryson et al., 2014:57) until I had sufficient data to support my research. This methodology is considered best practice by the Oral History Society, and is used by contemporary oral historians such as Rogaly and Taylor (Rogaly & Taylor, 2009).

Once I had obtained the initial recommendations, the main criterion for inclusion or exclusion was whether or not prospective interviewees had direct experience of

²³ The WochenKlausur archive in particular and my experience at the showing of Ripples Out had given the impression of polarised perceptions between planners and residents.

²⁴ The categories of interviewees discussed below evolved as I engaged further with the community.

Holbeck and were willing to contribute their place memories to the Holbeck Phonoscape and Oral History Archive. Focusing primarily on place memory meant that any contribution, no matter how small, might be eligible for inclusion following the ethos of community oral history projects such as *Sonic City* (LCC, 2006-9).

Restricting the subject of the interview to place-memory, allowed me access to a very diverse group of individuals and a welter of information, thoughts and impressions. I made a point of concentrating on place within Holbeck, extending to activities such as walking routes or work, events such as art interventions or marches, impressions and feelings about regeneration and development from all sides, as well as planning initiatives and development strategies from within Leeds City Council, together with developers and businesses.

The interview protocols and techniques employed are in keeping with the broad guidance provided by the Oral History Society (OHS, 2016), and advice on best practice given by authors such as Trevor Lummis (Lummis, 1988), Paul Thompson (Thompson, 2000), and Rogaly & Taylor (Rogaly & Taylor, 2009). Thompson sums up an oral historian's approach:

To interview successfully requires skill. But there are many different styles of interviewing, ranging from the friendly, informal, conversational approach to the more formal, controlled style of questioning, and good interviewers eventually develop a variation of the method which, for them, brings the best results, and suits their personality. There are some essential qualities which the successful interviewer must possess: an interest and respect for people as individuals, and flexibility in response to them; an ability to show understanding and sympathy for their point of view; and, above all, a willingness to sit quietly and listen. (Thompson, 200:222)

Before each interview began, I would have an informal session with the subject in order to discuss my project, listen to their initial thoughts and work out what they were willing to talk about in connection with Holbeck. My approach was to seek out unaided memories as far as possible, only using photographs if provided by the

interviewee.²⁵ We would then agree an approximate duration for the immediate interview, and whether further sessions might be necessary. Depending upon the complexity of their contribution, I could then map out a rough itinerary as a guide for the ensuing session, enabling me to pace and configure the time available. This itinerary served also as an informal script allowing me to guide the interviewee towards the agreed axes of interest: place, time, and activity.

The formal script model of social survey methodology was not appropriate for this approach which has similarities with ethnomethodology. Following Lummis's model for oral history interview, the interviewer and interviewee are 'aware of each other as people and of setting about a common task of recording experiences of the one in an open and conversational manner' (Lummis, 1988:51). In this context, inter-personal dynamics are more appropriate than neutrality and objectivity.

Each interview began by recording the time, date and place, and inviting the interviewee to state their name, provide a brief personal background, and outline their primary relationship with Holbeck. Interviews were held either in interviewees homes, or a venue of their choice, 'the informant is then in command of the social situation and relaxed in the comfort of familiar surroundings' (Lummis, 1988:66), encouraging an informal and natural response focused on what the speaker wanted to say.

2.2.1 Ethics and Shared Authority

Locative oral history based pieces are open, experimental, and fluid works that can change over time according to public response and additional material, so they pose different issues and questions to standard static archives (Galloway & Ward, 2006). One of the reasons I limited the scope of the interviews was to avoid potential

²⁵ I made use of various maps, particularly 'Holbeck and New Wortley', Yorkshire Sheet 218.05, Old Ordnance Survey, Godfrey Edition, (1906) was useful for memories going back to before World War Two. Generally the interview would begin without a map though. Maps often turned out to be an adventure in themselves with interviewees discovering streets or names they had never heard of.

problems with personal and sensitive areas.²⁶ Similarly, adopting a polyvocal approach problematises the notion of 'community' and its representation. Each person's viewpoint is unique, and an overriding aim in a project such as this is to open the work to include as many voices and listeners as possible. This involves trust and commitment to the broader aims of the project by all participants.

Regarding ethics, there are two broadly distinct but overlapping areas to summarise: responsibility to the individual interviewee and the broader community (no matter how fragmented and divided); and responsibility to the phonoscape project itself which is pioneering an experimental approach bringing together sound art and oral history. At all times, questions of whose history for whom guide the practice (Messenger, 1999), and an awareness of possible ethical problems should be born in mind (Zimmerman et al., 2003). It is important to ensure that the voice of the individual interviewee, or the voices of the community, are heard without being lost in the authorship of the researcher, highlighting how oral historians consider ownership and authority.

The pursuit of an archaeology of the voice through the production of phonoscape impacts on ongoing debates and developments concerning the issue of 'shared authority', a term popularised by Michael Frisch in his seminal work *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History*, (Frisch, 1990). The term homes in on the fundamental means of production of oral history: the interview. The historical material generated from the interview is 'authored' by both interviewer and interviewee. Frisch's initial concern was with the legitimacy of the historian's 'author-ity' (Frisch, 1990:xxi) in producing interpretations above and beyond the interview situation. In trying to plot a course between the two poles of professional, scholarly history, and a community or public history that resists the interests of academic boundary-making, Frisch saw shared authority as offering a trajectory that took the best of both. On the one hand, acknowledging the importance of building history from below, but also allowing for critical reflection on the material produced.

²⁶ Subsequent projects could take on some of these, of course--for instance, placing detailed life stories in the cityscape would be fascinating, but beyond the scope of this thesis.

Since Frisch's original casting of the term, shared authority has been extensively discussed and deployed in various strategies attempting to democratise the outputs of oral history becoming, in the words of Linda Shopes, 'something of a mantra among oral historians' (Shopes, 2003:103). Although the restricted notion of the interview as the site of shared authority is well-defined, it soon became clear that extending the term to cover multi-faceted manifestations of public history was leading to a blurring of some of the original concerns, and Frisch decided to clarify his position in his contribution to the recent anthology *Letting Go?: Sharing Historical Authority in a User-Generated World* where he clarifies the distinction between 'shared' and 'sharing' authority (Adair et al., 2011:127). The 'shared' authority of the interview is not a matter of choice, it is constitutive of the interview situation, whereas the choices surrounding interpretation and public presentation *are* a matter of choice and part of the process of *sharing* authority, where there is an ongoing relationship between the public and the material afforded by open archives and new media.

There have been criticisms of the concept of shared authority from various quarters highlighting its drawbacks and limitations. Perhaps the most fundamental problem is the inherent asymmetry of the interview situation itself where the researcher frames the questions and then produces a textual interpretation. In the early 1980s, before Frisch formulated his version of the concept, issues surrounding this formed a focus for discussions of E.P. Thompson's *History from Below* for the Popular Memory Group in 1982. It was argued that whereas textual sources remain passive and mute, working with a (living) human source makes ongoing demands upon the historian who must be aware that it is:

He that produces the final account, *he* that provides the dominant interpretation, *he* that judges what is true and not true, reliable or inauthentic (Original emphasis, Johnson et al., 1982:422).

Oral history methodology can help to undermine this asymmetry by sharing authority in the framing of the interview, and acknowledging a shared authority in the various products that stem from it. An archaeology of the voice, by resisting totalising

interpretation, also avoids some of the extremes of controlling historiography that the history from below identifies and attempts to unseat.

Another criticism of shared authority is summed up by the artist Fred Wilson, whose *Mining the Museum* exhibition (Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, April 1992-Feb. 1993) involved juxtaposing slavery items with institutionalised symbols of oppression and still has contemporary relevance as 'a touchstone for how artists can challenge curatorial and institutional authority'. Wilson explains his position:

as an artist you're not really sharing. I don't think people should share authority to the degree that you devalue your own scholarship, your own knowledge. That's not sharing anything. You're not giving what you have. That is highly problematic. You have to be realistic about your years of experience, what you can give, and what others can give. (Adair et al., 2011:237)

When viewing the phonoscape as an artistic creation and as, perhaps, a challenge to standard curatorial methods, this criticism is resonant, however, by using chance procedures and inviting contingency into the piece it is possible to step back from full artistic control of the material without lowering standards of scholarship or sound craft. The overriding quest to provide the possibility of experiencing as many voices as possible within the space makes sharing authority a central feature of the piece rather than a singular artistic, or personal, vision.

Perhaps one of the most difficult problems in sharing authority in many situations lies in the practical realm. In order to extend and share authority at all points along the line from project creation, through interviewing, to the public output requires an immense amount of time, skill and sensitivity. Particularly in life story oral history, or when dealing with highly traumatic events such as Holocaust survival, or genocide, sharing authority can become extremely difficult. This was the experience of Anna Sheftel and Stacey Zembrzycki who worked on the Montreal Life Stories project interviewing Holocaust survivors (Sheftel, 2010). In the article, the authors talk of the successes and failures they experienced, pointing out how much time and personal soul searching is required throughout the process and the problems that arise when interviewees eventually decide not to share authority. Their final question: 'How can

we represent the people with whom we work, not just as collections of stories but also as human beings?' (Sheftel, 2010:209) provides a difficult challenge to all forms of oral history and there are no simple solutions. By focusing specifically on place memories and not attempting to piece together life stories or focus on deeply personal traumatic events, the pilot phonoscape does inhabit the territory of 'collections of stories', but by retaining the personal human voice as central, and by requiring physical engagement with the site, the decontextualising tendencies of text-based outputs are mitigated. While it is not inconceivable that a full life story or Holocaust survival account could be produced as a phonoscape, it is practically and conceptually beyond the scope of the present thesis.

Overall, sharing authority is a highly complex process (High, 2009), and requires a considerable amount of time to develop if interviewees are to be involved at all levels of production.²⁷ Lippy Films' attempt at participative editing provides an illustration of the difficulties faced. In phonoscape creation, the shared authority of the interview is paramount and the direct presentation of interview audio material carries this forward. Since no over-arching narrative is required, one level of interpretation in the sharing process is avoided. By drawing back from the editorial process, allowing chance procedures and contingency to configure the end-user's experience, the author of phonoscape cedes another level of authority that is customary in textual outputs. Furthermore, the open-ended nature of phonoscape encourages participation through new media for multiple iterations and additions to the core archive of interviews. Interpretation is undertaken by the participants in the phonoscape, and when access to the archive is made available, further researchers may develop interpretations of their own based on the unedited material. This kind of

²⁷ For further reading see: a special edition of the Oral History Review: 'Sharing Authority: Oral History and the Collaborative Process', with an introduction by Alistair Thompson (Thompson, 2003) which covers key issues surrounding shared authority; also, following the Montreal Life Stories project in 2008, a very good overview of the subject appeared in a special issue of Journal of Canadian Studies, 'Sharing Authority: Community-University Collaboration in Oral History, Digital Storytelling, and Engaged Scholarship', introduced by Steven High (High, 2009). The more recent to the anthology 'Letting Go?: Sharing Historical Authority in a User-Generated World' (Adair et al, 2011) which expands the discussion to include new media, the arts, and museology.

oral history is characterised by Alessandro Portelli's notion "unfinishedness," (Portelli, 1991:55).

Being an open work, subject to change, augmentation and reduction, the phonoscape creates a practical way of sharing authority, and one not bound up with the 'documentary sensibility' of more fixed outputs; it is, as Frisch puts it:

directed less toward the either/or of collection stewardship and fixed outputs, and more toward the active in-between— a more creative, more open-ended, less linear, and hence a more sharable space. (Adair et al., 2011:130n4)

Once a phonoscape is produced as a public entity, the process of sharing authority comes back into play again as it generates feedback from individuals who have experienced it, and this may be channelled back into further iterations in a reflexive loop.

2.2.2 Interview material and consent

A requirement of all oral history interviews is that the interviewee provides fully informed consent for the material to be used according to the parameters of the project. In order to fulfil this, I took time to fully explain all the intended outputs of the audio material. This is reasonably simple when a standard archive is the outcome, but when the outcome is a piece of sound art using chance procedures delivered through a mobile app, the issue is more complex.

Given that the material sought was focused on place-based memories, reflections and thoughts on Holbeck and were fully intended to be publicly shared, many potential problem areas were avoided. If anyone ventured unwittingly into sub judice issues, for instance, that material would be redacted. I explained that while the actual outputs might be indeterminate, the overall intention was to produce a piece which included as many voices as possible, and while some whole stories would be retained, fragments would also be included. When straddling between the requirements of oral history and sound art, there may be conflict of interests particularly where the sound output is considered as simply material or a set of

potential sound objects. Trevor Wishart, a composer specialising in radical manipulations of the human voice, acknowledges that in certain situations it is possible to 'do violence' to the materials drawn from human participants (Wishart, 2012:22). This issue became salient in the construction of his recent *Encounters in the Republic of Heaven* which relies heavily on recorded spoken memory and reminiscence (Wishart, 2012). Accordingly, Wishart developed a guiding principle that 'the personal embodiment of the speaker had to be respected' (Wishart, 2010:22). This means that sound manipulation should avoid making the interviewee sound ridiculous, or appear to be saying things opposed to their beliefs and intentions. Similarly, in phonoscape production it is essential to maintain the trust and empathy that exists between interviewer and interviewee, and in this I followed Wishart's principle. In practice, this process is fluid and highly subjective and highlights another aspect of the complexities of sharing authority.

Finally, all professional oral history work involves signing written consent forms, and the interviewee may choose to redact any part of the material subsequently since they retain copyright by law, unless it is willingly assigned to another body.

Confidentiality has been the source of much debate with the recent release of confidential details from the *Belfast Project* (J. Marcus, 2014). In that case, the interviews were carried out by journalists who apparently misled the interviewees regarding the future confidentiality of the interview material. Nothing of that order of magnitude is at stake with the Holbeck archive, but I have had to redact some information regarding Bridgewater Place, which may have prejudiced an ongoing court case, and a few other minor deletions or substitutions have protected identities and some personal details.

The aims and methodology of this thesis had to be processed by the University Ethics Committee, and its standard consent form was used. The Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF, 2014) favours the Creative Commons solution, and their licences (CC, 2014) are now beginning to be adopted by professional oral historians (Dougherty & Simpson, 2012; OHS, 2014) since these preserve the copyright of the interviewee

with various different options.²⁸ The licences are to be included along with project details, redaction policy, and anonymisation or pseudonymisation practices.

2.2.3 Representation and community

I had to make qualitative judgements regarding the nature and quality of the interview material to be included the phonoscape in the following ways: the phonoscape contains testimony from competing interest groups, and this requires careful negotiation where conflicts of interest may occur. For instance, one of my interviewees had a problem with material from sex workers being included alongside his own testimony. This throws up a dimension of shared authority peculiar to open works such as the phonoscape: whether or not one person's contribution finds itself juxtaposed directly with another's is largely contingent and will depend ultimately upon the trajectory of the walker and whether they trigger a particular audio file. Again, it is a question of trust and reassurance about the nature of the content, and talking through the possibilities with those who have contributed material. Prostitution in the area has been a widely recognised problem, but few people were willing to engage with it in a constructive way. This was one of the stumbling blocks facing the WochenkKauser project which was abruptly curtailed by Yorkshire Forward and Leeds City Council (Eckl et al., 2006). Where agreement cannot be arrived at, any contributor has the ultimate sanction of being able to withdraw their material from the phonoscape. This has not occurred to date, but it is a key dimension in sharing of authority in the production of phonoscapes and implies a form of distributed qualitative judgement that aligns with Frisch's conception:

Broadly distributed authority for making new sense of the past and the present. sharable cultural power interpreting and changing our world
(Frisch, 1990:xxiii)

Other divisive issues surround attitudes to race and ethnicity generally and gypsies in particular, this can be highly problematic if the testimony is reduced to words and/or phrases. My policy with any potentially inflammatory material concerning

²⁸ The most usual combination for oral history projects is 'By Attribution -- NonCommercial -- Share Alike' (Creative Commons, 2014).

race, religion, gender or politics is to avoid it, since even where inclusion might be justifiable within a broader oral history, given suitable contextual information, the possibility of de-contextualised insults appearing randomly in the phonoscape posed an unnecessary risk. In practice, the amount of material that might be considered offensive to any group involved, or a potential audience, proved to be minuscule amounting to very few words or phrases, and these have not been included in the phonoscape.

Regarding the quality of testimony generally, it is one of the principles of phonoscape design that *any* material (bearing in mind the above exceptions) from the interview is admissible, whether it be fragments, incidental sounds, interviewer's prompts or indeed silence. The resulting material may be selected and distributed within the phonoscape according to its topographical reference points and is selected for by chance.²⁹ Where defined stories, thoughts or reflections occur in the interview material, they are given markers (start and end points) in the audio and distributed according to their GPS points/ranges. Given the generally high sound quality of the interview recordings, no necessity for further qualitative judgement is required, and where several pieces of testimony vie for one set of coordinates, chance procedures are employed to make the choices.³⁰ When using existing archives, there may be other issues regarding re-use ethics such as discussed with the *Ripples Out* audio (see also Bornat 2003, 2008), or sound quality problems with interviews that have been poorly conducted and/or recorded.

2.2.4 Transcription Choices

The oral history transcript is a displacement of the voice in favour of the text. Audio reasserts its primacy within a phonoscape, or ambulant archive that is designed to

²⁹ Material that referred to places outside Holbeck, or material that had no specifiable place could not be included in this phonoscape, but the archive remains available for future phonoscapes that may be able to accommodate it.

³⁰ For the purposes of the pilot phonoscape, I weighted probabilities heavily on the side of producing whole stories, since the idea was to illustrate as many phonoscape features as possible within a restricted amount of time and space.

be explored by following audio traces at specific locations. The question arises then, does the transcript still have a role to play, and, if so, what form should it take?

The choices made in relation to transcription extend a long-term discussion of the role of transcription in oral history. There is general agreement that transcripts of one form or another are useful to the oral historian since they provide a quick way to search and access relevant content, but there are several drawbacks in producing them. They can be very time-consuming and costly, they divert attention from the *oral* nature of oral testimony, and they are necessarily approximations in relation to the recorded audio material. As Samuel pointed out in his 1972 article 'Perils of the transcript', 'the spoken word can very easily be mutilated when it is taken down in writing and transferred to the printed page' (Perks, 1998: 389), he notes the tendency to make speech sound consecutive and linear in ways that distort natural speech patterns in the interview. Any transcript is necessarily partial and must be seen as part of a broader process of material transformation. Attempts at verbatim transcripts can make the speaker appear clumsy and inarticulate as hesitations and repetitions interfere with the flow of words that is expected within a text. When preparing sound for text, Frisch affirms:

speech that sounds coherent and articulate to the ear tends to read, when too literally transcribed in print, like inarticulate stage mumbling: such transcription becomes an obstacle to hearing what the person in the interview is trying to say. (Frisch, 1990:85)

Depending upon the intended output, editorial choices will be made when displacing audio content into text (see Frisch, 1990: especially 81-146). Although much existing oral history is concerned with the production of texts, there has been a recent reversal of priorities that favours audio over text following the work of Frisch and Hardy III, for example (Frisch, 2008; Hardy III, 2009). By encouraging more time with the audio and less with the text, phonoscape construction moves away from full transcription, all that is needed is a summary transcript highlighting the places, located topics and an indication where they appear on the timeline.

Time	Summary	Names/places
11' 01"	'At the end of the street [Cambrian Terrace] was a Workhouse' [Holbeck Union Workhouse/South Lodge] – 'went to ask for a job' – terrible sights in the Workhouse - 'people walking about as if they were lost, they weren't clean, you've no idea' ***	Holbeck Workhouse 53°46'58.28"N 1°33'14.88"W

The extract above (see full interview summary in Appendix B) provides an example of summary transcription that is sufficient for making decisions regarding phonoscape content. In order to associate the testimony with its GPS coordinates, Google Earth must be consulted, and where a building or place no longer exists, as with Holbeck Union Workhouse, older maps and plans provide essential triangulation information to help align the testimony to current topography. Rather than spending time refining full transcripts, editing, or choosing sections to support an argument, the located audio becomes the primary focus.

The current situation in oral history generally could be said to be in transition regarding transcription, and this could be seen as part of a technological shift. Social and urban historian Michael Frisch, oral historian Alistair Thomson and interdisciplinary public historian Steven High, among others, have argued that a post-documentary sensibility allows for more direct use of sound content and that full transcripts become less important as database and new media develop (Frisch, 2006; Thomson, 2007; High, 2010). The Stories Matter project at Concordia is a good example of the move towards database approaches that do not require full transcripts and encourage engagement with the primary audio. The Stories Matter platform works with a summary and tag system, and the approach adopted for this thesis provides adequate provision for future incorporation in such databases.

Finally, the main task of a phonoscape is to encourage navigation of a site through sound. Once an audio file is tied to its GPS coordinates and included in a

phonoscape, the app may, if so desired, select any part of it randomly, without recourse to a full (linear) text transcript.

2.2.5 Archive

The full collection of 64 edited interviews with summary transcripts indicating place references will be deposited at West Yorkshire Archives Service and the University of Huddersfield as publicly available archives after completion of the thesis. For the purposes of the thesis itself, the emphasis is on the production of a pilot phonoscape, and the two *Displacement Activities* performances. Together, these draw on a relatively small component of the full archive.

The interviews divide into nine categories according to the 64 interviewees' involvement with Holbeck. Although some of the interviewees participated in multi-session interviews, for the purposes of the phonoscape the audio material was collated into single file 'interviews', thus the 64 interviewees contributed 64 interviews in all. Where interviewees overlapped two or more categories, the one that formed the main basis for the interview has taken precedence. The categories were not fixed in advance, they emerged from the initial discussions with gatekeepers and throughout the first round of interviews. It became clear that representation from people across all the categories would be desirable as a basis for working towards a diversity of perspectives. The following table provides a breakdown of the categories.

Resident	19
Community	10
Business/work	7
Arts	7
Council/Govt	5
Sex Work	5
Minority	4

Regeneration	3
Property	3
Leisure	1
Total Interviewees	64

Since the 64 interviewees had diverse engagements with Holbeck, they provided a wide range of varied memories and reflections on the site. There was no intended bias to favour men or women interviewees, and the overall balance between the sexes ended up at 28 women and 36 men. While women comprised a slight majority of the elderly residents, and the entire cohort of sex workers, men dominated the ranks of the community activists and the business and property categories. While there was no attempt to represent the whole of Holbeck with the sample, it was important to explore as many perspectives as possible during the time available. Accordingly, the final figure of 64 represents breadth of experience in the majority of cases rather than depth, however, 11 participants involved two recording sessions, and 5 interviews amounted to 2 to 5 hours of recorded material.

Residents: In common with many community oral history projects (for example, Rogaly & Taylor, 2009), the initial focus was on the older generations who had lived in the area, these people were able to provide a rich seam of vivid place memories as well as reflections on the changes that had occurred during their lifetimes. Consequently, twenty of the total interviewees were in their seventies, or older and either were, or had been, resident in Holbeck at some point in their lives.

Community: The seven interviewees in the 'Community' category were local activists who were involved with one or more of the community groups: Holbeck Elderly Aid, Friends of Holbeck Cemetery, Holbeck Gala, Holbeck in Bloom, Holbeck Foods, Holbeck Christian Fellowship, Holbeck Neighbourhood Forum Committee, SPLASH/Splashback (Campaign to save South Leeds Pool and Sports Hall), Cross Ingrams Residents Association (CIARA), and the local newspaper and blog South Leeds Life. These interviewees have all played an active role in shaping the community by arranging and attending local meetings and fighting for local issues.

Largely comprised of present or past residents, the group provided local knowledge as well as insights into the foundation of community groups and some of the successes and failures of local campaigns past and present.

Business/Work: Local businesses provided useful insights into the shifting social and economic trends in the wake of the 2008 recession as well as being sensitive to the aspirations of Holbeck Urban Village. Out of the seven individuals in this category, five were local business managers David Street Café, The Grove Inn, Creative Space (Round Foundry), and Chapel Studios. The remaining two provided particularly useful testimony regarding Temple Works. Ron Fitzgerald surveyed the premises in his capacity of industrial archaeologist, and the other, Martyn White, had been a long-term employee at Kays Catalogue up until its closure in 2004.

Arts: The regeneration initiative included several arts projects and the engagement of artists has been a continuing feature of Holbeck. This category, again seven people, includes both practicing artists (Phil Kirby, Phill Harding, and Alan Lane) and people working to organise arts activities in the area (Susan Williamson, Sue Ball, and Laura Taggart). An unexpected addition to this category was the composer Trevor Wishart, who features in other parts of the thesis; he was generous enough to add some of his childhood memories of Holbeck to the archive. One of the key players in the resurgence of Holbeck is Alan Lane, director of urban theatre group Slung Low which is based in Holbeck.

Council/Govt: Leeds City Council played a major role in the Holbeck Urban Village initiative and continued to be involved in the regeneration of the Holbeck district, so it was logical to interview representatives from that body. Beeston and Holbeck is represented by three Councillors, and of these I managed to interview two, Cllr. Angela Gabriel and Cllr. Adam Ogilvie (whom I interviewed twice). These interviews proved very fruitful both from the strategic point of view about how decisions about Holbeck evolved over time, but also from their personal engagement in the area, especially the case with Cllr. Gabriel. Two further council workers who had a specific relationship with Holbeck were also interviewed, one Ian Mackay, worked on the Holbeck Neighbourhood Forum, and Dave Fisher, my first interviewee, was Holbeck Neighbourhood Warden and had an intimate knowledge of the area. The final

member of this category was Rt. Hon. Hilary Benn MP, who happened by chance to come across the *Displacement Activities* performance on Leeds Light Night.

Sex Work: It is debatable whether this group should have been included in the Business/Work category above, but I decided that it was a special case since the interviews involved completely different ethical and practical procedures from the rest. This group became important as a result of encounters while researching walks in the area, and also because many of the interviewees referred to them (usually off the record). After careful negotiation with the Joanna project, a Leeds-based outreach and support group, five women agreed to contribute to the phonoscape. Although the interviews were very brief (5 to 20 minutes), they constitute an important contribution to the project as a whole. In roundtable discussions beforehand, we agreed that a deeper and exclusive project would be preferable in the long run, and it is hoped that funding for further engagement is found in future.

Minorities: It proved difficult to meet and engage with representatives of the small cohort of ethnic minorities in Holbeck, but the four people I did interview provided high quality testimony and valuable insights. In particular, Harjinder Sagoo's contribution amounted to over four hours of recorded material and up to ten hours unrecorded consultation. Mr Sagoo would be a key 'gatekeeper' to the Sikh community for future projects focused specifically on ethnic minorities. Harvi Ryatt, who was working as a chef for events at Temple Works at the time, contributed lively and insightful testimony, particularly on the Holbeck Urban Village.

Regeneration: The three interviewees who worked in the regeneration sector provided both strategic insight and personal memories of Holbeck. In particular, Maggie Bellwood, had poignant memories in the wake of the 7/7 bombing in 2005, recalling with some emotion the local March for Peace that went through Beeston and Holbeck demonstrating grassroots solidarity in the face of division and misunderstanding (AoV-T136-8_2-19-12-12-Bellwood:39:00).³¹

³¹ Three of the four 7/7 bombers were from Beeston and Holbeck (Independent, 2015).

Property: The property developments in Holbeck Urban Village contrasted strongly with the relative poverty and deprivation in old Holbeck, and I felt it was important to find some representatives of the developers. I met, Bruce Bettison, a major property owner, by chance in the David Street Street Café, and he agreed to talk about his ongoing relationship with Holbeck. Although the interview provides some very useful content with insights into the area from a property developer's perspective, from a sound point of view it was awkward since it was located in a hallway of Matthew Murray House, a building he owns, and was punctuated with doors opening and closing, incidental office chatter and unexpected drafts. The other two contributors to this category (Roland Stross and Oliver Quarmby) were involved with the building of Bridgewater Place which was Yorkshire Forward's flagship development for Holbeck Urban Village. Unfortunately, some of the salient issues around the wind-tunnel effect of the building were *sub judice* at the time, and so any reference to that has been redacted.

Leisure: Due to a misunderstanding about the details of the project, the single interviewee in this category, Adrian Grey, turned out to have only a fleeting relationship with Holbeck. We decided to continue with the interview regardless, focusing on a single incident. Adrian recalled a time in the early 1950s when, after a dance in the city centre, he walked a girl back to within 50 yards of her home in Domestic Street because 'she didn't seem to have anyone to walk her home'. The relationship did not last, he never returned, and he could not recall her name. This kind of ephemeral encounter involving people and place is still relevant to an archaeology of the voice, however, and can make a poignant addition to phonoscape. It should be noted that leisure as a topic was covered in many of the other interviews, but not singled out specifically as the sole reason for inclusion.

The larger aspiration of my work in Holbeck is ongoing, and this will result in the full archive of interviews and field recordings being accessioned as the first instalment of the Holbeck Oral History Archive. Alongside the archive, the pilot phonoscape will be extended to become a public work of art: *The Holbeck Phonoscape*, that will alert people to a further selective online archive comprising all the (un-fragmented) place memories deployed in the phonoscape arranged according to a multi-layered map of Holbeck. A selection of stories will then be made available in cross-platform formats

that may be used for Holbeck local history presentations, educational establishments and in other local heritage projects. The ethos of site-specificity will be emphasised and promoted by making it clear that the archive is primarily for the people of Holbeck and visitors to Holbeck itself. It is intended that this will provide the impetus for further community and heritage work and a more extensive local oral history. The final app will also incorporate streaming audio, which allows for additional curated contributions to be added via the cloud at any time without altering the basic functionality of the phonoscape.

2.2.6 The Interviews and Placing Memory

The 64 Holbeck interviews were carried out between 18th February 2010 and 30th January 2014.³² The total recorded archive amounts to 77 hours 45 minutes 50 seconds, which provides a mean average of just over 1 hour per interview. There was no set time stipulated in advance, and the durations were largely determined by the interviewees, ranging from under 5 minutes for a single memory to almost 5 hours comprising a detailed account of life in Holbeck since the 1940s (see Appendix B).

Aside from these extremes, the duration of most of the recorded interviews corresponds with the mean average. Most interview recordings amounted to around half the duration of the session, which included briefing about the project, discussion of where the interview might go, and de-briefing at the end. Several interviewees expressed a wish to collaborate further with pieces of local history, introductions to others and discussions of old maps.

The longest interview was with Christine Jenkinson who had highly detailed memories of her childhood and had already started constructing her own illustrated history which she aired at local community meetings and reminiscence events. After a long introductory session, I returned to make two recorded interviews that amounted to almost 5 hours. The quality is variable since it was difficult to encourage her to leave her scripts and notes and talk freely, but there are some fascinating

³² A table of all 64 interviews together with brief details and notes appears in Appendix B.

details. Christine also had her sister with her who helped her to navigate through the material.

Concerning issues surrounding the topographic placing of testimony, two examples will help to bring out how stepping back from a fixed, linear textual editing to allow for located audio experience can widen opportunities for sharing authority of the original testimony. The phonoscape includes multiple versions that co-exist and complement one another.³³

The first example deals with accounts of Holbeck Union Workhouse. The building was demolished in the 1970s, and only the stone gateposts remain, but many interviewees recalled it as an old people's home and as a hostel for the homeless and destitute between the 1930s and the 1970s, during which time it was still referred to as 'The Workhouse'.³⁴ Christine Jenkinson remembers visiting it as a child when her grandmother developed dementia and was taken to South Lodge (as it was officially re-named by Leeds Corporation). Her detailed account of the conditions brings home the fact that these places were still very similar to the original Victorian institutions immortalised in David Lean's *Oliver Twist*, (1946). In fact, Christine mentions the film as a fitting reference, the place still had gas lighting at the time she was visiting (AoV-T0226-21-2-13-JenkinsonB/00:05). Prior to this interview, I had encountered Sally Mottershaw's emotional recollection of a time when she went for a job at 'The Workhouse'. In contrast to Christine's measured and matter-of-fact recollection, Sally's was palpably painful for her to present, and I got the impression that it was a story she had seldom told before (HAW-14-7-10-Mottershaw-019/11:01). The two accounts help to triangulate the reality experienced by these women, but it is only through listening that subtle emotional differences can be experienced. Both accounts are moving, if not shocking, to witness and made more poignant when listened to in the vicinity of the ruined gateposts and swathe of

³³ By using randomisation, and chance procedures each component of a polyvocal piece has an equal chance of being heard when the listener arrives at the appropriate GPS co-ordinates.

³⁴ Although workhouses were formally abolished in 1930, it was not until the National Assistance Act of 1948 that they finally disappeared officially (Chadwick, 1996). A comparison of local maps shows that the workhouse was finally demolished between 1968 and 1981 (Renew, 2008:38-39).

grass that was once Holbeck Union Workhouse. By randomising which account is experienced first, neither is prioritised editorially, their authority is shared equally.

Another example of two accounts triangulating the same subject, this time an event rather than a building, occurs with recollections of an accident that took place when Holbeck Towers were being demolished in March 2010. When the 'giant nibbling machine' set to work on the long awaited demolition, it released a block of concrete that bounced over the safety fence and into the chest of one of the onlookers, Marion Hoyle. The story of the accident is told by Anne Hopper, local resident (HAW-18-5-10-Hopper-013b/42:30), and by Neil Diamond, who oversaw the demolition on behalf of Aire Valley Homes (HAW-6-4-10-Diamond/44:20). Read on paper, remote from the area these accounts are dramatic enough, but listened to on site, where now there are new apartments, the subtle differences between the voices and their relative positions in the community become clear. The cool, measured account of Neil Diamond is contrasted by Ann Hopper's shifting tonality and rhythm. Again, these accounts have an equal probability of being heard within the phonoscape at this location. Neither one is prioritised, and together they show how the same event gives rise to different perceptions while preserving a consonance of detail. 'That piece of concrete has hit this woman, and I thought it quite calmly', said Neil; 'The freakiest thing you could ever imagine... a piece of masonry hit Marion Hoyle in the chest... she's fine now... Sarah Gamage went to her rescue', said Ann.

The period covered by the phonoscape extends back to the memories of the oldest interviewees who were in their eighties, and remembered some events and incidents prior to and including the Second World War, many remembering the bombing raids on Holbeck which resulted in several deaths. The most recent memories and reflections discussed are contemporary with the interviews themselves. In an archaeology of the voice, history could be said to start when you press record, working its way backwards from there. The interview itself becomes a primary source for future historians, and regardless of the overtly historical content there is a payload of unwitting testimony (Marwick, 2001). A continuing thread of received oral history, consonant with 'oral tradition' (Vansina, 1985), continues to operate in post-industrial societies. Several of my interviewees recounted experiences handed on to

them from elder family members. This kind of oral history, valuable in other contexts, is deemed a secondary source within the framework of the thesis and it is not deployed within the GPS-based archaeology, where the selection of content focuses on the primary source material, first-hand memory.

Certain places such as Holbeck Moor, the Tower Blocks, Temple Works, Holbeck Baths and Domestic Street started to coalesce out of the testimony. One such place is the M621 motorway, more of a non-place than a place. For the people who remember the time before it was built, it represents a major intervention that has had a detrimental effect by carving off a piece of Holbeck and splitting the community from neighbouring Beeston.

It is significant that there has been remarkably little published on the impact of the M621 motorway on the local people. Blackshaw's social history of the area geographically and chronologically spanning either side of its construction only mentions it once in passing (Blackshaw, 2013:33). The oral history interviews I have undertaken constitute the most extensive archive assembled to date and would provide a good starting point for future studies of this important subject. In particular, Carole Bell's testimony on the motorway's construction from the perspective of a resident living adjacent to the road through the whole period of the construction works (HAWBell-017a&20b), Ann Hopper's accounts of the section near Holbeck Moor (HAWHopper-005a&13b), and Stephen Peacock's testimony about the area around the Tilburys (see below), all of which feature in the pilot phonoscape, provide a good glimpse of the social impact of this major construction project.

Locative listening to Stephen's account of the lost shops when the motorway was built produce a strong affect that is not captured by transcript:

Before the motorway, the M621, was built, ah, the M621 split Holbeck quite a bit. I wouldn't say in two, but it did split it up considerably, and it did make it remote from Beeston and Hunslet. So it did get cut off by.. when that motorway was built. Considerably. And it's never really recovered from it, I don't think, personally. [...] A few houses at the end of Tilbury Road that were lost er when it was built, and all the shops, on Ell.. on the end of where the Tilburys were. At the end of those junctions with Elland Road

there were shops on each corner, and all those shops went when the motorway was built. It took off that wodge of the buildings. [...] There used to be a post office there, there was a Gallonses. I think it was, Thrift, ah no there was a Thrift shop, there was a green grocers, there was a sweet shop, we had Clayton's the pork butchers... (HAWPeacock-006a:12'-18'30")

The basic facts of the M621 are obtainable from the CBRD database (CBRD, 2014) which states that the three junctions surrounding Holbeck were completed between 1972 and 1975.

Other publications such as those produced by Leeds City Council tend to err on the positive whilst acknowledging some of the negative aspects:

Holbeck is a distinct community with a rich history. The M621, the viaduct and the railway line has added to the distinctiveness of the community. (LCC, 2010:14)

Holbeck is defined by the M621, the Ingram distributor, the active railway corridor and the redundant viaduct. These can serve as barriers and improved connections need to be made through them, to offer better links via the Urban Village to the city centre and to West Hunslet and Beeston Hill. These 'barriers' can also be seen as boundaries which offer scope to contain and give character to Holbeck – the grand arches of the rail viaduct, the link over the M621 between Top. Moor Side and Beeston Hill, the underpass by South Leeds Sports Centre... (LCC, 2010:40)

And perhaps one of the most telling on the actual conditions surrounding the motorway sums the situation up:

Holbeck Moor and Hunslet Moor offers opportunities to plant trees at forest scale to help create a 'sense of place' and to provide relief and pollution protection from the M621 (LCC, 2010:48)

In blogs and newspapers the M621 is widely referred to as a barrier of some kind, as is exemplified by an article on the prospects being negotiated at present with the Holbeck Neighbourhood Forum:

The area has suffered from the planning decisions of the past. In the 1960s, the M621 motorway and other major roads were built in and around Holbeck, in effect turning the area into an island. The residents hope the plan will help to deter unwanted developments in future. (Hillier, 2016)

Another useful way of perceiving the impact of the motorway is to compare maps before and after its construction. A whole series of archive maps from 1851-2007 covering South Holbeck has been reproduced by regeneration group Renew Ltd., and these make it evident that between the 1968 and 1981 that hundreds of back-to-backs were demolished to make way for the motorway and the relatively intimate setting of the old Elland Road and Holbeck Moor had been radically altered (Renew, 2008:38-39).

The M621 forms an armature for the pilot phonoscape where its presence becomes clear through combining testimony, performance and field recordings with the physical entity.

Similarly, events such as the Peace March after the Beeston Bombers, the (failed) SPLASH campaign to save the local sports centre, and various strategies for building Holbeck Urban Village have become part of collective memory. The phonoscape is constructed around these nodes, a process akin to a memory *dérive* where I have attempted to follow the emerging affective paths.

Walking-based interviews (High, 2012) provide an excellent way of dealing with place-memories although they do present technical difficulties, particularly when the weather is wet and/or windy. One of the best I undertook was a binaural interview walking with Steve Johnston talking about the Peace March with stupendous binaural traffic coursing through his testimony. I also made a successful binaural recording of Holbeck Conservation Group walking around the area discussing and logging sites ripe for conservation, which could be a useful historical record in itself. Overall, it is early days for this kind of work, but clearly oral testimony uttered and witnessed in situ is highly compelling and well suited to site-specific audio pieces.

The presentation of history through audio walks also endorses a wider interpretation of Frisch's position in the continued erosion of the divide between academic and public history (Kean, 2008; Kean, 2013). This approach provided a neutral way into people's lives, seemingly less intrusive and time consuming than life history or family history, although elements of both arose as a matter of course during the actual interviews. Once people realised that I was not particularly interested in an 'objective' depiction of local history, such as might feature in a standard history tour, they became even more keen to explore their own personal stories and memories of places in Holbeck. Gradually, through a combination of interviewing, sound recording and walking I began to build up a uniquely layered understanding of the locality where dates, chronology and even names were fluid and mutable.

Place-memory is often contextual and relational, a discursive spatial practice that organises memories as a 'memory map' (Kuhn, 2002:27). The everyday remembering of Voids, either physical or as a mark of a ceased activity, is partly a result of the interview process. A place is remembered as a city of the past that coexists with the present. As textual records of past places, testimony such as:

'Ah, yes, the Kays building, that's gone now' (HAWSenior-018)

might seem quite trivial, something that could be found out by comparing maps, photographs and other documents, but it is far more than that of course. It is a record of human experience: the building was there, the building is no longer there, the activities surrounding it have vanished, and I have lived through this. Of itself, this is the simplest kind of place memory, bearing witness to a thing that no longer exists. As located audio within an archaeology of the voice, this simple material is bedrock with post holes. As you walk along a particular stretch of road you are alerted to something that is no longer there. The phenomenology of the place is altered. If you encounter a cluster of voices remembering this thing that is no longer there, you begin to get a sense of something significant, purely through the witnessing of located voices. It is not important that the loss is described in minute detail or provided with dates and times, it is a case of simple affect. This is almost the opposite of standard heritage trail approach where details and dates are inserted

liberally betraying a 'documentary sensibility' unconcerned with the power of the located voice, of the Other.³⁵

It is widely acknowledged that the product of an interview is an instance of dialogic engagement, and that the interviewer's role is implicated reflexively (Creswell, 2003), even when remaining silent for much of the time. An awareness of 'ethnographic presence' (Fetterman, 2005) is crucial to the understanding and presentation of the material.

³⁵ Within a phonoscape, the use of music can be problematic since it disrupts the stark simplicity of the relationship of voice, listener, and place. Dramatised histories, on the other hand, make deliberate use of music to 'bring history to life'.

2.3 Oral History, Polyvocality and Representation

In phonoscape terms, oral history is the work of a thousand different voices revealed through a form of locative sound art that sustains a polyvocal account of place that admits of varied experience and interpretation. No voice has intrinsic authority over any another. As an interviewer, my own voice is simply one in a crowd, and remains mostly silent when the primary material is being revealed. In archaeological terms, the interviewer's voice operates more like a brush than a pickaxe once it nears something as sensitive and significant as the voice of another. The ideal oral history interview gently reveals place through a process of encouragement and tolerance, a maieutic process. Where this concerns simple, place-based memories such as a located childhood wartime experience, there is little likelihood of conflict, but where issues such as regeneration plans, or sex work on the streets arises, there is likely to be a diversity of strongly held beliefs and incompatible experiences. The *Ripples Out* showing revealed the critical incompatibility that arises when two language worlds appear side by side, here Lyotard's *differend* (Lyotard, 1988) comes into play and conflict or misunderstanding is almost inevitable. By simply presenting the different sides of the equation, *Ripples Out* was drawn into a live political debate by the people around it. There was no need for an overt metanarrative, and the editors simply arranged their material in themes without commentary. Where the phonoscape ventures into memories and impressions of Holbeck Urban Village, and other developments, by simply presenting the viewpoints, it risks being divisive. This is an unavoidable part of locative history within a contested urban setting. Even if my intention is to avoid the idea of *representing* Holbeck with the phonoscape, I cannot avoid the possibility that it still may be experienced as if it was. This is why one of the principles of polyvocality within the phonoscape has to be that all participants have an opportunity to be heard and that it is purely contingent whether they are or not.³⁶ As part of a generative process, more people would be encouraged to contribute over time, but even if the whole population of Holbeck featured in the piece, the result would still not *represent* Holbeck.

³⁶ Whether a particular voice is heard will depend upon where the walker chooses to go, and how long they choose to dwell there.

By avoiding textuality, the piece is more obviously fluid, partial and fragmentary, and avoids the totalising legerdemain of the static historical document (Shopes, 2014). Of course, document-bound writers are familiar with this issue, particularly within oral history practice, Portelli notes:

A sense of fluidity, of unfinishedness, of an inexhaustible work in progress, which is inherent to the fascination and frustration of oral history – floating as it does in time between the present and an ever-changing past, oscillating in the dialogue between the narrator and the interviewer, and melting and coalescing in the no-man's-land from orality to writing and back. (Portelli, 1991:vii)

When the fluidity of moving voices is frozen momentarily within a text, it necessarily raises the issue of the role of the writer as confabulator. This issue was raised in cultural anthropology in the 1980s, in the wake of Hayden White's historiographical work as part of the 'post-modernist turn' at that time (Clifford, 1986; Marcus & Fisher, 1986):

I treat ethnography itself as a performance emplotted by powerful stories. Embodied in written reports, these stories simultaneously describe real cultural events and make additional, moral, ideological, and even cosmological statements. Ethnographic writing is allegorical at the level both of its content (what it says about cultures and their histories) and of its form (what is implied by its mode of textualisation). (Clifford, 1986:98)

The phonoscape, as a method of presentation, allows for all of these elements to flow through it from their dialogic inception at the interview to their embodied setting. The polyvocality of the source material is met 'polyaurally', with an equal diversity of possible experiences and interpretations at the point of listening.

In conclusion, I have shown how division and multiplicity predominate in Holbeck from early recorded history until the present day, even the name bears witness to two linguistic traditions. This is not to say that Holbeck is intrinsically divided by necessity, but that as a result of my initial experience, the testimony of interviewees, and exploratory walks in the locale, the overwhelming impression is one of transition

and division. By traversing these topographies, the phonoscape simply by existing constitutes a potential unity of experience, even if that experience is constituted by many and varied voices. Walking around the area and listening to the memories and reflections of its people draws the listener closer to them, the walk experienced as noun, as single entity.

The *Holbeck Phonoscape* and Oral History Archive address the issue of a vanishing oral history, and the pilot phonoscape is intended to introduce that work into the thesis. The history of residential Holbeck since the 1960s has been one of major decline.³⁷ The main industries disappeared gradually after World War Two, and the population plummeted. The remaining long-term residents have borne witness to this rapid decline and are as passionate as they are tenacious in hanging on while seemingly all around them is in the process of being demolished or allowed to fall into ruin. Participating in the interviews affords them a level of empowerment, a possibility that their voices and experiences will be heard. By focusing on place, and interviewing people from many different walks of life and different involvements with Holbeck, the resulting phonoscape provides a polyvocal understanding, inviting the listener to be in the locale in order to form their own understandings, which may depend on contingencies such as the time of day and even the weather.

The illustrious industrial and architectural heritage of Holbeck provides an inspirational context for the phonoscape to articulate with and extend work with agencies such as Leeds City Council, Holbeck and Hunslet Heritage Initiative and Temple Works.³⁸ From the point of view of the phonoscape, the material remains of the buildings themselves form their own testimony, but the sonic heritage of past industry has been lost forever. By making recordings of the present architectural

³⁷ Holbeck Urban Village has begun to reverse that trend in the erstwhile industrial areas, and now there are welcome signs that the Holbeck Neighbourhood Forum, of which I am now a member, is beginning to take advantage of the 2011 Localism Act, and this is having a positive effect in the rest of Holbeck.

³⁸ My connections with these organisations have increased as a result of my work in the area over the past years.

remains, however, they can be activated and deployed together with the oral testimony, and provide resources to posterity.³⁹

Regarding the regeneration initiative of Holbeck Urban Village, while the new builds and tasteful renovations were generally of high quality, the development caused resentment in the residential areas that remained in the top 2% of the UK's deprivation Index (DCLG, 2011), people who did not experience the 'rippling out' of wealth and fortune. In this context a polyvocal oral history might possibly help to draw polarised views together through the act of walking and listening.

Finally, the methodology of *Displacement Activities* arose through active engagement with the place and people of Holbeck. An underlying theme of a complex and multi-layered displacement was revealed in the gradual evacuation of major industries, the demise of railway servicing and engine sheds, the heavy metal works and letterpress printers, and Kays Catalogue. This was followed by a steady flow of refugees and transients, aided by the short-term aims of landlords and the Council's difficulties in delivering acceptable regeneration plans. Holbeck's population has been declining for several decades with older people gradually disappearing and the younger generation deciding not to remain in an area with so few prospects. At the time of the interviews, the area was undergoing a major identity crisis as it shifted from a solid working class community into something more open and fluid.

³⁹ Complete reconstructions of industrial soundscapes would suit locative media very well, but that is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Chapter 3

Displacement Activities

Introduction

Dream-displacement and dream-condensation are the two craftsmen to whom we may chiefly ascribe the structure of the dream. (Freud, 1953-74:138)

The previous chapter has provided an outline of Holbeck and the oral history methodology adopted in the production of the pilot phonoscape. The present chapter moves forward by plotting key aspects of my practice as I engaged with the site through walking, deep mapping and performance. As a result of this engagement and ongoing critical reflection I devised a practical and theoretical framework for the thesis that underpins the transdisciplinary approach involving oral history, locative media and sound art that I call '*Displacement Activities*'. This transdisciplinary leap was not expected when the research began, but arose through engagement with the site, contingency and unforeseen obstruction. The pursuit of *Displacement Activities* has helped configure my understanding of the relationships between oral history, audio walks, locative media and sound art in the production of phonoscape, it is therefore important to explain it before proceeding into more detailed discussions of those specific practices later in the thesis. It should be born in mind, however, that the practice of *Displacement Activities* has maintained a continuous dialectic with those disciplines, and they have informed it as much as it has manoeuvred them.

Through my research practice in Holbeck, I have developed a working definition of *Displacement Activities* that will serve for the purposes of the thesis and the pilot phonoscape, but beyond this confinement it is open for revision and modification as new possibilities arise through future iterations.

Displacement Activities are site-specific ambulatory performance works that utilise geo-locative media to explore place. *Displacement Activities* form a generative and reflexive strategy that encourages translocational engagement and participation across boundaries that may exist between individuals, communities, art forms, academic disciplines, and larger territories. *Displacement Activities* pierce topological and chronological separations, folding places into one another by a process of embodied hypertextual mapping.

I will unpack the key terms of this definition by explaining briefly how the *Displacement Activities* method relates to my ongoing engagement with Holbeck.

Site-specific ambulatory works: Building on the gathering of oral histories and sound recordings, together with an embodied understanding obtained through walking the site, a route suitable for an interesting audiowalk began to emerge. The walk was developed into a public piece, the *Holbeck Audiowalk* (Bradley, 2013), which followed similar principles to Toby Butler's memoryscape methodology (outlined in Chapter 4, section 4.1.4).⁴⁰ This route brought the radically different ambiances of the zones and the impact of the M621 into sharp relief. The contrast between the well-appointed pubs and amenities in the urban village and the scenes of demolition and deprivation in the other areas led to a palpable feeling of ongoing displacement.

Performance works: The first *Displacement Activities* performance (discussed fully below), built on this feeling and adopted a linear route based on the *Holbeck Audiowalk*, extending from a contemporary art gallery (Project Space Leeds), traversing the zones, engaging with several rubble sites enroute and finishing on Holbeck Moor involving several urban theatre performers and myself as a counter-tourguide (Smith, 2012). Performance based on oral history is an emerging discipline that is extending shared authority and developing new forms of presentation (Little, 2011:8).⁴¹ Performance works draw attention to the site and the developing archive, encouraging further public engagement with the project.

Using Geo-locative media: The geolocative aspect of phonoscape is discussed fully in subsequent chapters, but it has a special role in *Displacement Activities*. In keeping with more orthodox audio walks, the methodology sets out a series of

⁴⁰ The circular route started at Leeds Liverpool Canal, connecting with the vital resource of water, and proceeded through the three zones outlined in the previous chapter, moving from Holbeck Urban Village, through the Transistional Zone, eventually making its way through Residential Holbeck, traversing the M621, before returning to the urban village for refreshments at the Grove Inn.

⁴¹ This aspect of *Displacement Activities* is still under development and negotiations with Holbeck-based theatre group Slung Low are underway for future collaborations. For a useful overview of the field, see the special 2011 editions of *alt.theatre* journal on 'Oral History & Performance' (Parts 1&2, Vol. 9,1/2).

locative audio triggers along the route which form part of the performance (delivered through headphones), but it also extends this practice in two ways: archivally and translocationally (see below). The archival dimension consists in the facility to set up a digital trace of the performance, alongside any of the original sound files that may have been used. This form of documentation has been included in the pilot phonoscape in the form of my performance of 4'33" (Bradley, 2012b) which is triggered in the same place as the original performance under the M621 underpass, Holbeck (see Chapter 7).

Translocational engagement: This aspect of geo-location allows for new routes to be developed from existing ones. By displacing the set of points from one route, such as the *Holbeck Audiowalk*, to a completely different site, a new set of material engagements ensue. The new site becomes a topological clone of the first. For example, the audio point in the original *Displacement Activities* performance surrounding the Tower Works Giotto Tower in Holbeck becomes a 'wormhole' of opportunity to set up a new iteration of the route in Florence. The original Giotto Campanile in Florence, on which William Bakewell's 1899 version is based, becomes the new point of origin for the Florentine version of the Holbeck route (discussed fully below). The route may have to be adjusted according to the contingencies encountered in the new site, presenting a new set of challenges for the artist/composer/historian. Once the translocational relationship is established, material can continue to flow between the two sites via the geo-locational connection, thus material recorded in Florence can migrate back to Holbeck for inclusion in the phonoscape there, becoming a reflexive strategy (see below).

Generative strategy: *Displacement Activities* methodology is infinitely reproducible in the creation of new iterations based on existing routes. Simply finding a point of connection between the sites is all that is required to set about producing a translocational mapping. The point of connection between Holbeck and Florence was the Giotto Tower, but this could be anything such as the American bombing patterns in Baghdad displaced to San Francisco (Levine, 2004), or The Great Wall of China displaced to California (Slayton et al., 2004-2005). The point of connection could also be determined randomly, as with strategies arising from psychogeography and Situationism. This form of generativity is not concerned with producing

something the same as an original, or trying to (re)produce a (re)presentation, it has more to do with developing a set of simple rules that engage the new site in new and often surprising ways. A good example of this kind of strategy is with Teri Rueb's *Elsewhere/Anderswo* (2009) project which links two sites in a form of locative generative displacement. Also Scott Bowering's notion of generativity is resonant with the idea I have of the term. In *Surface Noise* (2015), Bowering produced a limited edition of 10 12-inch LPs which contained recordings of the silences between the tracks of his teenage record collection. With each playing of the new vinyl more surface noise will be added through dust and scratches that accumulate so it will become impossible to tell which noise belongs to which iteration. Bowering explains that he was attempting to

Realise a simultaneously closed but endlessly accommodating format, with little or no beginning reference point and no possible distortion through reproduction and dissemination. It aims towards the exponentially generative. (Bowering, 2015)

Although *Displacement Activities* are more open in nature and have an initial reference point in Holbeck, the idea that each time the work is performed some part of the original is taken forward but overlaid by new contingencies is common. Any alterations through performance become part of the set of possibilities for the next performance standing in a non-hierarchical relationship with it.

Reflexive strategy: This term is used to several different ends in the fields of oral history, sound art and locative media and it important to be clear where it operates within *Displacement Activities*. Within oral history reflexivity concerns the role of self/the interviewer in the production of the material (Wong, 2009) and attempts to address concerns of power asymmetries within the interview situation. The role of reflexive reflection on research practice is often concerned with how the research engages with the wider sociocultural context, and by including autoethnographical details, as with Rogaly and Taylor's oral history work (Rogaly & Taylor, 2009), for instance, within the output it is hoped that those who encounter the work will be better placed to judge its value. While these layers are implicated in the *Displacement Activities*, and inform the inclusion of my own embodied feelings and

reflections within the work I engaged with in Holbeck, there is also another way in which *Displacement Activities* can be said to be reflexive. This is where any particular iteration, by which I mean site-specific performance, feeds into itself and may become its own subject. This form of self-perpetuating research through performance is demonstrated in work such as *TRACE: Displaced* (Stitt, 2011:10) which involves ongoing documentation and redeployment of materials in multiple cycles. In this sense, reflexivity and generativity become closely linked. Both are powerful strategies for learning more about site and the role of performance in its production.

Embodied hypertextual mapping: This concept is discussed more fully in Chapter 5, which draws it from a particular understanding of locative media. The basic concept is predicated upon an understanding of the phonoscape as a form of ambulant database that is navigated on foot partly in response to the site itself, and partly through interaction with the prepared audio of oral history material and field recordings. Embodied engagement with the audio material on site overrides decontextualised linear data favoured by a predominantly visual documentary sensibility and an immersive form of wandering (*dérive*) is encouraged.

One of the strengths of site-specific art is also a potential weakness. Being fixed to a specific locale on the surface of the earth reduces the potential experience of the work to a small minority of people. Using the research and performance methodology of *Displacement Activities*, however, this limitation can be overcome without diverting or diminishing the unique qualities of the original located work. *Displacement Activities* thus offers an open and generative way to build creatively upon any local material and make connections with other people, sites and histories around the globe.

Displacement Activities enact an argument for the cross-fertilisation of ideas and practices between oral history and sound art through GPS-coordinated and sonically augmented walking practices. As a way of reassigning understandings of place and history, this manoeuvre may be placed broadly within an emerging nomadic/mobility paradigm that challenges sedentary approaches (Cresswell, 1996, 2006). The archaeological turn underwritten by the thesis as a whole is consonant with this

general argument, placing primary importance on locale, context or situation as embodied in the experiencing subject.

The remainder of this chapter will put flesh on the bones here outlined. I will discuss my own research engagement with Holbeck through a series of displacements, phases and orders before moving on to discussing some of the emergent theoretical resonances. Accordingly, the chapter is divided into two main parts: Practical and Theoretical Displacement. Between these two main sections is an interstitial space, section 3.2, Site-specific Art as Displacement, where I discuss site-specific art (locative and sound) and introduce a taxonomy of sound appropriate to site-specific works, the Six Orders of Displacement.

In Section 3.1, Practical Displacements, I outline my main interventions in chronological order as they have been realised through the research. The reason for proceeding this way is to show how *Displacement Activities* arose out of my embodied engagement with the material circumstances of Holbeck, grounding the theory, but also illustrating how the adaptive and generative process actually works, so that others might be able to apply some of the principles. Accordingly, this section is largely descriptive and discursive.

In section 3.3, Theoretical Displacements, I provide a toolbox of concepts that help make sense of the activities involved in creating phonoscape and exploring it through *Displacement Activities* methodology. I argue that an understanding of metonymy unlocks many of the practical and theoretical engagements of the thesis. This discussion is divided into two parts, the first addresses cognitive and linguistic aspects of metonymy, I then move on to argue that Eelco Runia's notion of metonymy as historical presence can be used to underpin a form of locative history presented as phonoscape. This is followed by a discussion of the role of memorialisation as a displacement of locative presence. Finally, a discussion of Foucault's concept of heterotopia is developed as a way of conceiving the multiple spaces that phonoscapes inhabit and generate.

3.1 Practical Displacements

A genuine artistic creation springs from a rupture (event) from which a truth procedure (the long term evaluation of what an idea is capable of) follows (or might follow). (Pisaro, 2006:5)

The following overview is punctuated by pieces of autoethnography, based on field notes and diary, adding further dimensions to the account.⁴² A continued erosion of the idea of researcher as disembodied subject purveying 'objects of study', has been brought about by more embodied approaches to research, and since James Clifford and George Marcus's pioneering work *Writing Culture* (Clifford, 1986), there has been a steady increase in the flow of autoethnographic accounts. This is particularly relevant for oral histories, where an increased attention has been given to the interview situation including the researcher and their engagement with the subject. Autoethnography as writing:

Radically foregrounds the emotions and experiences of the researcher as a way to acknowledge the inevitably subjective nature of knowledge, and in order to use subjectivity deliberately as an epistemological resource.' (Clifford, 1986:1662).

Carolyn Ellis is one of the foremost practitioners and champions of the methodology, and I feel an affinity with her clear stating of its key elements:

I want autoethnography to stay unruly, dangerous, passionate, vulnerable, rebellious, and creative--in motion, showing struggle, passion, embodied life, and collaborative creation of sense-making. I need the researcher to be impassioned and embodied, vulnerable and intimate, and the stories to be evocative, dramatic, engaging, with concrete and layered details, and when the topic calls for it, even heart-breaking. I want the reader to care, to feel, to empathise, to try to figure out how to live from the story, and then to do something. That to me is what autoethnography is about. (Ellis, 2009:363)

⁴² The autoethnographic selections are presented in italics.

3.1.1 The Six Phases of Displacement

What follows is an overview of the six main phases of the *Displacement Activities* methodology, plotting its emergence from the material conditions of Holbeck to become an open and generative intervention that now operates on an international level.

The First Phase of Displacement: Material Dynamics

Holbeck People and Industry

Through engagement with any site, whether through deep mapping activity or any number of ambulant strategies, it soon becomes clear where and how material is being moved from place to place. Water is a key element in material displacement through flow and erosion, but also people have their own ebbs and flows, drawn to and from places according factors such as jobs and opportunities.

This phase begins with the material circumstances in Holbeck as outlined to in the previous chapter. Within living memory, the population of Holbeck has plummeted and all the mainstay industries have disappeared leaving rubble sites and deprivation in their wake. During the research period, before the new builds around Holbeck Moor had begun in 2015, a nadir was reached, this is the context I have been working in. Feelings of abandonment, loss and absence or Void predominated throughout the research period.

I also noticed that iconic buildings such as Tower Works and Temple Works constitute deliberate architectural displacements drawn from original buildings in Italy and Egypt respectively. On a smaller scale, the David Street Cafe that is now on Water Lane bears testimony to more local displacements in the wake of regeneration, carrying forwards in name (and owner's memory) its former site.

At the present time, as the next phase of regeneration begins to gain traction, the area is once more in transition, displacement is flowing the other way and people are beginning to move into Holbeck once more. The new H2 train line, if it is ever built, and the plans to open a southern entrance to Leeds City station are expected to bring many more people into the area.

The Second Phase of Displacement: Transgression and Site-specificity Cardiff in Holbeck

Subverting the rules of engagement with maps, linear progressions and existing site-specific pieces forms the basis for the release of the generative potential of *Displacement Activities*. The idea of things being in the wrong place becomes meaningless. An open attitude to experimentation is to be encouraged.

'To remove the work is to destroy the work.' Richard Serra

With site-specific audio walks, some works you cannot remove, such as *M11-Linked* (Miller, 2003); some works are generic, to be played anywhere, such as *Genius Loci* (S.: & Hokano, 2009); some are site-specific, but the participant may be invited to try other locations, *Carrlands* (Pearson, 2007), for instance; and some are intended for one location only, but on a medium that offers you a choice to transgress.⁴³ Janet Cardiff's pioneering *Case of Missing Voice (case study b)* (Cardiff, 1999a), set in Whitechapel, London, is an example of the fourth kind. Cardiff's work has been inspirational to many artists and her use of binaural techniques has proven to be highly suited to headphones and audio walks.⁴⁴

I decided that before I undertook the walk in its designated place, I would see what happened if I tried it in Holbeck. This decision was not taken lightly and in itself was a transgression, I felt slightly guilty about wilfully subverting the artist's intention. Working on located oral history in Holbeck and recognising the prime importance of site produced a feeling of ambivalence, a feeling that somehow I might be destroying the work, as Serra (above) maintains. At the same time, it seemed like an exciting experiment to try and follow meticulous walking directions in the wrong location.

⁴³ Any of these options is available with smartphone technology.

⁴⁴ Toby Butler's use of binaural recordings in *memoryscape* is based on his initial research which included a review of Cardiff's *Missing Voice* (Butler, 2007).

The subversive use of maps has precedents. Guy Debord articulates it as a form of *détournement*

The production of psychogeographical maps, or even the introduction of alterations such as more or less arbitrarily transposing maps of two different regions, can contribute to clarifying certain wanderings that express not subordination to randomness but total insubordination to habitual influences... we can distinguish several stages... beginning with the mere displacement of elements of decoration from the locations where we are used to seeing them. (Debord, 1955)

The tactic of commandeering maps to psychogeographical purposes was part of an attempt to reclaim urban space in the face of De Gaulle's 'internal colonisation' policies that resulted in displacing many of the poor in central Paris. Debord and Asger Jorn's famous 'Naked City' (1957) is in this sociopolitical context, as noted by Libero Andreotti,

It is not by chance that many of the areas included in Debord's psychogeographies were sites of political battle, including the overwhelmingly North African neighborhood of La Huchette, where the SI was headquartered. (Andreotti, 2000:47).

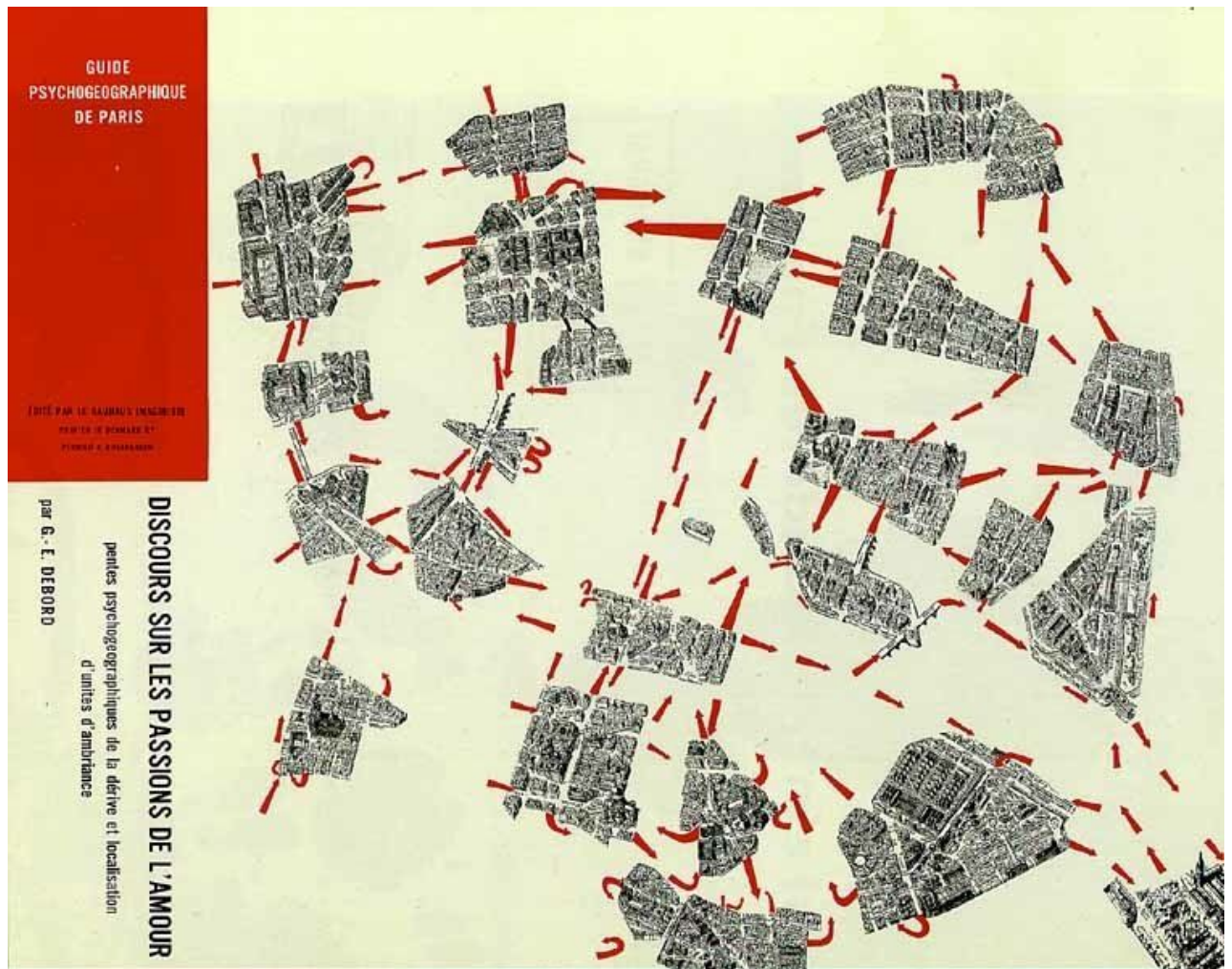


Figure 3.1 Naked City, Debord, 1957

Yoko Ono explores the theme in a generative text score that is more attuned to reciprocal communication, but equally subversive and rigorous:

MAP PIECE, 1962 Summer

Draw an imaginary map. Put a goal mark on the map where you want to go. Go walking on an actual street according to your map. If there is not street where it should be according to the map, make one by putting the obstacles aside. When you reach the goal, ask the name of the city and give flowers to the first person you meet. The map must be followed exactly, or the event has to be dropped altogether. Ask your friends to write maps. Give your friends maps. (Ono, 1964)⁴⁵

⁴⁵ More recently a walking project *NEW COPEN YORK HAGEN* (Bogadóttir & Rørdam, 2004), détourned the standard guided tour in New York by using a map of Copenhagen to find tourist spots and send postcards 'home'.

With these approaches in mind, the act was not only transgressing artistic intention, but also subversive on a wider scale and incorporated in a *détournement* of the socio-political and academic situation I was in at the time. Although these cartographic displacements were fairly well known, I was not aware of any deliberate site-specific *audio* displacements that had been carried out at the time involving listening to something in the *wrong* place. It would not be possible, in contrast, to listen to the phonoscape piece outside its setting, which brings it closer to Miller's *Linked*.

The dilapidated spaces around Holbeck were almost as far removed from the bustling streets of Whitechapel as you could possibly get within an English urban setting.



Figure 3.2 Holbeck Library (1999-2012) in January 2011

Cardiff had specified that the walk begin in Whitechapel Library. Holbeck library was closed. My notebook reads:

I crossed the road and turned to look at Holbeck Library facing me on the other side of the street. It was facing permanent closure. The sign had started peeling off, and

the dull green and red did nothing to make it look anything other than a dilapidated shop... I reflected on the magnificence of the late Victorian library on Nineveh Road that served Holbeck and the surrounding area until the 1960s, a 'fairy castle', as one of my interviewees [Christine Jenkinson AoV-T0180-17-1-13-JenkinsonA] had said.



Figure 3.3 Holbeck Library, 1903-1960

There is no space here to cover the walk itself which turned out to be an adventure full of surprises, but diary sections provide a flavour.

I am looking for the church according to the instructions. It appears before me as the disused viaduct. I make my way towards it and see a magpie fidgiting on the grass. The magpie takes flight across my path and up into a tree and then the sky just as

some church organ music and ethereal singing begins to fade in. Following the line of flight and seeing the imposing black bricks of the disused viaduct within the acoustic space of Cardiff's church, my spine starts to tingle. Is this awe? I become acutely aware of how transitory our lives are and how even our most heroic architectures may become useless voids or non-places within a short span of time.

The disused viaduct with its graceful arches and intransigent dereliction became a spiritual monument through association with the church through the soundtrack. What a superb place to arrive at with such a wilfully misplaced agenda. While visiting the viaduct, Cardiff's performative language drifted into irrelevance as a sense of drift took over and I explored the colossal structure. Here I was reminded of the 'Walkman Effect', the ability of music as soundtrack to completely alter the affect of a particular place.⁴⁶ I had felt Holbeck in an entirely new and surprising way, layered with countless pasts and fragmentary memories.

This was the strength of Cardiff's approach, by pulling back from the more insistent logic of the tour guide's linear narrative she allowed the place and the walker to associate and re-associate in undetermined ways. I became convinced that a certain looseness of fit would be vital in the construction of the *Holbeck Phonoscape*. With this kind of composition it is important to allow things to happen by pulling back from the exigencies of composerly control sometimes.

By transgressing the implied rules of *Missing Voice*, surprises and new possibilities arose, I had not destroyed the work. It lives happily ever after in Holbeck.

When I finally got around to experiencing the walk in its intended context, I was astonished to discover that the Whitechapel Library itself had been displaced. I checked Cardiff's website to see where to start, and it informed me:

The Whitechapel Library closed in 2005 and its former site was absorbed into The Whitechapel Gallery. As such, please begin listening to this first instalment outside

⁴⁶ The "Walkman Effect" was coined by Shuhai Hosokawa (Hosokawa, 1984), referring to the social use of portable cassette technology as an urban strategy to alter any given environment autonomously by choosing one's own soundtrack.

of the gallery, by the entrance closest to Brick Lane - then follow the narrator's instructions once she has left the library (Cardiff, 1999b)

The experiment of exploring a site-specific work in a site other than the one intended had opened up a whole new set of possibilities and insights into future phonoscape construction. Far from destroying the work, it had generated a new piece.

The Third Phase of Displacement

The Incredible Nomadic Library of Holbeck: Opposition



Figure 3.4 Holbeck Library (1991)

The initial impetus for the *Displacement Activities* strategy was born out of oppression. When opposition, particularly in the form of institutions, enters the equation, rather than retreat or go into battle, a sideways, or lateral, movement is adopted. This approach proves to be highly resilient and adaptable.

The Incredible Nomadic Library of Holbeck project developed out of my experiences of exploring 'Cardiff in Holbeck'. When I had completed some research, I discovered an intriguing story of the fortunes of Holbeck's libraries was waiting to be told. It would be an ideal audio walk visiting several locations where previous libraries had been, and might be based on memories, reflections and the oral histories of library staff and users. Given that the current library was under threat of closure, the project

would have contemporary relevance and be a good example of the activity of history in the community bringing people together to discuss and possibly influence its future.

In April 2011, I was invited to join a symposium organised by Media and Arts Partnership (MAAP) and Sound and Music (S&M) called *Ways of Hearing*. This was a series of meetings and workshops aimed to 'engage practitioners directly from a broad range of design and acoustic disciplines and set off a process of inquiry into the act of listening and the relationship of the listener to their world' (Ball, 2011). I aired the *Nomadic Library* project there and it received overwhelming support. The next stage was to find funding for a public walk/work for a performance at the forthcoming *Leeds Light Night* that autumn. I wrote up a proposal that I hoped would raise the profile of oral history presented as audio data, broadening our understanding of local regeneration issues and plot a way forward for cross-over research combining sonic art and oral history providing a deeper understanding of the symbolic and constitutive nature of place.

On April 18th, 2011 the *Nomadic Library* project was stopped dead in its tracks due to an impending local election. Local libraries were becoming politicised, and I was strongly advised to abandon the project immediately.

This form of opposition is exceptionally difficult to counter when one is engaged in a community oral history project that necessitates the cooperation of many different organisations and bodies. Hidden opposition of this kind can impact on any oral history project, often resulting in stories remaining officially untold. The mosaic of normative strategies with a tendency to preserve the status quo operates at all levels of a culture, here is where the idea of the *Nomadic Library*, faltered and found itself terminally displaced. I had to abandon the project in its intended form.

The Fourth Phase of Displacement: Displacement Activities as Participatory Performance

Leeds Light Night 2011

Through the diligent pursuit of the first three phases, and through self reflection (reflexivity) a moment is reached when things change, they suddenly become displaced and an unlikely form of movement becomes possible gathering people from all parts of the community together in the first public performance of *Displacement Activities*.

Verschiebung or "displacement"--this transfer of signification that metonymy displays is closer to the German term; it is presented, right from its first appearance in Freud's work, as the unconscious' best means by which to foil censorship. (Lacan, 2006:425)

Not only the *Nomadic Library* project, but potentially the whole PhD was under serious threat at this crisis point. I faced a genuine existential, personal-political dilemma: to proceed with the project regardless, or to abandon it and accept defeat. Avoiding a head-on meltdown:

I began to think sideways, not to follow either path. To involve libraries without mentioning them, to draw attention to them without involving them in an explicit narrative. Whatever choice I made, I realised the outcome would be a 'displacement activity'. Unless I continued with the Nomadic Library project, whatever I did would, in effect, be a displacement activity, thereby suppressing my original intention. Displacement activities are usually considered as coping strategies, often with the negative implication of the avoidance of serious work.

This was a pivotal material and existential change that might be characterised as a Lefebvrian 'moment' or 'modality of presence', a revolutionary disruption in the long Bergsonian *durée* of flowing time (Lefebvre, 1991).

The next day, I went for a walk in Holbeck. Arriving at Office Bridge on the Leeds Liverpool Canal, I found myself focusing on the fizzing water below, and the squeals of train wheels on the rails above; together they manifested the dynamic sonic presence of transportation. I looked up at the Italianate 'Giotto Campanile' of Tower Works looming above:

Sounds flowed all around me, locked in huge lateral sweeps behind, and echoed from the buildings in front as I looked ahead at the Giotto Campanile with its rosy Burmantofts tiles and gilded filter shutters decorating a 'blind belfry', known so because there is no bell. Ask a tour guide, and they will tell you the tower is known locally as 'The Big Tower', was designed by William Bakewell and built as part of an elaborate dust extraction system for Colonel T.W. Harding's pin factory 'Tower Works'... the Giotto Tower of Holbeck was a copy of Giotto's original tower of 1359, standing just over 902 miles away in the Piazza Duomo, Florence.



Figure 3.5 Displacement Activities pre-publicity (2011)

I began to devise a performance/event that explored displacement activities from as many angles as possible using soundwalk, audio walk (oral history, music and field recordings), sonic and theatrical intervention would ensue. Libraries would not be mentioned, but they would feature. What follows is a description of the event.

The Light Night Event

Displacement Activities took place on Light Night, Leeds on 7th October, 2011 at 20:00, setting off from Project Space Leeds at 20:30, and arriving at Holbeck Moor for a communal performance of a variation based on John Cage's *Indeterminacy Lecture* at around 22:00. The performance involved walkers and residents of Holbeck who were assembled outside St Matthews Church entertained by sounds and projected images. The route would take the 20 walkers from the relatively safe confines of a brightly lit contemporary art gallery along a tenebrous route to the heart of one of the most deprived areas in the UK, a radical displacement in itself and one that had not been attempted in the history of Light Night. Although the walk was not itself a *dérive*, it had been developed out of psychogeographical methodologies and was consciously designed to manoeuvre through as many 'varied ambiances' as possible (Debord, 1981).

The two figures below indicate the schema for the performance and the route taken subsequent to the soundwalk led by Phill Harding.

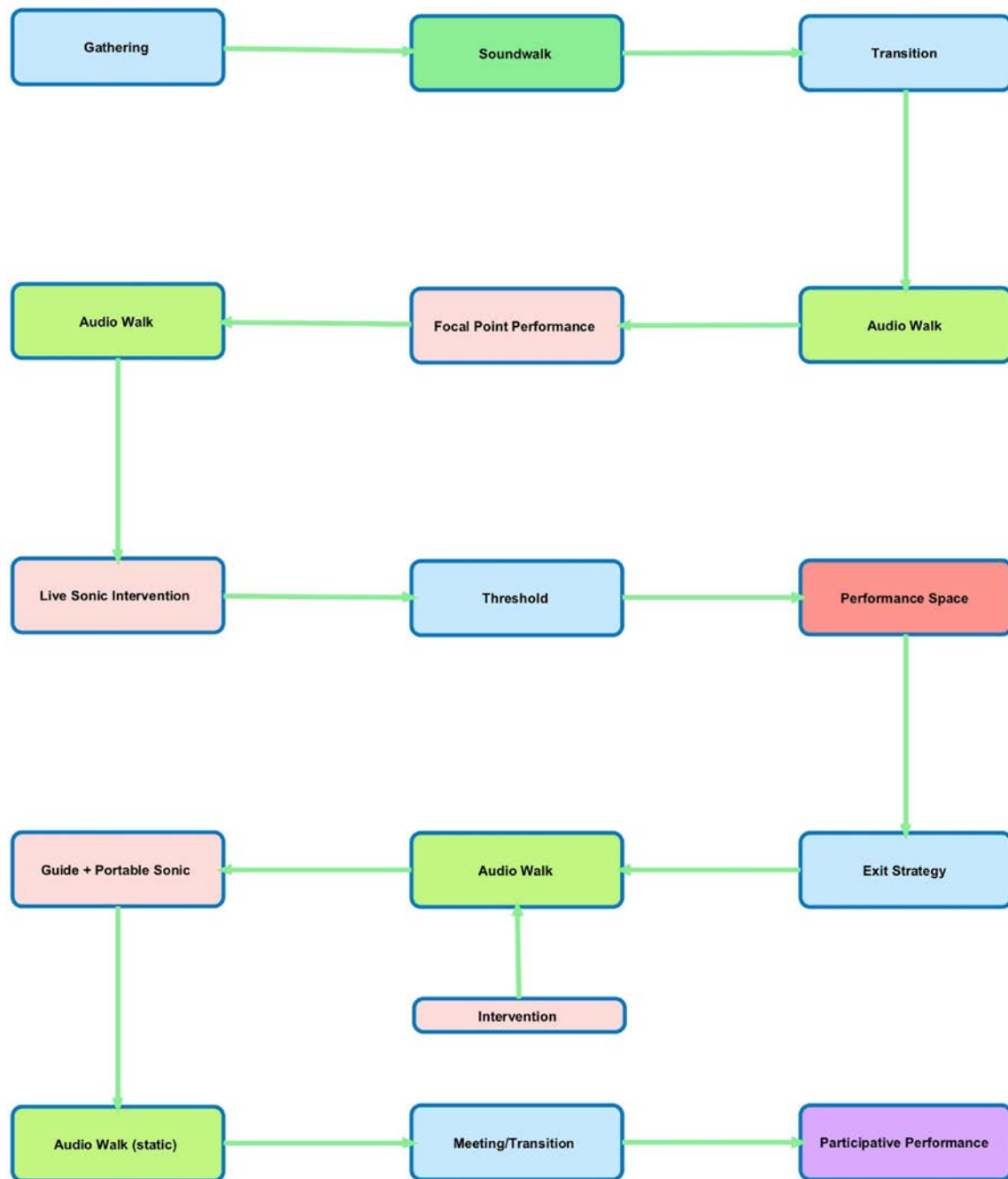


Figure 3.6 Displacement Activities Walk

Details of the performance:

1. Gathering: the 20 walkers assemble at Project Space Leeds, and are introduced to the process.

2. Soundwalk: Sound artist Phill Harding led the walkers on a composed soundwalk through office areas in the vicinity of City Station through the Dark Arches, to Office Bridge on the Leeds Liverpool Canal.
3. Transition: the first audio walk begins with me as guide equipped with flashlight to point out various features of the environment.
4. Audio walk: this includes a recording of the Giotto Tower bell in Florence. Tower Works is pointed out. A song about the Dark Arches performed by Phil Legard, oral history fragments and an account of David Street Cafe are included. The audio continues until...
5. Focal Point performance: Layla Legard performs an Egyptian Goddess dance outside Temple Works (modelled on the Egyptian Temple of Horus at Edfu).
6. Audio walk: includes oral history and an ambient piece designed to underscore...
7. Live Sonic intervention: Seth Cooke performs on the djembé. The performer is not visible initially and the piece is designed to fade in with the audio track as the walkers draw near. It is a surprise/shock for the audience to suddenly become aware that the drummer is real.
8. Threshold: this is an important ritual part of the walk where people 'cross the line' into the performance space which is a large wasteground where Kays Distribution Centre used to be. The place is *actually* dangerous and the health and safety issues are explained in performance, people are handed metal talismans to help keep them safe.
9. Performance Space:

The group are led to the centre of the rubble ground towards a totem surrounded with sackcloth and shrunken skulls. Cue the sonic assault, a warning siren and a distorted montage of mangled speech and soundworks, cultivating a sense of unease, menace and transgression. This is followed by an intense silence. A small megaphonic voice, Helen McDonald, crackles across the ground from around 75 yards to the South. This is followed by another voice, Mark Shahid, stationed in the West, then the North, Robert John Lee, and finally the East, Phil Legard. Each voice has a distinctive sound and character that the actors had been encouraged to develop through exploring their relationship with this ground.

This is followed by another burst of sonic assault while the actors creep forward in the dark. A second round of speaking took place, this time with the actors being just visible in the darkness, and correspondingly louder.

This is repeated until the final iteration has the quartet running around the group of walkers, corralled around the totem, screaming incomprehensibly and becoming one with the intimidating aesthetic of the totem itself. The performance culminates in a sudden, dead silence with a spotlight atop the totem turning on and shining towards the **Old Holbeck Library**, all the actors were aligned in the same direction staring up at the building. Then I hit the white noise button and shout 'Escape!'. We retreat to the sound of white noise diminishing in the distance as we head back to the Portal and the drummer.

The performance was both the geographical, and psychological centrepiece of the walk, a merging of passive and active flows of psychogeography. On the one hand acknowledging the history and affect of the place, but moving this forward in a particular way to create unease and a lack of resolution. The intention was to experience the Void as an abyssal rupture in community and psyche, places have their own presence, non-places that are otherwise ignored can be brought to life through performance. The hole in Holbeck is still a Void, but it is shimmering with potential.

10. Exit strategy: exiting the wasteground, gathering people together and getting them ready for the next part.

11. Audio walk: this audio features a forest of birds and poetry. A stooge among the walkers suddenly starts interfering, shouting in their headphoned ears. He has an agenda about displacement and is intended to be annoying. The route follows a claustrophobic and gloomy alleyway often frequented by drug users and sex workers of which there are none.

12. Guide+Portable sonic: I perform a peon to Matthew Murray in St Matthews graveyard before his cast iron obelisk memorial. Strauss is playing through a portable sound system.

13. Audio walk: this is a contemplative, static piece comprised of oral testimony. The rubble site is the place where once stood the Holbeck Tower Blocks.



Figure 3.7 Holbeck Towers rubble site

14. Meeting/Transition: the walkers meet the gathered Holbeck residents.

15. Participative performance: people combine in a variant of Cage's *Indeterminacy Lecture*. Pages from the piece have been altered to reflect local names and places, and snippets of oral history have been added to the text. Each piece must be spoken within one minute, regardless of the amount of words on the page. Image projections on the side of St Matthews Church have one minute durations and serve as the clock. Some of the images are of burning books, and the performance site is cordoned off with hazard tape marking the boundary where St Matthews School used to stand, it was once used as Holbeck Library and would have been part of the ill-fated *Incredible Nomadic Library of Holbeck* project.

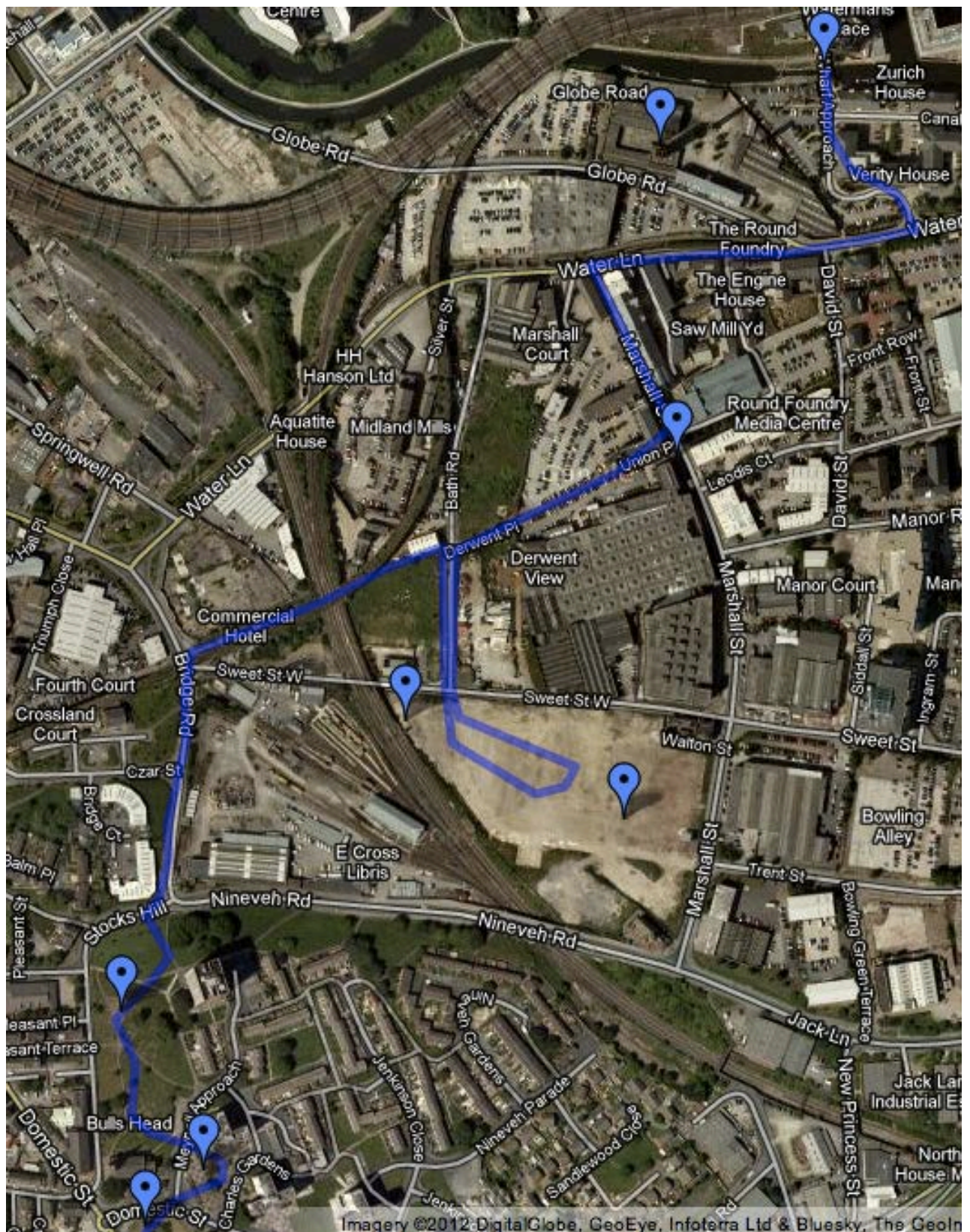


Figure 3.8 Light Night 2011 Audio Walk Route

In conclusion, *Displacement Activities*, introduced people to Holbeck, many of whom had never been there before even though they lived in Leeds. Through the process

of walking and listening, the displaced relationship between City and Holbeck was both made clear and breached through a process of embodiment. The edges of known/unknown were drawn together, transgressed and played with. Placing first-hand oral testimony within an ambulatory performance work proved to be a powerful way to deliver interview material that was able to deepen and the fragmented experiences. Displacement was a constant theme explored in many dimensions:

Sound source was displaced from focused found sounds (soundwalk), to headphone experience (music, voice and field recording), to external speaker sources (fixed and portable), to live music performance. The multiple sources were designed to displace expectation. People were never quite sure what sound was coming from where.

Performance focus was also displaced throughout the piece. The initial soundwalk was a single file, follow-the-leader, performance attuning individuals to the found sonic environment. The next performance was a distant (lit) spectacle that emerged gradually in the darkness as people drew closer progressing along a straight, dark street. This was followed by a music (drumming) performance that gradually emerged sonically before the performer was visually identifiable. The main performance enveloped the audience, literally surrounding them in a darkened wasteground, initially emerging from megaphonic sounds, the performers' bodies moving closer to the static audience as the piece progressed. The next performance was a loud, live intervention from a stooge who had been placed in the audience, unsettling expectations once more. Then a mini-*détournement* of the tour guide in a graveyard. The finale involved everyone performing, if they so wished.

The feedback I received was encouraging, a typical example:

The quality compared to other events I've been to was really extraordinary – meticulous planning, great sense of drama, attention to quality in composition and recording of the sound files, the way other performances, people and references were integrated into it – I thought it was amazing and should be a case study of how to do it! (H)

The Fifth Phase of Displacement: Translocation

The Florentine Displacement

This phase takes the initial set of findings forwards through a form of reflexive praxis to produce novel engagement with alternate sites. Preserving an existing topological relationship through the cloning of GPS coordinates the new site is encountered in a destabilised manner leading to the creation of heterotopias.

The map is open, connectable in all its dimensions, and capable of being dismantled; it is reversible, and susceptible to constant modification. It can be torn, reversed, adapted to montages of every kind, taken in hand by an individual, a group or a social formation... Contrary to a tracing, which always returns to the 'same', a map has multiple entrances. (Deleuze, 1983:25-6)



Figure 3.9 The Florentine Displacement

As a result of the success of the Light Night *Displacement Activities*, I was invited to a series of workshops on displacement in Europe in Florence by Fabbrica Europa to explain my methodology and set up a *Florentine Displacement*. I welcomed the opportunity, not only to explore another displacement, but also to meet the fabled Giotto Tower whose replica stood in Holbeck, and make field recordings of its bell, if I was lucky.

At about 9.30pm on Friday 23rd March, 2012 around two dozen walkers from the 'To Be Told' group set out from Hosteria Hiron to Giotto's Campanile where the *Displacement Activities* audio walk was to begin.⁴⁷

This was the first translocated *Displacement Activities* event using the same route as the Holbeck performance, but transposed to Florence using the Giotto Tower as a common point of origin. An uncanny correspondence occurred between the two places as unlikely features were drawn attention to and well known places détourned. Parts of the original oral testimony and sound pieces were included but were added to with new material gathered through interviewing people in the *To Be Told* placement, and field recordings around Florence.

Among other remarkable coincidences, the wasteground site in Holbeck coincided exactly with Piazza della Signoria.

The bizarre inverted resonance of the Holbeck Wasteground with one of the prime tourist sites in Florence, the Piazza della Signoria, is both palpable and poignant. The Piazza has a dark history of its own. In 1487 Giralomo Savonarola, Dominican friar and governor of Florence together with his followers sought out every profane item they could possibly think of and made a huge Bonfire of the Vanities (Falo dena Venita) in the Piazza. Consuming everything from paintings by Boticelli and ancient manuscripts to chess pieces and women's hats, the fires burnt for days. In a final act of poetic justice, Savonarola himself was hanged and burnt in the same square when

⁴⁷ A report on the *To Be Told* project, including a piece on the *Florentine Displacement*, was published following the event, (Bradley, 2012).

he lost his grip on power in 1498. Here we listened to Guy Wouete's account of genocide in Cameroon.

Together with the translocational phase of displacement, the Florentine project opened up the possibility of gathering new oral testimony and combining it with fragments from the original site, opening the way to combinative as well as generative methods.

For mapping accurate displacements the MAPfrappe (K. Thompson, 2014) is a useful tool. Simply placing the points and routes on the source map (reference map) will allow the user to determine the map coordinates for a map in another position on the globe (comparison map). Once the accurate positions are determined, a series of creative adjustments may have to be made in order to accommodate the new route on the ground. These will be ascertained firstly by checking the likely viability using Google Maps/Earth, but may only be finalised by being on the ground and seeing what happens. In my experience, this has been a surprisingly productive experience. Once the new coordinates are definitively determined they may be programmed into the app and the appropriate sound files loaded.

The Sixth Phase of Displacement: Chance and Generative Collaboration Beaver Lake, Montreal

This phase concerns the inherent ability of *Displacement Activities* to throw up surprises through unlikely engagements with site. There is no necessity for this to be the case, but the inherent destabilising tendencies of the strategy routinely unearths unexpected, fruitful avenues of research. The simple generative potential of *Displacement Activities* is released through a heightened sensitivity to new points of displacement. Through pursuit of these six phases the researcher is once more brought back to the first phase: an investigation of the material dynamics of the (new) site. The cycle continues.

This is a work in progress that occurred through a conspiracy of chance events. As part of my work at Concordia, I was due to give a talk on my research, so I resolved

to set up a test phonoscape near the University in advance by placing the coordinates and attaching the *Displacement Activities* audio files, the idea being that people could experience the app and provide valuable feedback. This was never intended as part of a *Displacement Activities* piece since I had no time to develop it in the four weeks I was to be in Canada.

Tall buildings are known to have unpredictable effects on GPS, and conducting a test surrounded by the dangers and sounds of heavy traffic did not seem ideal, so I sought out the nearest area of green space to displace the points to. A short walk to the Southeast of Concordia stood the impressive Mont Royale, a huge park that would be an ideal place for the test. On the Concordia side of the park was a lake, Beaver Lake, which appeared on Google Earth in the shape of a flattened beaver. Instead of Holbeck Moor framing the points, Beaver Lake would provide the new focal point.

Having placed the points once more, I set off up the mount to find the lake and complete the test.

Upon arriving at roughly the spot where the lake should be, the first thing I saw was a makeshift fence with various lacklustre advertising messages on it. Attention duly piqued, I sought out a gap to view the lake through. I peered through, and where my imagined lake with beavers gadding about should have been, was a depression of claggy mud, a pile of plastic tubing and a couple of earth movers. Beaver Lake had been displaced.

*My resolve to **not** do Displacement Activities was fatally wounded as I continued on my journey to the lakeside penetrating the peremptory perimeter fencing. Before I reached the mud, however, I was accosted by one of the workers and advised to go no further. I asked what had happened to the lake, and he replied 'The lake had to be removed for environmental reasons, it was hazardous. It will be back in February'.*

I discussed this with my colleagues at the Centre for Oral History and Digital Storytelling (COHDS), who had no idea that the lake had been displaced. We agreed that we should pursue the matter and collaborate on a *Displacement Activities*

project, and that the methodology I had outlined in my talk would provide a good basis for combining oral history with sonic and theatrical intervention on the subject of Beaver Lake and the issue of displacement. Mont Royale has a long history that merits further research, being originally a Native American settlement, long since displaced.⁴⁸



Figure 3.10 Beaver Lake Displaced

3.1.2 The Six Orders of Displacement

Sound Art as Site-specific Displacement

All sound is mediated in some way and is affected by the medium in which it is transmitted. In this section I will define a provisional six orders of sound displacement to make clear how displacement activities operate from sound impulse

⁴⁸ The lake has since been replaced by a new lake occupying the same position.

to fully mediated site experience. Each of these orders has a dynamic relation with its contiguous partners, and the series is open-ended. Particularly where silence, understood as comprising no intentional sounds by the percipient/performer, is concerned there is a blurring of the orders that resists any rigid, objective taxonomy. The intention here is therefore looser and more suggestive, but hopefully still provides a useful tool for considering the sound displacements of site-specific sound art.

A list of recursive mediations and corresponding orders could theoretically be infinite. For example, an extension of the principle of Alvin Lucier's *I am Sitting in a Room* (1969), constructed from a chain of site-specific recordings, might be continued indefinitely.⁴⁹

The following series is concerned primarily with operations involved in producing sound art pieces, specifically phonoscapes.

First Order Displacement: physical

In terms of acoustics, the perception of sound involves displacement. A sounding object will vibrate causing a series of longitudinal pressure waves to propagate through a medium such as air by a series of compressions and rarefactions. The ear has moving parts, and these respond to those transmitted vibrations:

Acoustical stimuli initiate a travelling wave in the cochlea, which propagates from the base toward the apex of the basilar membrane, growing in amplitude and slowing in velocity until a point of maximum displacement is reached. High frequencies displace the base of the basilar membrane where it is stiffer, and low frequencies maximally displace the apex, giving rise to a topographical mapping of frequency. (Breedlove, Rosenzweig, & Watson, 2007, Slide 8)

⁴⁹ Lucier heads off the infinite recursion, however, by placing a condition in the text score: 'until the resonant frequencies of the room reinforce themselves so that any semblance of my speech, with perhaps the exception of rhythm, is destroyed' (Lucier & Simon, 1980:30)

Any environmental listening experience entails this vibrational displacement.⁵⁰ The fact that sound waves react according to contingent surfaces in the environment is included within this order so long as no deliberate intervention has been made to alter the sonic context. Before the artist or the listener has made any deliberate choices, sound will be operating in this level. Even on this level, however, there is a degree of mediation involved for the listening subject, as Augoyard puts it: 'any perception implies some effect, that is to say a minimal work of interpretation' (Augoyard, 2005:11). A sonic effect being, for Augoyard, a combination of physical, environmental, and psychological factors.

Second Order Displacement: psychosocial

As soon as the live sound stream is diverted in any way by choice or intention, it becomes a subject of second order displacement. Entering a sound piece involves choices on the part of the artist and listener. The prime example of this level is a live performance of *4'33"* where nothing further is intentionally added to the existing sounds. The listening is defined by a social arrangement. In Cage's view, *4'33"* could be performed alone at any time, this further reduces the parameters for that piece to a singularity not available to any other apart from the composer. The nearest individual experience to that would be a solitary soundwalk, or self-composed deep listening exercise performed silently alone.

Third Order Displacement: intervention

This is where a person intervenes in the environment in some way either through making sounds (live voice or instrument), architectural intervention, curating a soundwalk or a combination. Conversations and oral history interviews are also of this level. Intervening in someone else's sound world in order to elicit a response, such as an interview, is part of this order, as is the selection of venue, such as a room to sit in. There is some overlap with the previous level, since certain forms of curated soundwalk could be seen as very similar to moving performances of *4'33"*, for instance, and choosing a particular venue for *4'33"* could be considered an architectural (third order) intervention. A defining characteristic for third order

⁵⁰ This is to be distinguished from in-body sounds such as tinnitus.

interventions would be that the composer/curator actively displaces the listener/performer's attention in specific ways, for example by pausing to listen to a carefully selected combination of environmental sounds in a specific place, such as with Phill Harding's soundwalks, or by providing a listening score such as with some of David Helbich's work.

Fourth Order Displacement: capture

This concerns any diversion of the flow of any of the previous orders of sounds. Recording and playback of an interview is of this kind, also live streaming applied to any sound source is of this order. Many sound art pieces operate within this order either through recording sounds for subsequent use, or by setting up live sensors and/or microphones to relay sounds to another site. Lacking in any form of manipulation other than choice and siting of sensor and recording apparatus, this level forms the basis of phonographic and ethnographic field recordings. Equipment choices are crucial to this level and have a direct bearing on the source sounds which become raw material to be worked on further in the next level/order. Selections of frequency and amplitude may operate on this level, choices that seep into the next level.

Fifth Order Displacement: temporal

This level involves editing or manipulation of any kind beyond live streaming and simple capture/playback. There may be some seepage between this and the previous level since setting up a recording/streaming array could be seen as a form of editing even if the setup is intended to run continuously, without a specified endpoint. Also a minimal form of editing by selecting a start/stop point on otherwise un-manipulated material could be argued to be included within the previous level. What is distinct about the fifth level is a form of temporal displacement either by removing or adding material to the timeline of the original material, mixing and insertion deletion. Effects other than amplitude or frequency filtering such as delay would be on this level.

Sixth Order Displacement: fully mediated

This is where sounds are recycled either for new artworks (sampling culture), within the same piece (*I am Sitting in a Room*), or for documentation of an event. From this point on, recursions involving any or all of the previous orders come into the equation and the sound could be termed 'fully mediated' leaving little or no trace of its first order origins. Some of Pierre Schaeffer's *objets sonores* operate in this realm, having been recorded, edited, processed, mixed and resampled. The sixth level in this rough schema could be said to include the 10,000 things of Lao Tsu, in other words it is not worth counting any further, for the purposes of this thesis at least.

3.2 Site-specific Art as Displacement

3.2.1 Locative Art Displacements

Using locative technology to translocate projects is a recent phenomenon that has only become feasible on a wide scale since the advent of GPS-enabled smartphones and global mapping interfaces such as Google Earth.

Paula Levine's *Shadows from Another Place - Baghdad - San Francisco* (Levine, 2004) is part of a series of 'transposed maps' that use GPS to translocate the impacts of socio-political traumas. Online maps are twinned and geo-caches set up in the target site. In *Baghdad-San Francisco* Levine maps the sites where missiles and bombs landed in Iraq during the 2003 invasion and places them in San Francisco. Geo-caches contain information regarding the U.S. military personnel who died in the conflict. Levine argues that this draws attention to what she terms 'interlocational experience'.

Shadows casts sites that are imaginary and physical where both local and global events can be seen and experienced simultaneously. Instead of dislocation, the series offers location, rendering foreign events as though they were domestic and allowing the body to move through these spaces that exist between local/familiar and distance/foreign ground (Levine, 2005:17). This methodology is close to *Displacement Activities* and it would be fruitful to combine the approaches in future research, combining Levine's mapping and caching with oral history, phonoscape and performance initiatives.

Julia Levine's *The Wall the World* (Levine, 2011), is part of the same *Shadows from Another Place* series. An online app plots the course of a 15 mile stretch of the barrier being built between Israel and the West Bank. By performing a transposition of the section to anywhere on the globe, the piece enables people to begin to comprehend the imposition that such a structure might have on their own localities.

Another relevant GPS-based project involving a huge displacement is *C5-The Other Path* (Slayton et al., 2004-2005). This is as much a demonstration of ingenious GIS technology and calculation and perseverance as a genuine locational experience. From sampling 12 trekked locations along the Great Wall of China, the team managed to generate a virtual analogue in California by scanning the terrain for places 'expressing similar statistical characteristics, such as simple distance, cumulative distance, and elevation change'. Once the calculations had been made, a route was generated and followed by C5 as a 'performance of tertiary exploration of the Great Wall of California'.

Finally, *TRACE: Displaced* is a multi-site-specific performance piece that is built around displacements of the collective's art space in Cardiff 'both physically and conceptually, transplanting a 1:1 scale architectural replica of the gallery space into a new situation' (Stitt, 2011:10). Through a series of performance investigations, archiving, assembling and disassembling, the group developed a generative process 'install-action' of decomposed and recomposed fluid memories and materials, a living portable archive of their performance that is tended, added to and destroyed through repeated site-specific action. The performance and materials are understood as 'the physical manifestation of the post-colonial condition' and reveal immanent displacements in geo-political contexts such as in Wales and Australia, where the install-actions occur.

The coloniser and colonised losing sense; inhabiting a failure of memory whilst simultaneously reclaiming, assessing transparency; the embodiment of transformation and resolve. (Stitt, 2011:14).

The complex layerings of displaced context, archive, performance and fracture make *TRACE: Displaced* a difficult work to assess without experiencing it bodily, in this sense it lies very close to *Displacement Activities*, highlighting the limitations of disembodied, fixed, decontextualised documentation within a form of relational aesthetics.⁵¹

⁵¹ Defined by Nicholas Bourriaud as 'A set of artistic practices which take as their theoretical and practical point of departure the whole of human relations and their social context, rather than an independent and private space' (Bourriaud, 2002)

Let's imagine an archive that better resembles live memory rather than an artificial memorial, a system for collected ephemera, unstable and shifting remains which differ with each recall and are rearranged in relation to contingent circumstances. Things-as-events that behave like performances, open to alterity, decay and tending towards vanishing. (Stitt, 2011:10)

The use of chance, montage, translocation and GPS within *Displacement Activities* and phonoscape aligns with this trajectory.

3.2.2 Sound Art Displacement

Bill Fontana and Hans Pieter Kuhn are two sound artists of special relevance to this thesis since they have produced works involving displacement in Holbeck. Both artists engaged with the Dark Arches area beneath the railway at the edge of Holbeck along the River Aire. Kuhn's work is still running in Dark Neville Street, while Fontana's was a temporary installation.

In October 2009, Kuhn's *Light Neville Street* (2009) sound installation began its 20 year cycle of algorithmically mutating found sound manipulations in Dark Neville Street, adjacent to the Dark Arches in Holbeck. In combination with a display of altering LEDs, the sound work has helped to transform a dark and foreboding area of Leeds. The sound processing operates on recordings made in the area playing them back through hidden directional speakers placed within the sound absorbent cladding along the walls of a 100m tunnel beneath Leeds City Station. Commissioned by local architects Bauman Lyons as part of the Holbeck Urban Village regeneration plans, the piece is intimately insinuated within the structure and has become part of the sonic landscape of Leeds over recent years. The *Displacement Activities* event included this section as part of Phill Harding's soundwalk *Light Neville Street* produces subtle, ever-changing clicks, clacks, whirrs and buzzes that operate mainly in frequency spectra above those of the traffic without having to use high volumes, and this spatialises both the sounds and the architectural space.

In working with everyday sounds, arranged over time as durations of sound and silence, and in refusing to recognise noise as a separate category of sound, Kuhn's work is indebted to Cage. His techniques for manipulating found sounds stem from Pierre Schaeffer and *musique concrète*, attempting to resist narrative and association with sound source via reduced listening towards the acousmatic. One of the prime methods he adopts for this involves the technical transformation of sounds by cutting off the attack, extending the decay, slicing up, and time stretching with the effect of making the making the origin unrecognisable. His use of 'optophonics', working between light and sound enables him to play with displacements of the senses 'seeing what is not heard -- hearing what is not seen... between concrete and intermedial [multi-sensory] experience' (Kuhn et al., 2000:27).

The piece *Light Neville Street*, by becoming part of the local soundscape becomes material for subsequent phonoscapes in the sixth order of displacement. This form of displacement is taken forward in the pilot phonoscape in the M621 underpass section where the tunnel sense is augmented by adding traffic recordings which, in turn, bring a strange level of disorientation to the experience.

Bill Fontana made two works in Holbeck, *Primal Soundings* in 2004, and *Sound Lines* in 2005 (Fontana, 2005b), both involved the 'trans-placement' of sounds from one environment to another.⁵² *Primal Soundings* involved setting up hydrophones on the bed of the Aire and relaying the live sounds to speaker systems outside Leeds City Art Gallery. This installation was functioning for over a year, as I recall. Beyond the original setup, no additional processing was used and the sounds reproduced were easily identifiable as the gurglings and bubblings of water. The distinct, watery sounds added a strangeness to an otherwise unremarkable busy city centre and fed into and out of the traffic sounds in surprising ways. Knowing that the sounds were coming from the riverbed in the depths of the Dark Arches, had the immediate effect of transporting one's perception to that place (for those familiar with it) adding a conceptual displacement that suffused the phonographic presence to this fourth order of displacement.

⁵² This term is attributed to Fontana by Anthony Moore (Fontana, 2005a), and elsewhere referred to as 'landscape exchanges' (Wainwright, 2005).

Fontana's second piece *Sound Lines* appeared in June 2005 which displaced the soundworld of City Station to the Dark Arches beneath. Using accelerometers attached to the railway tracks the sounds of trains entering and leaving the station was vividly reassembled within the resonant 150m tunnel below literally echoing the course of the track above. The data from the accelerometers together with that a complex array of omnidirectional microphones positioned to pick up ambient station sounds was fed live via radio transmission to the sound system below. Bill Fontana attended the opening, and was very happy with Lumen's sound installation which delivered a powerful realisation of the plan. It is difficult to describe the multi-sensory experience of being in a gloomy tunnel experiencing a living train passing through the space and your own body. There is a sense of the uncanny, vibrations and low frequencies descend through the structure directly travelling slightly slower than the sounds transmitted via transceivers at the speed of light, and possibly this contributes to the strange power of the experience, through the proprioceptive and visceral reinforcement of displaced sounds. For me, the experience tapped into a primal sense of danger that overrode the rational, given an association with previous experiences walking in a tunnel and hearing a train coming.

In the words of Voegelin commenting on another of Fontana's works

The timespace triggered by Fontana's installation is the place of my subjective objectivity that has abandoned the duality and knows that it is one in the contingent duration of my present perception... This confirms the potential of actual and conceptual listening to experience the fragmented and multilayered spatio-temporality of installation... without synthesising its extensive complexity from different viewpoints. (Voegelin, 2010:185)

Like Kuhn, Fontana finds Cage a major inspiration, but also Marcel Duchamp, who encouraged him down the path of 'musical sculpture' and a concern for the spatial over the temporal aspects of sound. He cites Duchamp's poem as seminal:

musical sculpture
sounds lasting and leaving..
forming and sounding

a sculpture...
that lasts⁵³

(Fontana, 2007)

This spatial sense coupled with an understanding of music as 'meaningful sound patterns... a natural process that is going on constantly' (Sound as Virtual Image, Fontana, 2007) underlies Fontana's oeuvre which consists mainly in displacement activities:

One of the most useful methods has been to create installations that connect two separate physical environments through the medium of permanent listening. Microphones installed in one location transmit their resulting sound continuums to another location, where they can be permanently heard as a transparent overlay to visual space.

As these acoustic overlays create the illusion of permanence, they start to interact with the temporal aspects of the visual space. This will suspend the known identity of the site by animating it with evocations of past identities playing on the acoustic memory of the site, or by deconstructing the visual identity of the site by infusing it with a totally new acoustic identity that is strong enough to compete with its visual identity. (Fontana, 2007)

This co-presence resonates very strongly with phonoscape methodology which involves this kind of spatiotemporal displacement. What is missing in the headphone experience is the physical interaction (first order of displacement) of sound with its target environment. This aspect of the interaction only occurs when the phonoscape is included within site-specific performances, *Displacement Activities*, which utilise installed sound systems.

Both Kuhn and Fontana's work is minimal and not concerned with adding a layer of musicalisation to found sounds. Kuhn's approach is acousmatic but unobtrusive, working on the liminal edge of hearing within a complex set of existing sounds.

⁵³ This poem features in the *Green Box* (1934), alongside *The Bride Stripped Bare By Her Bachelors, Even* (1923).

Deeper listening is rewarded, and most of the time, in my experience, the installation does not force another layer into the listener's perception. It is there for the taking. Fontana's work on the other hand is more forceful, altering the target environment conceptually and sonically in more readily perceivable ways, but with the minimum of sonic manipulation beyond spatial displacement. The unfolding of Kuhn's piece over a twenty year cycle conceptually draws on the composer as architect of a system of durational complexity, while Fontana's durations rely on the infinite variations of natural materials simply brought to hearing. Two very different legacies of Cage.

When looking at site-specific sound art as displacement activities, I have found it useful to conceive of the situation in terms of source and target site within the matrix of the orders of displacement previously mentioned. This dynamic is applicable to many site-specific works involving displacement, whether or not it is sound-based work. Displacement is a theme of many of Robert Smithson's works, for instance his *Yucatan Mirror Displacements (1–9)* (1969) that connect the site of the displacement through mirrors to the gallery space as photographic records. Referring to sculptures as displacements, Smithson makes the distinction of site/non-site to characterise the relationship between source and target where the gallery installation operates as a 'dimensional metaphor that one site can represent another' (Smithson, 1996). This relationship is, in Smithson's view, a logical abstraction rather than an output of self-expression, functioning like the ground plan of a building. There is a representational link between site and non-site that becomes 'physical metaphorical material':

A logical intuition can develop in an entirely "new sense of metaphor" free of natural or realistic expressive content. Between the actual site in the Pine Barrens and The Non-Site itself exists a space of metaphoric significance. It could be that "travel" in this space is a vast metaphor. Everything between the two sites could become physical metaphorical material devoid of natural meanings and realistic assumptions. (Smithson, 1996)

Smithson's meaning is typically protean here, but implicit is a move from site to non-site that is considered uni-directional and removed from the dialectics of language and material, a move that operates in a liminal, abstract space. This corresponds with Susan Ryland's observation that metaphor is unidirectional and that, following Paul Carter, 'metaphors that yoke unlike things, representing one thing by another,

ignore the importance of material kinship', concluding that 'kinship is the basis of metonymy' (Ryland, 2011:122). *Displacement Activities*, operate on this open, reflexive and generative mode and therefore cannot find a place for non-site. If Smithson's 'metaphoric significance' is instead taken as being 'metonymic significance' within a non-representational framework, then there is an alignment of understandings. Given that many of Smithson's pieces do in fact engage material dialectically, questioning what he saw as bland representational history its institutions and architectural spaces, unsettling preconceptions about art/non-art, site/non-site, he might have welcomed the displacement of metaphor by metonymy.

3.3 Theoretical Displacements

3.3.1 Metonymy Part One: the cognitive and linguistic origins of Displacement Activities Methodology

In its original Freudian conception, displacement is a form of unconscious defence mechanism that wards off threat or danger, 'the principle means used in the dream-distortion to which the dream-thoughts must submit under the influence of the censorship' (Freud, 1953-74: vol 22:21).

Common understandings of displacement activities often conflate the Freudian psychological definition with an ethological one centred on animal (and human) behaviour developed by Konrad Lorenz which is a more mechanical understanding

When two conflicting motor patterns are activated simultaneously, it can happen that the organism performs a third pattern which may belong to an altogether different system. (Lorenz, 1981:249)

Examples might be head scratching or finger tapping when confused or impatient. The displacement activity of throwing the TV remote when angry with the Government, or putting off onerous tasks tend towards the psychological defence rather than the instinctual behavioural explanation. When conceived of in the light of embodiment theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999), and the notion of the cognitive unconscious, these two understandings converge.

Returning to the Freudian idea, Lacan's recasting of the psychoanalytical model depicts the unconscious as the structure of language and expresses more clearly the relationship to one of the core motivations for *Displacement Activities* where displacement is expressed as

Verschiebung or "displacement"--this transfer of signification that metonymy displays is closer to the German term; it is presented, right from its first appearance in Freud's work, as the unconscious' best means by which to foil censorship. (Lacan, 2006:425)

This form of displacement characterises the initial dynamic of *Displacement Activities* which was a sideways response to censorship in the form of the conflict of interests that beset the *Tales of the Incredible Nomadic Library* of Holbeck project. Faced with having to abandon the project, a preferable strategy was to move ahead, in a horizontally related but contiguous manner. This horizontal relation is also contained in Lacan's understanding of metonymy in contrast to metaphor. Drawing on Roman Jakobson's work (Jakobson, 1956), Lacan depicts language divided into two axes, a vertical axis of paradigmatic substitution associated with metaphor, and a horizontal axis of syntagmatic sequential ordering which refers to metonymy. These are further associated with dream-condensation and dream-displacement respectively, which are 'the two governing factors to whose activity we may in essence ascribe the form assumed by dreams' according to Freud in *The Interpretation of Dreams* (McKeon, 2000:155). Whereas Freud's use of the terms within dream psychology is bound up with repression, Lacan has a more expansive role for metonymy which has it move along a signifying chain. This is the 'word-to-word' nature of the part-whole relationship at the core of Lacan's understanding (Lacan, 2006:421).

It is on the basis of the copresence in the signified not only of the elements of the horizontal signifying chain but also of its vertical dependencies, that I have demonstrated the effects, distributed in accordance with two fundamental structures, in metonymy and metaphor. (Lacan, 2006:428)

For Lacan, the associative, generative capacity of metonymy to move along a signifying chain through an unresolved/unresolvable desire gives it its creative and open potential for resisting censure. This is in contrast to the condensational tendencies within metaphor which fix meaning.

Taken as a form of psycho-political manoeuvring, structured by the unconscious, this resonates strongly with the psychogeographical strategy of *détournement* developed by the Situationists which attempts to overturn dominant ideologies by critically defusing their cultural artefacts through a process of displacement, replacing them with their own dislocation. Deriving their impetus from Lettrism, poetic, and cinematic montage, Debord and Wolman note that:

When two objects are brought together, no matter how far apart their original contexts may be, a relationship is always formed... The mutual interference of two worlds of feeling, or the juxtaposition of two independent expressions, supersedes the original elements and produces a synthetic organisation of greater efficacy. (Debord & Wolman, 1956)

By cut-ups, mashups and unexpected additions, the original works, or situations, are doubly negated initially by drawing attention to their commodified status, then becoming educational through liberating interpellation. In this way, *détournement* can act like a virus replicating itself and infecting the cultural means of appropriation reminiscent of Dadaist and later Fluxus anti-art.

The open, creative nature of metonymy forms the basis of its resurgence in recent scholarship and a re-evaluation of its importance in relation to metaphor which has long been in the ascendancy. Denise Green, Susan Ryland and Jeannette Littlemore are among the vanguard in championing metonymy as useful and adaptable conceptual tool for understanding creativity within the arts (Green, 2005; Littlemore, 2015; Ryland, 2011) which supports and deepens the *Displacement Activities* strategies outlined in this thesis and suggests possibilities for further research.

Littlemore points out that Jakobson's characterisation of Cubism as metonymical, contrasting with Surrealism as metaphorical, highlights a notion of metonymic art focusing on 'what isn't there, or the spaces left by objects' (Littlemore, 2015:111). He goes on to suggest that in moving away from the literal, Cubist paintings operate like photo negatives. In engaging with absence and loss, *Displacement Activities* function on this level. Littlemore suggests Cornelia Parker's *The Negative of Words* (1996) a piece that deals with material processes, objects, language and context. Consisting of a pile of residue from a previous process of engraving words in silver, the work is intended to invert/subvert the monumentality of the original engraving.

Littlemore also introduces another important identifier for metonymy that could prove very useful in understanding the shimmering tension that operates in phonoscape when past and present interact within the soundscape. In this situation, metonymy operates as a 'reference point phenomenon...moving between two conceptual

domains that one would not normally consider related' (Littlemore, 2015:112). This is taken forward within a *Displacement Activities* manoeuvre where two seemingly unrelated topographies begin to resonate through continued reflexive actions.

In her wide-ranging thesis *Resisting metaphors: a metonymic approach to the study of creativity and cognition in art analysis and practice*, Ryland further surveys many of the changing roles of metonymy, concluding

Since metonymy tends to draw meaning from proximal elements, it can be used to great effect in site-specific works, installations and interventions, to destabilise or tilt our world (Ryland, 2011:184)

This confirms that *Displacement Activities* and phonoscape are particularly suited to metonymic explorations, and echoes my contention that *détournement* may be characterised as a metonymical activity.

Working within the field composition of the phonoscape, the issue of time-space is central, and here Ryland makes a crucial distinction between spatial metonymy which is concerned with co-presence, and temporal metonymy which concerns partial or wholly successive elements, indicating that

At a point where co-presence and succession overlap, we might expect metonymic relations in perceptual after-images, echoes, oscillations and feedback. (Ryland, 2011:183)

Within site-specific sound-based pieces, this interrelation is of crucial importance and is explored both within the construction of the phonoscape by subtle uses of repetition and spatial displacement, but also in the broader performance of *Displacement Activities* which constantly play with co-presence and succession during the course of a curated walk. The creative potential of metonymy underpins the methodology of *Displacement Activities* as a performance and research method falling within Ryland's open and dynamic redefinition of the term:

Metonymy is a dynamic, transformational cognitive process that enables the generation of new possibilities and viewpoints, through conceptual spreading inside

and across adjacent domains of knowledge, in what can be called micro-domain annexation. (Ryland, 2011:181)

Returning to its relationship with metaphor, Ryland's schema sees a Literality>Metonymy>Metaphor continuum where metonymy may be seen as the engine room of creativity occupying a pivotally important role in the creation of meaning through its engagement with material and cognitive processes producing 'expansions into domains not previously regarded as contiguous' (Ryland, 2011:45). This lies at the heart of the methodology of *Displacement Activities*.

Finally, Lorenzian definition mentioned earlier is also relevant as the instinctual emergence of a third system when two systems come into Opposition, and this is the coping strategy I adopted when faced with an impossible choice for the *Nomadic Library*. Interestingly, Lorenz refers to the original use of the marvellous term *Übersprungbewegungen* by Dutch ornithologist G.F. Makkink, who used it to describe displacement activities in avocet behaviour in 1936, a literal definition of which is "sparking-over activities" (Lorenz, 1981:249).

3.3.2 Metonymy Part Two: Presence in Historiography

The main strands of emerging locative theory, discussed in Chapter 5, point to an ongoing re-evaluation of historical construction that resonates with Gambattista Vico's criticism of Cartesian geometrical dogma (Vico, 1744 (1948)), and continues with a shifting understanding of the pervasive role of metonymy in the routine assemblage of history. Eelco Runia's arguments in *Moved by the Past: Discontinuity and Historical Mutation* (Runia, 2014) present a challenge to meaning led textual expositions of the past. In multi-layered contexts of discontinuity and resistance Runia argues an alternative to the dominance of text-based overarching narratives that favour the direction and linearity, smoothing over the mess and flux of contingency and the everyday with the use of ubiquitous metaphor.

The phonoscape experience combines all senses, brings a level of agency back into the equation, and deepens our sense of the presence of history in our surroundings. Audio presentations are distinct from textual or screen-based mappings in being able

to arrange simultaneous layerings without becoming incomprehensible, inviting the participant to make metonymic connections within and between soundscapes. This is part of Steven High's reference to a tension between past and present (High, 2012) both when pursuing memories within a present spatial setting, listening to oral testimony within its originary context.

By combining an embodied hypertextual characterisation (See Chapter 5) of locative media with polyvocal testimony of place and an understanding of history as metonymic, we have the necessary planks in place to explore *Displacement Activities* as a practice that questions the unity of locale and sets locative media within a (re)constructed presence, encouraging participation in arbitrary glocal dialogues that place presence above meaning in propagating understandings of the past as embodied present.

Metonymy is a key trope that provides a useful conceptual framework for understanding how an oral history that bypasses textuality operates within its site as a presence of absence. By emphasising contiguity and presence over the similarity and meaning that is associated with metaphor, metonymy avoids many of the shortcomings of representationalist historiographies, providing a way of engaging with polyvocality and discontinuity that is grounded within site rather than text. Rather than being 'in' or 'about' Holbeck, the phonoscape is 'of' it.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines metonymy as a figure of speech in which 'the name of an attribute or adjunct is substituted for that of the thing meant', and metonym 'a word used in a transferred sense'. It stems from the Greek *meta+onuma*, which translates as change+name. Typical examples would be 'hand' for 'worker', or 'boots on the ground' for 'troops deployed in a particular territory'; others include the name of a leader for a country, or the name of a country for an organisation of people as with the phrase 'England declared war on France'. Historical discourse is replete with metonyms, indeed it is hard to conceive of how language would operate without them.

Debate on the finer nuances of what is and what is not a metonym and how it relates to other similar figures extends back to Aristotle via Ramus, Vico, Freud, Burke,

Jakobson, and Lodge, to name a few, but it is Runia's more recent piece of historiography that is relevant here.⁵⁴ In order to contextualise Runia's approach I will touch on three contrasting contributions to the discussion of metonymy and reflect on its role in traditional oral history.

Considered as one of the 'four master tropes', Burke elaborates metonymy as

The basic "strategy" in metonymy is this: to convey some incorporeal or intangible state in terms of the corporeal or tangible. (Burke, 1941:424)

In his view, metonymy interpenetrates with the other three master tropes (metaphor, synecdoche and irony), which combined give us a blueprint for an understanding of how language is implicated in the construction of knowledge and reality. Burke's sub-agenda in defining these literary devices is to propound 'poetic realism' as opposed to a positivist understanding of scientific realism which he concludes cannot penetrate the complexities of human relations. Consequently, he identifies metonymy as a 'reduction', which parallels reductionist strategies within science that explain a complex entity in terms of one less complex. In the realm of affect and poetry, however, this reduction conveys an 'incorporeal or intangible state in terms of the corporeal or tangible' (Burke, 1941:424). Therefore, having developed metaphysical language through the metaphorical extension of materiality towards non-material concepts, the poet reverses this momentum and places the language back into the material world. In Burke's terminology, there is:

A first "carrying-over" from the material to the spiritual being compensated by a second "carrying-over" from the spiritual back into the material (Burke, 1941:424)

which lies at the heart of metonymy, a continuous transference of sense weaving between materiality and affect, and thus en route to an understanding of embodied

⁵⁴ The references here are to the 2006 article 'Presence', that was later incorporated as a chapter of *Moved by the Past* (Runia, 2014). The book itself poses a great challenge to representationalist approaches in general, but for the purposes of the thesis the discussion on discontinuity and presence is most pertinent.

presence. Before we can proceed along that route, however, it is worth making clear exactly what is at stake here. The 'carrying-over' that Burke alludes to is precisely the problem of how language relates to reality, or, historiographically how we get from *res gestae* to *historia rerum gestarum*. Just as this was a major concern within both 'hard' and social science in the first half of the twentieth century, so it was within the philosophy of history. The pursuit of a solution led to the 'narrative turn' championed by Hayden White.

Metonymy appears as one of the four main forms of historiography in Hayden White's *Metahistory* (White, 1973). Considering history writing as an essentially *poetic* act (White, 1973:x), White frames his discussion of narrative styles in terms of Burke's four tropes: metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche and irony. The ensuing tropological choice forms the basis of White's definition of 'metahistory', that determines 'every historical work' (White, 1973:xi). Underlying White's argument is a belief that history is language-bound and, along with any other discourse outside 'genuine science', cannot be objective, it must adopt a narrative style. For White, metonymy is reductionist, mechanistic, extrinsic and expressive of a (usually) hidden causality that drives events, its quintessential historian/philosopher being Karl Marx. Burke's 'carrying-over' operates here between material structures of economics, and the social superstructure of ideas and ideology, working behind the surface of history. It is interesting to note that the essence of Burke's poetic realism is retained in White's poetic act of the historian and that any attachment to materiality is mediated by the metonymic act, or relation.

Looking more closely at the situation thus far we can see something inherent, and 'carried-over', in the original definition of metonym that is problematic.

Bredin notes that metonym is probably one of the distinguishing characteristics of realist prose, but it has slipped beneath the radar of many commentators under the shadow of metaphor (Bredin, 1984). By the 1980s there was already a fair amount of disagreement over exactly what constituted metonymy, and the list of possible uses and object relations seemed to defy definition as a single trope. For Bredin,

In the case of metonymy ... the relation between the objects concerned in the transfer is precisely the area of obscurity and dissension (Bredin, 1984:46)

After reviewing a series of unfruitful attempts to define or refine purely linguistic, broadly structuralist, approaches, Bredin retreats into the object world, proposing that 'metonymical relations are relations between things, not between words' (Bredin, 1984:52). In pursuing this methodology, Bredin comes up with a logical typology of the tropes that becomes part of a 'more comprehensive theory in which language, thought, and things are found to enter into profound correspondences with one another' (Bredin, 1984:56). Yet within this promising scheme, metonymy articulates a set of established cultural relations between things that, for Bredin, are tantamount to fossilised conventions, unable to open the way to innovation. Whereas metaphor, in Bredin's view, 'creates the relation between its objects':

Metonymy presupposes that relation. This is why metonymy can never articulate a newly discovered insight, why it lacks the creative depth of metaphor. Metonymy is irresistably and necessarily conventional. (Bredin, 1984:57)

This rather static view of materially engaged cultural artefacts paradoxically suffers from a fixation on textuality and literary encoding. In fact, what he has perhaps unwittingly uncovered are the perfect conditions for thriving, creative traditional oral histories that fabulate the material world.

It is precisely this contextual fabric, the domain of metonymy, which forms the basis of John Miles Foley's notion of 'traditional referentiality', expounded in his *Immanent Art: From Structure to Meaning in Traditional Oral Epic*, which includes a wide range of cultural practices, norms, expectations and beliefs that become activated through immanent oral art forms, and provide the necessary narrative tools for traditional oral history (Foley, 1991). Defining metonymy as:

A mode of signification wherein the part stands for the whole . . . a situation in which a text or version is enriched by an unspoken context that dwarfs the textual artefact (Foley, 1991:7)

Foley places it at the heart of the creative production of oral masterworks such as the *Illiad* and *Beowolf*, which were created through performance that:

Was not merely a passive event for the audience, but an opportunity for co-creation of meaning with the poet through the vehicle of the metonymic referent. (Quick, 2011:598)

Catherine Quick argues that the associative power of metonymy, in Foley's understanding, extends Burke's approach and 'represents the associative process that underlies much of how human beings access and create knowledge' (Quick, 2011:598). This is in keeping with the underlying realism implied by metonymic use whether or not we choose to situate that realism within a narrative/linguistic understanding, extend to a phenomenological ontology, or adopt a speculative realist lens.

Many of the problems bound up with how language relates to the material world are ones focused on meaning and interpretation rather than presence. By adopting metaphor as the main 'glamour trope', it is understandable that many commentators have spent their energies on issues surrounding decontextualised sets of connotations, or representations rather than looking at the more intimate, contextualised transfers of presence that are wrought by metonymy. This is the root of Runia's argument for a reconsideration of the importance of metonymy in our assimilation and understanding of history, and underlies a motivation for a phonoscape that demands oral/aural content to be experienced within the material context that engendered it. What follows is an introduction to Runia's position and how it relates to phonoscape methodology through both conceptual and material displacement.

For Runia, the ability to surprise ourselves requires a fundamental ontological and cognitive discontinuity that is predicated upon the co-existence of two planes of being that are not fully open to one another. The transference of presence from one plane to the other is a bringing to present what is absent. The strange discontinuity brought about by surprising ourselves rests on our embodiment of contingency: 'situations we couldn't foresee, yet which are unmistakably real and have an

exhilarating presence' (Runia, 2006:7). The way into this 'exhilarating presence' is not to be found in the illusion of a completed text or map, it is always fluid, ongoing, partial, it is history as an ongoing process. Presence, in Runia's view, is "'being in touch"—either literally or figuratively—with people, things, events, and feelings that made you into the person you are' (Runia, 2006:5). This kind of presence can be made palpable by objects, photographs, sound recordings that attach you directly to the thing that is absent. In this way, Runia understands memorials to work as physical metonyms (discussed in following section). The phonoscape itself plays with several levels of presence, but surprise, shock or perhaps a feeling of *Sehnsucht* rely simply on the presence of that which is absent. In exploring the Void in the Wasteground of Holbeck, the bringing together of the existing space with what has gone creates a deep affect, and this will continue to operate even when future buildings arrive on site. The sense that this site was constituted by a different set of present experiences to those experienced now *is an experience of presence*. It is the metonymical relation of history to this present that Runia draws attention to.

The problem of how to address historical reality hinted at above, avoided by much contemporary historiography (Tucker, 2001), is made redundant for Runia by emphasising presence over meaning. By focusing on presence, many of the problems facing representationalism and the narrative turn are sidelined, if not resolved. In this context, Friedlander's *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the "Final Solution"* (Friedlander, 1992) provides a sobering discussion of the problems that arise when historical narrative comes adrift from things that actually happened. Despite White's tempering of his radical relativism in his contribution, there is a nagging suspicion that any totalising attempt to represent the events in anything other than a chronicle faces insurmountable problems. Lyotard's metaphor of the 'earthquake that is so powerful as to destroy all systems of measurement' (cited, Friedlander, 1992:5) is apposite in the face of radical discontinuities such as the Holocaust.

Because the representationalist philosophy of history of the past decades was geared to grasping how metaphor is instrumental in establishing satisfactory representations, it could account for transfer of meaning, but not for (metonymically achieved) transfer of presence ... the concept of "representation" obscures the fact

that verbal, pictorial, and sculpted "pictures" are compounds of both metaphorical connotation and metonymical denotation. (Runia, 2006:17)

This further distinction between connotative (metaphorical) and denotative (metonymical) modes, provides a useful way for conceiving of methods that stand for things without representing them. Thus the oral history fragments within the phonoscape stand for Holbeck on a small, present scale when they are being listened to, but may not actually say anything in particular that represents Holbeck. This is particularly important within a polyvocal presentation where some accounts may contradict one another, where remembered truths diverge on detail, or even the existence of certain events. The truth that is forged in the moment of experiencing testimony or field recordings at a particular time and place is simply one of present conjunction, or contiguity. Provenance, correspondence or any kind of arbitration of the sources is part of another, decontextualised, process. The metonymical relation is the undeniable experience of the here and now within a particular context, it operates through the affective moving of the listener/witness by the presence of the Other in all its variants of speaker, object, sound, and site.

Runia has made an elegant and compelling case for a non-representationalist understanding that recognises the pivotal role of metonymy in a historical placing of embodied presence. This not only provides a cogent framework to sustain the methodology of an archaeology of the voice, but also provides another entry point for conceiving of *Displacement Activities*. Further, the 'archaeological turn', (See Giannachi, 2012) may be seen as a parallel development of 'non-representationalism', although it must be pointed out that despite the more polarising tendencies of champions such as Thrift (Thrift, 2008), there is no requirement to reject representationalism as an approach, indeed Runia's metonymics is predicated on the interplay of metaphor and metonymy, representation and presence. Perhaps Lorimer's 'more than representationalism' (Lorimer, 2005), provides a more inclusive way of conceiving the unfolding consequences of a provocative and fruitful debate that has gained momentum over the past decade.

3.3.3 Memorialisation and Location

The *Holbeck Phonoscape* intersects with several aspects of memorial and memorialisation as the displacement of affect. Although it is non-material and does not specify the passing of a particular person or event, the phonoscape *is* tied to a particular place and it marks the passing of a specific phase in the historical development of a neighbourhood, a pause between two regeneration pulses. Holbeck itself has few physical memorials. Holbeck Cemetery contains a War Memorial amongst the gravestones, and the smaller St Matthews graveyard features an imposing cast iron obelisk dedicated to the memory of the prominent industrialist Matthew Murray. The handful of blue plaques indicating significant sites dotted around the area may also be technically considered as memorials.

According to the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, memorials can be immaterial, part of an intangible heritage. Defined as 'preserving the memory of a person, thing, or event as a statue, a festival... a custom', a memorial includes commemorative walks and periodical rituals, for example, so it seems reasonable to include oral history-based phonoscapes to the list.

When thinking about memorialisation and monuments from a historical point of view, Pierre Nora's vast project *Realms of Memory* (Nora & Kritzman, 1996) with its defining *lieux de mémoire* is a good first point of contact. Nora's 'memory sites' offered a new way of exploring historical presence focused on place. Nora's basic idea was to work from specific sites and practices upwards towards cultural generalisations 'by analysing the places in which the collective heritage of France was crystallised' (Nora & Kritzman, 1996:xv).

A lieu de memoire is any significant entity, whether material or non--material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community (Nora & Kritzman, 1996:xvii)

The project inspired the founding of the journal *History & Memory*, and opened the ground for a host of professional and amateur histories, studies, and community arts creations centred on monuments, remembrance and memory. Although oral history and many unusual material sources were accessed in the *Realms of Memory*

project, the idea that these disparate particulars only find meaning in relation to national character or spirit is inimical to the production of the *Holbeck Phonoscape* which operates on a site-specific basis without regard to how the experience might be generalised or fashioned into a univocal representation. In terms of Runia's arguments in the previous section (Runia, 2006), there is a tendency towards metaphor at the expense of metonymy, of meaning and continuity as opposed to presence and discontinuity in Nora's approach.

Memory sites are often associated with physical memorials, but ambulant activities also constitute memorials. Early forms exist as songlines and pilgrimages, but more recently locative and other art forms have centred on walking as memorial.⁵⁵ In a paper focusing primarily on web memorials and cinema, Maria Pramaggiore identifies a 'psychic space' that non-physical memorials provide, offering:

A quasi-cinematic experience that promises immediacy, interactivity, and repetition as the sites orchestrate and recycle sounds and images to provoke the visitor to "re-live" moments in time. (Pramaggiore, 2010b)

This conception of a memorial resonates strongly with phonoscape methodology, the *Sonic Memorial* website provides a field of potential for people to add and maintain content over time. With 9/11 there is still sufficient momentum to perpetuate an online memorial, and this complements the *Ground Zero* walk. There is an immediate contrast between the online memorial and the walk though, whereas the website is dynamic and associative, the walk is fixed in both content and route. With phonoscape methodology, the content of the walk itself can change over time providing a direct living analogue with its sister archive creating:

A para-cinematic cohesion of fragments rather than providing the apparent permanence, linear time, and monolithic space of the architectural memorial... The memorial also invites its users to experience memory not as information retrieval,

⁵⁵ Examples include Teri Rueb's *Trace: A Memorial Environmental Sound Installation* (Rueb, 1997); Paul Lavery's *Mourning Walk* (Lavery, 2009); Tim Brennan's *Crusade* (1996), memorialising the 1936 Jarrow Crusade (Hand, 2002), and the *Ground Zero Memorial Walk* (Soundwalk, 2002). Locative artist Teri Rueb, and the *Ground Zero* walk are discussed at length in the following chapter.

but as a process of reconstruction that may be informed by the continued production of memorials across various media. (Pramaggiore, 2010b)

While Pramaggiore is referring to the website here, her words apply equally to an equivalent phonoscape. This kind of memorial operates on a grassroots level, an open history from below that resists the totalising narratives of national physical memorials and commemorations. Pramaggiore notes that the 9/11 event was unusual in instigating a 'commons of grief' where the vast majority of Americans and many communities around the world were united in their emotions. The processes marking the Hurricane Katrina disaster, however, were far more divisive due to a complex of conflicting interests (Pramaggiore, 2010a). While the regeneration of Holbeck is by no means on a par with Katrina, the fact that a diversity of often conflicting interests is/has been concentrated within a small area brings it closer in comparison than the 9/11 event. The presentation of polyvocality remains of central importance.

At the heart of all memorials is a presence in absence that produces powerful affect through metonymic association, as discussed in the previous section. Reflecting on the presence in absence and the absence in presence that occurs when sitting on a memorial bench, John Wylie argues that 'ineradicable figures of absence, distance and non-coincidence' are 'constitutive of landscape'. This is in part due to a fundamental difference between sitting on a bench looking at the view, as opposed to standing, looking down at a grave. The gaze is drawn downwards, centripetally to the grave whereas it is thrown outwards, centrifugally, to experience the view from the bench 'displacing as much as placing' (Wylie, 2009:281). The experience of sitting is split between sitting together with the memorialised presence 'conversing, sharing the view', and looking *at* the person who becomes the view that you see. This experience of co-presence is perhaps even more unsettling within a phonoscape when both the visual and sonic worlds are being displaced with the presence in absence of the speaker and the presence in absence of an absence in the landscape. Even more complex where the absence has been replaced by a new presence, perhaps in the form of a building. The experience of the Other as

Fremdkörper has potentially disturbing spectral qualities that become a locus for creative endeavours within the arts, hauntology and spectral geography.⁵⁶

Considering this multi-layered experience that may occur within a phonoscape in different ways to different people depending upon their experience and associations of the *same place*, the notion of place itself becomes displaced, destabilised, even atomised according to individual affect. A useful concept here is Michel Foucault's notion of 'heterotopia', the subject of the next section.

3.3.4 Heterotopia

The word 'heterotopia' was originally used by Foucault in the preface to *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (1966) to designate a metaphorical space (topos) within language, but then adapted to denote physical space (Foucault, 1994). It is particularly relevant to the formulation of a conception of place inscribed by locative media, but, more importantly for this thesis, it helps underpin an understanding of the kind of place(s) *Displacement Activities* methodology explores in Holbeck, and beyond.⁵⁷ By identifying an 'other space' the concept of heterotopia draws together my reflections on site-specific sound art, metonymy and memorials within a schema that identifies the multi-layered complexities of locative experience within phonoscape.

Foucault's idea provides a way of conceiving of spaces that may occupy the same physical place but comprise colliding worlds of experience posing questions for those worlds through experiential contiguities that may be unexpected or challenging. In a perspicacious view of *his* present (1967 at the time of writing) that appears apposite for *our* present, Foucault prefaced his idea of 'other spaces' with:

The present epoch will perhaps be above all the epoch of space. We are in the epoch of simultaneity: we are in the epoch of juxtaposition, the epoch of the near

⁵⁶ See also Iain Foreman's work on this issue (Foreman, 2014).

⁵⁷ The term might also be adapted to creative cartography, as explored by Denis Wood, for example in *Everything Sings: Maps for a Narrative Atlas* (Wood, 2013). Leading towards a form of 'heterocartography' perhaps.

and far, of the side-by-side, of the dispersed. We are at a moment, I believe, when our experience of the world is less that of a long life developing through time than that of a network that connects points and intersects with its own skein (Foucault, 1984:1)

The notion of embodied hypertext developed in Chapter 5 is encapsulated with this understanding, and the world of locative mobile sensibilities is neatly summed up here. Foucault went on to define heterotopias:

There are also, probably in every culture, in every civilisation, real places--places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society-- which are something like counter-sites, 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. (Foucault, 1984:3)

This destabilising and fluid understanding, tantalisingly sketched in Foucault's single paper on the subject, has inspired many researchers to go on to adapt the ideas to their own purposes ranging from performance art (Pearson & Shanks, 2001:28), through feminist subjectivity (Voela, 2011) to site-specific Virtual Reality (Rousseaux, 2009).

Of particular relevance to this thesis is Beth Lord's understanding of heterotopias in relation to museums. In 'Foucault's museum: difference, representation, and genealogy' (Lord, 2006), she traces the development of the concept from its early articulation in *The Order of Things* (Foucault, 1970) and applies it to the contemporary museum. Out of the several ways that a museum may be conceived of as a heterotopia, the most important, for Lord, is its role as a 'space of representation', which she explicates as follows:

Museums need not contain artefacts and need not contain text; sometimes interpretation is implicit and hidden. But without interpretation, without representing a relation between things and conceptual structures, an institution is not a museum, but a storehouse. (Lord, 2006:5).

Foucault's highly specific use of the notion of this space of representation refers to the relationship between things and conceptualisations, which are always considered

inadequate or incomplete, no conceptual structure can fully explain a thing, there is, according to Foucault, a gap, this is the space of representation. This gap, Lord argues *is* the heterotopia (Lord, 2006:5). Through drawing attention to this contested space, the museum is able to destabilise or 'transgress systems that cast power relations and historical events as fixed and necessary' (Lord, 2005:2). Lord goes on to conclude that:

Foucault's museum is defined as a space of difference and a space of representation: a space in which the difference between words and things is put on display and made available for public contestation (Lord, 2005:11)

Given that 'anything that operates as a space of representation can be called a museum' (Lord, 2005:7), in the specific sense alluded to above, the phonoscape might be usefully conceived of as a kind of museum with its archive of voices as its objects. By minimising commentary and interpretation, the assemblage of voices fixed to their geo-spatial coordinates is more than a 'storehouse', it constitutes a specific relationship between voice(s) and site, and its arrangement offers people the chance to reflect on the gap between any history, interpretation or memory and its contingent site.

In all, Foucault identified six heterotopological principles which together distinguish several different kinds of social practice and place ranging from festivals, rites and purifications on the one hand to domestic gardens, cemeteries and brothels on the other; each of these places has specific functions and they operate across both spaces and are linked to specific time slices, or 'heterochronies', in Foucault's terminology. A counter-site has a determinate location in relation to its real site analogue, constituting an alternate reality, 'a space that is other', but a place may give rise to a multiplicity 'juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible' (Foucault, 1984:8).

The subversive potential of heterotopia is suggested by Pearson and Shanks in performance:

As a form for examining, challenging and transgressing the relationships, rites and rituals of everyday life, with real changes in status, it is a place where identities may

be created, shaped, contested and changed, where new agendas are set. (Pearson & Shanks, 2001:28)

The concept complements Homi Bhabha's idea of 'third space' which is a form of in-between space, a hybrid that operates when two spaces are brought together permitting an emergent third space that has its own identity.

For me the importance of hybridity is not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third emerges, rather hybridity to me is the 'Third Space', which enables other positions to emerge. (Rutherford 1990: 211)

Together, these understandings provide a useful conceptual tool that situates *Displacement Activities* within a fluid and destabilising discourse that challenges static representational views of space and place, which may be further illustrated by turning to Michel Serres' definition of topology.

If you take a handkerchief and spread it out in order to iron it, you can see in it certain fixed distances and proximities. If you sketch a circle in one area, you can mark out nearby points and measure far-off distances. Then take the same handkerchief and crumple it, by putting it in your pocket. Two distant points suddenly are close, even superimposed. If, further, you tear it in certain places, two points that were close can become very distant. This science of nearness and rifts is called topology. (Serres & Latour, 1995:60)

Combined with a notion of the Deleuzian fold, this serves as a useful entry point for conceiving of *Displacement Activities* as folded spacetime. Fold construed as a movement from collage to *détournement* reveals the subversive potential of this manoeuvre, a radical reshaping of subjectivities as emergent material forms reducing the distance between two places to a topographical singularity that sustains heterotopic multiplicity.⁵⁸ In other words, the two places brought together through a *Displacement Activities* intervention no longer maintain a meaningful geographical separation. Through the activity of performance the two spaces are brought together and the new space created operates as a socially inscribed space that is both real

⁵⁸ For an exploration of the fold along these lines see, for instance, O'Sullivan (Parr, 2010:104-6), and (O'Sullivan, 2006).

and located.⁵⁹ In Deleuzian terms, 'the inside is nothing more than a fold of the outside' (Parr, 2010:103), the second site becomes nothing more than a fold of the first site during performance. In this way a radical globalism is possible based on a deep mapping of the local, a multidimensional metonymy. *Displacement Activities* may be seen as operating within a new dramaturgy (Van Kerkhoven, 2009) that incorporates phonoscape within urban performance combining artistic and academic enquiry, creating new heterotopias that constitute *détournements* of place and space.

In this chapter I have introduced the origin and development of *Displacement Activities* as a method of research through performance, offering an open and dynamic way of delivering aural oral history through phonoscape in combination with a range of other art forms including music, theatrical intervention, dance, and participatory performance. As an open work, no specific iteration of *Displacement Activities* can be said to be definitive or finished, each performance event can be taken forward by re-incorporating material gathered from contiguous displacements in other sites.

Displacement Activities is a highly effective way to draw attention to an oral history archive and its attendant phonoscape experiences. The phonoscape in turn provides an ongoing method of documenting displacements and reincorporating any new audio in new iterations. A soundwalk at the beginning of an event attunes the walker to the existing sound world opening up the ear and mind to the ensuing performance. The audio walk component may be delivered by non-smart technology, as it was in the examples discussed, with the exception of the *Beaver Lake Displacement*. Also with a group event, the phonoscape is best synchronised across the group rather than set to randomised individual experiences. This is reasonably easy to achieve with standard playlist audio technology, which is what I used in the examples discussed. With a fully smart setup synchronisation can be achieved by streaming a

⁵⁹ This also operates in Bill Fontana's sonic art displacements, for instance, discussed earlier.

single phonoscape through a live broadcast service such as Mixlr in order to distribute it through the group.

My engagement with the work has been expressed in terms of six phases of displacement that characterise the methodology as proceeding dialectically through material, transgression, opposition, participatory performance, translocation and generative collaboration. Each of these phases is reflexively related to the others and both temporal and spatial displacement allow for the phases to appear in any order. Although *Displacement Activities* might be used in a purely ludic context, the role of *détournement* in the face of opposition lies at the heart of the original formulation outlined here. The polyvocal oral history content mapping the displacement of people, buildings and ways of life remains the central focus of the initial work, and that material demands the respect of both artist and historian. By taking wider themes of displacement such as the Israeli Wall, or the bombs of Baghdad as points of departure, as discussed, the phase of Opposition is considered constitutive rather than optional.

In the theory section, the trope of metonymy has been brought out of the shadow of metaphor to support *Displacement Activities* methodology. Metonymy *détourns* geopolitical and sonic spacetime, it offers a form of historical encoding that loosens the constraints of the written word, functioning through metonymies of presence. A re-evaluation of memorialisation as a portal to the potent concept of heterotopia has established the final key conceptual framing of the underlying theory of *Displacement Activities*.

Chapter 4 **Audio Walks**

Introduction

The primary focus for this chapter will be to review audio walks from the point of view of site-specific (oral) history in order to identify general considerations for their construction. As part of this process a contrast between the possibilities afforded by smart and non-smart audio walks will be made clear.⁶⁰ The works gathered together range from seminal works that have already developed a good reputation, to very recent works that present pioneering solutions to some of the emerging curatorial issues surrounding locative audio walks. The selection of key practitioners and pieces is not intended to be representative of this vast and mutating field, instead it is aimed at drawing out useful recurring threads relevant to phonoscape construction. Detailed content is not sought since this is often only to be experienced in the various locations that artists have selected, rather an appreciation of some of the methods, concerns and intents of the artists will be drawn out.

Since the pilot phonoscape is constructed around oral and local history, this consideration has guided the selections. Researching locative pieces presents unique problems since they are intended to be experienced in situ, and some, such as Miller's *Linked*, actively resist displacement, hence where I have not experienced them first-hand, I have relied on reports from those who have.⁶¹ A summary of key points at the end of each selection and at the end of the chapter will act as cumulative guide providing a loose taxonomy of techniques.⁶²

⁶⁰ The 'smart'/'non-smart' division is one of convenience and concerns the mode of delivery. 'Smart' simply means: having data triggered by GPS, WiFi, Bluetooth, QR, iBeacon, or any other environmentally sedimented means. 'Non-smart' means that no triggering is present, the data relies on manual retrieval using a standard audio player and playlist. No value hierarchy is intended, and both systems have advantages and disadvantages.

⁶¹ This methodology goes some way towards manoeuvring locality, but strict site-specificity requires bodily presence, by definition.

⁶² Other taxonomies are available working to different criteria such as Behrendt's fourfold classification of mobile audio systems (Behrendt, 2012), or Darby's work on pedestrian performance (Darby, 2012).

Audio walks, otherwise known as sound trails, audio trails, or audio guides, involve listening to prepared audio material usually along a specific route or within a designated area. There is no consensus in the literature, or in practice, concerning the terminology of audio walks, but it is useful for the purposes of this thesis to make a distinction at this point. In the wake of composer Murray Schafer's World Soundscape Project (WSP), many practitioners reserve the word 'soundwalk' for a broad set of activities best summed up by composer and sound ecologist Hildegard Westerkamp's definition: 'any excursion whose main purpose is listening to the environment' (Westerkamp, 1974:18). In my opinion, it makes sense to reserve audio walks for the broad range of organised walking practices involving listening to audio through headphones, following Janet Cardiff's use of the term (Cardiff & Schaub, 2005:5) to describe her site-specific binaural pieces. An archaeology of the voice is predicated upon the audio walk as a specialised spatial practice that might be characterised as an archive of the ears and feet, to extend Levitas's notion of 'archive of the feet' (Levitas, 2008).

From the perspective of the phonoscape, the kind of walking that is appropriate may be likened to archaeological fieldwalking, using ears instead of eyes. Navigating by ear while listening to the prepared oral/aural fragments of the past, the walker may choose their own transects, or be guided by a score or other procedure.⁶³ In this way, the ambulatory research method I have adopted in the construction of the piece is unravelled by subsequent experience and agency.

4.1 Audio Walks: Exemplars of Current Practice

The following sections provide some examples of key works in the field. In the context of creating the phonoscape, these could constitute a review not of the literature, but of techniques and practices.

⁶³ Misha Myers (Myers, 2011) uses the term 'percipient led' for open-ended walks that highlight agency. David Helbich, for example, provides scores for some of his audio walks (Helbich, 2013).

4.1.1 The Standard Tour Guide

Standard audio tours, purveyed by organisations such as English Heritage, are now abundant both inside and outside museums and buildings. These tours generally combine non-diegetic music, or soundbeds, informative narration, and actors' voices in the attempt to 'bring history to life', contriving entities such as talking monks to guide visitors around ruined architecture.⁶⁴ The walks are usually sedately paced and encourage the listener to stand in particular places surveying artefacts or architectural features for the length of a narration. They often favour set routes, sometimes providing alternative narrative options and enactments for children and adults. This model provides a portable replacement for the live tour guide, allowing individuals and groups to wander around sites in their own time. At the other end of the scale some cities have created audio guides consisting of unadorned narratives highlighting architectural features or notable historic events. The 'Heritage audio tour of Liverpool' was a case in point, dead-pan and humourless, it made little attempt to bring history to life.⁶⁵ The popular audio walks produced as part of the BBC's 2006 BAFTA interactive award-winning series *Coast*, strike a happy medium. Avoiding the excesses of some dramatised guides, they are presented in a lively, informative tone, clear, concise and entertaining. They provide a useful technical benchmark for audio walk creators, maintaining high standards for accuracy, accessibility and practicality (BBC, 2006).

The issue of guide presentation is a pivotal one, and the choice whether to have non-diegetic voiceover, actor, or nobody intervening between the listener and the intended experience is crucial. The selections in this chapter point to a variety of modes that break with the stereo-types proliferating in the heritage and tourist sectors. As Phil Smith argues:

⁶⁴ For instance, at Kenilworth Castle the visitor can experience: "Our complimentary audio tour - and children's audio tour - which bring the site's 900 year history to life" (English Heritage, 2015)

⁶⁵ This prime example (Visit Liverpool, 2014) is now no longer online, however, its improved replacement illustrates the genre fairly well (Liverpool 08, 2015).

The idea of a 'conventional' or 'orthodox' tour is increasingly hard to sustain given the imaginative innovations and pragmatic adaptations at work across a wide range of guiding. Nevertheless, guided tours and tour guides are often portrayed in a stereotyped and anachronistic manner in popular and journalistic media (while more nuanced and surprising portrayals do occasionally emerge and are in need of recognition); yet, at present, there is neither a sufficiently voluble nor influential academic discourse around guiding to change outdated or illusory attitudes and narratives. (Smith, 2013:4)

Locative media offer many ways to détourne the standard model and there is a healthy dialectic between performance works and media centred around the guided experience, for instance with the work of Slung Low (SlungLow, 2015) and Wrights & Sites (Wrights & Sites, 2013-). The physical guide, whatever their approach, provides a visual, spatial and aural focus to any group experience, something that mobile smart media cannot replace. This is not to say that the guideless audio walk is somehow deficient, it simply operates with a different set of parameters. Together with the advent of podcasts, streaming, pause TV, and the iPlayer, locative media may encourage the fragmentation of the group experience and a move away from traditional radio culture of synchronised temporality towards a more individualised asynchronous experience.⁶⁶

4.1.2 The Ground Zero Sonic Memorial Soundwalk⁶⁷

Completed in 2002, the *Ground Zero Sonic Memorial Soundwalk* constitutes the first major public audio walk to include a significant element of located oral history and testimony from eyewitnesses, predating Miller's *Linked* by one year. The audio walk company Soundwalk teamed up with innovative radio producers The Kitchen Sisters to create a powerful and evocative piece in the wake of 9/11. It is a triumph of collaboration involving people working together across many different fields including media professionals, journalists, musicians, composers and historians, and hundreds

⁶⁶ For further discussion of this, see Salomé Voegelin's *Night Train* (Voegelin, 2008),

⁶⁷ This is the original full title of the walk, but it has various titles such as the *Memorial Soundwalk*, *Ground Zero Walk*, *Ground Zero Sound Walk/Audio Walk*, or *Manhattan: Ground Zero*, among others.

of small radio stations collating a vast amount of audio material towards an audio walk to memorialise the place, people and event.

The *Ground Zero* piece is also remarkable in pioneering the first self-assembly form of history. The audio walk draws on The Sonic Memorial Project, an online archive initiated by The Kitchen Sisters. Here people can upload stories, sounds, footage, and images relating to 9/11. Combined, the online archive and audiowalk challenge more conventional oral history approaches that may diminish the value of audio in favour of purely textual output.

The audio includes reportage, soundscape, sonic art, oral testimony, archive audio clips, and music spanning eighty years on and around the site, drawn together within a narrated history spoken by writer Paul Auster. Following a route from St Paul's Chapel, around the site of the Twin Towers to a park bench near the Hudson, the distance covered is not great, but the whole experience takes around an hour listening to the soundtrack continuously and pausing at the 13 sound points.⁶⁸

As to be expected, the soundtrack is produced to the highest standards and hangs together as a coherent work whether one is on site or not. However, given the importance of site-specific experience, I must draw on the comments of others who have done the walk. Haidy Geismar's account accords with my own experiences:

Listening to the tour whilst walking around the site creates a visceral memorial out of ones [sic] own body-channelling memory through hearing, sight, and movement. The sound walk creates continuity between past and present, layering different moments of history into a single hour (Geismar, 2005:10)

This fusing of past and present is one of the salient features of located oral history audio walks and contributes to the transmissive power of an embodied experience that is never fully present off-site no matter how evocative the artwork 'in itself' may be. Geismar points out its fragmentary aesthetic:

⁶⁸ The Ground Zero walk is still available as an Mp3 download (Soundwalk, 2002).

The fragmentary nature of the walk, coupled with the fragmentary, everchanging nature of the site, means that the visitor is not programmed with any precise agenda, but instead feels part of a dynamic and diverse community of shared experience. (Geismar, 2005:10)

This statement is problematic in implying that there is no agenda in the production of the piece, since there clearly is - even if it is simply a wish to memorialise, since this has its own politico-ideological context. The key word here though is 'precise', pointing to one of the stronger features of fragmented narrative as a device: it can break down the sense that there is one story, one interest, or one lesson, to be learned from this event. However, having a single narrator as a history guide conflicts with this potentiality, the experienced fragments are stitched together, albeit loosely. Furthermore, the notion of 'community of shared experience' is also problematic, and maybe more to do with Geismar's emotional wish for a universalised affect rather than a more prosaic acknowledgement that we all experience something. Marla Carlson, however, concludes the Soundwalk:

although not positioned as an artwork, operates in much the same fashion, providing traces of sound to lead participants through the site, providing memories to call up other memories, but never providing a logic to encompass either the sounds or the memories. (Carlson, 2006:415)

Again driving home one of the advantages of discarding the omniscient monocular view that more apparently coherent, or heavily interpreted material may foster.⁶⁹

The openness and invisibility of the *Memorial Soundwalk* compares favourably with the divisive potential of a physical counterpart. Various proposals for 9/11 physical memorials have met with widespread criticism (Farago, 2014). Even the proposal to create a symbolic void sparked protest (Carlson, 2006:413) perhaps indicating the materiality of the non-material. The non-materiality of sound, however, in the form of the *Memorial Soundwalk* largely avoids this kind of reaction; although one

⁶⁹ Carlson also draws a connection between a quasi-religious siting that bears a striking resemblance to Miller's 'little church on a street corner' (Butler & Miller, 2005:83), the piece is 'an audio correlative to the small personal shrines that dotted New York in 2001' (Carlson, 2006:412)

commentator, Sarah Boxer, writing for the New York Times on the third anniversary of the event states that:

The very concept of a sonic walking tour of ground zero sounds ghastly. What are the possible precedents, after all? Museum Acoustiguides? Audio tours of Jack the Ripper's London? (Boxer, 2004)

She concludes:

The ground zero sound walk (sic), it turns out, is not so much Acoustiguide as funeral march for the World Trade Centre, with stops along the way for eulogies. (Boxer, 2004)

The article is neutral on the whole, however, providing a good overview of the content and culminating with an acknowledgement that the tragedy itself still looms over the content, 'the history and the music are coloured by the absences'. Standing in the non-presence of almost 3,000 lost lives on the anniversary of the event, the sadness must be palpable. There is little I can add to my previous summation of this experience:

the sonic memorial may be shared in subtle ways involving one's personal engagement with the place and the tragic fate of those who died there. Being in the place, listening to the final recorded words of a fellow human facing certain death inevitably overrides a great deal of what separates us. (Bradley, 2012a:101)

On the other hand, some of the mechanics of the walk find criticism in Andra McCartney's overview, based on Marc Griebel's report of his experience (McCartney, 2014). The main problem for the group, not mentioned by anyone else, was keeping up with the sound points as they appeared in the soundtrack. Having no recourse to the pause button in what was designed as a continuous piece, they found the pace left them a few steps short of each site, leading to a cumulative frustration.⁷⁰ This is undoubtedly one of the problems of a highly curated pre-recorded walk where pacing and pausing is intended to be faithfully adhered to. In my experience of Cardiff's

⁷⁰ The tempo of the piece was identified by McCartney as 70-75 beats per minute (bpm).

Missing Voice, I found the pacing uncannily synchronous and it actually enhanced the strangeness of the experience, as though walking in a pre-recorded film-set. Soundwalking practice, in McCartney's sense, is very much to do with developing active listening skills and is inherently uneasy with highly curated pieces such as the *Memorial Soundwalk* where a voice commands the participant to walk this way or that at a predetermined time, necessitating arrival at the next soundpoint promptly.

Though this audio work does engage the audience with others (sic) memories, I found that it allowed little space for the participant to reflect on their understandings of the tragedy surrounding 9-11, let alone any contemporary conception of what the site may be able to communicate to us about what these memories may mean to us today. (McCartney, 2014)

Without experiencing the walk in situ myself, I cannot comment further on the relation of piece to site other than pointing out that the other commentators cited had very different experiences, corresponding more closely with my own on similar, admittedly less highly, curated walks, for example *Drifting*. Phonoscape construction avoids this problem by automatically gearing itself to the walker's pacing and intentions.

Aware of the paradoxically solitary nature of this intensely public experience, as discussed by Shuhei Hosokawa as an aspect of the 'Walkman effect' (Hosokawa, 1984), I would argue that the Ground Zero Soundwalk, perhaps above all others, is groundbreaking in creating an invisible memorial that speaks directly to individuals on a one-to-one basis at a time of their choosing, but in a specified site that is highly public and globally known, in name at least. The only barrier to the 'community of shared experience' would be the language itself regardless of whether we align with perpetrators, victims, or innocent bystanders, and this is something that affects all oral history as audio.

I will conclude this section with Carlson's evocative description of the final moments of the walk as she sits on the bench overlooking the Hudson River facing the Statue of Liberty on the other side of the harbour:

The narrator, Paul Auster, talks about what it was like in Park Slope that day - taking me right back to the neighbourhood where we both happen to live, right back to my own memories of that day, my neighbours, the ash and pieces of paper blowing over us. Auster says, "We must love one another or die." The words end. The sounds of water and gulls remain. Then the recorded sound ends, and we're left with the same sounds of water and gulls around us: the same push and pull between art and environment, between the past remembered and the present becoming memory, (Carlson, 2006:415)

4.1.3 Graeme Miller – M11-Linked (2003)

Artist and composer Graeme Miller's *M11-Linked*, a unique monument centred on the M11 link road, is well-known as a pioneering and influential exemplar among walks based on site specific oral history (High, 2010:109). The Museum of London sponsored the work as part of *London's Voices* (2001-2004), and supervised the oral history interviews that constitute the spoken element of the piece. Liaising between the *M11: Linked* team and the Museum of London, oral historian Toby Butler was commissioned to formulate guidelines for the oral history interviews and their documentation; his work contributed to the permanent archive at the Museum of London and the M11 protest collection.

Miller's project was chosen because of his personal involvement with the area. Construction of the proposed M11 link road necessitated the demolition of many houses including his own home of ten years, replacing a thriving community with a road. *Linked* thus relates to the *Ground Zero Memorial* walk in constituting a sonic memorial commemorating loss and fundamental displacement.

The project gathered over 120 hours of oral testimony (Perks & Thomson, 2006:427). Miller's approach to the high 'Material:Performance Ratio' (MPR) was to focus on how little of the original testimony might be needed to impart a feeling or idea. He explained, in an interview, that what remained after editing was little more than the 'shadow of words... you *feel* it; the words are framed with silence' (Miller, 2010, original emphasis). Miller ended up removing over ninety per cent of the

original material, producing a sublime tincture, an essence of what was. In effect, he was mirroring the geographical erasure by displacing the oral testimony with silence. But far from treating the material as sound objects for a composition, Miller was acutely aware of the emotional and semantic content of the material. Perhaps having no formal training in editing oral history interview material for public output actually assisted the process, allowing him to pursue the testimony down to words and phrases rather than full stories. Sections were fractured, looped and spliced together with specifically composed pieces of music and soundscape, producing an immersive, at times bewildering experience. When I asked how he knew when a particular edit was complete, Miller responded 'If I cry, I know it's there' (G. Miller, 2010). Miller's five-year labour of love can be played through earphones via a crackling analogue receiver; the route of several miles is punctuated by twenty lamppost transmitters. Large portions are devoid of sound transmissions, where the listener takes in the existing soundscape with a heightened sense for the aural, echoing the pioneering work of Cage, Neuhaus and Murray Schafer. Miller is also happy to allow the walker 'to get a bit lost' enroute, rather than having everything fully determined, as in standard audiowalks (Perks & Thomson, 2006:427).

Linked is a paradoxical piece because it prefigures the essence of mobile GPS-triggered technology, while remaining stubbornly in the media of a bygone era, using 'real, organic wholemeal radio waves' as Miller terms them. By using transmitters attached to lampposts way, he fixes the material physically to the site. It is not possible to easily re-arrange or add to the audio at a subsequent date, as with streaming technology. Another issue arises: lampposts move or disappear. Indeed, when I undertook the walk in 2009, the first two lampposts were inaccessible due to building work for the forthcoming Olympics.⁷¹ Of course, Miller could avoid this problem by placing his work on a virtual layer accessible to smartphones, but this would be a distortion of his original aims which involved toying with the liminal areas at the extremities of the radio reception zones. The idea of sounds coming in and out of reception is fundamental to the fractured aesthetic he adopts for the piece. Ironically, this form of analogue glitching is impossible to simulate faithfully digitally,

⁷¹ Also occasionally a technical fault develops in this robust but still vulnerable technology, in such cases, a lamppost or two may be out of commission while repairs are carried out.

and any simulation would remain just that, a simulation. Furthermore, the fact that the transmissions are looping means that two or more walkers may listen to exactly the same sounds from a random starting point that is determined simply by their proximity to a transmitter. This essential feature is technically possible with twenty constantly looping live webcasts, but then issues of server reliability and mobile reception come into play. Miller's lo-tech solution is far more elegant, and coincides with one of the central values of the piece, being literally rooted in the place. In Miller's own words, 'it is like a little church, you are creating a little church on a street corner that filters out the background' (Butler & Miller, 2005:83).

Resonances with both Mike Pearson's *Carrlands*, and particularly the *Ground Zero* project are audible, yet this piece differs in being constructed almost exclusively from oral history interview material; the music and additional sounds are largely supplementary and supportive. From the perspective of oral history practice, several key points emerge: the piece reaffirms the combination of location and located oral testimony providing a powerful fulcrum for the presentation of oral history. Further, the use of often severe editing techniques producing a fragmentary and discontinuous experience actually enhances the possibilities for the listener to construct their own meanings, perceiving the world through several synchronous space-time frames. Finally, the shifting landscape itself provokes contingencies and obstructions for walkers that are impossible to plot precisely, providing encouragement to accept an indeterminacy of experience not encountered within a documentary sensibility. Miller's aim is to 'slow listening down' and encourage deeper reflection by manipulating all of these elements (Perks & Thomson, 2006:427:429).

4.1.4 Toby Butler and Memoryscape (2005)

Toby Butler, history lecturer at UEL and Birkbeck, University of London, has done more than any other single practitioner to put site-specific oral history audio walks both metaphorically and literally on the map. His memoryscape methodology provides an inspirational and practical benchmark for many audio walk creators. Butler's doctoral thesis: *Memoryscape and Sound Walks: Mapping Oral History on the River Thames in London* (Butler, 2007c), addresses a wide range of practical,

critical and methodological issues from the perspectives of oral history, social geography and museology, providing a powerful argument for audio walks as a valid and viable form of public history output. Although my thesis relates to Butler's work, a major difference lies in the availability of technology. None of Butler's works to date have used GPS technology and his general mapping of memory to place is on a one-to-one basis where a single memory or sequence of story fragments is ascribed to one point (or segment of a route), and the walker is encouraged to undertake an essentially linear experience. I see these different approaches as complementary, but being predicated on locative technology, my research is practically and qualitatively different, leading to alternative possibilities of linking voice to place.

Although Butler worked with artist Graeme Miller on *Linked* (G. Miller, 2003), and examined Janet Cardiff's *Missing Voice* (Cardiff, 1999a) as a case study for audio walk construction techniques, he decided to distance himself from these more abstract art pieces and produce walks closer to the standard audio guide. London Museum played a supporting role in the thesis, perhaps accounting for Butler's move towards a more curated experience. Indeed, some of the first test walks in the *memoryscape* series were carried out by a group of curators from different backgrounds, resulting in Butler adding his own guiding narrative, which he had originally left out.⁷² The use of a guide voice brings them closer to more conventional audio walks, there is little chance of getting lost in the material, or en route, unlike Miller's approach. Butler is very comfortable in this role, perhaps perfected from his days as a tour guide at the Tower of London, and he is certainly reassuring to the listener, which may broaden the walks' appeal. On the other hand, the use of guide narrative has the drawback of detaching the listener from an otherwise fully immersive sound piece.

The term '*memoryscape*' appears to have arisen through Butler's work with Graeme Miller who mentions it in one of his contributions to *Drifting*. On one level, it is a brand name for the Thames-side walks, but beyond that Butler is reluctant to pin

⁷² The group included people from Social History Curator's Group, Southampton City Council Oral History Unit, Imperial War Museum, National Maritime Museum, Museum of Royal Pharmaceutical Society, National History Museum, Athens. (Butler, 2007)

down a precise definition distinguishing memoryscapes from any other form of oral history-based audio walk. In his thesis he states that they are '...outdoor audio walks constructed with memories' (Butler, 2007c:2). Perhaps the most definitive definition is "outdoor trails that use recorded sound and spoken memory played on a personal stereo or mobile media to experience places in new ways" (Butler, 2007b) p.360. Butler's memoryscapes to date appear to focus on site-specific spoken memories linking experience, memory and history to place. As one commentator puts it, memoryscape 'attempts to suture space and time together through the aural experience of oral history interviews and ambient sound.' (Friedman, 2006b:107). Here the final element of 'ambient sound' is acknowledged which, to me at least, defines memoryscape, ambient sound both as layered field recording and as existing soundscape acting as a contextual platform for oral testimony. Memoryscapes dispense with an overarching narrative, and the many fragments and layers that make them up create an immersive whole where meaning relies as much on the active listener's walking presence as the curator's editorial decisions. Butler concludes that memoryscape 'might offer us an exciting way of creating more nuanced, embodied, complex, multi-sensory methods of experiencing and representing our surroundings' (Butler, 2007c:369).

Before I move on to looking in more detail at Butler's key audiowalks, it is worth noting that his combined output including *Drifting* (Butler, 2005b), *Dockers* (Butler, 2005a), *Ports of Call* (Butler, 2012), and the Victoria Park Memoryscape Trail (Butler, 2012), together with his work on Miller's *M11-Linked*, confirm the success of memoryscape as a way of delivering site-specific public/oral history as audio. Butler, highly committed to producing oral history for public audience, notes:

iAn mportant 'grass roots' momentum to the oral history movement that exists outside academia and creates a large body of books and CD recordings created by and for local people about their community. In these respects, oral historians work with a public audience in mind and have a great deal of experience in publishing or broadcasting memories in an accessible way. (Butler, 2007b:365)

The intended audience extends beyond the local community, which in cases such as *Dockers*, for example, may have already vanished, to the public at large. Being

encouraged to get out of the library or office and walk around the appropriate sites is a powerful attribute of this kind of work, and goes some way towards further eroding the shifting disciplinary boundaries between academic, public and oral history.

Drifting and Dockers (2006)

Butler composed *Drifting* from his own interviews of people living and working along the Thames in the vicinity of Hampton Court Palace. He worked in collaboration with sound designer Lewis Gibson, and followed Janet Cardiff's binaural method for making field recordings of the area, incorporating them in the final tracks. His approach to narrative is to use a patchwork of fragmentary pieces but allow each piece to be long enough to preserve coherence, avoiding reduction to single words or phrases and looping techniques deployed by Miller. The resulting tracks are powerful presentations of oral history that must be experienced in context in order to fully appreciate.

I encountered the walk in 2011 on a beautiful, sunny, spring day. The intense activity of the birds provided an impressive contingent soundscape that complemented the human voices speaking about the area and its past. The gentle river lapped along and Butler's dulcet tones set within its own recorded soundscape had a hypnotic effect, truly drifting between worlds. There was a continual sense of 'over there' or 'other' as many of the oral references were either on or across the river, just out of reach, of another time. A feeling of eternity, being at the heart of England, on a lazy backwater began to emerge, but this was gradually unsettled by the testimony of a littoral community telling stories of ever rising flood waters, the introduction of floating pontoons for boat moorings, and incipient planning battles added to the sense of threat to established ways. Similarly, in a kind of *trompe de l'oreille*, I found myself walking along a muddy path hearing the sound of my be-puddled feet, only to look down and find that the path was perfectly dry. These kind of destabilised realities create a dreamlike quality to the experience as many times and places coalesce into a mutable present. The rhythms of walking, voice and waters sediment into memory in a very deep way, writing years later I am reliving the feeling, or powerful affect, of the walk, I remain attached to that place. As Friedman points out lyrically:

As one listens, one encounters not the hidden but, in fact, a riverine pentimento: the temporal past re-emerges from the depths of recorded memory to merge with one's contemporary spatial experience of the Thames as it is now. (Friedman, 2006a)

The *Dockers* trail is very different on many levels. The area south of the river is one of light industrial hinterlands and regeneration initiatives, contrasting markedly with the semi-rural and palatial vistas of *Drifting*; also the interview material is from the Museum of London Docklands oral history archives and is set on the Greenwich peninsula, spanning the shore from Greenwich to the O2 Dome. The oral history material, gathered in the 1980s, comprises some 200 interviews charting working people's lives as the once thriving dockland industry was being dismantled. Trawling through the un-digitised archive posed a challenge for Butler that he met by walking the area first and working out a basic route, checking through the transcripts using an open coding method (Crang, 1997), he gradually sifted the material down to manageable proportions and found stories to attach to the various sites although there was a far looser fit between site and testimony than had been the case with his own material in *Drifting*. The polyvocality of an area undergoing regeneration resonates strongly with my experience of Holbeck. Following Massey's notion of place as an example of 'throwntogetherness' Butler notes: 'Hearing dozens of memories in the landscape stresses... place as the meeting point of different trajectories or stories' (Butler, 2007c:227), especially problematic when a large archive is attached to that place, as with *Dockers*. Indeed, this demonstrates how the analogue playlist method could fall short of the locative database approach when it comes to a large archive.

One problem with any fixed route, however, worked out as a linear trail is that it is vulnerable to subsequent alterations or interventions in the lie of the land. When I attempted *Dockers* in 2010, a major section about halfway was made impassable due to large scale building works. This resulted in a lengthy detour and I missed several of the sound points. The field approach now possible with GPS makes it possible for the walker to choose other routes nearby and still encounter audio files,

especially important in regeneration zones such as Holbeck where major shifts can occur within a matter of weeks or months ruining an inflexible linear route.

It is worth noting Butler's unusual method for selecting his sound points and interviews on *Drifting* ((Butler, 2006b; High, 2010), among others). In a variation of Debord's *dérive*, Butler constructed a float made of driftwood and followed it along the Thames in his boat.⁷³ The idea was that wherever the float touched land, there would be a potential site for an interview, or sound point. This method was designed to jolt him out of customary ways of thinking and everyday prejudices - he explains:

On long, straight stretches the float would move fast, disregarding royal palaces, whole industries, entire localities. The flow gave me a strange, unfamiliar structure to my beach-combing of river-related memories. It gave me a fresh set of memory places; the latest in a long line of practices that in some way challenge dominant cultural practices associated with national places of memory by providing an alternative; neighbourhood tours, parish mappings, public art and so on. (Butler, 2007a)

As things turned out, Butler had to abandon the float experiment due to tidal recursions and reluctant backwaters, but it began the process of creating the walk and eventually he amassed around 30 recorded interviews, sufficient to piece together in fragmentary form to construct the memoryscape.

This more fragmented form is truer to the chaos of reality and it means that you can also easily add your own experience and knowledge to the mix without feeling that it is irrelevant to some kind of grand narrative that the historian is peddling you. ... This kind of located story telling is a dramatically different form to grand narrative history; I think there is a probably a place for both – certainly both have their shortcomings (Butler, 2007a)

⁷³ In psychogeographical terms, the *dérive* charts different ambiances in the city, plotting subtle emotional and psychological flows that defy standard cartographies. A random element of aimless wandering, inherited from Dada and Surrealism, is re-deployed with purpose by Guy Debord as a: 'playful-constructive behaviour and awareness of psychogeographical effects; which completely distinguishes it from the classical notions of the journey and the stroll' (Knabb, 2006:50).

This fragmented form within the narrative structure stands in stark relation to the physical linearity of Butler's walks, however, and provides an illustration of the limitations of the standard mp3 download technology that requires the listener to navigate with a playlist along a fixed route. Both *Drifting* and *Dockers* follow the Thames very closely. *Drifting* is, in my view, a particularly beautiful and strong piece that has literally placed that stretch of the Thames on the map for me and subtly *détourned* the prior dominance of Hampton Court. Realising that I had completed the walk barely glancing at the royal palace, instead peering through reeds and beyond jetties to places of an alternative significance, made a deep and lasting impression.

In summary, Butler's work is highly relevant to phonoscape construction. By incorporating an element of sound art Butler opened up a new dimension in oral history-based audio walks that is open to further development. In particular, his use of binaural field recordings, pioneered by Cardiff, is particularly effective for headphone works. While Butler's narratives are fragmentary and resist compartmentalisation into a smooth flowing Grand Narrative, they shy away from the looping and mangling that Miller worked with; the phonoscape moves closer to Miller on this issue, not least because the voices are as important as the stories, and sometimes this may be lost sight of in other works. Miller's work draws attention to the voices where sometimes their sense may recede. Butler's fragments operate in a less radical way, but they are certainly not threaded together in an explicit meta-narrative. Any framing of data, however, will leave the mark of the author unless other procedures, such as chance, are deployed. The limitations of standard analogue playlists are highlighted with the *Dockers* archive, the database approach afforded by locative media can counter this. Taking psychogeography as a research method is also welcome, adopted in phonoscape creation by being sensitive to varying local ambiances. Finally, one of the key differences between memoryscape and phonoscape is in the use of locative technology where a field approach may be taken. Instead of requiring a fixed route with moving or static sound points, the locative experience operates more in terms of the sand paintings of the First Australians, fleeting, ritualised instantiations of an oral system of memory, operating within combinations of polychronous space-times.

4.1.5 Mike Pearson and Carrlands (2007)

Mike Pearson sidestepped a career in archaeology to become 'the foremost deviser and performer of contemporary Welsh language theatre in Wales' (Fry, 2005), and from there has continued to explore innovative research methodologies based on site-specific performance.

Although his solo work *Bubbling Tom* (2000) is not an audio walk, it provides a useful reference point for the later piece *Carrlands*. In *Bubbling Tom* Pearson guides family, friends and local people around the village of Hilbaldstow, North Lincolnshire, where he spent his early childhood. The work was intended as an exploration of his own childhood memories of people and places around the village, but during the performance the audience interrupted his story with their own versions and corrections making the experience more audience-participatory than Pearson had initially imagined (Pearson, 2008). The following year he incorporated many of these pieces of 'new' information and the walk took on a more organic or collaborative nature where authority could be shared. Pearson's reflexive and reiterative performance research methodology has echoes in early forms of oral history where stories are shared, altered and corrected around the proverbial campfire, at once highlighting the enduring qualities of collective memory and also individual fallibility. The role of postmodern tour guide accreting a patchwork of stories and information on repeated recursions of personal and collective memory sites provides a perfect embodiment for memory as performance.

Pearson built on his solo work with a more ambitious collaboration involving composers John Harding and Hugh Fowler. The site-specific work *Carrlands* is set in three predominantly agricultural locations along the river Ancholme in North Lincolnshire, a 'landscape lacking conventional scenic heritage', (Pearson, 2007:1). Each location has a designated hour-long piece divided into four movements, as with a musical score. The listener is invited to listen in specific locations, walk along and wander off routes following the riverbank, or perhaps listen in a remote context using their imagination to supply the context. Pearson provides a monologue mixing historical and geological information, oral testimony, creative impressions, sounds, and music to produce an immersive experience. The work as a whole might be

considered as a piece of oral history in its own right, incorporating personal memory, and memories gathered from those around him, together with insights gleaned from documentary local history and other sources. Oral history is embedded within personal reconfigurations of performed memory. In *Carrlands*:

performance is identified as a medium that can precipitate and encourage public visitation, inform presence, and illuminate the historically and culturally diverse ways in which a landscape is made, used, reused and interpreted (Pearson, 2007:1)

Pearson is here drawing on the notion of landscape as 'taskscape' (Ingold, 1993:153), a set of socially constructed activities, not something passive or inert. Pearson's method of enquiry encourages the participant to be active within the performance, a performance where the original artist is absent, other than as recorded voice. A deliberate weaving together of seemingly diverse strands of history, archaeology, geography, geology, performance, and site-specificity is characteristic of Pearson's work, challenging customary boundaries between disciplines. The listener/performer is invited to

engage and include landscape and environment as constitutive elements within the structural dramaturgy of performance, rather than simply as scenic backdrop: meaning emerges from a combination of the acoustic transfer of narrative material with the physical experience of actually being in the place (Pearson, 2007:3)

Accepting that invitation, a subtle and engaging story begins to enthrall. The experience is at once multi-sensory, multi-disciplinary and polychronous. While the oral history element is rarefied within music, poetic reflection, and solely mediated through Pearson's own voice, the whole operates harmoniously leading to a deeply nuanced understanding of what, at first sight, may well be unpromising vistas.



Figure 4.1 Carrlands: the River Ancholme

Walking *Carrlands* is almost the opposite experience of a phonoscape in Holbeck. It is rural as opposed to urban, and biophonic as opposed to anthrophonic sounds predominate. Paradoxically, although open fields surround the route, practical walking remains rectilinear and centred on the river. It is often not feasible to walk in any direction at will because of the dykes system and other agricultural interventions that operate like a vast grid. Holbeck's streets and roads, in contrast, operate like a micro-grid, enabling exploration on a small scale in any direction, and on Holbeck Moor and other open areas the walker is free to roam. The whole of Holbeck could probably fit into two or three of *Carrlands'* fields. The sky features large in *Carrlands* whereas Holbeck is more about the skyline, the sky itself being usually marginal. Walking in *Carrlands*, encounters with other people are minimal; the features that change are few and subtle; there is a sense of distance. The long sonic builds curve gracefully with the walk, while the arc of flight paths are reflected in the tranquil river. Water provides a common thread; although the Ancholme, is a constant, if subtly altering, feature of *Carrlands*, whereas Hol Beck has lost its grip on Holbeck.

Water predominates in *Carrlands*, but Pearson's work encompasses all four elements known to the ancients: Earth, Air, Fire and Water. Arising out of oral cultures, these elements act as mnemonic structures with which to build narratives, the world, history and language drawn together in tightly woven nexus.

The use of deictic, performative directives in locative narratives has been noted by Løvlie (Løvlie, 2012), and by using the occasional 'pause here' has a powerful effect on the walker. The place, the walker and the artist are drawn together with this device and the overall narrative can move in and out of perceived and prepared

presences and absences making for a richly layered and textured experience, rewarding the trust of the walker. Talking directly, intimately and complicit with the listener acts as a theatrical aside, drawing the listener in, breaking the fourth wall, being asked to imagine things works well in the *Carrlands* landscape. These directives can be mediated perfectly well with the narrative itself though, for instance when the third movement of the Hilbaldstow section opens with a dramatic description of a bog fire covering acres of smouldering peat underscored by a panting accordion. It is difficult not to simply imagine the surrounding wet sod on fire stoked by fluttering, pumping rhythm that produces a very powerful affect, a displaced sense of danger.

There are several sonic effects deployed to alter the voice itself, moving EQ filters and reverbs and spatialising effects, always carefully sculpted with the context, music and overall spatiality. Walking the routes over three days allows time to try different paces from marching to ambling with copious pauses. The weather changed from hot and sunny to cold, windy and wet and then back to sunny. The rhythmicity of the landscape was pressing, both transversely and vertically. Sometimes the whole landscape appeared as a sonic waveform, or a timeline, and most often as a score. The quiet gurglings and lapping of the, impressively straight, river and the gentle wafting of the reeds together with Pearson's monologue produced a hypnotic effect. Sometimes, in wind and rain, it was difficult to make out individual words, and the drama of the land reasserted itself over the imposition of the piece. Occasionally it was good to relieve the ears of the headphones and re-inhabit the landscape as a single, unpossessed person, reflecting on Pearson's work through the presence of the place. Music assists immersion in an artwork through choices made regarding its presence, volume, duration and tonal arrangement. When the music was less intense, the field recordings of water and birds cries could come to the fore, the liminal world could come into play with the looping repetitions of real birds merging and inter leaving with prepared sounds, the walker is drawn ever closer to the land.

Although the overall narrative is fragmentary and non-linear, Pearson's use of a single voice conveying personal memories, reported speech, and collective memories provides an overall coherence and intimacy rarely present in oral history

audio walks. The work has similarities with Janet Cardiff's multi-layered cinematic narratives, except the memories and reflections are deeply rooted in the land through Pearson's comprehensive understanding of the history, geology and archaeology of the area, together with a careful layering of musical themes configured to the local environment. The use of performative and indexical utterance further enmeshes the presence of the listener with both the audio and the environment. This form of deep mapping to produce an audio experience is highly persuasive as a kind of post-modern meta-narrative.

4.1.6 Kilmahew Audio Drift (2012)

Michael Gallagher and Hayden Lorimer created an 'audio drift' located in the modernist ruin of St Peter's Seminary on the Kilmahew Estate, Cardross, and its surrounding woods (Gallagher, 2012). This audio walk, comprised of a single mp3 of around 48 minutes, combines oral history with field recordings, music and soundscape. *Audio Drift* is designed to be listened to as the walker explores the site; it deploys multilayering of testimony, reflecting the 'co-existence of different ideas and perspectives' (Gallagher, 2012). The piece works well and is an indicative example of the single file approach, as opposed to the playlist. While the sounds and testimony relate to the site in general, there is no need to fix specific sounds to specific places or zones. What is sacrificed in absence of specificity is gained in the overall immersivity of the experience where no attention need be paid to the media interface during delivery. By contouring a whole piece, the composer is in control of issues like contrast, repetition and narrative arc, which are largely lost within more open forms of locative composition. Also, by knowing how long the piece is in advance, the walker can relax into the experience, relieved of the choice whether to continue or not within a piece of indeterminate length. Using voice montage in the tradition of *musique concrète* blurs boundaries between the environmental sounds and the oral testimony, but according to some of the feedback the team received, this was disorienting or confusing to some listeners who were more familiar with the conventional audio tour.

4.1.7 Sounding Griffintown (2007)

This 'listening guide', created by Lisa Gasior (Gasior, 2007) is based in the Montreal suburb of Griffintown, home to a thriving community of predominantly working-class Irish families until the late 1960s when it was torn down as part of the city's preparation for Expo '67. The walk is highly evocative of a lost past that contrasts with the nondescript warehouses and faceless factories that you walk past today. Gasior used interview material together with field recordings, soundscape work and specially devised cinematic effects to produce around 40 minutes of immersive oral history, drawing on methods and approaches from Cardiff, McCartney and Lebeouf. The walk is highly curated, with a voiceover giving instructions where to walk and pause, but allows the walker to catch up by inviting them to pause until they reach the soundpoint, or wait at the soundpoint until the narrator catches up, or take some time out from the headphone experience to listen to the city sounds. This consideration contrasts with the more rigid time frame of *Ground Zero*, for example, allowing a moderate looseness of fit within the experience, essential with the playlist format where everyone will walk at a different pace, or desire to pause. With GPS-triggered events, this kind of curation is not necessary, as the experience is automatically contoured to the walker's pacing.

This walk is particularly interesting from an oral history point of view since it allows for poly-vocality:

The listening guide draws attention to conflicting ideas of truth and the workings of memory...The focus of narrative voices shifts from that of experts to competing claims on truth and memory, where different voices contradict each other. (McCartney, 2014:15)

Within shifting urban neighbourhoods this approach represents a powerful way of experiencing the complexities of human experience without feeling the necessity to provide a guiding meta-narrative. The oral history material itself guides the assemblage.

4.1.8 [murmur] (2003)

[murmur] is an archetypal locative oral history from below ([murmur], 2003-). Originally set up in Toronto in 2007, the project uses mobile phone technology to deliver place memories from local people. A distinctive green ear logo/sign with a project phone number and unique code for the specific location indicates to the listener that a story specific to that place is available to be listened to. Anyone who might have a story to add is invited to contact the project and the team can arrange for a recording to be made and added to the collection.

By avoiding the whole issue of apps and smartphones, this project pinpoints the essence of community locative history, namely accessibility. The cheap infrastructure and utilisation of ubiquitous mobile technology provides a compelling case for community funding and makes setting up relatively easy. Pioneering at the time, and exemplary in its simplicity, accessibility, and openness, *[murmur]* sets a high benchmark for any grassroots project, and the fact that it has been successfully exported to 25 cities around the world is testimony to its design and ongoing effectiveness, (Micallef, 2014). Eventually the whole *[murmur]* project could be transferred to a smartphone platform, building on its accessibility and editability as more people adopt smartphone technology.

Future iterations of the *Holbeck Phonoscape* also could accommodate a smartphone online interface where people might upload their own anecdotes, stories and field recordings.

4.2 Locative Media Works

The following smart audio walk selections show the range of additional methods and functionalities to consider when creating app-based works for delivering (oral) history. Techniques drawn out of a previous technology can be brought forward as baseline considerations, in the same way that performing as a real live tour guide provides invaluable insights into the delivery of pieces in alternate media.⁷⁴

4.2.1 34 North 118 West (34N), 2002⁷⁵

GPS-triggered locative narrative began in the Freight Depot, downtown Los Angeles. Created by Jeremy Hight, Jeff Knowlton and Naomi Spellman, *34N* is taken by many commentators (Landow, Farman among others) as the first locative narrative piece to be published.⁷⁶ The team developed their own software to deliver a locative history through headphones via a tablet PC hooked up to a GPS device. In this 'satellite-guided tour', produced from a creative reworking of documentary site history, 'You become the mouse, and the streets are the desktop' (Knowlton, quoted by Willmore, 2003). Here, the unfamiliar is explained in terms of currently familiar technology importing a cartographic visual bias into a spatial sound piece. Nobody had explored the idea of a 'narrative in space' at the time (Knowlton, 2012).

Knowlton recalls that, contrary to popular wisdom, the original impetus for GPS actually came out of the civil aviation sector under a Magnavox programme. The military were drawn in simply because the system required one billion dollars of funding for a satellite (Knowlton, 2012). Knowlton's enduring interest in GPS led him to conceive of the idea of 'narrative in space', or locative narrative. At the time *34N* was being developed, shortly after 9/11, CIA surveillance was operating on high alert, and the *34N* website was monitored simply because it was thought that the

⁷⁴ Pearson and Butler, as discussed above, built on their life experience in this regard.

⁷⁵ This walk is not currently available, and included because of its historical significance. Jeff Knowlton intends to re-code it, however, and re-release as an app (Knowlton, 2012).

⁷⁶ See the Rueb section for an alternative view. Rueb's 1999 work would seem to have precedence, but it was constructed on a trail rather than filling an area where the walker was free to roam.

pioneering technology they were using and modifying could be integrated into bomb design. At this time, GPS was routinely used in USA bombing and drone (UAV) technology, the idea of using it in a locative history project was highly subversive and care had to be taken not to attract too much of the wrong kind of attention.⁷⁷

The principles of *34N* correspond with many subsequent locative narratives. A field approach to construction on the site was adopted with no necessity for linearity, leaving the route up to the walker provided they stayed within the depot. Various characters were developed from selections of the history research and these were recorded with actors' voices. An additional element of 30 sound effects was deployed, much to the amusement of the team when they saw people jump at the sound of a car horn when emerging into a roadway. While the voices were indicated by pink circles on a map from the 1920/30s, the locations of sound effects were kept secret (Knowlton, 2012). From the point of view of phonoscape construction these elements form the basis of the experience, a major difference being that the delivery device is considerably smaller than the Microsoft Tablet hooked up to a separate GPS device.

4.2.2 Teri Rueb

Teri Rueb is a pioneer in interactive media, environmental and locative sound art, an extensive overview of her works since the 1990s is available on her website (Rueb, 2014b). In bringing GPS-triggered locative sound to bear on questions surrounding the construction of place from the perspectives of memory, affect, history, myth, geography and geology, her insights and practice are crucial to the concerns of this thesis. Rueb has always encouraged community engagement, and actively seeks out collaboration both from the public and specialists in art and science. The following is a very brief overview of her work, highlighting three themes of importance to the thesis: memorialisation, oral history, and displacement.

⁷⁷ For an interesting discussion on military and non-military uses of GPS technology and particularly of relevance to *Displacement Activities*, methodology and its unsettling, dislocative tendencies in the (re)construction of place see David Pinder's piece on 'Dis-locative Arts' (Pinder, 2013)

Despite claims that *34N* (Knowlton, 2002) was the first locative narrative, it would seem that for all intents and purposes Rueb's *Trace*, (Rueb, 1999) provides a good case for precedence.⁷⁸ *Trace* is a 'memorial environmental sound installation' (Rueb, 1999:1), incorporating songs, poems and stories concerned with presence and absence.⁷⁹ It is set within a network of hiking trails in the Burgess Shale fossil beds in Yoho National Park. For Rueb, the computer was the medium of choice because of its inherent contribution to our 'contemporary understanding of time, memory and mortality' (Rueb, 2014a).⁸⁰ The work extends into a reflection of the site itself and deeper existential and philosophical concerns about human interaction with/in nature which are played out by the interplay of prepared and found sounds:

I wanted to engage the imagination as much as the physical body through kinesthetic movement and immersion in sounds both planted and ambient, to evoke a healing process of a different kind than traditional cemeteries or monuments. The fleeting and ephemeral (as well as invisible) aspect of sound was essential to the concept. (Rueb, 2014a)

Rueb's practice is a form of deep mapping as an engagement in human and geological processes.

The land itself is a memorial record of life cycles and processes in geologic time (the geology, but also the Burgess Shale and fossil beds...) Whether contributors or the memorialised have ever been to the site is less important than it's symbolic resonance (similar to places of pilgrimage). It was my intention to remind us of our existence as part of much larger scales of time and natural process (Rueb, 2014a)

Trace has now been converted to an iPhone app, (Teri Rueb, 2013). The audio files are kept on a database, added to by participants who wish to contribute sonic memorials of people who have died or more general reflections on absence and

⁷⁸ Jeff Knowlton distinguishes between *34N* and *Trace* on the grounds that *34N* was the first in non-linear narrative in open space. He considers *Trace* to be, by contrast, 'linear poetry', set along a trail (Knowlton, 2012).

⁷⁹ This walk has been re-released as an app (Rueb, 2013).

⁸⁰ This theme of memorials and memorialisation is discussed in the Displacement Activity chapter.

transformation. Rueb allocates places for the audio files submitted 'akin to how a plot in a cemetery may become available or be assigned' (Rueb, 2014a). This carefully curated but open, interactive approach is carried through on most of Rueb's projects where the public is invited to contribute words, sounds, and tracked bodily movements.⁸¹

No Places with Names: a Critical Acoustic Archaeology (2011) is a locative (iPhone app) sound piece set on the campus of The Institute of American Indian Arts in Sante Fe. The piece combines sculpture with sounds, field recordings and material from interviews with around 25 people.⁸² Here Rueb brings together scientific, archaeological and intuitive artistic insights with Navajo myths in an exploration of Wilderness. Her locative approach is critical of sedentary, screen-based new media and questions the 'preoccupation with the remote that usually dominates cultural discourse about interactive telecommunications technologies and artefacts' (Rueb, 2002:1).

Ostensibly, the closest to my work on the *Holbeck Phonoscape* is *Invisible Cities: Sounding Baltimore* (2001) in which the residents engage with sounds and memories of the local area 'Sound recordings, heard at the locations to which they refer, blend fictional and documentary soundscape elements with occasional excerpts of spoken word and music' (Rueb, 2002:3).

Drawing on Ong (Ong, 1982), Rueb has developed an ongoing interrogation of 'secondary orality' - her sound pieces offer critical tools to explore continuities and discontinuities of primary orality as it is recast through contemporary technological means - mobile locative experience. The complexities of this weaving between hypermodern and ancient cultures are revealed in her understanding of space and time:

⁸¹ Projects include: *Open City*, (1999), *Itinerant* (2005), *Choreography of Everyday Movement*, (2001) and *Grimpant*, (2013).

⁸² This is an estimate Rueb made in an interview with Rob DeWalt (DeWalt, 2012). The interviewees included Lucy Lippard, mayordomos, artists, scientists, archaeologists, students, teachers, writers, curators, and local residents.

While the spaces of my sound installations are real, not abstract or imaginary, the various elements of sound content, as discursive constructions, frequently evoke fictive and non-linear time and space. This tension between the singularity and multiplicity of space and time is heightened by the fact that multiple sounds may be layered in a single location. This blurring of linear and non-linear space and time is even more exaggerated in the Aboriginal walkabout in which no distinction is made between physical and narrative space and time. (Rueb, 2002:5)

This elision of space, time, imagination and perceived reality lies at the heart of the essence of field composition and is an instantiation of 'Hertzian space', a sonic space which smoothes over visual discontinuities in the same way snow transforms a landscape:

A fluid space of overlapping fields and frequencies, Hertzian space is characterized by connectedness as opposed to the discrete boundaries and territories suggested by physical architecture and visually based constructions of space (Rueb, 2004b:2)

Rueb's 'snow' is resonant with Miller's 'Oxo-cube', acknowledgements that prepared locative sound can smooth or thicken the atmosphere, Hertzian space is 'both a medium and a metaphor for alternative constructions of space, movement and interaction' (Rueb, 2004b:3).⁸³

A major theme that underlies Rueb's oeuvre, is her concern with inherent feelings of dislocation and displacement. Her locative works operate in liminal zones between layered heres and nows requiring design skills sensitive to contingency and comfortable with a looseness of fit:

To design locative media requires choreographing exchanges between moving bodies, information and the environment – all of which are highly complex and volatile in nature. Just as the context of locative media is

⁸³ Miller uses the term 'audio Oxo cube' as a sonic element that 'thickens the atmosphere and creates a sense of suspension' generally operating in the background of a soundscape (Butler & Miller, 2005:83).

indeterminate, the subject of locative media is restless and fugitive. Constant displacement—physical, cultural and psychological—frustrates any attempt to construct a stable sense of place or context. Yet in this very instability the potential of locative media as a form of generative displacement is revealed. (Rueb, 2012)

The implicit displacement is explored explicitly in *Core Sample* (2007) which combines site and non-site linking an interactive audiowalk on Spectacle Island with a gallery sound installation:

The two sites function dialogically, questioning what is seen versus what is not seen, what is preserved and recorded versus what is suppressed and denied. (Rueb, 2009a)

Also of relevance is *Elsewhere/Anderswo* (2009) which links two places 120km apart exploring 'displacement, discontinuity and cultural appropriation', according to a video overview of the project (Rueb, 2009b). The work utilises many found sounds from TV and media, using foreign languages and alternate soundscapes to destabilise the present surroundings, and has strong resonances with my strategy of *Displacement Activities*:

The project explores the dialectic of site and non-site, the enfolding and encoding of place through the processes of appropriation and reappropriation, and the unending displacements that constitute Elsewhere as a condition of infinite regress. (Rueb, 2009b)

Finally, *Drift* (Rueb, 2004a) is a work that places sounds along a stretch of the vast tidal flats on the Wadden Sea, Northern Germany. By having no fixed landmarks to orientate the experience when the tide is out, the walker is invited to drift within the sound world:

The installation embraces the flow of wandering, the pleasure of disorientation, and the playful unpredictability of drifting as it relates to movement and translation...covers a 2 km x 2 km region that is filled with areas of interactive sound. The region moves with the tide such that at low

tide all the sounds are out on the Watt, at high tide they flood the town.
(Rueb, 2004a)

The piece uses two layers of sounds, one comprising spoken voice and the other footsteps. Sound points are set in pairs of concentric circles overlaid with the footstep sounds extending beyond the perimeter of the voice, so that you walk through the footsteps to arrive at the voice in the centre. Concentric portals are an effective way of flagging up content and through repetition of motif the walker learns how to play the piece. The movement of the soundpoints with the tide is an innovation that works well with natural predictable rhythms, and could be adapted for urban rhythm analysis pieces, working with traffic and other circadian flows.

4.2.3 Hackney Hear (2012)

Released in March 2012, Amblr's *Hackney Hear*, set in London Fields, is the first locative media experience to use oral history and move beyond the constraints of fixed routes or points, deploying a field approach to narrative and soundscape. The iPhone app enables the listener to wander at will around London Fields and Broadway Market. Combining oral history from local residents, narrated local history, poetry, and music with field recordings of the soundscape reinforced with studio-produced soundbeds, *Hackney Hear* is the most sophisticated GPS-triggered walk I have experienced to date, and is highly relevant as a benchmark for locative oral histories.

Based on a test walk on a sunny summer's day in 2012, I found the open space of a well-frequented park highly conducive for experimentation during the walk, and it was possible to explore all areas without feeling unsafe. The contrast with the street-based area was marked on a busy market day, and added another level of chaos to an already chaotic experience as people bustled by and market calls, loud conversations, radios and vehicles interweaved with the prepared sounds which included soundscape and music along with the voices of local shopkeepers you were invited to 'meet'.

I identified several ways in which this innovative team organised its material and maintained coherence throughout the overall experience, overcoming several curatorial issues about how to maintain attention and relaxed immersion at the same time. There was a good balance between action (specific items to attend to, such as stories or poems) and inaction. While the ambient background sounds were calm and non-intrusive, the use of tonal synthesiser pads led to a sense of detachment from the existing sound world, and a feeling of unreality. My personal preference was for the field recordings, birdsong and children playing in the park, for instance, were very effective. The following is a list of considerations for locative audio walk construction based on my experience of *Hackney Hear*.

Single/multi-theme

The choice of mixing oral history with other voice-based recordings such as poetry, prose, local history, or songs weaving between the fictive and the factual maintains interest. The multi-theme approach has the advantage of potentially appealing to a broad range of people as opposed to simply those who are interested, say, in oral history, but this may be problematic for those who are interested in one particular dimension. When there is no way to select themes, this could be seen as a limitation. Overall though, given the relative ease with which the listener can move around within the field, the multi-source allows for a varied and dynamic experience.

Background/Soundbed

Background sounds, whether ambient generative music or field recordings, provide a coherence to the experience, the listener knows they are in the prepared sound world, and that the device is operating correctly, similar to the role of *Hörspielstreifen*. Playing with the liminal edges of this sound world is intriguing, prepared and contingent sounds shuffle between one another.

Move/Dwell

The listener is in control of how long they choose to stay in one place, and can skip parts that are not of interest by simply moving. If, on the other hand, the experience is enjoyable they may choose to linger as the story unfolds, or the song completes. This is perhaps one of the key advantages that locative media delivery has over

conventional playlists, bodily position controls the material, creating a pleasant freedom of space and sound.

Re-trace

Of course, if you inadvertently wander out of a zone that you are interested in, it would be frustrating to not be able to pick up where you left off. The Re-trace, facility acts as a pause button recalling where you left off and setting a replay a few seconds prior to when you left (pre-roll).

The Story

A simple way to maintain attention is to provide a story where there is an incentive to keep listening to the end. It is undeniable that a purely fragmented narrative field would demand less attention over a sustained period for many people. There are advantages in fragmenting narrative, particular within contingent soundscapes, but to maintain overall interest whole stories are a powerful, if traditional, resource. Even Miller's fragments allowed for whole stories to emerge at times.

Non-linearity

A common feature of locative narrative is that the parts are not arranged in a particular sequence. There is no guide or interpretation of the material encountered.

The Shepherd

One of the most frustrating elements within a locative experience can be to wander out of the zone and not know. This is not encountered in traditional formats apart from losing your way on a map, in which case there is little the curator can do. In Hackney Hear, when you venture beyond the perimeter a friendly voice informs you 'You're on the road to nowhere'.⁸⁴ Since the park is recognisable from a distance, it is not difficult to find your way back, but within an urban neighbourhood such as Holbeck, it may not be so obvious.

⁸⁴ Unfortunately, the 'road to nowhere' is also triggered when you are headed towards the park. In fact, rather inauspiciously, when I first donned my headphones outside the park, this was the greeting I received.

The Bubble

In *Hackney Hear*, this is presaged by a specific audio effect designed to sound like something bubbling up out of the space. These act as information tags, and inform the listener of local artists and businesses that are then introduced. They disrupt immersive nature of the piece, but could be useful to flag up specific changes to the agenda, possibly extra alerts for danger, or maybe a level change in a game/quest.

The Beckon

This is a voice that alerts the listener to another adjacent area and invites them over to look at or listen to something specific. This may be seen as soft curation, a way of manipulating listeners by their own inquisitiveness or openness, there is no compulsion; the listener is free to ignore the invitation.



Figure 4.2 Screenshot of Hackney Hear showing soundpoints in the park

Amblr's in-house app only functions on iPhone since at the time it was developed there was a size restriction on Android apps of 50Mb, and the amount of quality audio utilised exceeded that limit. Since then, Android have increased their size limit

to 4Gb, however, so pending funding Amblr would be able to develop the app for the alternative platform.

4.2.4 Curzon Memories (2012)

The *City Strata* project, (Crofts, 2012), commissioned by REACT, in which Charlotte Crofts builds on her well-received *Curzon Memories* (Crofts, 2012), provides a useful indicator for the state of play at the time of writing. The app comprises a series of located triggers that deliver audio and visual media providing images, facts, information, oral history, actors' voices and sound effects throughout Bristol based on cinematic heritage of the city. As with many towns and cities in the UK, dozens of cinemas used to operate in the area where now there are only a small number, but many people, old and young, are drawn to the fascinating world of cinema heritage. The project is the fruit of a sustained collaboration between Crofts, Calvium and Bristol City Council working alongside various agencies incorporating local mapping and historical information services such as *Know Your Place*, (Bristol City Council, 2014). Although the app uses conventional place-markers scattered throughout the city to indicate where the experiences are, there is more emphasis on the immersive audio aspect of the presentation. The participant is encouraged to engage with the actual environment rather than simply a virtual one, consequently sound is the preferred medium for most of the sites.

The app was constructed on Calvium's AppFurnace platform so is available for Android and iPhone. The 48.59Mb file size indicates that most, if not all, of the audio is onboard uses QR codes for indoor location points and GPS triggers outside the cinema.

4.2.5 Ghosts in the Garden (2013)

This locative piece has several unique and interesting developments not covered in other works, working as a quest game providing access to well-researched public history.

Ghosts in the Garden was a collaboration between game technologists (Splash & Ripple), academia (Dr. Steve Poole), and the heritage sector (Holburne Museum, Bath). As the project description says, this is:

Part game, part story, part immersive sound scape (accessed via a special 'Georgian Listening Device'), present-day visitors will meet and interact with real characters from the Gardens' heyday, in a unique experience where history and imaginative play meet head-on. (Poole, 2012)

Ghosts in the Garden draws freely on conceptions of ludic praxis, (Huizinga, 1949), and critical play, (Flanagan, 2010), in its conception, development and execution. Historical characters initially selected from archive sources were developed and adapted to play roles within a game environment as the quest was built. Also instead of a mobile phone or tablet interface, the team built a steampunk-style 'Time Machine' to play the audio. Each participating group would huddle around a sound emitting box, encouraging people to stay close together rather than wandering around in their own worlds, a common facet of many locative pieces. Game mechanics were central, the experience was built around the idea that participant(s) choose their own adventure. A system of levels serves as an organisational principle; each level has a variety of choice points, the underlying structure of console-based role-playing games (RPGs), mapped out to facilitate a multiplex narrative. As they developed scenarios the team used a simple 'game of consequences' model for co-authoring the connections between characters and places. Each scenario divided into People, Place and Situation using colour-coded cards: instead of Professor Plum in the refectory with a rope, it would be a pickpocket in the cosmorama in love. The use of Game Theory accords with urban locative pioneers Blast Theory's approach.⁸⁵

Another key aspect is the length of each piece of narrative. The team used a rule of thumb of two and a half to three minutes, noting that 'two and a half minutes is a long time', the shorter the better was their conclusion. Such judgements are highly dependent on the intended audience and use of the sound material, in a phonoscape there is more encouragement to dwell on the environment and the oral

⁸⁵ The game designer's bible *Rules of Play* is a seminal text in this field (Salen & Zimmerman, 2004).

testimony rather than complete a quest. Open-ended works operate within a different timescale, but there is no doubt that the attention-grabbing quest approach can attract a large and diverse audience. Subsequent iterations of the *Holbeck Phonoscape* would involve schoolchildren and students in the construction process, and the quest approach does appear to 'bring history to life'.

A further observation while reviewing the project: the team agreed that locative GPS was too unreliable in the circumstances and precluded indoor trails, consequently they will be using radio-frequency identification (RFID) for the next project which takes place largely indoors.

This chapter has provided an overview of the development of audio walks and their roots in the guided tour. The main focus has been on walks that feature an element of oral history, either as interview material or live witnesses. In many instances, additional organised sound has been incorporated in the audio tracks ranging from specifically placed field recordings to musical arrangements using conventional instrumentation. The selections made were audio walks that were particularly innovative in their use of technology, (oral) history and location.

Audio walks illustrate how there have been some major innovations almost despite the technology, but also a considerable amount of unevenness in how new platforms are exploited. The 'paper paradigm' we still employ today with desktops and folders is perhaps maintained in the visually-biased cartographic paradigm that underlies common conceptions of locative media, yet sound works militate against this in radical ways, even encouraging us to drift and get a little lost.

Here is a summary of the main considerations for phonoscape construction touched on throughout this chapter, they are to be taken in tandem with the list of observations in the *Hackney Hear* section:

Learning from some of the skills of the traditional tour guide is highly effective in the approach of Butler's memoryscapes, providing basic information about the use of

headphones and information about the route is reassuring, but when it is extended into the soundscape and interjected as introductions to new speakers it can become intrusive. How and whether to deploy the artist's voice is a major consideration. Whether they become part of the unfolding sound piece or stand aloof is crucial to how immersive the experience may be, raising questions of how, where and when to deploy this potentially invasive technique. The development of Pearson's *Bubbling Tom* reflexive and recursive tour guide provides a useful way to conceive of a form of shared authority that is explored in *Displacement Activities*. This is pushed further with Phil Smith and Wrights & Sites notion of anti-tourism stemming from a *détournement* of the perceived orthodoxy. The move away from His Master's Voice to the poly-vocal experience may be more confusing, as with Miller's *Linked*, but it allows the listener to get more immersed in the sound worlds.

Fragmented narrative is a major theme throughout the thesis and found its inspiration and justification in some of the audio walks discussed. Large pieces of testimony, full interviews or maintaining strict overarching narratives is avoided in favour of shorter fragments that may still convey a lot of affective information, especially with oral testimony. The implications for the editor are similar to those facing the radio editor, but with locative pieces the agency of the listener/walker must be taken into account. Miller's *Linked* solves this issue by leaving the walker to decide how long to dwell at a particular listening post, but the looped sound files are relatively short and it is possible to hear the whole piece within a few minutes. With a database aesthetic tied to a geo-locative app, this issue is thrown wide open and several new approaches are made possible.

Several of the walks allow the walker to control the sound by pausing or choosing when to load the next file in the playlist. The alternative is to have a more open experience where a single file is played to cover a designated area, as with Kilmahew *Audio Drift*, but this may be curated with instructions as with *Ground Zero*. Where a route and its pacing are determined, there is a consequent loss of agency. The 'space-time dissonance' discussed by High (High, 2012) relies on a delicate liminality that comes about through embodied listening directly related to located testimony being activated within an ongoing walk.

Perhaps the authorial tradition stems from standard audio-tours defining a route, sound points and directions, this may be undermined with smart locative pieces. The 'physical cinema' of a highly curated piece together with tonal music can have an effect of making the contingent reality more liminal and less real, whereas a deeper appreciation of the area one is in is fostered by a looser connection and more hands-off methods. Perhaps there is a kind of inverse square law operating here - the more interventions from a guide/narrator, the less immersive the contingent reality appears, a cocoon effect instigated by an overly attentive curator. Pearson avoids this by performing the works as poetic pieces, where deictic suggestions are made they can actually enhance the immersive experience.

Chapter 5

Locative Media Practice and Theory

Introduction

In the light of the projects reviewed in the previous chapter, there are many possible ways to develop locative oral history. My approach has been to develop a methodology that takes full advantage of the fact that locative media offer the possibility of accessing large databases of material via an ambulant exploration of sound. With an archaeology of the voice, it is never entirely clear what may be important, and what may not be. Once the shared decision has been made to include material within a database, it has a right to be heard. How fragmented the material becomes through this approach is a matter of choice and weighting probabilities, this becomes the prerogative of the composer/historian/curator. If a locative experience becomes too fragmented and challenging for a particular audience, the probabilities may be adjusted, weighting the experience towards whole stories for instance. Ultimately, the user should be able to adjust these parameters for themselves according to preference. The technology exists for this approach, but no platform exists yet for authoring, and it is still problematic to draw the various elements together for ethical, transparent, aesthetic and creative practice within the field of oral history. The use of locative media in this way touches on another dimension to the issue of shared authority discussed earlier, particularly in relation to the composer. By using locative media to open as much of the archive as possible to a potential audience, the composer is sharing authority by assisting in the distribution of the interviewees' versions of places and events without having to make a judgement on issues of veracity or traditional historical authority. This is the nature of polyvocal approaches. By utilising chance procedures in the selection of stories the composer moves further away from the role of judge and arbiter about the worth of the testimony, yet even with minimal curatorial intervention the geo-located arrangement of the testimony itself is not neutral. Beth Lord's understanding of Foucault's museums as heterotopias (Lord, 2006) may be adapted to the status of phonoscape compositions, arguing that some ostensibly neutral curatorial arrangements may indeed fracture the dominant discourses of representation and continuity. From the perspective of the user, the more located oral testimony becomes part of Web 2.0 and social media, the more the archive is curated by the

users themselves which may displace, or even dissipate, rather than extend the shared authority of the original interview.⁸⁶

This chapter outlines the context, possibilities and tentative moves towards technical and conceptual solutions to some of these issues. Specifically, the creation of the phonoscape is based on the theoretical and practical potential of locative media in the quest to organise interview material within ambulant locative oral history, framed within the polyvocal, urban setting of Holbeck.

This chapter has four central tasks: firstly, section 5.2 Shifting Platforms provides an introduction to the history and context of locative technology and shows how oral history has begun to exploit the new opportunities afforded by it.

Section 5.3 The Context and Functionality of Locative Apps: provides an outline of the current situation within locative media and provide the context for the development of the Locative Oral Aural Media (LOAM) app which is introduced as an integrated technological solution to both practical and theoretical considerations for phonoscape delivery. Considering the issue of locative authoring, I put the case for a new integrated platform for historians and composers to work with location sensitive oral history material.

Section 5.4, introduces a theoretical basis to frame the practical approaches outlined here and in the previous chapter. I develop a notion of 'embodied hypertext', providing a conceptual framework for the ambulant database that locative media activates. This is seen both from the perspective of authoring, and from that of the percipient.

Finally, section 5.5 Locative Praxis, Public History and Collaboration concludes the chapter by placing these considerations within a discussion of public history practice,

⁸⁶ This is a potentially fruitful debate that future phonoscape productions might engage with but, for the purposes of the pilot, the users' choices merely guide the individual ambulant experience and there is no mechanism for comments, additions or user-curated playlists in the current version of LOAM. Hence this issue lies beyond the scope of the thesis.

in particular situating the creation of phonoscape as locative praxis, as a means of sharing authority through collaboration, which is a recurrent theme within the thesis research.

Overall, this chapter builds on previous locative endeavours and poses questions for standard linear (textual) narrative, setting out the foundations for an approach that prioritises embodied sound and location as a form of embodied hypertext as opposed to disembodied text and decontextualisation.

5.1 Shifting Platforms

The availability and application of mobile locative technology has expanded rapidly on all fronts since the advent of smartphones in 2007. Beneath this expansion and increased divergence of use, there has been a noticeable convergence of hardware and basic GIS platforms as iPhone and Android have continued to eclipse their competitors, and Google Earth/Maps has taken centre stage in supporting the majority of applications.⁸⁷ Similarly, many academic disciplines and artistic practices centring on place and site-specificity have begun monitoring and re-presenting human, animal and material flows (for example Rueb, 2007; Southern, 2001), attuning locative technology to a plethora of multi-layered urban rhythms nascent in Lefebvre's pioneering rhythmanalysis (Lefebvre, 2004). AR gaming from *Zombies Everywhere* (Useless Creations Pty Ltd, 2014), to the innovative social explorations and experiments of Blast Theory (BT, 2014) are increasingly popular and continuously developing modes of locative expression. These and other developments have begun to be theorised together with more general transformations and approaches to mobility (including, Cresswell, 2006; Tuters, 2006; McCullough, 2006; Banister, 2008; Edensor, 2010a; Huhtamo, 2011; Farman, 2012, 2014a, 2014b; Firmino, 2011; Santaella, 2011; Falcão, 2011; Wilkie, 2012). As the boundaries between history, oral history and public history are being negotiated and redefined, locative media have an important role to play in the collection, production and presentation of history. Within oral history itself there have been moves towards acknowledging the power of located testimony and its incorporation in several key works, platforms and methodologies (Miller, 2003; Butler, 2007; Calvium, 2012; Cole, 2014). As part of a broader set of categorisations comprising pervasive media and ubiquitous computing, locative media, or location aware media takes its place within an array of located technologies (Beeker, 2006) that are presently becoming implicated in the construction of new cultural forms (Manovich, 2006; Pinder, 2013; Behrendt, 2012).

⁸⁷ Some academics, specialists and cartographers do, however, do use other systems, (QGIS, 2014), but I am concerned here with systems that are currently integrated with widely available mobile technology to produce locative experiences.

Commercially, mobile technology has become a major global phenomenon within a very short time frame. Mass subscription began in the early 1990s, and by 2002 there were one billion non-internet mobile phone subscribers (Agar, 2004:5). Exceeding previous 12-month expert predictions (Farman, 2012:9) two-fold, the number of mobile internet users was in excess of 2 billion, according to Telecommunication Development Sector (ITU-D) estimates, and the top five manufacturers alone sold over 1 billion smartphones in 2013 (Telecommunication Development Sector, 2013). This rapidly evolving field thrives on obsolescence, even snapshot facts and figures lose their relevance within a short period. When discussing the publication of his *Mobile Interface Theory*, one of Farman's colleagues advised him: "Make sure they don't put a picture of a cell phone on the cover of your book! Nothing will date it more quickly than that!" (Farman, 2012:131). Indeed, the original proposal for this thesis was predicated on Hewlett Packard's Mediascape (MScape), a platform that was withdrawn within weeks of the commencement of research.⁸⁸

Although smartphones have been around since 1997, it was Apple's 2007 release of the first iPhone and the app store in 2008 that sparked widespread interest and adoption. When Google's Android system went public in 2008 with the HTC Dream, the two systems soon dominated smartphone technology. Currently, Android with 84.4%, and iOS with 11.7% (IDC, 2014) account for 96.1% of the market between them, and have all but erased the competition of such major players as Microsoft and Hewlett Packard, who pioneered PDA and MScape locative technology respectively. iPhone technology clings on, but it is clear that the more open and adaptable approach of Google/Android is winning the platform battle. Apple's policy of discouraging DIY and openness in pursuit of rigorous quality control appears to be militating against widespread adoption, cost is another factor as Android-based phone contracts are highly competitive. Consequently, LOAM was developed on the Android platform, although subsequent versions could be portable to iPhone.

⁸⁸ Software and instructions are still available, but have not been updated since 2008 (Hewlett Packard, 2008)

5.1.1 How the world changed in 2007

The advent of cheap, ubiquitous locative smartphone technology in 2007, fundamentally altered the range of possibilities available for the delivery of locative art and public history. Although locative projects existed before 2007, they required highly specialised and usually cumbersome technologies that made both authoring and participation difficult. Several pioneering locative sonic experiences were created on laptop, iPAQ and PDA platforms, *Trace* (Rueb, 1997), *Mobile Bristol*, (Mobile Bristol, 2002), *34 North, 118 West*, (Knowlton, 2003). Other pioneers used customised forms of wireless technology, *Music for a Concrete Jungle*, (Kubisch, 2000), *M11 Linked*, (Miller, 2003). While constructing sophisticated locative experiences is still largely beyond the scope of the average user, it is now relatively simple to set up standard audio trails using GPS triggers and/or QR codes within platforms such as MyTours (MyTours, 2015), Woices (Woices, 2015), or AppFurnace (Calvium, 2015), however, all these accounts require subscriptions and/or fees to publish. Other context-sensitive apps produced by Google, Facebook and Instagram provide free services partially funded with targeted locative advertising, but these platforms have not made provision for audio walks or sound maps. From a participatory angle, the surge in availability of smartphones is beginning to make the locative experience widely available.

It is only with the advent of the smartphone that this relatively arcane pursuit has become available to the mainstream public user both as author and user. This is a significant development for located oral history that relies on pervasive accessible content that is relatively simple to produce, manage, alter and experience. Site-specific work is by definition aimed at localised delivery, but now we have an unprecedented opportunity to construct locality on a global scale, thus fundamentally altering the parameters in play, and ultimately making possible the creative interplay of globality and locality. This trajectory is articulated by the concept 'glocality' (Meyrowitz, 2005), and explored in pieces such as Paula Levine's *The Wall-The World* (Levine, 2011), ultimately providing an impetus to develop the methodology of *Displacement Activities* (Bradley, 2011).

5.1.2 Oral History and Mobile Media

Although creators are increasingly developing sophisticated locative experiences (Crofts, 2012), for many existing oral history based walks locative media is not used, and it is not strictly necessary since all that is required is the playing of single audio files at particular spots, along designated routes, or within specified areas. For this, the listener can use mp3 player technology, possibly using QR codes to download and/or play relevant media when necessary, as with Empedia presentations (Cuttlefish, 2014), or Butler's *Ports of Call*, (Butler, 2012).

Smartphone technology using GPS amply covers the requirements for these 'non-smart' playlist walks, but it also enables some substantial improvements both for ease of use and more imaginative audio walk construction. One of the main advantages of smart systems is that there is no need for an additional map or to follow instructions, the user can become immersed in the sounds rather than staring at a screen. In addition, it is possible to set several media files, or file segments, to the same geographical position, enabling a multi-layered experience. Maps, together with their audio files and soundpoints, can be carried on the mobile device, or downloaded in advance, if required.⁸⁹ The requirement for fixed, linear walks is also obviated, the user can start and finish wherever they like and skip from one point or route to another at will. Smartphone technology is open, provisional and fluid, as opposed to the more rigid forms of printed maps and routes, CD, or fixed sets of mp3s.

Overall, the development of locative media not only enhances the possibilities we have for constructing audio walks, but also allows us to break out of the fixed linearity of walking routes and conceive of located oral history in terms of a layered field of events. This may include any audio material that is available where it is based, on interview, archive, reportage, field recordings, or music in any combination. When the piece is centred on a particular place and populated with the place memories of its people it becomes, through locative technology, an archaeology of the voice. One of the essential provisions of an archaeology of the

⁸⁹ Streaming audio is also possible to enable the developer to alter material after the app is downloaded without requiring the user to update.

voice is an online public archive of the interview material from which any locative piece is drawn, so that anyone drawn in by the locative experience can dig deeper into its provenance. As this archive may be added to by the public and further oral history interviews, more material becomes available to the locative piece(s). To date, this is a feature that is missing from current locative oral history pieces, although all the elements are in place and have been utilised to varying extents. The London Sound Survey's sound map provides a good example of how an archive for a locative oral history might be organised, (SoundSurvey, 2014).

One of the problems, argued by High, (High, 2012), is that online availability is not always desirable to the participants, and this is an important consideration when designing a project. As discussed in Chapter 2, one of the main issues is that clear, informed consent needs to be obtained at the outset. There is an argument that once you have undergone an ethically conducted oral history interview, you should not necessarily have the right to subsequently withhold the material from the public. This is not particularly an issue when anonymity can be maintained, access protocols adhered to and the sound files have been edited according to the interviewee's wishes.⁹⁰ Ideally, within the principles of an archaeology of the voice, walking the phonoscape should encourage participants to delve further into the publicly available online archive. These online databases can and should be maintained by universities, such as the extensive archive and database at Concordia (Stories Matter), but there are also several online platforms that can provide a free (to date) service for the public such as Soundcloud and Audioboo. Both of these can be directly integrated within social media, and provide a promising avenue for wider dissemination of oral history as audio. As people post their own geo-located audio, a new era of what might be called 'audio graffiti' is creating a digital palimpsest for oral historians of the future, stretching the scope of shared authority and consent to a realm far beyond the interview into the streets. Personal conversations of passersby, for instance, might be recorded and posted for anyone to hear, in the way that geo-tagged text and visual media are routinely posted via social media at present.⁹¹

⁹⁰ For more insights into this area, see (High, 2009; Zembrzycki, 2009)

⁹¹ The ethical problems surrounding the public/private divide are discussed by Andra McCartney (McCartney, 2010), among others.

5.2 The Context and Functionality of Locative Apps

In this section I discuss the practicalities of using locative apps in the presentation of oral history as site-specific sound, outlining the functionality of the Locative Oral Aural Media (LOAM) app.

Before the smartphone a usual method of delivery of located composition has been either via single or multiple audio files arranged on a playlist with instructions to play at certain points or in certain areas defined on a map. Butler's *memoryscapes* operate multiple file playlists (Butler, 2006a), audio files are located on a map and the trail sets out a route which joins the dots. Audio files are downloaded, assembled on an mp3 player, and played accordingly. The onus in such compositions is placed on the composer to treat each file as a piece in itself with a beginning middle and end, sometimes with added instructions to the walker (to walk or pause), or additional information concerning the speaker/interviewee (Butler, 2012). Miller's *Linked*, (Miller, 2003), provides an example of an intermediate form that is backward-looking in using analogue radio technology, but also anticipatory of the GPS-triggered experience. By discarding the manually operated playlist, Miller adds a level of contingency to the piece. The listener/walker encounters a loop at a random point and may choose to dwell, return, or move on before a complete iteration has taken place. Since the audio is not paused awaiting the listener's return, each encounter is open to chance (within the loop). When the listener is freed from having to attend to a playlist, the form of control becomes a function of bodily presence, which is fundamental to locative composition. Not only is dwelling or moving the prerogative of the listener, but also the sound triggers need not be set along a linear route, the compositional space becomes a non-linear, layered field that may be navigated at will, as with *Hackney Hear* (Amblr, March 2012).

5.2.1 The Search for a Suitable Locative App

The development of a purpose-built app for the thesis has come from necessity rather than design. Research began by testing available platforms to replace the

functionality of MScape. The minimum requirements of the archaeology of the voice were to be able to navigate freely within an area and encounter geo-located voice and field recordings. In itself, this would be an improvement on the non-smart approach, and would be able to simulate the simple playlist as its basic functionality. Compositional refinements such as multiple layers, GPS-triggered directionality and customised proximity volume control are important in order to create more immersive pieces. A final requirement that the platform should be free to use was also important from the perspective of both researchers and the public being able to experience the phonoscape.

With this in mind, I tested several promising systems. One of the most user-friendly platforms for individual oral historians and small groups is the Empedia interactive guide, built by Cuttlefish Multimedia.⁹² This iPhone-based system is specifically intended for art trails, audio tours, and heritage walks. Empedia uses the freely available power of Google Maps, and outputs Quick Response (QR) codes for smartphone users to instantly download the relevant files. There is, as yet, little dedicated oral history work on the system, although the in-house production *Leicester Oral History Trail*, making use of the East Midlands Oral History Archive, provides some insight into what is possible with the platform.⁹³ The twelve audio files and information may be downloaded on location, or browsed on the website. I adapted my *Holbeck Audiowalk* (Bradley. 2013) to this platform, and it worked well. Empedia provides a useful benchmark for heritage trails that wish to combine a well-developed web presence using text, images, audio and videos in an easily accessible and functional system. Where it falls down is in its inability to provide automatic GPS-triggering for a more subtle multi-layered experience, and it only functions on an iPhone. Another candidate was the Layar+Hoppala system (iOS+Android). This also served the basic functions, but was limited from a sound point of view since only point position and trigger radius could be set for individual

⁹² The Empedia system was being actively developed when I undertook this research, but there has been no news posted on the main site since June 22, 2011, so the platform might be deemed dormant now, (Cuttlefish, 2014), more testament to the fact that this technology is still highly volatile.

⁹³ Evidence of the Leicester Oral History Trail is still obtainable on the Empedia website (Cuttlefish, 2016).

audio files, and the GUI was very cumbersome. Layar is now a subscription only system, mainly concerned with visual AR and advertising (Layar, 2014).

I had to conclude that, at the time, nothing existed that was freely available, ran on Android, and was capable of multi-layered sound presentations. Artists and professionals in the field were turning to the Calvium's AppFurnace which is designed to run on both iOS and Android systems.

5.2.2 The AppFurnace Approach

The AppFurnace system provides a solution to the issue of single audio layers by providing two or more layers with which to compose sound. This means that a base layer can be maintained indicating that the listener is still within the zone even though specific points have not been triggered.

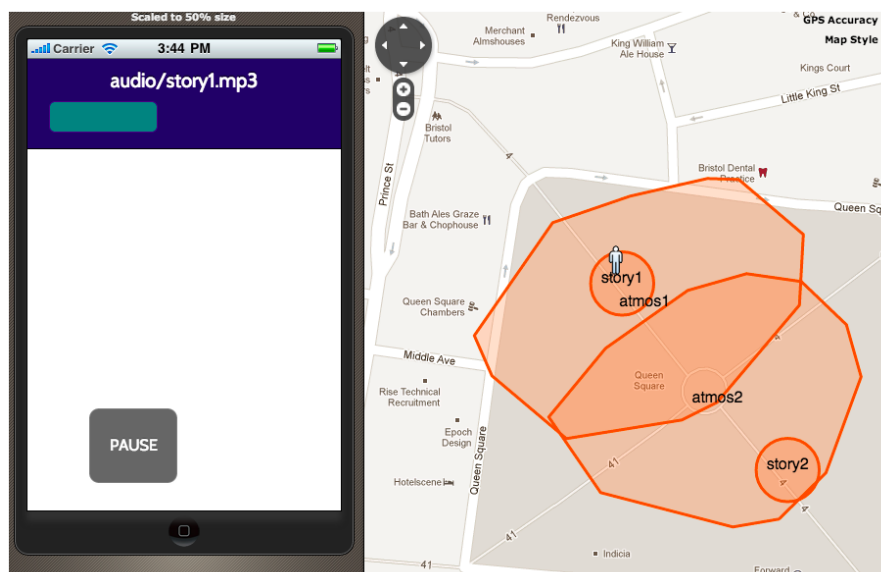


Figure 5.1 AppFurnace

It is worth providing a little background on this development since it is bound up with the demise of MScape and the original thesis proposal. In 2002, Hewlett-Packard Laboratories UK began development on Mediascape, or Mscape, the first publicly available platform for interactive GPS-based experience. The platform provided a way for handheld devices to display pictures, videos and audio that had been

positioned in the environment at specific GPS coordinates.⁹⁴ Despite positive results with the Mobile Bristol Mediascape, Hewlett-Packard abandoned the platform when it scaled down its UK operation.⁹⁵ A core of the original Mediascape personnel, however, decided to take their work forwards by setting up a new company, Calvium.

Calvium is now producing GPS-based media experiences throughout the UK. Whereas the HP model had been purely research and development, Calvium has quickly set in place a commercial channel, and this is proving a sound decision. With clients ranging from The Royal Shakespeare Company to Historic Royal Palaces, it is clear that the Calvium platform has successfully carried forward the project and is now in a position to reap the rewards.

The potential of the Calvium platform for the presentation of public history, oral history and sound works is already being realised in several projects. A typical illustration of the cross-fertilisation of oral history with other disciplines can be found in the 2010 Calvium collaboration with Soho Theatre on *Tales of the Harrow Road*, a theatre production combined with located media presentation of an oral history project centred on the lives of Arabic and Bangladeshi women living in Paddington. The AppFurnace subscription currently costs around £1000, which is beyond the scope of this thesis, but clearly within the budgets of many Lottery-funded initiatives. Although the platform is perfect for standard public heritage and oral history trails, it still has limitations regarding sound manipulation that would necessitate extra coding.

Given that neither the free nor the subscription apps available provided a solution that could be integrated into an ongoing and evolving phonoscape, the best option remaining was to think along the lines of Amblr and produce an in-house app that could be experimented with throughout the research, opening up the possibility of

⁹⁴ This platform pre-dates the development of smartphones and was designed for Windows-based portable 'Personal Digital Assistants', or PDAs.

⁹⁵ HP shed almost a thousand jobs in 2010, (Scott, 2010). One problem with Mscape was the reliance on the Microsoft PDA platform, which was eclipsed by Android and iPhone.

being able to feed into a broader community of oral historians and sound artists after the doctoral work is completed.

5.2.3 The Locative Oral Aural Media [LOAM] app

In designing a suitable app for the phonoscape, it was necessary to enter into collaboration with Phil Legard, Lecturer at Leeds Beckett University, in order to develop the necessary coding. We organised the first ever Master of Enterprise (MEnt) proposal to be undertaken at the University of Huddersfield, and Legard set about the work, the result of which is the LOAM app which has been custom-designed to implement the requirements of the archaeology of the voice. The pilot version of the *Holbeck Phonoscape*, runs on the LOAM platform and is included with this thesis.⁹⁶

The app has been developed to accommodate the present requirements of the archaeology of the voice, and should fulfil the needs of many oral historians and sound artists working with immersive locative sound presentations. At present it runs on Android, but could be developed for iOS. While the app functions perfectly well for the end-user on a smartphone, the authoring environment necessitates working with simple code tags and sound parameters within the Google Earth placemark editor.⁹⁷ Pending funding, this will be replaced with a more user-friendly Graphical User Interface (GUI), but for the purposes of the thesis this has not been necessary.

LOAM works on three basic layers: narrative (voice), environmental (incidental), and background (soundscape). These layers allow for incidental sound effects or sound pieces to be inserted over a background ambience. The narrative layers always take priority, and these will be where the bulk of the oral testimony is delivered. The three

⁹⁶ A mobile phone with the functioning phonoscape is available on request. The app itself together with the audio files are also included with the thesis. Subsequent versions of the app will be available publicly when the full *Holbeck Phonoscape* is published, subject to further funding.

⁹⁷ A list of the current tags and functions is included within the app folder (Phonoscape App) accompanying the thesis.

layers necessarily overlap, and the environmental layer supports five channels at present with which to deliver a multi-layered experience. When authoring the sound environment a key consideration is that zones on the same channel may not overlap, consequently a maximum of seven audio files may play at once. The voice/narrative layer always takes precedence in volume over the other two layers since the experience is designed around spoken place memories, but there is no actual restriction on what kinds of sounds are deployed within the narrative layer.

Chance procedures (discussed in Sound Art and Sound Art Praxis chapters), are a vital part of the composition of field-based non-linear locative pieces and enable the high 'Material:Performance Ratio' (MPR) to be managed by probability. LOAM includes an automatic shuffle procedure that selects random files or segments of files to play at the designated place. In this way, the listener will have an equal, or weighted if desired, probability of hearing any one of the files included. For instance, where ten people have place memories about one particular place, any one of them may be activated as the first hearing, and the same will apply to the remaining files if the listener chooses to dwell for longer. Further discussion of the practical implementation and composition possibilities of LOAM features in Chapter 7, Sound Art Praxis.

With the app up and running, the issue of how to integrate it into the day-to-day workflow of the oral historian must be addressed. At present there is no simple way to do this, and the researcher must work between multiple platforms. In future collaborations, I will be working to integrate the necessary functionality within one interface so that interview, location and sound become intrinsically linked and amenable to reflexive and creative practice.

5.2.4 Locative Authoring

There are several considerations to take onboard when constructing a phonoscape. Oral historians are used to transcribing audio for use as text within an article or book, but organising material for locative presentations raises a specific set of issues. As yet there is no platform capable of integrating an audio editor/arranger, transcription editor and database, and geo-tagging capability together with an app platform

capable of outputting in iOS or Android formats. Fig. 5.2 shows the kind of editor that an integrated approach would require. The interface splits into four floating and resizable panels that include: *Wav View* (Adobe Audition), for ease of navigation of audio and setting marker/cue points for clip selection; *Map View* (Google Earth), for setting placemarks to link audio clips to geographical points and areas; *GPS/APP CONFIG*, for setting and outputting GPS coordinates and sound and play parameters for app; *Transcript* (Inqscribe), for transcript text, audio transport, timecode for app, tags, and database output.⁹⁸

From the authoring point of view, the transcript must be tied to the audio file, and the audio file should be easy to split into sections that relate to key locations of interest. In the case of the *Holbeck Phonoscape*, it is necessary log all place names and geographical areas mentioned in the interviews and associate these with specific parts of the audio. Ideally, it should be possible to tie these locations to Google Earth, since the GPS orientation of LOAM uses that GIS platform as its base layer. Thus, when an interviewee refers to a particular street, that part of the interview must be accessible for use in the final presentation together with its appropriate geo-tag. In my research, I tested three platforms (Transana, Stories Matter and Inqscribe) in order to see how well they might integrate within a platform suitable for locative composition based on archived oral history and field recordings.

⁹⁸ The programs assembled here are indicative, other editors might provide the same functionality.

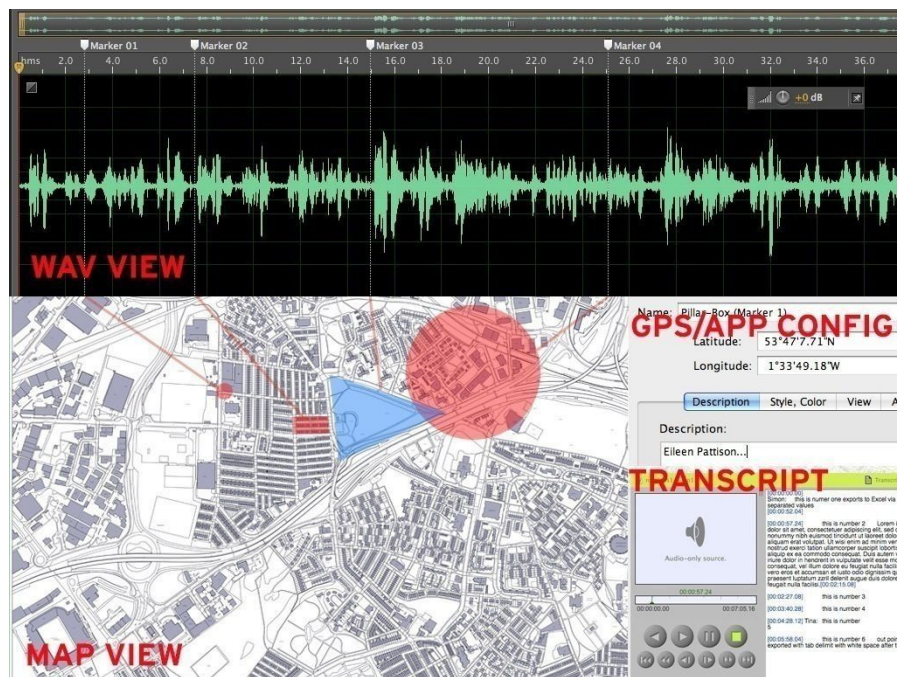


Figure 5.2 The ideal interface: locative composing for oral historians

5.2.4.1 Transana

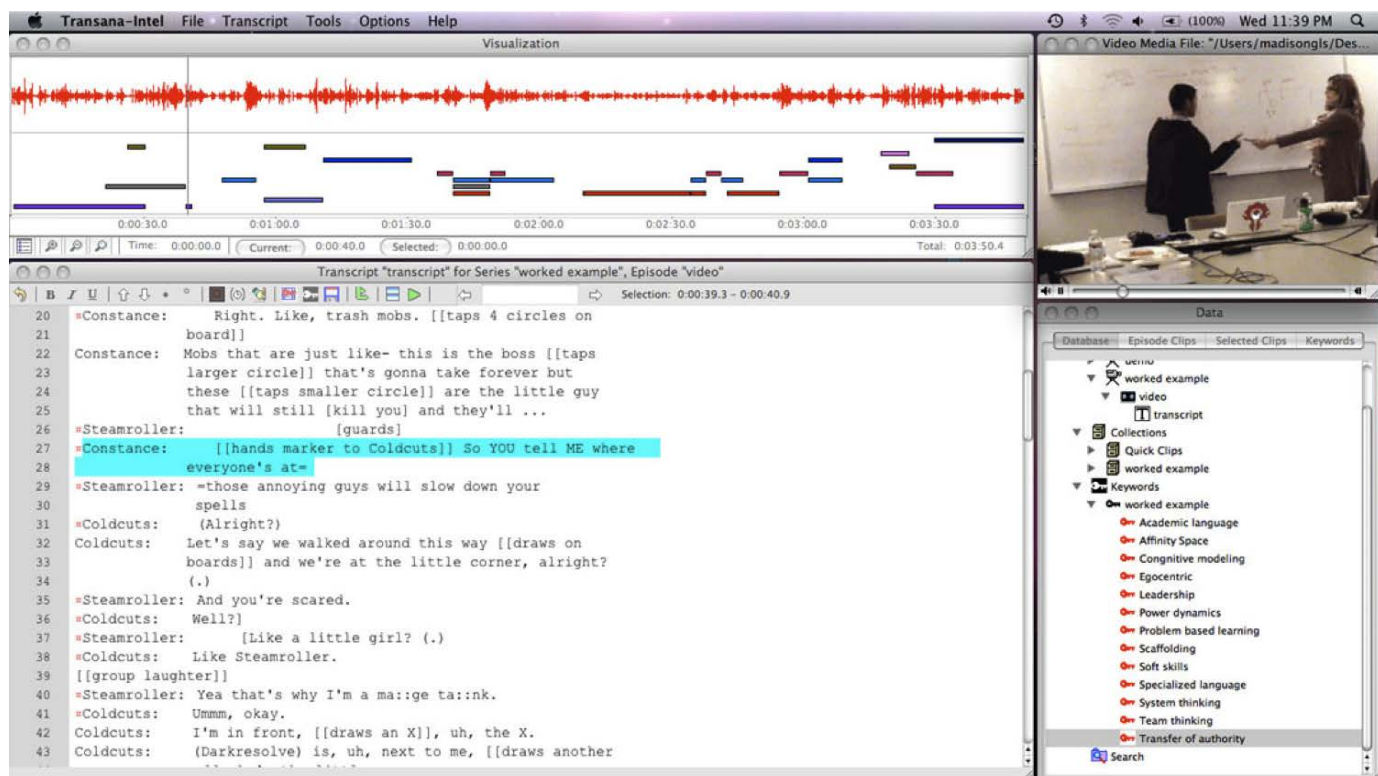


Figure 5.3 Transana audio-transcript editing interface

The Transana (v2.6) system, (Woods, 2014), is ideal for producing standard full or summary transcripts that link directly to the audio files, enabling instant access to multiple audio selections within the interview. This is particularly useful for oral history approaches that place the audio at the centre of the work. Not only is the familiar wav format viewable, but there is also a timeline that corresponds with the text/transcript and allows for branched narratives, overlapping clips, and the creation, re-arrangement and management of large quantities of audio and video data.

Fortunately, the system produces simple xml/text files of the metadata referring to the sections of audio required so that, in theory, this data may be utilised by the app. Unfortunately, the system requires licensing for each project, and proves quite costly for individual, or group use on a project by project basis. I discussed the options with David Woods, the designer of the software and he is amenable to collaborating on producing a system that could work closely with a locative app, but this lies beyond the scope of the current thesis. My overall assessment is that linking the app to a platform like Transana would be the best way forward from the perspective of working creatively with localised oral testimony. Another advantage with this platform is that it is open source, in theory can be worked on within the licensing arrangements that obtain - the current version (2.6) is available from the Transana website.

5.2.4.2 Stories Matter

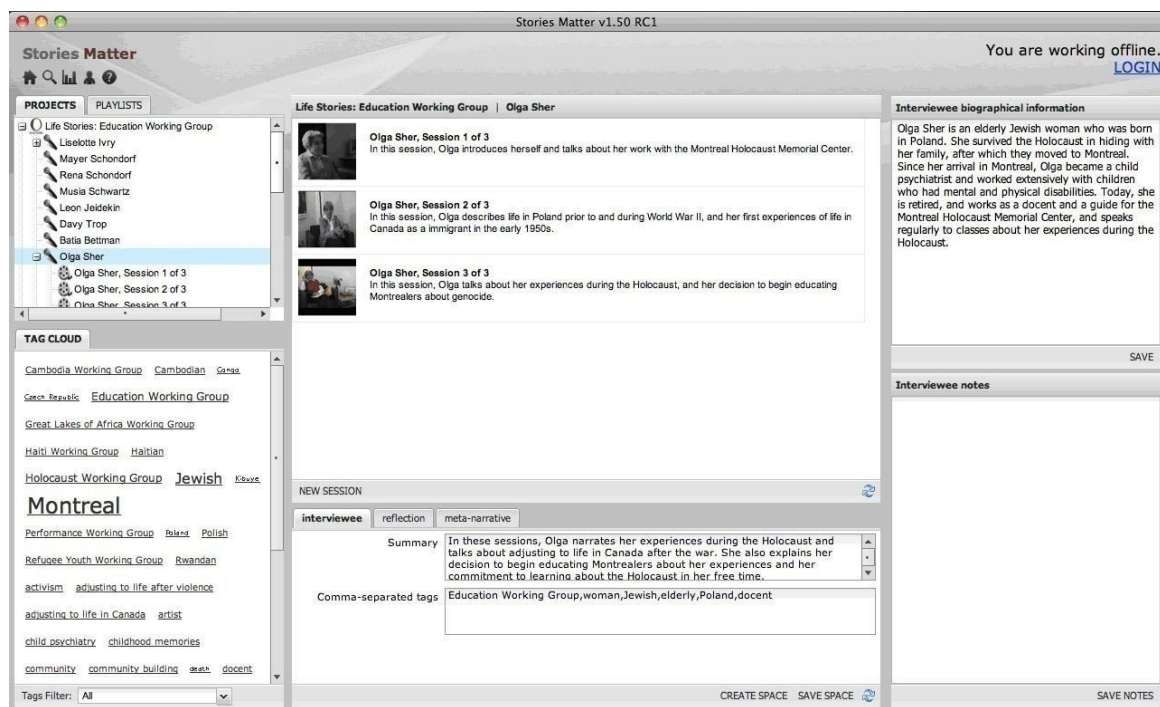


Figure 5.4 The Stories Matter database interface

This platform, developed by the Centre for Oral History and Digital Storytelling (COHDS) at Concordia University, is 'built by Oral Historians, for Oral Historians' (COHDS, 2014), is free to use and should be the perfect tool for locative oral history when the forthcoming full geo-tagging functionality is operational. There is no way view, but as a way of organising interview data using full or summary transcripts linked to audio clips within and between interviews, the Stories Matter (SM) platform provides a stable basis for the large and detailed collection of oral history interviews at COHDS.⁹⁹ The ability to tag files and clips with key words and/or locations provides a fast and intuitive way to work with what would otherwise be an unwieldy amount of audio data. As I write, the published SM is still operating on v1.6, which is far from stable on servers outside Concordia. Huddersfield University has had many problems getting it to work successfully, and although I managed to get it to work on my own server eventually (Windows/Apache), there were several bugs and constant

⁹⁹ COHDS has a detailed set of protocols for data entry that should be the starting point for any project using this kind of (tagged) database. Also the Institute of Museum and Library Services has published some useful guidelines (Mazé, 2012).

problems when trying to share data with other users. Doctoral colleague, Chris Webb, experienced insurmountable problems trying to integrate SM with his thesis.

Another major problem with SM 1.6 is that it relies on the Adobe Air framework requiring highly specialised coding skills and does not facilitate simple utilisation of audio file metadata within txt or xml formats. Both Transana and Inqscribe (see below) produce readily accessible data files.

Given that SM could not be integrated into my work, reluctantly I had to abandon further tests in lieu of version 2, which has not been released in time for this thesis.

5.2.4.3 Inqscribe

This platform provides a very simple interface with which to timecode audio clips within a text transcription. There is no wav view which would facilitate the audio editing process, but the player does indicate the play position in the clip, as does SM. Although full editing and saving functionality is only unlocked with a small one-off fee, the standalone player/platform is provided free so that transcripts may be viewed and the associated file(s) listened to by anyone (Inqscribe, 2014). An important feature is the ability to export in many different formats (html, txt, tab-delimited, xml) meaning that it can readily output in a format readable by the LOAM app, and to various other useful platforms such as Excel spreadsheet, facilitating oral history project management by linking audio directly with transcript and other data forms.

5.2.4.4 A workable compromise

Given the lack of any product currently available for easy editing of interview transcript, setting audio clips, and geo-tagging with Google Earth, I have had to combine platforms to make the process workable. Here is a brief description of the current workflow:

1. The audio is cleaned up, edited and normalised in order to be presentable as a single file per interview.

2. Summary or full interview transcripts are produced within Inqscribe. Place names and areas are noted.
3. The audio is split into multiple clips which are timecoded using the timecode function.
4. This information is then exported to Excel in order to compile all the individual interviews within one project. Here Google Earth locations are added manually by plotting placemarks on Google Earth.
5. Notes and search tags are added here indicating possible candidates for use in the phonoscape. I have developed a code system for tagging sections according to audibility/clarity, paralinguistics, affect, usability and other markers that will be useful in compiling selections for audio. At this stage, the code is subjective and according to perceived needs in relation to the end product (see Wishart, 2010), but more standardised tags could be developed in larger public projects, enabling data to be shared across a range of uses, as with Stories Matter.
6. At this stage the relevant sections from the audio files are saved as separate mp3 files with unique names in order to be available to the app. Small files may be combined into single files for ease of use since the app will be able to play from from/to points if required. These points may be further reincorporated into an Inqscribe file and any relevant text added to be displayed when the app plays the file. For instance, the speaker's name and a summary of the clip could be displayed while the narration is playing on location.
7. The geo-coordinates and any other tags regarding sound parameters are then exported from Google Earth as a .kml file which the LOAM app uses to associate the audio with the GPS position.
8. The audio clips are split, if desired, and placed in the appropriate directory for the app to play them, either in-phone or via web streaming.

In working together with the people involved at Transana, COHDS and Inqscribe it should be possible to create a suitable single platform system that integrates with LOAM, initial consultation indicates that all parties are willing to collaborate pending the required funding.

5.3 Towards Locative Media Theory

The frontiers of a book are never clear-cut: beyond the title, the first lines, and the last full stop, beyond its internal configuration and its autonomous form, it is caught up in a system of references to other books, other texts, other sentences: it is a node within a network. (Foucault, 2002:25-6)

For many commentators, including Foucault, De Certeau, Lefebvre and Debord, the preferred sets of metaphors chosen for conceiving place, space and data are visual, and often explicitly textual rather than aural, tactile, ambulant and embodied. The physical book and paper map are gradually being displaced as navigational aids, but their forms of organisation continue to shape the post-documentary sensibility.

The term 'locative media' was coined in 2002 by Karlis Kalnins as the title of an RIXC Centre for New Media and Culture workshop in Latvia¹⁰⁰ :

Inexpensive receivers for global positioning satellites have given amateurs the means to produce their own cartographic information with military precision... As opposed to the World Wide Web the focus here is spatially localised, and centred on the individual user; a collaborative cartography of space and mind, places and the connections between them (Kalnins, 2003), cited (Tuters, 2006:357).

This new form of participant cartography forms the basis of the 'locative turn', opening up the web to locality, and affording possibilities for radical shifts in ocularcentric understandings and mappings of place. Locative technology provides an alternative to textual narrative forms, opening up uncharted territory, while also re-activating existing and ancient oral procedures for the preservation and transmission of memory and history.

¹⁰⁰ The acronym RIXC combines 'RIX', the international airport code for Riga, together with 'C' for Centre.

The rest of this section is devoted to a conception of locative media as embodied hypertext that will be explored as far as is relevant to the archaeology of the voice and the construction and use of the phonoscape. As an ambulant database, the embodied hypertext provides an alternative to linear and metanarrative textual (re)constructions of oral history material. Locative sound pieces encourage a tempering of ocularcentric practice, and a re-evaluation of customary visual metaphors for the organisation of knowledge. Decontextualised data is ignored in favour of (re)contextualisation and embodiment. The relationship between events is understood as a contingent reticulation of spatio-temporal contiguities rather than as a pre-narrativised set of causes and fixed identities nesting within an implicit hierarchy of meaning.

5.3.1 Memory Walking: a Locative Tradition

Although locative technology may provide us with a new tool for organising memory spatially, the organised understanding of the past through an embodied sensibility and affective capacity of located oral experience extends back through ancient oral cultures.

This is consonant with Farman's framing of locative media as nascent in our relationship with all technology:

Locative media only serve as contemporary examples of an ongoing relationship between social bodies, technology, and site-specificity.
(Farman, 2012:4)

A study of narrative style within oral tradition, shows the various mechanisms that people have deployed to gather and maintain attention, weaving stories and histories relevant to the people, time, and/or place (Ong, 1982). Place is often used as a key marker of story, both as mnemonic, and repository of history (what happened on this spot). Location becomes a structural armature around which to build complex narratives containing many elements, associations, families and clans. The open-ended, hypertextual potential of polyvocal presentations within a phonoscape reveals

many of the same attributes of traditional orality regarding the delivery of pieces, without recourse to an overarching narrative or fixed conclusion.

It is present in the practice of the First Australians, as Bruce Chatwin explains:

Each totemic ancestor, while travelling through the country, was thought to have scattered a trail of words and musical notes along the line of his footprints ... these Dreaming-tracks lay over the land as 'ways' of communication between the most far-flung tribes. ... A song... was both a map and a direction finder. (Chatwin, 1988:13)

This is a deeply physical way of embodying oral memory, combining word, place, and living history with personal action. By walking the land and uttering the relevant words in their unique places, the First Australians remembered their world into being. The Songlines form a poetic yet practical mnemonic system that did not require fixed visualisations or standard cartography.

Books such as Homer's *Odyssey*, or the *Mabinogion* bear witness to an earlier place-based orality. The Ancient Greek 'method of loci' is an effective mnemonic system that uses an architectural feature such as a Memory House or Palace as a container, or a journey stringing together a series of sites, in order to deposit memories spatially as an *aide memoire* (Yates, 1966). This early form of located memory has echoes in medieval European culture with the physical tradition of 'Beating the Bounds'; medieval oral cultures handed down crucial information regarding the perimeters of local territories, often literally beating memory into the head by banging it on marker stones, or with sticks (Duffy, 2005).

Recently, New York walking artist Blake Morris devised a series of walks based on the 'Memory Palace' technique; walkers join the artist singly to exchange located memories, leaving something of themselves lodged in the walk for future participants (Morris, 2013). Morris developed this technique by creating walking scores and 'Memory Pods', designed to increase the memory capacity of curated walks (Muthy, 2014). These physical approaches to memory are complemented by a recent 'walk-in story' that appeared in a V&A exhibition entitled 'Memory Palace' in which a group

of 20 collaborating artists produced a physically immersive experience questioning the ascendancy of digital media at the loss of the tangible, written word, or book (Newell & Salazar, 2013).

In this brief survey, sound has been displaced by text, from the oral/aural experience of the *Songlines* to a specifically visualising mnemonic technique. But the principle of placing memory within a physical locale in order to be re-activated as required by performance of some kind remains. The contemporary GPS-enabled audio walker has the potential to rekindle primal experiences combining orality, memory and place though sound once more. As Iain Chambers muses:

Perhaps it still continues to echo inside the miniaturised headphones of modern nomads as the barely remembered traces of a once sacred journey intent on celebrating its presence in mark, voice, sign, symbol, signature, to be left along the track. (Chambers, 2004:101)

Chambers here anticipates smartphone technology, and points to an aural sensitivity that moves away from visually-biased abstractions of both cartography and text and returns us to a form of symbolic oral transmission acting as creative memory tool within a post-documentary sensibility (Frisch, 2006) that is coincident with Ong's secondary orality (Ong, 1982), laying a foundation for phonoscape assemblage.

5.3.2 Embodiment

Visual coding is so prevalent in our understanding of knowledge, mapping, history, narrative and their implicit linearity that it is often difficult to re-conceive the world in terms of the sonic, non-linear, simultaneities that we also navigate everyday. The coincident non-linearities of our soundscapes are a routine part of everyday life, but they are often ignored within a visually dominated culture. The sound of a SUDDEN EXPLOSION in the vicinity might make us jump with a surge of adrenalin, if we were not accustomed to such sounds, but within a text, the most it might do is raise an eyebrow. No matter how immersive a text may be, it is incapable of making us jump in this way, and may encourage a delusion that we and/or it, or the knowledge it

contains, are somehow disembodied.¹⁰¹ Hence, a locative sound epistemology challenges our visual ordering, opening up different ways of understanding and leading to new working practices, particularly when studying present and past oral cultures. Herzfeld argues that:

Visualist bias has dramatically influenced the way in which anthropology itself has evolved. Thus, one emergent and potentially very important aid to the refocusing of the discipline lies in attending to kinds of knowledge that have proved resistant to being coded in graphic or visual ways. (Herzfeld, 2002:204)

Theories of embodiment, flowing in the wake of Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology, assist in this refocusing. Locative media presentation of site-specific sound as spatial practice provides fertile ground for this approach, and recently oral history practice in relation to new media has also been cast in these terms (High, 2012). In accepting that flesh and being are intimately situated within particular material localities, this way of thinking rejects binaries of Cartesian origin such as subject/object, consciousness/technology, matter/thought and opens the way for more networked, hybrid approaches such as those developed by Sarah Whatmore in *Hybrid geographies : natures, cultures, spaces* (Whatmore, 2002), for example. These ideas emerged in the 1990s from within the field of geography in discussions of place and space, two agenda-setting texts being Lakoff and Johnson's *Philosophy in the Flesh* (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999), and Haber and Weiss's *Perspectives on Embodiment* (Weiss & Haber, 1999). Further, working with located sound necessitates the questioning of dualistic framings, inviting non-representational philosophies (Thrft, 2008) that involve a modified phenomenology such as those found in Voegelin (Voegelin, 2010), Latour (Latour, 2005), and Law (Law, 2008) among others.

Through a reconfiguration of social space, embodied mobile technology challenges static or monocular notions of space. Farman finds it:

¹⁰¹ Moving images may make us jump, however, and often sound is used to reinforce this (Chion, 1994), but text is incapable of doing that.

Impossible to conceive of mobile media in relationship to a singular notion of space or a singular notion of embodiment in isolation. Instead, space and embodiment are intimately and indelibly linked. (Farman, 2012:4)

In 2006, Manovich predicted that the decade would see Augmented Reality (AR) oust Virtual Reality (VR) in terms of the ways in which we construct space. Whereas the virtual, or cyberworld, was characterised as online, largely sedentary and soon to become an 'electronic suburb' with the commercialisation of its real estate, the AR era would usher in a renegotiation of physical space by the popularisation of mobile technologies, in the form of locative media, derived from the positional potential of GPS and pervasive computing (Manovich, 2006:1). Underlying Manovich's position is an implied dualism between physical reality and the virtual whereby the augmented is somehow overlaid on top of the physical. This has come under criticism from various quarters. Nathan Jurgensen has dubbed this 'digital dualism', and argues that it leads to a devaluing of the virtual or online world in favour of the physical such that social media and online interaction are seen as problematic and somehow not 'real' experience (Jurgensen, 2011). Jurgensen argues that the virtual, augmented and physical form a complex enmeshment that is both organic and social.¹⁰² This echoes Farman's understanding of locative media:

Locative media have made the process of navigating everyday space that is informed by digital media a seamless, day-to-day activity for many mobile technology users. (Farman, 2012:87)

Without taking issue with Manovich's broadly Foucauldian concept of space as socially produced and configured towards the interests of identifiable power groups, the main thrust of these criticisms rest on Manovich's implicit acceptance of a notion of space that may be stepped into or out of depending upon whether one is online or not. Looking at the world through Jurgenson's 'Facebook Eye', however, there is no downtime, all activity is implicated in the space of social and mobile media.

¹⁰² The *Cyborgology* blog created by Nathan Jurgensen and PJ Rey provides a good introduction to the debates surrounding techno-human synthesis and the dynamic interpenetration of digital and material realities (Jurgensen & Rey, 2011).

Unhooking from this mediated social space is not considered to be an option, in the words of Rey, 'You can log off but you can't opt out' (Rey, 2012a). This is partly due to the constant information stream our mobile phones provide of our whereabouts and online activities. It is not possible to utilise the locative functionality of Google Maps without allowing your own data to be logged. We are, and always have been, fully integrated with our technological mediations. This is the thrust of McLuhan's understanding of technology as an extension of the sensorium (McLuhan, 1973).

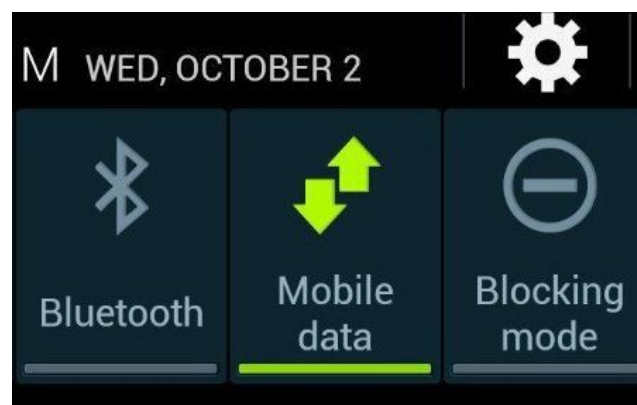


Figure 5.5 'there's no such thing as a one-way land bridge' Joy Harjo (Harjo, 1990:38)

The VR versus AR duality is also suspect from the perspective of socially configured space. Farman's 'socially inscribed body' moving in physical and virtual (AR/locative) space is fully attached, or embedded in this 'plane of consistency' that combines artificial and natural, virtual and augmented into an embodied 'Real' that exists beyond metaphor (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004:69ff) and affords, extends and configures experience. In this sense, locative experience is not fundamentally different from any of our technologically mediated extensions, all of which are embodied. The idea of an embodied hypertext is simply a way of framing locative mediated interactions within a dynamic view of ambulant multi-spatial practices. This is consistent with an emerging view of embodied technology, summed up by Coté, noting:

a persistent recursive relationship between the human and technology, wherein a constant feedback loop recalibrates the ratio of sensory perception, in turn constantly altering the composition of sensory selection, and, as a result, rearticulating the parameters of the environment with which we are structurally coupled. (Coté, 2010:10)

The spaces created by being present within an urban locative phonoscape are porous, interpenetrative and dynamic. To conceive of these spaces as hypertextual appears to retract from their aural/oral configuring, back to a de Certeau pan-optical gaze of inscriptions, but Farman's arguments centre on the re-embodiment of the de-contextualised gaze, drawing us back towards a more audible, tactile understanding that is more appropriate for sonic locative media. It is important to be clear that any 'structural coupling' does not necessarily imply a reintroduction of binary talk. Technology, sound, context and material environment are not detachable from what it is to be human. Except for rhetorical convenience, no single element can be taken to represent another in terms of meaning other than as assemblages of contiguity revealed in presence.¹⁰³

5.3.3 Database

A prolific writer on all things New Media and beyond, Manovich's discussion of database is relevant to the development of our locative sound app, LOAM. A database is a 'structured collection of data' (Manovich, 1998), not a random assortment of items. This is an important consideration when it comes to arranging locative oral history material. The GPS position, whether affixed to an area, a spot or a point provides a structuring principle, so that selections from the original set of interviews are not random. However, when a group of oral testimonies are attached to a single place, not all may be accessed at one and the same time without a resulting cacophony. To maintain its semantic integrity, each piece of testimony must be heard individually, which is difficult or practically impossible when the database accesses a large archive with many hours of testimony. When the MPR is high, the fairest option is to use a randomising element. A weighting system may be deployed to bias the probable outcome in the case of showcasing particular pieces in the archive, but ultimately, in principle all material must be considered equal unless there is a good case to decide otherwise. In this way, respect to all contributors is

¹⁰³ This subject resonates particularly with the work of Runia (Runia, 2006) discussed previously, Voegelin (Voegelin, 2006, 2010), and in the context of an emerging, broader interest in 'presence' (Giannachi, 2012).

maintained and the content made available to the researcher/explorer. These pieces of data and their organisation provide us with a 'symbolic form', according to Manovich who draws on Panofsky's analysis of linear perspective being a symbolic form of the 'modern age'. The database may be seen as the symbolic or cultural form of the 'computer age' or 'computerised society', following Lyotard (Lyotard, 1984:3-6).

Unlike a standard narrative form, the leitmotif of the database is provisional, open, additive, what Manovich calls the 'anti-narrative logic of the Web'. This vies with a notion of narrative that imposes a logical and meaningful order among things, even more so when this is extended to Grand Narrative. This tension between database and narrative is to some extent resolved in Vertov's cinematography. In *Man with a Movie Camera*, for instance, 'perhaps the most important example of a database imagination in modern media art' (Manovich, 2001:239), Vertov uses what he terms his 'kino eye', a camera-based process of collecting and manipulating visual material, to develop a visual argument as the film progresses through a series of montages and other cinematic effects. Vertov merges database and narrative into a new form, something Manovich argues that new media artists must also do (Manovich, 2001:xxviii). Within the locative sound world, at least, this new form of combining narrative with database is nascent in locative projects such as *Blubrain Mall Project*, and *Hackney Hear*, while the *Holbeck Phonoscape* consciously moves this enterprise along with locative oral testimony.

Within oral history theory, at the heart of Michael Frisch's post-documentary sensibility, defined as 'a deeply and essentially non-linear orientation' is an awareness of the potential of the database to revolutionise oral history practice (Perks & Thomson, 2006:113). Allowing a move away from full interview transcripts and simple archiving procedures, a database geared towards an exploration of audio material provides many opportunities to combine testimony across large collections into new forms, such as interactive documentaries, or i-Docs (Gaudenz, 2011). Following Frisch's call, Steven High and a team of researchers at the Centre for Oral History and Digital Storytelling (COHDS) assessed the possibilities of using current technology such as Interclipper, and concluded that there wasn't anything that suited the special requirements of oral historians, so they set about building the Stories

Matter database software in 2009 (High, 2009). By using categories, standardised tags, tag clouds, and key phrase (Xiao, et al., 2013) search capabilities centred around individual interviews and interviewees, clips of audio/visual material could be accessed creatively or analytically without losing focus of the people involved. By offering a non-linear approach to aural material, the idea is that search strings can bring data to hand, into contiguity, which may have been overlooked or seemed insignificant beforehand.

One of the problems that High and his team faced was that the impersonal nature of standard social scientific database methodology, set up for qualitative data analysis, proved problematic for oral historians, distancing the material from the interview situation. Summed up by Shauna Janssen:

In disrupting the life-story narrative, removing memories from their context, the worker's life-stories lost agency, became fragmented – the clips became information. (High, 2009:13)

Here is where non-linearity meets fragmentation. The advantages of being able to cover many hours of material at once without having to experience whole interviews is paid for by a reduction in integrity. One side of this problem is that of the life-story, which may demand a far higher level of holistic integrity than the place-memories that are the focus of this thesis. The general principle remains, however, that from an oral history point of view, abandoning the primacy of the interviewee or interview gestalt, is axiomatically problematic. The Stories Matter solution is visual, to design a GUI that keeps the details of the interviewee and interview clip onscreen at all times during the session. This sedentary solution is not practical for the mobile, non-visual exploration of material appropriate to the phonoscape. Although information about the interview can be placed on the screen when it is being accessed, ambulatory sonic exploration does not require visual assistance. Here the context is provided by the location and the existing sounds, the emphasis shifts to the primacy of location and the sound of voice, rather than the interview situation. In a polyvocal piece, it is

counterproductive to reduce each element of material to its source: the trace of the individual resides in the sound of the voice itself, one among many.¹⁰⁴

The phonoscape uses non-linearity and fragmentation inherent in database organisation in order to open the experience to the possibility of the whole archive through the fleeting contiguities encountered on a walk, encouraging listeners to make new connections for themselves by engaging directly with the audio. Individual voices are the primary material, but individuality or identity is understood as a fluid construct within this setting. Any further involvement beyond the walk might include more orthodox visually organised approaches, these activities act complementarily. Frisch makes the point very clear in his conception of oral history database:

Everyone knows that there are worlds of meaning that lie beyond words; nobody pretends for a moment that the transcript is in any real sense a better representation of reality than the voice itself. Meaning inheres in context and setting, in gesture, in tone, in body language, in expression, in pauses, in performed skills and movements. To the extent we are restricted to text and transcription, we will never locate such moments and meaning, much less have the chance to study, reflect on, learn from, and share them.
(Perks & Thomson, 2006:103)

By referring to the 'reality [of the] voice itself', Frisch ignores that a displacement has already occurred as soon as the interview situation is rendered as audio or video, but the observation that another order of displacement occurs when the audio is replaced by transcription is important. This second order displacement can be bypassed by locating the audio within the context to which it refers. Released from the interview, the voice finds a new place. In this way, the phonoscape re-maps the relationship between listener and audio. By incorporating the database as a relational aesthetic, the author-composer can step back from the material allowing a more percipient-led (Myers, 2009) practice aligned with Frisch's post-documentary sensibility:

¹⁰⁴ It is essential, however, that the project in which the phonoscape is embedded provides public access to the full source database so that provenance is correctly attributed to the participants and that whole interviews are included.

With accessible, meaningful, fluid, and non-privileged access to the content of oral history, the authority of the mediating intelligence or documentary authorship is displaced by a sharable, dialogic capacity to explore, select, order, and interpret. (Perks & Thomson, 2006:113)

Before moving on to a discussion of hypertext as a way of organising database and narrative, it will be useful to draw together the themes of data organisation and walking. In his prescient text *As We May Think*, (Bush, 1945), Vannevar Bush used the word 'trail' to describe the connections between texts on his microfilm (Memex) system. In the wake of World War 2, Bush was anxious that science should be set the task of creating a universally accessible database of texts re-purposing existing technologies and data. While many of his ideas were concerned with automating everyday tasks, he also emphasised the importance of how knowledge (texts) should be organised and accessed. This is of relevance to the phonoscape. A simple set of visually arranged and geotagged audio files creates a new mapping. The problem of dealing with a high MPR also concerned Bush:

There is a growing mountain of research. But there is increased evidence that we are being bogged down today as specialisation extends. The investigator is staggered by the findings and conclusions of thousands of other workers – conclusions which he cannot find time to grasp, much less to remember, as they appear. Yet specialisation becomes increasingly necessary for progress, and the effort to bridge between disciplines is correspondingly superficial. (Bush, 1945:2)

The 'growing mountain' of data is well known among oral historians, the phonoscape offers one way of navigating this territory. What is required, in Bush's terms, are

Wholly new forms of encyclopedias ... ready-made with a mesh of associative trails running through them, ready to be dropped into the Memex and there amplified. (Bush, 1945:11)

These 'trails', later to be known as 'hyperlinks', are precisely what is available to the participant in a locative piece. How and why a person navigates one way or another

should be left open and free as far as possible and be entirely dependent upon where the listener decides to move spatially.

5.3.4 Hypertext

So far, I have outlined a context for the notion of embodied database, but the final part of the equation, hypertext itself, must be addressed to complete the conception of the phonoscape as an embodied hypertext. Of particular importance are the implications for narrative, and the way in which locative auditory knowledge is arranged. Hypertext offers a way of re-conceiving narrative in terms of polyvocality, non-linearity and fragmentation, a way of organising material that undermines hierarchies of value and presents a structured network of equally important elements.

Frisch's sense of a paradigm shift within oral history is echoed by advocates of hypertext across disciplines aware of shifts in text, language, and narrative. Landow maintains that:

we must abandon conceptual systems founded on ideas of centre, margin, hierarchy, and linearity and replace them by ones of multilinearity, nodes, links, networks. (Landow, 2006:1)

George Landow, in turn, grounds his arguments on literary and cultural theorists, as well as computer pioneers including Nelson and van Dam. Landow's three editions of *Hypertext* (Landow, 1992, 1997, 2006) plot the emergence of hypertext through HyperMedia, its transformation into the development of the World Wide Web, and more recently into Web 2.0 (which includes locative media). Landow was quick to recognise the importance of hypertext in configuring the ways we conceive, author and experience narrative structures. He argues that the appropriate philosophical approaches for this radical shift are in the works of Derrida, Barthes, Deleuze, Guattari, and Foucault. An inquisition of hypertextuality itself provides a useful test for the appropriateness of approaches which favour non-linear, rhizomic, open structures where elements tend to sit side by side, or through an infinite web of

hyperlinks, rather than being stacked in linear classifications, or stratifications such as hierarchies.

As the person who coined the terms 'hypertext' and 'hypermedia' in 1963, Ted Nelson is a defining figure in the history of the internet and locative media. In a remarkable piece of oral testimony, here displaced and transcribed, Nelson embodies the essence of hypertext and non-sequential structure in explaining the origins of his 'hyperthesis'

I particularly minded having to take thoughts which were not intrinsically sequential and somehow put them in a row because print as it appears on the paper, or in handwriting, is sequential. There was always something wrong with that because you were trying to take these thoughts which had a structure, shall we say, a spatial structure all their own, and put them into linear form. Then the reader had to take this linear structure and recompose his or her picture of the overall content, once again placed in this non-sequential structure. You had two it seemed – and now I'm reconstructing because I don't know how explicitly I thought this out as a youth – you had to take these two additional steps of deconstructing some thoughts into linear sequence, and then reconstructing them. Why couldn't that all be bypassed by having a non-sequential structure of thought which you presented directly? (Whitehead, 1996)

According to Nelson, the associative structure of hypertext is closer to human thought processing than linear text, and through bypassing the strictures of that form new ideas can develop rapidly.¹⁰⁵ This is not to say that linear processing is to be abandoned, it can be incorporated within associative structures, it is simply an unnecessary encumbrance for the efficient and creative running of a database knowledge system where the multiplicity and simplicity of connections (hyperlinks) are its strength. Vannevar Bush, who was pivotal to hypertext research, reinforces this understanding

¹⁰⁵ That the human brain deploys associative processing is consistent with accepted neuroscientific theory. (Shenhav, et al., 2012)

The human mind ... operates by association. With one item in its grasp, it snaps instantly to the next that is suggested by the association of thoughts, in accordance with some intricate web of trails carried by the cells of the brain. It has other characteristics, of course; trails that are not frequently followed are prone to fade, items are not fully permanent, memory is transitory. (Bush, 1945:9-10)

The power of this mode of thinking has proceeded through modernism, postmodernism (McHale, 1987), into hyperspace which, Landow maintains, holds the power to transform fiction (and narrative) fundamentally. He cites Michael Joyce's *Of Two Minds*:

Constructive hypertexts require a capability to act: to create, to change and to recover particular encounters within the developing body of knowledge. These encounters ... are maintained as versions, i.e. trails, paths, webs, notebooks etc.; but they are versions of what they are becoming, a structure for what does not yet exist. (my emphasis) (Landow, 2006:148)

A hypertextual aesthetic is entirely appropriate for the discontinuity randomness and non-linearity of the located sound experience. Although this discussion took place in the 1990s with the rise of the web (hyperspace), it is still relevant now in the construction of the constitutive narrative of Holbeck through the phonoscape. The language used points to a nomadic and provisional aesthetic, moving towards rather than attempting closure. Such are the tendencies of hypertext, and these may be usefully carried forward into the composition of locative narratives.

Moving away from author-centred metanarrative, implying a single identity, towards a polyvocal piece in which the listener navigates within a geographical context moving from one (randomly generated) first person to the next resonates with Bakhtin's discussion of the polyphonic novel which is:

constructed not as the whole of a single consciousness, absorbing other consciousnesses as objects into itself, but as a whole formed by the interaction of several consciousnesses, none of which entirely becomes an object for the other. (Bakhtin, 1984:18)

The experience is constantly de-centred and re-centred according to the voice and the position of the listener rather than an overarching narrator. In Landow's discussion of this in relation to hypertext, the very language (metaphors) he uses is redolent of walking and listening within a located, multilayered piece:

The voice is always that distilled from the combined experience of the momentary focus, the lexia one presently reads, and the continually forming narrative of one's reading path. (Landow, 2006:56)

The reader/walker moves through this hypertextual assemblage which has no intrinsic centre, creating their own centre which becomes a function of their position in space and time.¹⁰⁶

The similarities of hypertext (as fiction) and locative spatial practice has been noted by Armstrong:

Hypertext fictions are spidery systems where fragments of information may be encountered and re-mixed in a pattern determined by readers as they navigate through the space of the work... Location aware works do the same but take spatial and navigational relationships outside the almost purely mental space of the computer and posit them in the living city, which has the effect of expanding the way the reader can be engaged in the work. The reader is pulled back into the world, into physical space, and away from the screen. (Armstrong, 2003)

Jeremy Hight's 'narrative archaeology' is pertinent here. Although Hight was instrumental in the pioneering sound-based locative narrative of *34 North*, and is a musician himself, his approach hails from a textual formulary and is predominantly visual. He argues that 'the new paradigm finds the story written into this world, the physical world', and further 'the writer/artist can now read cities, towns, and open spaces', defining narrative archaeology as 'a reading of physical place as one moves

¹⁰⁶ See also Derrida's essay 'Structure, Sign, and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences' (1966) for a theoretical underpinning to the role of decentring in the production of intellectual change, published as a chapter in *Writing and Difference* (Derrida, 1978) .

through the world with story elements and sections triggered at specific locations' (Hight, 2003:1). Hight acknowledges a tension produced as the reader/walker witnesses the past and the present at one and the same time as an 'odd feeling of being aware of two places at once'. Citing textual works such as Pavic's *Dictionary of the Khazars*, which discards, indeed discourages, the requirement to proceed linearly, constructed much like a conventional dictionary, or textual database.

In *34 North*, Hight created 'weighted narratives' that operate on a level of 'cumulative resonance', skewing, or tagging the database so that some items are deemed more important than others. In the *Holbeck Phonoscape*, this is an important consideration; some key accounts or particularly resonant stories may be given more probability of occurring in a walk, these can be likened to whole pots retrieved from an archaeological dig, rare events that provide allure to a public history piece, and contribute to an otherwise fragmented narrative. The idea of biasing in *34 North* was to make sure that the participant should move 'past places referencing key larger ideas', (Hight, 2003:5). Since the piece was written as a set of text-based characters, based on extensive historical research, rather than a product of oral testimony, Hight was able to structure the narrative according to key metaphors and tropes, building the cumulative resonance. The characters in the piece were singing within the same church, if not from the exact same hymn sheet. Perhaps this was implicit in Knowlton's observation that in some ways 'the characters were all the same' (Knowlton, 2012).¹⁰⁷ There is, however, a residue of equality in the material as presented in sound

The experientially driven narrative archaeology of place has no distinction between academic voice and fictive voice, of dialects within construction, instead it occurs in a voice that is detail and story, of narrative and information and is fused to what is seen at that moment in the physical world (Hight, 2003:7)

¹⁰⁷ To some extent Hight was labouring under a previous conception of authorial control - something he was later to question and modify with *Floating Points* which encouraged multi-authorial possibilities.

While riffing on the agency of the participant, flattening the different strands of narrative is also avoided with a polyvocal approach where dialect and register are palpably present in the layered present of the perceiver. Audio complements the visual embodied world of the participant, as opposed to competing with it as a visual display might. Hight's acknowledgement of polyvocality comes ultimately from the potential of locative media to spawn a multiplicity of authors, rather than a single author assisting polyvocality:

As more locative narrative projects are emerging, areas of the landscape are beginning to fill in with a new resonant narrative interpretation and agitation of space. (Hight, 2003:10)

In common with Landow's interpretation of Hight, (Landow, 2006:248), I would maintain that the idea of 'agitated space' is a fruitful one when it comes to conceiving of regeneration zones in general, and Holbeck in particular. Archaeological voice layers may sit awkwardly together in striated space, wealth juxtaposed with poverty, ruination and architectural aspiration, warm voices and voids, in much the same way that conventional archaeological sites can reveal layers of peace and tranquility adjacent to those of war and strife.

5.3.5 Joining the dots: the embodied hypertext revisited

Returning to the issue of embodied hypertext, there is an underlying story of attribution, provenance and respect to original source files that is implicated in Nelson's all but abandoned Xanadu hypertext model. This is relevant to the principles of an oral history based phonoscape, particularly in relation to the integrity of the interview as shared knowledge and the existence of a publicly accessible archive. In the original model, one of Nelson's main principles was to retain links (backlinks) to the original files so that all subsequent versions and usages would be traceable, avoiding the loss of version histories and the accumulation of broken links that characterise the www/http protocol that became the basis of the internet (Ted Nelson, 1960). Although Nelson's intention was to preserve original author's copyright via a system of micropayments, it is clear that this is very close to the practice of academic referencing and attribution. Ultimately, respect to source

material lies at the heart of oral history practice, and if the mobile presentation of material allows the user to link back directly to the original unedited interview in parallel with the edits and versions accumulated during the listening session, then something revolutionary will have happened to the presentation of oral history within sound art.¹⁰⁸

Even though this may seem to be innovative thinking, it is in fact ancient. Angela Haas has made a compelling case for an earlier parallel invention of hypertext in the technology of the wampum, an American Indian memory system made from woven bead belts (Haas, 2007). For centuries:

Wampum belts have extended human memories of inherited knowledges through interconnected, nonlinear designs and associative storage and retrieval methods (Haas, 2007:76)

The wampum system shares many organisational features with hypertext such as using nodes and links. It is also mobile technology, but the most interesting feature relating to this discussion is the fact that they are community dependent, they need to be performed physically and those present are then enabled to reactivate the memories and knowledge held within them, they become a 'living rhetoric' (Haas, 2007:80). With wampum:

Human memory (physiological, emotional, mental, and bodily) and material memories are connected--in an alliance to foster hypertextual memory. (Haas, 2007:93)

This physical dimension illustrates an important dimension of the embodied hypertext. It is not remote and automatically saved, it requires present action in order to be activated and re-remembered through walking. By engaging with the locality, the agent becomes part of the place and its history, reconstituting it through the two-way process of embodied action alluded to by Farman. This necessitates an acknowledgement of the responsibility and sharing that is at the heart of oral history,

¹⁰⁸ All the technology is in place for this, but it has not been implemented yet. Perhaps the problems Nelson has faced with Xanadu share a conflict of interests with the current system.

it also reinforces Nelson's original hypertext architecture that respects the original document/author/situation. Haas sums up,

Unlike Western hypertexts, wampum remembers civic responsibility; in fact, wampum requires it. (Haas, 2007:93)

Many of the contemporary moral and ethical problems raised by social and mobile media may be related to the erasure of this form of built-in responsibility. The notion of embodied hypertext expounded in this section, by drawing the concerns of oral historians together with ethical arts practice offers an appropriate conceptual framework for the technological development of the phonoscape.

5.4 Locative Praxis, Public History, and Collaboration

The issue of collaboration between communities and academia is an important consideration in research where the primary subject matter is drawn directly from the community and deposited back in the community as archive, online and located mobile experience.¹⁰⁹ During the course of this research it has become clear that many highly successful deployments of oral history and sound art using locative technology have been public products of teamwork, see for instance *Hackney Hear*, (Amblr, March 2012) and *Curzon Memories*, (Crofts, 2012). The collaborative nature of these projects provides good corroboration for the interplay of academia, community, technological and artistic practice.

Maintaining the boundaries between disciplines of public and academic history has given rise to 'fierce debates' (Kean & Martin, 2013:xxii-iii), and oral historians have found themselves on both sides of the academic/public divide perhaps leading towards a more fluid understanding of the issues. Even the term 'public history' itself is the source of some debate, and its areas of practice and practitioners are not always clearly defined; it has been described as 'protean' by historian Madge Dresser (Dresser, 2010:39). Perhaps this is understandable since public history is still a relatively new phenomenon in the UK, only becoming a subject for debate at the beginning of the twenty first century (Tosh, 2014:191). Much community-based oral history work comes under the broad ambit of public history, however, particularly

¹⁰⁹ Co-production has become something of a buzzword recently throughout UK universities indicating a way in which academia engages with communities in direct and practical ways, as was discussed extensively in a recent symposium at the University of York entitled 'The Co-production of Knowledge' (2012). Although shared authority and collaboration interact with this concept practically, a full discussion of recent developments is beyond the scope of the thesis. For further reading see: (Durie, 2011; Durose, 2013; Durose, 2014; Jung, 2012).

where the interview material is intended to find its way into the public realm, as it is with the phonoscape. As oral historian Graham Smith puts it:

For many oral historians, the point is not simply to describe or even analyse the past, but rather to (re)present recollections in ways that engage people in discussing the meaning of their own recollections along with the recollections of others. (Smith, 2011:430)

This conception is consonant with the wider notion of shared authority discussed earlier, and feeds into the momentum of the democratisation of history. John Tosh, historian, argues persuasively that academic historians have a pivotal role to play in this democratic tendency since they are:

Well placed to address the public good more directly by applying their expertise to the understanding of current politics and other areas of social concern. (Tosh, 2014:192)

This view indicates that there is scope for a convergence of interests at the intersection of community oral history, public history and academic history, and this is where phonoscape production operates. It has become clear to me as a result of my engagement with Holbeck that the more I get involved in the community through joining local bodies like the Holbeck Neighbourhood Forum, the more I am becoming part of the community itself. When the pilot is extended to the full *Holbeck Phonoscape* and archive, this role will be ongoing, whereas my role as a University PhD researcher will cease. This is in keeping with an extended notion of shared authority (Adair et al., 2011) that sees the researcher becoming an advocate for the community over time. As locative media-based community history develops, any attempt to maintain strict disciplinary boundaries becomes more difficult and possibly futile since public interests, practitioners and funding streams gather together creatively in history-based projects.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ This is an ongoing area of discussion among historians of all hues, and is probably more polarised in the United States, where it has a longer and more stormy pedigree than in the UK (see, for example: Trask, 1983; Hamilton, 1992; Zimmermann, 2006; Kean & Morgan 2000; Liddington, 2002; Klæbe, 2008; Jensen, 2008; High & Zembrzycki, 2010; Thelan, 2010; MacKay, 2013).

While it is commonplace to use research that has been obtained collaboratively within academia, such as oral testimony, this material is rarely returned into the public domain, as a necessary part of the work, a good example being Blackshaw's recent oral history work in South Leeds: *Working-Class Life in Northern England* (Blackshaw, 2013) discussed earlier. Butler's thesis provides a welcome exception to this tendency, and his memoryscapes provide tangible proof of the efficacy of collaborative approaches that place their recorded material back into the community, and alert the public to existing archives, (Butler, 2007c; Durose et al., 2013).

Ghosts in the Garden was born out of collaboration across technology, heritage and academic sectors. In a recent talk, Dr Steve Poole, self-professed maestro of 'affective digital technology', (Poole, 2013), argued that unless academics get involved in making 'history come to life', in common with the approach of many audiotrails, they will be ignored. The success of companies like Audiotrails is testimony to the rising popularity of the form, (Audiotrails, 2014). Poole's observation that heritage and history 'has become bankable' is one that has serious implications for practicing historians of all shades. Poole argued that in the current climate in the UK, academia must prove its marketability or risk losing funding (Poole, 2013). With the rise and rise of interactive, accessible 'history', realised in quest games like the *Chester Walls Quest*, (Imagemakers, 2012), among countless others, and the brandishing of slogans like 'History has become Legend!' the industry might seem at first sight alarming to academics. At the start of 2011, when this research began, heritage trails were relatively rare, and heritage trail apps non-existent. Today (World Listening Day, 2014), a Google search string "Heritage Trail" produced over 13 million returns, and "Heritage Trail app" almost 25,000 indicating a huge potential. Poole argues that a 'negotiable bridge' needs to be built between academia and the world. The Research and Enterprise in Arts and Creative Technology (REACT) initiative that funded *Ghosts in the Garden* is a good example of how academia can become involved in producing exciting experiences that have some academic provenance. Poole maintains that many academics will agree that there is not only one way of telling people how things may have been in the past, and that a key aspect of successful historical narrative is to engage the imagination and produce

powerful affect. Through working with game-based, immersive soundscape this becomes possible, and this is what *Ghosts in the Garden* was intended to exploit.

Future iterations of the *Holbeck Phonoscape* can easily be adapted to game and quest frameworks. The underlying ethos remains the same, to provide material that can be recombined in different ways to encourage use and re-use in a spirit of collaboration.

There is a duality at the heart of doctoral work, however, that combines active collaboration with solitary reflection and action. On one hand, much of the sound work involving field recording, listening, walking the area, and composing are mainly solitary pursuits along with other sedentary activities involved in producing a PhD; on the other hand, there is also much collaboration, cross-fertilisation and consultation within the wider contexts of the research both within academia (through supervision, networking, conferences, writing papers), and within the community (interviewing, performance, attending neighbourhood forums, and conducting training courses). As an oral historian, I have welcomed the contributions of my interviewees and intend to present as much of their testimony as possible in the final public *Holbeck Phonoscape* which itself uses LOAM, an app born out of collaboration. Although many of these activities are difficult to keep track of fully and piece together in a meaningful way within a linear text, the combined efforts of myself, colleagues and community come together performatively in the public sphere in producing phonoscapes, and in performing *Displacement Activities*, work that is necessarily collaborative and pivoted upon the deployment of locative technology in its conception, execution and legacy.

The above may be considered a reflection on collaboration and sharing authority on a pragmatic level, in order to get things done, but locative praxis also extends into the framing of the kind of knowledge that might be possible. There is a high degree of agency possible in many locative pieces where contingency befalls the participant at every footstep. Any prepared material coincides with experience in ways that militate against the single viewpoint, mono-voiced, metanarrative that is the product of standard linear (paper) text, instead it moves hypertextually in ways that are

conducive to non-linear, polyvocal forms of knowledge and open-ended knowledge acquisition.

The preservation, storage and curation of locative pieces extends debates around the possibility of sharing authority and responsibility:

First, the question of authorship compels us to look not just at who is currently able to create and use locative media, but at who will be able to re-create and re-use locative media in the future. Second, the question of ownership requires us to be aware that most locative media projects require large databases and these data are subject to the same curatorial issues as any cultural collection. (Galloway & Ward, 2006)

These points will resonate with the oral history community where issues of shared authority and re-use are increasingly relevant (Bornat, 2003, 2008). A further set of considerations arise when considering the relationship between locative praxis and public history.

In conclusion, this chapter has shown that hardware and software platforms for delivering locative experience are highly volatile and unpredictable at present. It would not therefore be wise to adopt any single solution or platform without caution, accordingly flexible, adaptable solutions should be preferred. The overwhelming dominance of the Android system in the public domain makes it clear which OS to choose at present, and that is why LOAM has been developed for Android, iOS can be accommodated in due course.

The most robust and often used platform for heritage and oral history at present in the UK is AppFurnace, the successor of the MScape system developed by Calvium.

While Appfurnace enables the authoring of credible trail guides and functions in iOS and Android, the system is limited without customising the code when it comes to the exploration of sound both from the point of view of layer interaction, and for randomising source files and segments. It is also difficult to see how it could integrate with other authoring tools. Cost is also a factor, prohibiting experimentation and putting it out of the reach of small projects.

The LOAM app has been designed with the notion of prioritising sounds and the introduction of chance into the equation. The non-linear fragmentation of polyvocal narratives and the division of sound into three distinct types of layer fulfils a fundamental requirement for the manipulation of the audio experience. LOAM also provides multiple options for fading sound as opposed to the single algorithm provided in Appfurnace. Directionality (limited), segmentation and incorporation of summary transcripts directly from Inqscribe also enhance the capabilities of LOAM. Finally, LOAM has been designed to integrate into current authoring platforms that are useful to oral historians, and would welcome subsequent development and collaboration with other parties interested in producing free, open source platforms for oral historians and locative artists.

While the technological and practical dimensions are still in a high state of flux, there is also a theoretical paradox. The new media mechanics of locative technology integrated into ambulant systems have been with us for a long time, and the new affordances of GPS-triggered experiences relate not only to ancient memory (and history) systems, but also find antecedents in the architecture of the internet and even thought itself. A notion of embodied hypertext was introduced as a way of conceiving of a combination of walking with sound and memory through locative media. Building on the principles of Butler's *memoriescape*, by exploiting a more open-ended field approach to contingency through randomisation and non-linear modalities, the *phonoscape* offers a new way to arrange and access oral history interview data. Also an ethical 'backlink' methodology found in the underlying framework of an all but abandoned technology (Xanadu), finds resonance within the concerns of the conscientious oral historian.

Together with the reviews of audio walks and methods in the previous chapter, the embodied hypertext with its accompanying practical and theoretical tools can carry forward its associative locative techniques into the construction of the phonoscape according to the deeper insights into sound and soundscape developed in the next chapter.

Chapter 6

Sound

Art

Introduction

Audio art can broaden aural historians' audiences. Sound and thought both emerge out of silence; they are energy events. We as a species take in and experience the world as much through our ears as through our eyes. Moving from the written word to sound enables aural historians to reach those who spend little time reading and a great deal of time listening. (Hardy III, 2009:161)

In this chapter I have selected four major themes that have arisen from my exploration of sound art theory and practice in Holbeck. This selection is not definitive or comprehensive, but intended to suggest ways for the locative composer to deepen conventional oral history practice and produce a phonoscape that engages fully with the site. All the themes are interpenetrative, no hierarchy of importance is implied and in practice they function in combination.

The first theme, 'Silence', as Hardy III suggests above, is the precondition for both sound and thought. Language and communication would not be possible without forms of silence. In oral history in particular the silence of the interviewer is crucial to a successful interview, particularly when the resulting audio is intended for public use. It has been argued that silence is constitutive of the oral history interview (Freund, 2013). The role of silence in producing a phonoscape must also be considered, since in order for the testimony to be heard and reflected upon the listener must be given some time and space, as with Miller's *Linked* piece where the spaces in between the sound points could be considered almost as important as the audio itself (Miller, 2003). Silence also has a symbolic role in the context of Holbeck since the main population together with the industry that sustained it has long been displaced. The main producer of sound in the area now, the M621, retreats into the background to become the base level for 'silence' that any locative composition in the vicinity must tackle.

The 'Soundscape' section follows on from some of these considerations by extending our understanding of the existing environmental sounds of any given site and can be conceptualised and worked with in producing a phonoscape. The work of Murray Schafer et al. and the World Soundscape Project is seminal here.

The following section, 'Organised Sound' considers how elements of silence, soundscape and voice may be combined in phonoscape production. The work of composer John Cage is a key consideration here since he not only has a great deal to say about silence, but he was also concerned with the importance of site and how to arrange elements within both closed and open spaces.

The final section is concerned with 'Voice' where the fundamental sound units of the recorded oral testimony are examined. The extent to which the interview material can be reduced down to fragments, which elements should be discarded and how to deal conceptually with large databases of material where many voices vie for the same location is discussed.

In considering where the themes of Silence, Soundscape, Organised Sound, and Voice, intersect in the realms of locative oral history and sound art, I will elucidate a set of conceptual and practical tools for constructing phonoscape. In doing this I am seeking an approach that not only takes the audio seriously, as Frisch urges (Frisch, 2008:222), but also encourages a deeper appreciation of site as a necessary component in the articulation of historical presence through recorded sound. In doing so, I am extending the shared authority of the interview to create what Butler has envisaged as 'complex, multivocal experiences that quite literally give people a voice in the interpretation of their neighbourhood' (Butler, 2007b:370). This, in turn, depends upon an approach advocated by Hardy III that considers the interview as 'a sound event, as a precious sonic artifact, as a dramatic performance' (Hardy III, 2009:160),

The issue of framing will recur in each section. This is a major concern in site-specific art, but it also has relevance for how we conceive of the role of oral history portrayed as an archaeology of the voice, and whether we see it as a neutral carrier (archive or grid) of information, or as a vessel or medium of emotion (affect).

The field of sound art provides many opportunities that both extend and refine the locative practice of oral history, and a pragmatic overlapping of the disciplines offers fruitful ground for experimentation and reflection. Through oral history, sound art can engage with communities and help reappraise the historical construction of place, extending the use and creation of wide-ranging documentary audio archives; through

using sound art, oral history can develop new ways of listening, recording and presenting its primary audio material. Combined, these disciplines deepen our sense of place and alert us to the performative presence of the polyvocal history we walk through every day.

Although 'sound art' as a phrase is relatively recent (Licht, 2007:11), the active shaping of sound for cultural purposes has been shown to go back into prehistory (Till, 2009). However, there have been, and still are, shifting boundary markings between sonic art, or sound art, and music. Trevor Wishart's book *On Sonic Art*, 1996, was part of the debate around whether or not this or that form of sound manipulation could be considered as music. In Wishart's view, conventional music theory, or 'lattice sonics' (Wishart, 1996:8), concerns itself with a relatively narrow range of sounds and notations that centre on pitch, duration and timbre. Formal musical scores reflect the role of transcripts in oral history, they are always approximate and the benefits of replication and searchability come at a cost which constitutes a displacement or usurpation of the sound experience itself. Just as the transcript becomes the material of oral history, so the score becomes what 'music' is.

Among a rapidly growing literature on the history, theory and practice of sound art, particularly relevant to this thesis are the following: Brandon LaBelle's study *Background Noise: Perspectives on Sound Art* (LaBelle, 2010) which centres on spatiality and location as abiding preoccupations within sound art; while Seth Kim-Cohen's *In the Blink of an Ear: Towards Non-cochlear Sonic Art* (Kim-Cohen, 2009) contends that much conceptual sound art is 'anti-cochlear', not possible to appreciate fully solely with the ear and therefore necessitates an acknowledgement of cultural and conceptual preloading; Salomé Voegelin provides contrasting philosophical reflections in the quest to build a phenomenological language that attempts to express our immediate sonic sensibility (Voegelin, 2010). Given a central interest in rebalancing accounts towards the audio as opposed to the textual, J. Milo Taylor's *A History of Sound Art* (Taylor, 2011) provides a welcome and entertaining 85 minute sound piece on the subject that is both entertaining and informative.

6.1 Silence as a Compositional Resource

Silence lies at the core of oral history, a silence framed by intention and defined by gesture. Through a process of active listening and maieutics, the words of the interviewee arise and are stored. The silence within an interview is encoded as part of the material output: the silence of one minute of room ambience, the pauses and hesitations between words, the silence of the listener.¹¹¹ To extend beyond the confines of the interview to the foundations of language itself, silence may be understood as the prior condition of language:

Silence provides the condition to build understanding from within the compact materiality of sound: to produce a passing vocabulary from the dense quietness of its inter-subjective lifeworld. (Voegelin, 2010:87)

In her book, *The other side of language: a philosophy of listening*, Gemma Fiumara takes this further, silence can be seen as the ground for a hiatus between self and Other, between language and reality, a foundation that '...makes necessary and possible the development of our more authentic dialogical interactions', whereas unrelenting utterance by '...completely saturating the reciprocity space... can ultimately annul it' (Fiumara, 1990:103). This forms part of an argument that posits a 'dialogic field' approach born out of listening, opposing a non-listening rationality that is considered morally and ontologically prevalent but ultimately inadequate.¹¹²

The oral history interview is far removed from natural conversation replete with its routine overlaps and 'spacers' (Norman, 2004), or non-verbal paralinguistics, that may pose editing difficulties in re-contextualisation of the audio material, and may be deemed the equivalent of noise. Standard radio editing tends to fill in many of the

¹¹¹ Recording at least 30 seconds 'room tone', without any other talking is standard procedure for radio and current practice in oral history.

¹¹² Briefly, Fiumara's argument traces a fundamental logocentric attitude prevalent in Western philosophy since Greek conceptions of *logos* (noun), associated with speech and utterance, became detached from the verb (*legein*) which included a listener and listening. Her book is an attempt to readjust the balance between knowledge as declaration and statement, as opposed to knowledge based on hearing.

gaps between words and phrases to maintain the listener's attention within conventional listening settings, but this is not necessary in a locative piece where a dialogic field approach may allow time for reflection and contingency. Silence encourages the listener to construct their own experience, to reflect on the subtle interplay between past and present, listening more deeply to the sound pieces and the contingent environment, '...silence promotes listening as a way towards language: not to fragment but to hear the fragments fragmenting' (Voegelin, 2010:87).

In the course of producing a phonoscape the silences within the interview and within the contextual soundscape have an important role to play.

6.1.1 Uses of Silence in Oral History Audio Walks

Within locative pieces, silence can be used as a tool for manoeuvring the person around the site, and as such is a form of choreography. Both Butler and Miller are aware of the value of silence and deploy it in different ways in their presentations. In *Linked*, Miller has spaced his listening points so there are no overlaps. The listener/walker negotiates the interstitial space with a rough map, entering the liminal zones along the periphery of each transmitter with an ongoing feeling of a quest, like finding waterholes in the desert. Butler, however, orchestrates the process of sound and silence in his memoryscapes by providing instructions for the walker to play files at specified points or during parts of the route. Both pieces have silences where the walker is encouraged to listen to the found soundscape unmediated. These silences function well, they are pragmatic, locked into their respective technological affordances. *Linked* is defined by a limited transmission range and relatively small quantity of radio transmitters stretched over several miles; with memoryscape the playlist is designed to avoid continuous play, in contrast to Gallagher's *Audio Drift*. Both the Miller and Butler approaches can be simulated with locative technology, but further dimensions are possible with open-ended exploration of layers and field. This allows for more sophisticated compositional, or sonic organisational, possibilities where silence can provide key material, pragmatic and philosophical opportunities when presenting oral history material within a phonoscape.

Creating a piece that involves contingent sound components and free agency on the listener/player's part has a precedent in the work of John Cage. His deployment of 'constitutive silence' (Hodkinson, 2007) can be applied fruitfully within a context that implies absence both in the accounts of the interviewees and in the shifting architecture of Holbeck.

6.1.2 Conceptual/Constitutive Silence

Although Butler refers to Cage's *4'33"* (Cage, 1952/1962) in his thesis (Butler, 2007c) and elsewhere, it is usually cited as part of an argument to encourage listening to oral history outside institutions such as museums, concluding that Cage, along with other artists such as Max Neuhaus:

Challenged traditional ways of seeing and listening by moving performance and display outside conventional cultural spaces which often deliberately insulate the visitor from their geographical environment. (Butler, 2007c:58)

While this may be true, Cage's iconic piece offers us far more when it comes to a consideration of how to deploy silence in a locative work. While acknowledging that 'everything can be music', referring particularly to the sounds surrounding us, Cage's notion of silence stems from three prime preoccupations: the phenomenological impossibility of silence, revealed in the mythos of the anechoic chamber; silence as the potentiality of duration, the auditory structural equivalent of Duchamp's transparent backgrounds and Rauchenberg's 'blank' canvases; and silence as an existential enactment of Nothingness, revealed in the discipline of Zen Buddhism as 'purposeful purposelessness' (Cage, 1979b). While the phenomenological impossibility of silence is relevant to locative works in that the baseline of the experience must allow the contingent soundscape to mingle with the prepared sound work, it is perhaps the second Cagean preoccupation that is the most important regarding the phonoscape. Here, the concern lies with framing. By defining three movements and placing the first public performance of the piece within the conventional concert hall setting, *4'33"* becomes a reflection upon the concept of music. In Seth Kim-Cohen's terms, it becomes a piece of 'non-cochlea sonic art' that forces the audience to focus at least as much on the social and material situation as

the musician's performance. Herein lies a key principle to be adopted when composing locative oral history sound pieces: the compositional use of silence encourages reflection on the wider situation rather than simply the immersive, solitary sound experience. The oral history is drawn from the locality, and serves to draw the listener into that present and contingent place. Without including gaps or silences in the experience, paradoxically, there is something lacking. This understanding of silence aligns with Juliana Hodkinson's notion of 'constitutive silence' that she contrasts with the common use of rests within conventional notation:

Silence as a constitutive element of an artwork is more like a totality, an indivisible whole. At a perceptual level, one might describe the experience of such a 'totality' of silence as follows: where silence is most constitutive of artworks in this way, sounds may appear as islands, or isolated moments within an underlying continuum of silence, producing a queasy overlap of form and formlessness, or of form and its inversion. (Hodkinson, 2007:34)

Reluctant to pin the term down fully as a technical or aesthetic strategy, Hodkinson identifies a stronger sense where constitutive silence provides a

Framing event-space of whole pieces, works and concerts, asserting its existential character not patch-wise but in blocks. (Not parts but a whole.) This is where silence becomes indivisible – a block that sets questions of perception, reception and interpretation in motion. (Hodkinson, 2007:35)

Perhaps this stronger sense gets close to how silence within phonoscape should be construed. It is the basis of the experience, a mutable form weaving between contingent sounds and prepared sounds, between a flowing present and testimony of the past rather than a punctuation or pause between entities. The liminality of this experience raises the question as to what extent these silences can be seen as 'blocks' since they fade in and out of perception, more specifically recognition, sometimes emerging fully formed as if they have been there all along, sometimes perceived as a sudden absence, as with the case of a sound that one has become accustomed to abruptly ceasing.¹¹³

¹¹³ Associated with the 'remanence' and 'cut-out' effects (Augoyard & Torgue, 2005:87ff and 29ff).

The simple act of placing a void at the centre of the performance claims all contingent, audible sounds as constitutive of the piece, even an iteration taking place in an anechoic chamber would lay claim to the interior sounds experienced by any individual present, be it tinnitus or the fabled high pitch of the nervous system.¹¹⁴ In this way, the work inverts the customary framing and 'ownership' of sounds. Found sounds are indeterminate but intended.¹¹⁵

Lastly, a deep appreciation of the power of structured non-intervention, Cage's concern to allow 'sounds to be themselves' lies at the heart of *4'33"*, soon to be understood as sound arising '...from the empty space of the rhythmic structure' (Pritchett, 1996:74), which in this case comprises three tacet movements. A major theme of Seth Kim-Cohen's *Blink of an Ear*, (Kim-Cohen, 2009), is the debunking of the post-Kantian phenomenological 'sound-in-itself tendency', positing instead a more social realisation that assumes our experience of sound is always mediated in some way, often fundamentally, by non-cochlear factors. As Cage moved more towards an exploration of situations and happenings, he began to reveal some of the paradoxes inherent in a view that has long been associated with him by subsequent artists such as Christina Kubisch, and several phonographers (Kim-Cohen, 2009:116).

4'33" thus marks Cage's creation a fully 'constitutive silence', in Hodkinson's terminology

This durational growth of rests, from the role of participating in motifs to filling out a whole piece, is a particularly literal way of observing the

¹¹⁴ According to Cage, the sound engineer in the anechoic chamber identified the distinct high and low sounds he heard as his nervous system and blood circulation respectively. This interpretation has since been questioned: it is doubtful whether the nervous system is audible, also most anechoic chambers do not filter out all structure-borne low frequencies (Kim-Cohen, 2009:160-1)

¹¹⁵ This conceptual trope was taken to absurdity ten years later with Piero Manzoni's *Socle du Monde, Hommage à Galilée* (*Base of the World, Homage to Galileo*, 1962). Manzoni's piece simply comprises an inverted plinth, claiming to display the whole world as a work of art.

passage of silence from subsidiary to constitutive importance in Cage's work. (Hodkinson, 2007:58)

This is of significance to a locative presentation of the archaeology of the voice, since silence must be conceived of as a fundamental part of the composition. That this silence is in fact full of environmental sounds is consonant with at least one of Cage's intentions with the piece, which is to encourage another way of listening.¹¹⁶

Douglas Kahn argues in *Noise Water Meat* (Kahn, 1997:559) and elsewhere that much of Cage's compositional engagement with silence amounts to a 'silencing of the social'. Kahn draws this conclusion partly from an analysis of Cage's intention for his piece *Silent Prayer* (1948), which was to insert a hiatus in the ubiquitous output of the Muzak Corporation, and also Cage's interest in noise abatement generally. The central tenet of Cage's approach, that the composer should allow sounds to be themselves, is also taken to indicate a divorce from the fact that all perceived sounds are to some extent mediated by social contexts. Brandon LaBelle (LaBelle, 2012:Chapter 1) takes issue with Kahn's criticism and sees Cage's silence in a more dialectical manner ultimately laying the foundations for site-specific composition. Many of Cage's subsequent works operate as dynamic fields resisting the constraints of recording media (Grubbs, 2014), and it is this understanding that is more suited to the uses of silence in locative composition in urban regeneration zones such as Holbeck.

The silent durations in 4'33" illustrate the simple act of framing. This is a feature they share with Duchamp's found objects, alerting the viewer to perceive, and thereby critique, the assumptions built into the conventional framing of art pieces by the social and concrete institutions of gallery and museum. Likewise, by drawing attention to the act of listening, the phonoscape within Holbeck can create its own 'silence', its conceptual pause.

¹¹⁶ Which was taken up by Murray Schafer and Max Neuhaus, among others.

6.1.3 Technical Silence

Silence within an audio system is relatively straightforward, simply a case of amplitude, or volume. Even here though there are several variables: disregarding system noise, the two crucial variables for phonoscape work are the playback volume of the device, and the corresponding sound levels of the environment. Phonoscapes are intended to work at the same level as the ambient setting, such that a person speaking to you within three feet of your ear, appears to be at the same volume as a speaker in the prepared audio which is around 60-70dB. The perceived levels of both amplitude and frequency vary genetically, and according to age, culture and context (Cogan & Escot, 1976:442ff.), so there can be no absolute control of these variables. By relying on the listener to set the volume, the system is self-correcting and therefore has certain advantages over fixed performance settings where volume can be either too loud or too soft for some listeners and where seating position can be crucial.

One of the main features of the LOAM app is the ability to alter the relative volume levels of layers according to the listener's position, or calculated GPS. Elements can rise to loud or fall away to silence according to where the listener chooses to be. Similarly, the material for the phonoscape may be arranged with tight or loose control of the sound/not sound parameter. Given the contingent nature of the existing soundscape, sounds in the phonoscape may be set using chance procedures or fields of probability. Within contingent systems of overlapping soundscapes arrays of sounds occur where some frequency ranges will mask others, and this must remain open to chance in phonoscape composition.

Moving from the audible to the inaudible is a complex psychophysical process. Sounds can mask other sounds that may still be physically perceived but that the listener is unaware of consciously, particularly within highly intense soundscapes with varied components. In *Sonic Design of Sound and Music*, Robert Cogan and Pozzi Escot define a useful rule of thumb: 'Loud, strong, low partials have the greatest masking effect, high ones the least.' (Cogan & Escot, 1976:379). Another consideration is where the attention is directed and what might be considered

important to the listener in a given situation. Being able to hear someone mention your name in a crowded room, for instance, is a well-known example of a non-intentional attention, based on holistic perception that is not passing into full consciousness until it is determined as significant, this is an instance of the synecdoche effect (Augoyard & Torgue, 2005:123). Sound is experienced through perception, awareness, intention, and memory, which all modulate and are in turn modulated by attention and the other senses (see Gibson, 1966; Nudds & O'Callaghan, 2009), for instance). Suffice to say, there is a continuum, or gradient, extending from very quiet, phenomenological silence, to very loud sounds with the potential to damage hearing. In a concert hall, it is expected that ambient sound is kept to a minimum, forming a pragmatic silence in the same way that a demand for silence within any social context is met. No decibel meters are drawn out to test whether people have indeed achieved absolute silence (0dB SPL) in court, it may be considered a relative silence when compared with the 'noise' that went before the judge tapped their hammer. Regarding any hope of defining, measuring, or using absolute silence, it may not even exist in the depths of space, despite Sorenson's protestations to the contrary (Sorensen, 2009).

The baseline of 'silence' possible in Holbeck is actually quite high, average traffic noise spanning around 40dB to 70dB, but with the potential to reach around 100dB. Despite these levels, the potential danger of cocooning people in a headphone world when cars are around is to be avoided for public safety reasons, so noise cancelling headphones are not advisable, headphones must be open.¹¹⁷ This restriction provides one of the most interesting opportunities for locative composition, particularly when using binaural recordings the prepared sounds can become indistinguishable from the contingent soundscape. The downside is that events like heavy traffic might obscure the prepared sounds, but that is a necessary part of the experience. For practical purposes, prepared 'silence' in an urban setting lies around the 50dB, so the dynamic range open to urban locative artists is generally far

¹¹⁷ Open-backed headphones such as the Sennheiser PX 100-II are advisable, but in-ear buds can function well, provided the playback volume is set correctly.

narrower than that open to installation artists or producers of pieces in concert halls, where what is accepted as silence (the practical noise floor) is far lower.¹¹⁸

6.1.4 Film Silence

Approaching the phonoscape with Cardiff's physical cinematic sensibility, the interplay between the real and prepared world is key. Where the phonoscape dips into prolonged periods of silence, the listener might feel detached from the prepared experience, and at some point begin to wonder whether the system was working correctly. To maintain a subtle level of immersion without drawing too much attention to the prepared sounds is a standard technique used in film soundtracks.

The *Hörspielstreifen*, literally 'hear-strip', is the background or surface noise in any given technological reproduction, as the prerequisite for the suspension of disbelief which accompanies the perception of reproductions in both sound recording and film. For Adorno:

Silence enters the picture with segments of *Hörspielstreifen*, the delicate atmosphere of recorded silence whose purpose is to imperceptibly confirm the presence of a reproduction under way and not frighten the audience into thinking there has been a technical malfunction (which would require a break in the silence of the audience itself). (Kahn, 1997:573)

Documentary and fiction film sound designer Peter Albrechtsen makes a very important point regarding full digital silence in films.

When you play total silence in the cinema, it becomes a little awkward. I like silence in films, but quite often when you talk about silence in films then you have just a...[makes a low whistling room ambience sound through his lips] a little sound that makes it feel like silence, because otherwise you start listening to the air-conditioning, the room, or other things and suddenly you're lost, you're not in the film any more. (Albrechtsen, 2013)

¹¹⁸ This may be why parks and quiet zones such as London Fields, Victoria Park, Hampton Court are a favoured location for locative sound artists.

An acknowledgement that the void of digital silence can lead to distraction, in order to maintain the viewer's attention some noise must be added in. We are acutely aware of room ambience, and in order to be 'in the room' we need acoustic cues relating to movements and surfaces. The strange feeling of misplacement often experienced in anechoic chambers stems from the almost complete withdrawal of acoustic reference points. Just as these cues operate in an indoor environment, so the same, perhaps even more so, applies in an outdoor environment where we rarely experience anything even approaching silence. A natural landscape with no wind, water, human, or animal sounds would be deeply unnerving, implying a post-apocalyptic absence of life and movement.

By using subtle recorded silences, such as those of empty rooms routinely recorded by interviewers, or specific field recordings of empty, derelict spaces on site, a level of engagement can be maintained that is at once immersive, but also re-attaches the listener to the site without having recourse to non-diegetic music.

6.2 Soundscape, listening and compositional techniques

This section is concerned with developing a methodology for phonoscape construction that draws on ideas and practices emanating from the fields of acoustic ecology, phonography and field recording. A phonoscape is a locative distribution of sonic material across a memory site. The placing of fragments from interview material within the environment reattaches memory to place, the essence of an archaeology of the voice, but a crucial ingredient is missing from this picture: sonic context. The sonic context exists on two reflexive planes: firstly, the phonoscape is intended to be listened to within the site as a living, contingent array of sounds; secondly, the sounds that constitute the site form a significant part of the sonic material available to use in the phonoscape itself through field recordings. In order to re-attach memories to site within an archaeology of the voice, the sonic context must be attended to as sensitively as the process of interviewing itself.

There are three intersecting themes here: soundscape as moral imperative, soundscape as typology, and soundwalking as methodology. Each will be discussed in turn.

6.2.1 Soundscape as moral imperative

R. Murray Schafer introduced the notion of 'soundscape' as part of his World Soundscape Project (WSP) in 1972, defining it as simply 'the sonic environment', which was initially a term covering all kinds of environments including those technologically (re)produced and abstracted within montage compositions (Schafer, 1994:274-5). Soundscape as the totality of sounds in natural or urban settings is perhaps the most familiar use of the term, concomitant with the moral prescriptions for noise abatement that Schafer encourages in many of his texts. With the call to listen more deeply to the world comes a moral imperative. Schafer makes a qualitative distinction between 'Lo-fi' soundscapes, where the signal to noise ratio is adverse, and 'Hi-fi' where a wide range of distinct sounds are clearly heard. By

defining lo-fi as noise, Schafer expresses a moral preference for hi-fi soundscapes, which he actively seeks out and invites us to protect. This is the moral basis of acoustic ecology. WSP fosters a sense of urgency to record vanishing soundscapes, akin to that of saving endangered species.¹¹⁹ Alongside the moral ecological imperative, there was also a move towards a form of personal purification and education through deeper listening with techniques such as ear cleaning, listening walks and soundwalking (Schafer, 1994). These moral and pedagogic aspirations were supported by a rigorous and self-consciously scientific methodology, intended to displace dominant ocularcentric prejudices with sound studies based on recorded materials:

To record sounds is to put a frame around them. Just as a photograph frames a visual environment... so a recording isolates an acoustic environment and makes it a repeatable event for study purposes. (World Soundscape Project, 1973)

Accordingly, the WSP set about recording, measuring and charting the acoustic environment. In 1973, the group, Barry Truax, Howard Broomfield, Peter Huse, and Bruce Davis published their first major project, *The Vancouver Soundscape 1973*, bringing together the 'scientific, sociological and aesthetic aspects of the acoustic environment'. Created from many hours of field recordings, including sections of oral history material, the piece was groundbreaking not just because of the field recording techniques or subtle manipulations of phonographic content, but also because it drew together several disciplines and gave a name to something that had not been an object of study: soundscape. The follow up piece, *Soundscape Vancouver 1996*, illustrates vividly how the soundscape of Vancouver has changed radically within a relatively short span of time as the city has grown.

Many other recordings, such as those of Bernie Krause, have documented pristine environments that are vulnerable to exploitation from logging, mining and other industrial activities resulting in wholesale deletions of rich natural soundscapes, starkly revealed in soundings made several years apart (Vidal, 2012). Having

¹¹⁹ A guiding moral compass also comes into phonography, alerting people to something being erased. See the work of Bernie Krause, for example (Morgan, 2014; Vidal, 2012).

defined acoustic ecology as a 'study of the interrelationship between sound, nature and society' (Westerkamp, 2002:52), Hildegard Westerkamp is forthright in her advocacy of environmental activism through the social production of soundscape composition considered as

a potentially powerful voice about one of the most urgent issues we face in this stage of the world's life: the ecological balance of our planet. The soundscape makes these issues audible. We simply have to learn to hear it and to speak back. (Westerkamp, 2002:52)

This position has a relationship with the struggle to record oral histories from communities such as Holbeck that are being displaced, changing radically, and/or dying out, and shares the sense of urgency to record memories as elements of vanishing cultural heritage.¹²⁰ Given the existing moral sense of duty to do this with oral history recording, it is logical to extend sound recording beyond the interview itself, into the garden, the street, the neighbourhood and into the broader sonic context, or soundscape, of the testimony. Thus, through locative methodology, the oral testimony becomes part of the totality that is the soundscape for that site.

6.2.2 Soundscape as Typology

Once there is a notion of the totality, the soundscape, an application of reductive analysis through deeper listening, allows for the formation of different categories of sound within that totality. Conceptual boundaries may be drawn according to how you wish to deploy the cognitive benefits of the totality. For instance, Krause has made a distinction between 'geophony', the sounds of non-biological processes such as wind, water, and earth movement; 'biophony', the sounds of non-human living organisms; and 'anthrophony', human generated sound, which sub-divides into four sources: electromechanical, physiological, controlled and incidental (Krause, 2012). These categories may be conceptual, experiential, pragmatic or a combination. Whether recording soundscape sounds or arranging found sounds within pieces, categorising can help create a deeper awareness of the different kinds of sounds

¹²⁰ In the struggle to record precious sites before they are destroyed by building developments or environmental threats rescue, or emergency, archaeology shares similar concerns (Brew, 1961).

you are dealing with. In Krause's schema, anthrophony has been separated off from the rest of the biophony in part due to a predilection for pristine natural (non-human) recordings, and the attendant ecological concerns to preserve and propagate them. In Holbeck, electromechanical anthrophonic sounds predominate, providing most of the material for both the prepared soundscapes and the ambient, contingent soundscape that the walker will encounter. An awareness of the balance and interplay of these three categories encourages deeper listening and opens up compositional possibilities.

As part of the scientific wing of WSP, Schafer and his colleagues compiled many charts, graphs and maps focusing on different aspects of the soundscape.

Source: Schafer, R. M. (1977). *The soundscape – Our sonic environment and the tuning of the world*. Rochester: Destiny Books.

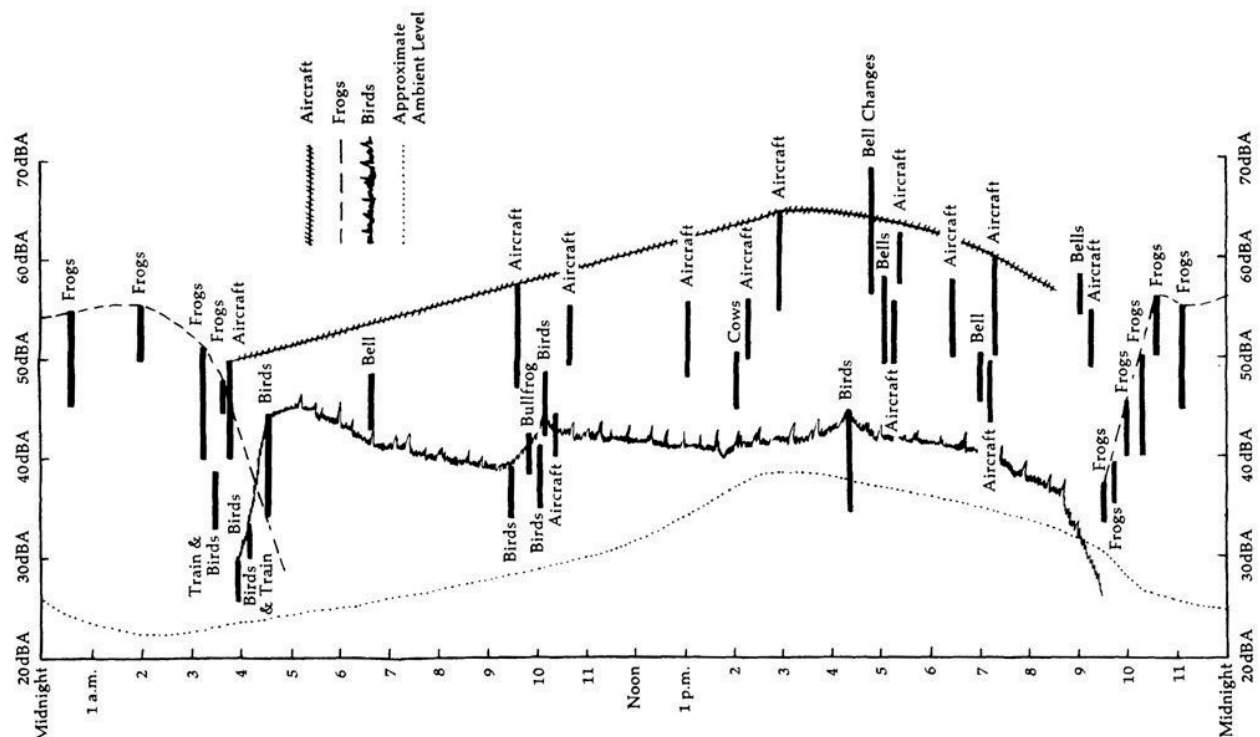


Figure 6.1 Sonic Environment Chart

In the above chart a 24-hour period is plotted according to decibel levels of the perceived anthrophonic and biophonic sources, highlighting the sonic integration of different species in a natural setting. Within an urban environment such as Holbeck, where anthrophonic sounds predominate most of the time, it would also provide a way of understanding the diurnal cycle over the year, resonating with Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis. A phonoscape that could track these rhythms and arrange its

material accordingly is a possibility, but it would require an array of sensors distributed throughout the area to monitor and stream the data. Taking data from a fixed point is useful but limited in a locative field composition. Another approach is to move around the environment focusing on the existing sound sources.

Source: Southworth, M. (1969). The sonic environment of cities. *Environment and behaviour*, 1(1), p. 49-70.

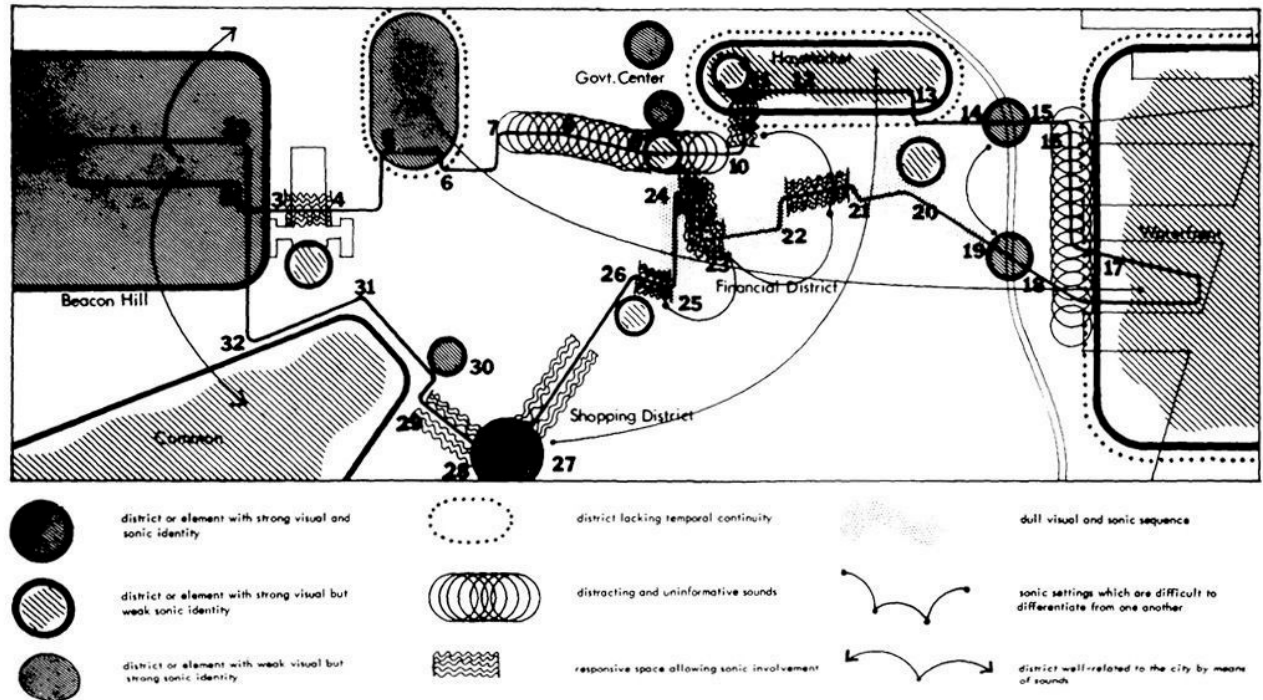


Figure 6.2 Plan of Environment and Behaviour

This would have more benefits for phonoscape research and the data can be incorporated either as sound recordings or as likely encounters for participants, such as busy roads, railways or industrial fans. The category 'distracting and uninformative sounds' (above) says a lot about the normative vision of the WSP's early soundscape explorations. The approach taken with the emerging *Holbeck Phonoscape*, is far more open to contingency making no initial judgement on whether a sound is worthy or not. Decisions, whether intentional or aleatory, however, may need to be made regarding the duration of sounds within the phonoscape itself.¹²¹

¹²¹ Letting sounds be themselves in Cagian terms (see below) sets out from the principle that all sounds have an equal right to exist.

The WSP identified several main elements within the soundscape that are particularly useful for phonoscape composition: 'keynote sounds', 'sound signals', and 'soundmarks'. The keynotes are heard 'continuously or frequently enough to form a background against which other sounds are perceived' (Schafer, 1994:272), in Holbeck traffic is the keynote. People who live next to the M621 only become aware of it if something in particular draws their attention to it. Schafer's original conception of keynote comes from tonal music and, indeed, there are possibilities of working tonally as with Noah Vawter's headphone-mounted *Ambient Addition* (Vawter, 2006) that operates on incoming sounds and distributes harmonising frequencies around detected tonal centres. This is possible with smartphone technology, and would be an interesting direction for future phonoscape experimentation. The keynote is the complementary partner of sound signal which is understood as figure standing out against ground in a figure-ground (sound signal/keynote) relationship.

Soundmarks are the sonic equivalent of landmark and define a community with a special identity, a good example being a particular church bell and chiming sequence, something that is unique to a village or town. Again, Schafer finds a moral undertow to soundmarks

Once a soundmark has been identified it deserves to be protected, for soundmarks make the acoustic life of the community unique. (Schafer, 1994:126)

Holbeck has no identifiable soundmark at present, although it would have had, when its industry was thriving, in the form of factory whistles or sirens, each defining a particular place of work and time. Through the power of locative media these lost soundmarks might be brought back to life. Part of my thinking behind setting up the Giotto Tower Campanile bell within the phonoscape is to add a soundmark to the experience. The bell maintains its directionality and gradually fades in volume as it recedes into the distance, a virtual soundmark.¹²²

¹²² Local artists Black Dogs installed a speaker in Tower Works, Holbeck with the sound of the Giotto Campanile Bell in Florence (BlackDogs, 2009). This is referred to in the interview with Sue Ball (HAW-2-7-10-Ball-023)

Several refinements have been made to Murray Schafer's original conceptions by fellow WSP colleagues such as Barry Truax (Truax, 1984, 1996), and also from sound artists John Drever (Drever, 2001, 2002), Denis Smalley (Smalley, 1997, 2007) and Hildegard Westerkamp (Westerkamp, 1994, 2002) Reynold Weidenaar (Weidenaar, 2002), but the original conceptions have proven to be highly resilient.

By encouraging more detailed listening and enabling similarities and differences to be considered within a complex soundscape, WSP encouraged new ways of composing with found sounds that has its roots in the pioneers of *musique concrète*. While the classification of sound types proves useful for phonoscape planning, questions remain regarding how abstracted the recorded sounds could become given the importance of interplay between the prepared and existing soundscape environments.

6.2.3 Soundscape as Composition

The choice between synthetic and phonographic approaches is relevant to the phonoscape. The principle of only using sound materials gathered from the site ensures a level of integrity to the sound production, but the more sounds are synthesised the more they become detached from the site. Here resides a fundamental aesthetic, and possibly ethical, choice: whether to process the found sounds beyond recognition, a choice favoured by Pierre Schaeffer and followers of the acousmatic tradition, or whether to strive for and maintain a clear identity for the sounds using phonographic techniques. As Truax argues:

the original sounds must stay recognisable and the listener's contextual and symbolic associations should be invoked for a piece to be a soundscape composition. (Truax, 2008:105)

This does not really solve matters though since 'contextual and symbolic associations' can be manipulated during the course of a piece, changing the threshold of recognisability as the listener becomes more familiar with the sounds. A good example of this approach is with many of Trevor Wishart compositions, for

instance his *The Republic of Heaven* (2012) piece.' Similarly, phonoscape functions well in this liminal area, experimenting with preconceptions about what is recorded and what is live, urging deeper listening.

Composers such as Iannis Bernard Xenakis and Bernard Parmegiani work with extreme forms of manipulation, while field recordists such as Chris Watson and Bernie Krause strive for pristine delivery of the natural. Many composers working in soundscape research work somewhere in the middle, however, extending to both extreme and minimal processing of natural sounds. For instance, Westerkamp works with the both ends of the spectrum, blurring the real and synthetic, the documentary and the dream, her soundwalk compositions (see below) are particularly useful starting points for phonoscape construction.

To date, almost all soundscape composers' output is designed to be listened to in displaced circumstances, in installations and concert halls, or played back on personal music equipment that may be continents away from the source recordings. Usually these circumstances will be purposefully designed to allow for the minimum of other sounds to encroach.¹²³ The phonoscape is primarily designed to be experienced within its own environment, and even when it becomes part of a *Displacement Activities* performance, its displaced relationship within the contingent soundscape is of major importance operating on the fifth and sixth orders of displacement. In *Displacement Activities* performances, the listener is always aware of the displaced soundscape conceptually, since they are wearing headphones and expecting to hear sounds, but it may be less clear *which* soundscape (live or recorded) they are hearing at any one time unless the disjuncture is made obvious by acousmatic decontextualisation. Truax has argued that acousmatic sounds are becoming more part of the natural soundscape, and acousmatic performance more environmental due to multi-channel playback systems (Truax, 2008). The phonoscape, being a soundscape within a soundscape adds another level of complexity to this understanding. As immersive, prepared soundscapes become more environmentally sensitive to the contingent circumstances (for example, Rueb,

¹²³ With noise-cancelling headphones, even the mobile experience may also be cocooned from the existing soundscape.

2004a) the social inscription of embodied hypertextual presence further breaks down distinctions between inside/outside, prepared/environmental, acousmatic/real.

6.2.4 Extra-sensory Soundscapes

By extending what is considered to be real or phonographic to include electromagnetic field (EMF) detection, the possibilities of what is real or acousmatic are likewise extended. Current extra-sensory practitioners include Christina Kubisch (Kubisch, 2000) and Martin Howse (Thorington, 2011) work with EMF; Bill Fontana using accelerometer and hydrophonic sensors; Will Montgomery uses combinations of conventional field recordings with contact mics, VLF receivers, telephone pick-up coils (Montgomery, 2012). Future phonoscapes incorporating live streaming of EMF, for instance, with prepared and existing soundscape become highly complex, evolving pieces. This approach has precedents in some of the work of Cage, for instance, in *Variations VII* (1966) he extends the sensorium to include:

ordinary radios, there were Geiger counters to collect cosmic things, there were radios to pick up what the police were saying, there were telephone lines open to different parts of the city. There were as many different ways of receiving vibrations and making them audible as we could grasp with the techniques at hand. (Cage cited by Kahn, 1997:585)

By combining EMF with more natural sounding recordings, the phonoscape moves in hybrid territory. Given that all the sound material is derived from the site, it can be argued that the essence of soundscape recording is preserved, even those extreme forms of granular synthesis, pioneered by Truax, used to manipulate field recordings beyond recognition, preserve something of the original traces. Overall though, if the fully acousmatic and instantly recognisable are taken to be at either end of a spectrum of possibilities, the phonoscape may be best placed around the centre position, where there may be uncertainty in perceived content, but not its attachment to the site.

6.2.5 Soundwalks

Soundwalks are an essential research tool for phonoscape construction since they allow the composer to become close to the sound environment in which they are working. The distinction between audio walk and soundwalk is pivotal to the research and practice of the archaeology of the voice. As with audio walks, there is no consistency in the use of the term 'soundwalk'. The production of commercial audio walks by soundwalk.com, who call them soundwalks, is one example of this confusion of terminology. Whereas the audio walk may be defined as a designed or recorded sound experience requiring delivery through headphones, the soundwalk requires no additional audio or apparatus other than the ears to be present, the walker is invited simply to extend their listening practice. Murray Schafer's original definition of soundwalk 'using a score as a guide', has been displaced by definitions closer to what he termed a 'listening walk' which simply involved 'concentration on listening' (Schafer, 1994:212-13). A pioneer of soundwalking, Hildegard Westerkamp, defines it thus 'any excursion whose main purpose is listening to the environment' (Westerkamp, 1974:18). This succinct definition has been modified, however, by another soundwalker, Andra McCartney, who prefers: 'a creative and research practice that involves listening and sometimes recording while moving through a place at a walking pace' (McCartney, 2014). McCartney's addition of recording technology might be considered an erosion of the original WSP principles of natural listening, but it need not be taken so. The main distinction remains that the person is not listening to recorded material, they are listening to and engaging with the immediate environment that happens to be being recorded live. The soundwalk is a creative act of listening, whether it is recorded or not.

Normally when doing field recording, it is important to be listening through the microphone/sensor that is doing the recording in order to focus the instrument to the required purpose. The situation is different, however, when conducting ambulant in-ear binaural recordings. It is impossible to have speakers/headphones playing back the sound in proximity to the microphones because of audio feedback looping. Janet Cardiff uses a dummy head to get around this problem, but in many settings, including deprived urban areas such as Holbeck, this apparatus might invite unwanted attention. McCartney routinely records her walks with binaural ear-

mounted microphones, and I follow this practice. By a process of repeated soundwalking, recording and playing back it is possible to improve the technique. While there are advantages and disadvantages to either system, from a compositional point of view, the ultimate determinant is the quality of the recording made. Both systems can produce good, usable recordings.

As recording equipment has become easier to obtain and use there has been a corresponding expansion of soundscape recording, creating soundmaps, and producing soundscape compositions. Moving outwards from the voice, to the room, to the house and garden, and thence the wider context of the interview is legitimate practice within ethnographic approaches as is the routine incorporation of oral history. There is a corresponding move from within soundscape studies towards more ethnographic engagement (Drever, 2002). When the output of recording is the site-specific locative situating of the voice material, it is impossible to avoid the issue of soundscape. Soundscape provides the listening context of locative pieces, whether the setting is urban or rural. Both as a fundamental aspect of research, and when creating output for locative pieces, soundscape recording helps the researcher to develop a sensitivity and familiarity with the material context of the work. There is also an historical imperative to record transient or vanishing soundscapes that is concomitant with the emergency wing of the archaeology of the voice. Soundscape may be seen as an important part of the contextualisation of the interview material, and sensitivity to it further contrasts markedly with methodologies geared to abstracting the voice as text.

6.3 Organised Sound, Methods for Material Distribution

In this section I will review several useful approaches suited to locative composition. The work of John Cage figures large, mainly because his approach to the organisation of sonic material is particularly adaptable to phonoscape composition within a live and mobile soundscape involving chance, indeterminacy and field composition. The fact that Cage wrote a lot about his own work and methods, and has also been written about extensively, also singles him out. Lack of space, however, results in the omission of composers such as Christian Wolff and Earle Brown, who also developed relevant approaches to field composition and innovative indeterminate scores.¹²⁴ The fact remains that Cage has been highly influential on subsequent artists both within and outside sound art, probably, at least in part, due to the openness and adaptability of his work to new methodologies and technologies.

An awareness of the compositional potential of both soundscape and silence to underscore and punctuate oral testimony is required to compose a phonoscape. The LOAM app provides the platform and essential compositional features for controlling relative and absolute volumes of layers, and a database of voice, soundscape and incidental sounds is available to be combined in any conceivable way, the issue remaining to be discussed is how to organise it. Whether or not the resulting phonoscape is considered as music or a variant of sound art is not relevant to the thesis, as Cage put it in 1937

If this word "music" is sacred and reserved for eighteenth- and nineteenth-century instruments, we can substitute a more meaningful term: organisation of sound. (Cage, 2004:3)

It is, however, Edgard Varèse who is usually accredited with coining the term 'organised sound',

¹²⁴ In particular, Wolff's *Edges* (Wolff, 1968) and Brown's *FOLIO*, with special reference to *December 1952* (Brown, 2008) would be useful starting points for mobile and indeterminate scoring.

I decided to call my music "organised sound" and myself, not a musician, but "a worker in rhythms, frequencies, and intensities." ... a composer, like all artists, is an organiser of disparate elements. Subjectively, noise is any sound one doesn't like. (Varèse & Wen-chung, 1966:18)

There are choices open to the phonoscape composer in organising those 'disparate elements' given the material available and an intention to distribute it over a specific site. In Varèse's down to earth formulation a composer is 'a worker in rhythms, frequencies, and intensities', indicating the main variables that may be adjusted in a piece. Avoiding standard musical rudiments such as harmony or order is useful for contingent phonoscape composition, but 'rhythm' is also loaded with lattice-based (Wishart, 1996) implications of the kind Cage was trying to avoid with his approach to the organisation of sound. Pursuing a serialist notion of musical parameters to be adjusted, we could replace 'rhythms' with 'duration', to form a more neutral list: duration, frequency, and intensity.¹²⁵ This is still not comprehensive enough for a locative piece in which any sound material is theoretically admissible, a 'total sound-space', in Cagean terms. Reflecting on the type of composition made possible with tape, in the wake of *musique concrète*, Cage outlines our list of parameters appropriate to sound as material:

The situation made available by these means is essentially a total sound-space, the limits of which are ear-determined only, the position of a particular sound in this space being the result of five determinants: frequency or pitch, amplitude or loudness, overtone structure or timbre, duration, and morphology (how the sound begins, goes on, and dies away). (Cage, 1957:2)

These parameters are confirmed in current sonic art/music practice, but are still not sufficient. Within locative composition the parameter of density is particularly important, since this concerns the distribution of layered sounds in any given locale. Using silent durations allows the sounds 'to be themselves' in a composition. Cage explored this in many of his works and the distribution of density was managed by

¹²⁵ These general terms do not preclude more conventional kinds of music, they are simply open to more possibilities.

his chart system in pieces such as *Music of Changes*.¹²⁶ So, given these parameters to adjust and the reassurance that '...any sounds may occur in any combination and in any continuity', in what ways might we organise the material available in a locative oral history?

Regarding locative oral history, the primary issue is how much, or little, to organise material. All material, though open to chance, is organised in some way prior to our intentions to focus on it, or manipulate it.¹²⁷ The material is not inert. Following Westerkamp's line of thought,

No matter what the composer's intent may have been from the start, the materials inevitably speak their own language, whose deeper meanings may only emerge with repeated listening and sound manipulation. And that in itself has the power to shift the composer's intent. (Westerkamp, 2002:53-4)

This dialogic, reflexive relationship between composer and material is present at all stages of the research and composition process, perhaps best illustrated with recording and deploying soundwalk material. Soundwalking through a Holbeck soundscape on Bonfire Night 2014, I was accompanied by an anthrophonic orchestra of bangs and whizzes filling the air, activating architectural surfaces from all parts of the city, providing a unique and vibrant soundscape that was highly sensitive to the specific points in space and time I passed through. Moving my head very slightly in any direction often radically altered the perceived sounds as new surfaces and complex phase relationships came into play. Some soundscapes are gradual in their transitions, others rapid and unpredictable. A soundwalk is a form of organisation based on specified rules, but ultimately open to chance. Binaural recordings made in this manner become records of improvisational performance pieces.¹²⁸ When organising material that will operate within an existing contingent

¹²⁶ Another parameter explored by Wishart in his sonic art pieces is the 'gestural' consideration which is particularly important in relation to voice.

¹²⁷ For fascinating theorisation on this issue see the emerging thoughts of speculative materialist/realist philosophers including Materialism, (Cox, 2011; Grosz, 2008; Mullarkey, 2013).

¹²⁸ For instance, this is a form of composition found in the work of Dallas Simpson.

soundscape, chance is something to work with rather than against. This was realised in the 1940s by Cage, who developed a range of chance procedures and time-bracketing techniques in order to distribute complex arrays sounds in unpredictable ways across time and space, or timespace (Edensor, 2010a).

6.3.1 Sorting Material, Introducing the Material to Performance Ratio

What I term the 'Material:Performance Ratio' (MPR) concerns the management of large amounts of eligible material within relatively short performance times.¹²⁹ In practical terms, this parameter is implicit in all presentations of oral historical audio material, and is addressed routinely by both oral historians and sound artists making editorial choices. Miller, for example, admitted that selecting from hours of material was an emotional process that literally brought tears to his eyes, in part due to his attachment to the material he had to discard (Bradley, 2012a:104). When producing determinate pieces of specific length, even if they are looped, much eligible material from the original archive is necessarily discarded. With the more open approach afforded by locative media and database, any amount of potential material may be included, without increasing the length of the actual performance, through a random selection process. As the database grows in size, it follows that the probability of hearing any individual clip decreases. Positive weighting can be used where particular items are considered exceptional, such as with Sally Mottershaw's Workhouse story included in the pilot phonoscape. This could be worked out on a points/rating system, depending on the overriding criteria of the project.

With streamed archives there need not even be the restriction of the performer's storage device. The selection of clips in this case can be left to chance, increasing the likelihood that all parts of the archive are accessed. This is one way of solving a high MPR and means that the work remains open and generative, new material can be added at any time without disturbing the piece.

¹²⁹ Again, I use the notion of 'performance' for the activity of the walker/listener/participant/percipiebnt within a locative piece.

6.3.2 Chance procedures

Chance procedures provide a way of organising sounds when working with contingent conditions and the indeterminate actions of the percipient/performer, and where there is a high MPR. As mentioned, it is possible to weight probabilities so that certain pieces are very likely to be heard, but where materials are to be considered equal, i.e. when many stories correspond with a specific GPS position, chance offers an unbiased way of making decisions within any particular performance of the phonoscape. Chance and indeterminacy have distinct, specific meanings in Cage's work, and these are useful to adapt here. Chance procedures concern the use of randomising processes as part of the composition, *which then becomes fixed* according to the outcome determined (Cage, 1993:35). Indeterminacy applies to the conditions of performance and refers to an openness or multiplicity of ways that the score might be realised. By incorporating randomising features within a performance, phonoscapes blur this distinction, some sounds may be fixed, while others remain less determinate. Given the possible multiplicity of outcomes for a fixed amount of material within a defined location, the phonoscape can be said to be an indeterminate composition, using chance procedures in both composition and performance.

For Cage, chance procedures offered a way for him to spend more time questioning the context, the system and the materials rather than constructing a logic that determined precisely where and when each element should occur, as with more conventional composition. Involving chance also implies a corresponding loss of authorial control, a key element in producing polyvocal pieces that draw on all parts of the archive.

6.3.3 Variations and Site-specific Organisation

In a prescient comment on the sleeve notes to a recording of *Variations IV*, Joseph Byrd states that Cage adopts "A "portable aesthetic", a non-exclusive, sense of awareness which can be carried about in one's hip pocket." (Cage, 1965). Long before smartphone or even walkman technology, Byrd has put his finger on the mobile aesthetic that inspired Cage to explore everyday sounds and set up complex

systems for their (dis)placement at venues and sites in 'happenings'. Cage himself was critical of the limitations of mainstream recording and play-back techniques in representing his spatially dynamic pieces, such as *Variations IV*. He pointed out that 'A faithful recording would reflect these movements from one spot to another.' (Cage, 1981:133). All eight *Variations* chart Cage's concerns with terrestrial and celestial mapping, spatiality and process. The themes are extruded through organisational systems that explore multimedia, interpenetrability and disciplined action. The problem of adequately documenting fully spatialised site-specific performances forms the basis of David Grubbs's recent argument against such representation in *John Cage, the Sixties, and Sound Recording*, (Grubbs, 2014). GPS-triggered smartphones are perhaps the first feasible, low-cost method of delivery for such pieces allowing for the kind of mobile topographical locatedness that Cage was exploring sonically through the organisation of live, performing musicians and physically interacting site acoustics. Developing documentary techniques for *Displacement Activities* performances also poses major problems of this kind.

6.3.4 Mesostics

One way of dealing with a high MPR is to adapt Cage's technique of mesostics. Cage applied mesostics to *Finnegans Wake* as a way of performing a text that would otherwise take too long to perform within an orthodox concert duration. In *Roaratorio* (Cage, 1979a), the use of spoken mesostics, combined with location field recordings, and live music provides a way to experience the essence of the whole text sonically in the relatively short space of time of 1 hour. The piece collapses the spacetime of *Finnegan's Wake* to the dimensions of practical performance. Cage explains his method in *Writing Through Finnegans Wake*

What makes a mesostic as far as I am concerned is that the first letter of a word or name is on the first line and following it on the first line the second

letter of the word or name is not to be found. (The second letter is on the second line.) (Cage, 1978)¹³⁰

Cage goes on to explain that for the mesostic JAMES JOYCE, he started randomly on page 356 and began looking for a J without an A, and for the following line an A without an M, thus

my lips went livid from the Joy
of feAr
like alMost now. how? how you said
how you'd givE me
the keyS of me heart

Using his aesthetic judgement on where to start and end the line on either side of the designated letters, he worked through the whole text several times before coming up with the version he used for *Roaratorio*. The text is seen as a field of possibilities to be realised in performance. The method is readily adaptable to an audio archive/database, allowing the composer to sample a large amount of audio material following simple rules. Whereas the mesostic takes a vertical slice through a set of horizontally arranged linear prose, the audio archive can be sliced through with search tags, place names, GPS coordinates, or any element deemed appropriate. Taking the ready example of place name tags within the Holbeck Oral History archive, these could be taken as starting points for selections. Moving outwards from the selected points could be a matter of aesthetic choice, as with some of Cage's lines, tending towards a reduction rather than expansion into long passages. In this way, the audio material could be reduced dramatically to usable clips, and the results would provide an acceptable introduction to the archive material. The composer would then be focused on simply where to start and end each selected clip. As with Cage's choice of 'James Joyce', the chosen terms have a meaningful link with the whole work, but the actual fragments selected through the process may be only arbitrarily related until they are set down side by side, when, through a metonymic process of association, the whole book is rebuilt through a skeleton of parts. This

¹³⁰ This appears on page two of the introduction to the booklet but there are no actual page numbers.

process of building a whole from a set of fragments is a salient feature of the phonoscape and the mesostic method is highly appropriate to an archaeology of the voice. In the case of Holbeck, the mesostic centre for the phases or words could be the letters of H O L B E C K itself, for instance, thereby at once randomising and yet still preserving a faithful essence as with Cage's J A M E S.

6.3.5 Composition by Field

For Cage, and many other composers, the notion of field composition arose in music as a consequence of the serialist project and out of an acceptance of revised understandings of linear causality developed in physics during the first half of the twentieth century. For example, Henri Pousseur describes his work *Scambi* as 'not so much a musical composition as a *field of possibilities*, an explicit invitation to exercise choice'.

In acknowledging his debt to Cage explicitly, and echoing Pousseur's conception, Schafer goes on to say that:

Today all sounds belong to a continuous field of possibilities lying within the comprehensive dominion of music. Behold the new orchestra: the sonic universe! And the musicians: anyone and anything that sounds! (Schafer, 1994:5)

While part of the WSP methodology includes soundwalking and field recording, the bulk of the composed work is a case of gathering sounds together, editing and manipulating them into pieces intended for fixed concert settings under 'the dominion of music'. While the source material, or soundscape, may be conceived of as a field of possibilities, the performance/audience relationship remains fixed. With the work of Westerkamp, Luc Ferrari and Tony Schwartz, for instance, it is the composer who walks through the material's field of possibilities whereas the audience remains seated, imagining the walk alongside the composer's intentions. By questioning the traditional settings of music, Cage managed to create systems that challenge this implicit sedentary framing. When the piece, performance, and audience is seen as a set of dynamic spatial relations, then the field of possibilities extends to all parts of

the equation and the music becomes truly mobile. Brandon LaBelle notes this tendency in the combined potentialities of a cluster of Cage's pieces, *Fontana Mix* (1958), *Variations II* (1961), and *Water Walk* (1959) where there is a suggestive link:

Between the composing of sounds with the composing of spatial relations, to underscore music as the construction of localised experiences: that what I hear now is related to this particular moment, and this particular configuration. (LaBelle, 2012:244)

When sound sources are distributed throughout an environment and the listener/performer walks within a total sound field that combines prepared and unprepared sounds, then the field of possibilities becomes part of a dialogic interaction that is symmetrical with the composer's role in investigating and compiling the experience. This situation is prefigured in Cage's organisation of sounds for the Black Mountain events involving multi-media assemblages and activities spread over a wide area where:

Multiplicity, contingency and simultaneity... are expressed in both content and form, where the location of the audience... nurtures multiple views. In this sense, there is no one single view onto the performance, no central object, but rather each perspective is equally acceptable. As a listener one is figured as an element within a greater, temporal arrangement. (LaBelle, 2012:244)

Given the role of indeterminacy in such productions, the roles of composer, audience and players are blurred. In keeping with one of Cage's understandings of 4'33", the audience is free to make the music themselves, in a similar way to performing your own soundwalk, the experience relies simply on intention and attention once the decision to enter into a piece has been made. This is emphasised by Barthes understanding of what he sees as a new/modern way of listening that Cage's work brings.

Realising that they [audience] are in fact doing it [music]' listening searches for its own narrative - it speaks, it musicalises, it determines composition, however outlandish and uneventful.' (Barthes, 1991:259) cited by (LaBelle, 2010:17)

Conceived of in this way, experiencing a field composition becomes a form of speaking-listening where each sound is heard 'one after the next' and 'not in its syntagmatic extension, but in its raw and as though vertical signifying' (Barthes, 1991:259). This non-representational appreciation of the musical/sound art event avoids decipherment and the search for metaphorical meaning beyond the experience of the sounds being themselves, it is a metonymic form of association where the presence of site, material and listener/performer intersect within a timespace field that is afforded by the field approach to composition and the organisation of sounds.¹³¹ In this context 'listening reaches not for correct meaning, but for its potential' (LaBelle, 2010:17) thus releasing imagination and agency.

¹³¹ Cage espoused the notion of 'letting sounds be themselves' throughout most of his career and this has been led to various charges ranging from Kantian transcendental idealism, to crude essentialism. The idea of sounds being themselves here is simply meant to imply a contrast to more traditional lattice-based approaches to music where sounds become part of a linear musical, or historical argument and requires deeper interpretation to be understood. This is not intended to deny that there is always a socio-cultural element to listening.

6.4 Voice

In this section I will discuss how voice recordings might be edited, manipulated and distributed within the phonoscape. One possible approach, using a playlist, requires a set of decisions and procedures regarding editing and framing that will situate whole stories, fragments of narrative, and non-diegetic voiceover along a specified route. A phonoscape, however, allows for alternative approaches to voice that can operate in a more dialogic manner, encouraging the percipient to move or dwell within the site according to their own choices

Listening closely to the qualities of a voice such as its timbre, accent, and cadence is akin to proofreading a text for spellings, typographical anomalies and punctuation. A semantic reading actually gets in the way of the task. Here the medium is prioritised over the message. When considered as an object, the voice is a hybrid of flesh and vibration directly articulated with the will of the Other. From the perspective of sound art, this is not difficult to comprehend, but it may be less easy to assimilate for the oral historian who is more accustomed to perceiving and contextualising meaning in utterances. In audio presentations of interview material, the eddies, contradictions, reiterations and hesitations of oral testimony are often edited out to clear the way for transmission of this perceived, and shared, meaning.¹³²

6.4.1 The voice and the territory

Interrupting the linear flow of the recorded interview by editing according to its referential distribution within the site is a material requirement for phonoscape construction. Only where the interview concentrates exclusively on one specific location would this not be the case. Aside from its fundamental locational distribution, however, the voice material can be edited and used in many different ways to affect the spatialised choices of the listener/performer. Given that whole stories will be the prime focal point, a reduction to lexia, fragments, phrases, words, spacers, and

¹³² This is not to say that ambiguity or difficulties of interpretation are purposefully avoided in oral histories, (see for example, Portelli, 1991).

grains can be used to guide the walker around the site, providing themes and sub-themes able to penetrate the archive by repetition and variation in the places between the whole stories. Fragmented, non-linear narrative has been discussed as a useful approach, and density is suggested as a key parameter to be adjusted. The following subsections discuss further voice editing possibilities used by practicing sound artists.

6.4.2 Repetition and variation

Miller's *Linked* provides a good example of the reduction of testimony to single words and phrases sampled and looped. Through the effect of synecdoche (Augoyard, 2005:123-4), we are particularly attuned to hearing human speech and readily perceive repetition. In oral cultures this has proven to be a powerful tool for preserving history within poetic forms (Ong, 1982), and continues into the present day in the choruses of popular music. When the natural voice repeats a word or phrase it also makes slight variations that are barely perceptible, but with sampling technology a word or phrase may be repeated precisely, and this is particularly noticeable. This can be taken to nightmare extremes with the live spoken voice, as with Bruce Nauman's *Clown Torture: Pete and Repeat* (Nauman, 1987). Within the musical piece Steve Reich's *Different Trains* (Reich, 1989), spoken testimony samples are repeated and varied through instrumental phasing, establishing overriding themes within a musical narrative that refers to Holocaust trains. Using repetition sparingly within the phonoscape provides a way into and out of whole stories, small fragments presaging the proximity of a primary soundpoint as the listener approaches, and then forming memory traces of the testimony as the story retreats into the distance. This technique builds on Rueb's motif in her *Drift* piece where each soundpoint is surrounded by a halo of footsteps. In the phonoscape, the spoken fragments are graded from lexia to grains according to proximity, and signal the existence of a pool of testimony where whole stories may be heard. By repeating this arrangement with slight variations throughout the site, the listener can begin to learn the spatial arrangement of the archive.

6.4.3 Mind the gaps: the use and awareness of pause

While silences may be acknowledged as a constitutive element of oral history material (Freund, 2013), they are usually understood as part of a semantic field rather than as a sonic resource. By focusing on silences within a structure drawn out of absence, such as within the *Holbeck Phonoscape*, silences and pauses become part of the building blocks of the piece. A radical approach to the silences between utterances can be found in the work of the Language Removal Services, whose process removes the spoken words:

But leaves all the sounds untouched: air whistling in buccal cavities, the pool and drain of saliva and phlegm, the glottal pops and deglutinations that punctuate the inframince between even the most rapid speech (Dworkin, 2013:164-5)

Here the word sounds are elided providing the spacers with their own liberated continuity. The effect is strange, often comical, but a good illustration of the materiality of the voice that is just as personal to the speaker as the uttering voice. Rather than removing this element, as is usual with radio edits, the phonoscape can draw upon it to signal the onset of testimony within a spatialised field.

Less radical, but more relevant to the interests of the oral historian, Karen Geyer's work *Graufilter* (Geyer, 2008) combines oral history with mechanical rhythms and textures created by her sonic assemblages. To Geyer, the hesitations and silences within the testimony form both a musical and semantic resource in an ongoing dialectic that is live mixed through an array of frequency filters, producing an emergent hybrid form, *Grautonmusik*, which preserves the sense of the speaker without compromising her sonic exploration of everyday objects.

Alongside the larger use of gaps and pause within the phonoscape, the spaces between words and phrases are also a useful resource for phonoscape construction.

6.4.4 Sound Montage

Sound montage, was developed in the wake of early film montage pioneered by Sergei Eisenstein and Walter Ruttmann, among others. Techniques involved cutting, splicing and overlapping material often in bold, rapid-fire juxtapositions. By compressing time, complex ideas and representations could be reduced to simple successions of images or sounds using repetition and carefully selected associations. In film, as in sound, Eisenstein's observation rings true with the earlier discussion of metonymy:

Two film pieces of any kind, placed together, inevitably combine into a new concept, a new quality, arising out of that juxtaposition. (Eisenstein, 1986:14)

Following on from the early experiments of Futurists and Dadaists, new recording technology provided materials and momentum for fragmented narratives and sound montage experimentation that has since been explored through musique concrète, text-sound, sampling, plunderphonics, glitch music and beyond. While found sounds, soundscapes and electronic sources have featured large in these developments, the voice has had a primary role to play.

Listening to Walter Ruttmann's *Wochenende* (1930), it is noticeable how the voice appears in many different forms, buffeted around by mechanical intrusions including a buzz saw, but it remains present either in the foreground or background for much of the dense montage. In a walk around Holbeck, the unmediated soundscape operates in a similar way to montage, if less dense than in Ruttmann's piece. Voices come and go, some of them animated, some singing, whistling or quietly talking and these are assimilated as part of the character of the place. Accents, moods and trajectories all build to acquaint the listener acoustically with the area. While audio recording on a soundwalk, any voices encountered become part of the material. As Ruttmann proclaimed in his 1929 manifesto:

Everything audible in the whole world becomes material. This infinite material can now be given new meaning by fashioning it in accordance with the laws of time and space. (Ruttmann, 1998, sleeve notes)

Ruttman's montage was created by adapting camera film, and was intended to be listened to as 'blind cinema' in a conventional cinema setting. Displacement is thus built into the intention and engagement with the material which is composed to drive a fractured narrative along and maintain attention. Placing a similar sound montage in a phonoscape would be possible, but together with the contingent environmental sounds, the density of the prepared experience would be inconducive to deeper listening and making connections with the environment over a sustained span of walking. The sound montage, by having no silences, by relying on gesture and authorial intent, tends towards maximum density as a sonic experience. This is particularly evident in the work of Glenn Gould, whose driving, overlapping montage documentaries such as *The Idea of North* (Gould, 2003), originally produced in 1967, leave no room for contingent soundscapes and thoughts to emerge. There is a similar, though often more relaxed momentum in the documentary work of Tony Schwartz (Schwartz, 2008) who combined field recordings and spoken voice in disciplined themes paying careful editorial attention to the unfolding of narratives for radio broadcast.¹³³ More recently, Gallagher's *Kilmahew Audio Drift* (Gallagher, 2012) has sections of voice montage, which works to good effect within a larger fixed piece where spaces are created by soundscape recordings and sonic effects such as golf ball hits.

There is scope for montage within phonoscape work, the key issue is how much and when. Density alterations in field composition are one of the prime ways to guide listeners towards the oral testimony, so a more dynamic form that is able to include silences and *Hörspielstreifen* is preferable to a continuous, driving narrative no matter how atomised.

¹³³ Schwartz first started recording in 1945 when he acquired his first Webcor wire recorder, and his weekly radio show, featuring life in New York, continued for 31 years. He published several pieces on method, for example: *Recording Techniques* (Schwartz, 1970).

6.4.5 Granular Synthesis

Granular synthesis has been used in many fields of composition including soundscape and voice manipulation. Originating from Dennis Gabor's work, 1942-52, techniques and theories of granular synthesis have been explored by pioneers including Iannis Xenakis, Barry Truax, Trevor Wishart and Curtis Roads.

A grain of sound lasts a short time, approaching the minimum perceivable event time for duration, frequency and amplitude discrimination. (Roads, 2001:88)

When this 'short time' is less than around 2ms, it sounds like a click. At around 25ms pitch is discernible and may be altered by changing the waveform (amplitude envelope) and frequency of the grain. When assembled in clouds, grains can exhibit dramatic textural and timbral shifts as lengths, envelopes and frequencies are altered. This forms the basis of their use within music and sonic art. When applied to the voice, granular synthesis renders the material abstract and unrecognisable as a voice.

Wishart has used granular synthesis, or 'brassage', among other computer-processed techniques throughout his works. His aesthetic is highly gestural and abides in traditional narrative forms, as he puts it 'It's not an installation; it's a piece of music. It has a beginning, it has an end' (Marty, 2011:84). His focus on the voice centres on metamorphic techniques that build on his original interests in extended live vocal techniques as an improvisational and compositional resource. From the early days of his *Red Bird* (1973-77), to his most recent pieces, Wishart concentrates on morphing the human voice into biophonic and other everyday sounds in ever more sophisticated ways, exploring the internal structures of sounds as well as their external arrangement and relationships within pieces. Despite his move away from the abstract formalism of his early training towards an engagement with the human and the everyday, the technical dexterity and expressive dramaturgy of his work soon leaves the ordinary sound world behind and explores quite alien territory, all the more strange for retaining recognisable sonic links with voice.

Wishart's *Encounters in the Republic of Heaven* (2010) deploys 'Voicewind' (up to 10,000 voices per second) and 'Clouds of Speech' where sounds are grouped according to sonic or semantic properties and spread around the sound field. The fragmentary nature of the individual sounds is smoothed over by proximity, simultaneity, repetition and layering and the overall structural context in which the individual grains find themselves. Moving up through grains, to phonemes, words, phrases, descriptions, stories and unedited interviews, the role of timespace remains important.

Wishart spent three years preparing the voice samples for *Encounters*, and several years developing the piece. I listened to the work as intended, in full spatial surround at a performance in the 15th International Conference on Digital Audio Effects (DAFx-12), at York in 2012, and it is extremely impressive within a concert setting. The manipulation techniques have the potential for realisation as a phonoscape, but Wishart's degree of composerly control over beginnings and endings would have to be relinquished, and given over to walker. Such gestural work, where the composer retains a high degree of control over the materials, seemed out of place in a work designed with the intention of revealing the testimony in its place. In Wishart's terms, the phonoscape would constitute an 'installation', not 'music'.

6.4.6 Typology

The above considerations provide an overview of some of the techniques of voice editing utilised within the phonoscape. From the whole interview down to the grain each temporal segment can be used in many different ways to engage the listener in ways that an unedited archive cannot, even though it may be locatively mediated.

Cathy Lane's typology of compositional approaches to recorded speech (Lane, 2006) provides a useful summary of the diversity of techniques that have been applied to the voice in sound art and music, identifying 19 separate strategies. Her schema divides the field into two broadly defined areas, those where 'semantic discourse is dominant' and these where 'abstract discourse is dominant'. Relative dominances are determined by what the composer intends the work to be about and what the nature of their interest or engagement with the material is. Lane further

defines three subsets; scripted; interview/conversation-based; and pre-existing archived sources. The 19 categories form three sub-sets moving from how speech is used as material (1 to 9), how it is deployed within arrangements (10-14), and the final set concerns wordplay (15 to 19). Lane is keen to point out that her categories are not exhaustive or mutually exclusive, so there is a lot of flexibility within the schema. The phonoscape involves several of the 19 categories, but also poses questions for her more generalised typology. The difference between abstract and semantic discourse is hard to sustain, since the phonoscape is an abstraction that is grounded in the semantic discourse of oral testimony and the materialities of place and soundscape. Some oral testimony is not disturbed, but in other parts of the phonoscape it may be reduced to grains and distributed across an area. Lane also suggests a putative division between techniques whose role is the 'dissolution of semantic meaning' and those which provide an 'accumulation of meaning' (Lane, 2006:5-6). Continuing with the example of granular synthesis, when synthesised grains are conceived of as a signal through repeated association within a phonoscape they gain semantic content, and are also materially (archaeologically) related to the original testimony, while the original semantic content is lost in the grains. When, however, the grains lead the listener to the whole piece of testimony, the rift is healed and the original semantic content preserved. Throughout the phonoscape performance the dissolution of semantic meaning through deconstruction and processing (categories 1 and 2), is also at the same time an accumulation of meaning through semantic extension (category 6), and both sonic (category 4) and structural association (category 7). In common with Nye Parry's *Boomtown* (Parry, 1998), the phonoscape may be characterised as 'docu-music', since it retains 'both the meaning and the authenticity of a genuine voice from the past' (Lane, 2006:8), but it also uses sonic manipulation to build and dissolve meaning within a structure that is indeterminate and a performance that is largely determined by the percipient. While Lane's categories go some way towards characterising this approach, her attachment to a fundamental difference between electro-acoustic abstract work on one hand and real-world sound engagement on the other (for example, soundscape composition), makes the schema difficult to implement with hybrid works such as the phonoscape.

Accepting the importance of context and soundscape, the voice remains central to oral history and provides the primary material for the archaeology of the voice. Conventional editing procedures drawn from radio documentary, montage, audio guides and walks utilise interview material as building blocks to create an overall narrative. The idea of stringing a narrative together over a programme length either half an hour or an hour determines the framing and theming of content. With work involving located place memory, it becomes less important to maintain an overarching narrative, and overall meaning is distributed across a field of possibilities. Again, Butler and Miller's pioneering pieces lead the way here. Miller is content to reduce the testimony to very small fragments and loops, whereas Butler's bracketing of story is less severe, he allows each edit to frame a particular insight, memory or reflection. As we move to the more expansive pieces of Lane, Westerkamp et al., the idea of immersion within soundscapes is just as important as the voice, and the liminality of voice/not voice is consciously played with. Within phonoscape, all these elements are explored.

Before moving on to discuss how I have applied some of these theoretical insights in the pilot phonoscape in Holbeck, it will be useful to summarise this chapter. I have now reviewed how constitutive silence is used as a compositional tool to develop a dynamic rhythm to the piece for an indeterminate duration. Careful deployment of silence encourages reflection and dwelling in specific places. Manipulation of the noise threshold between silence, liminality and full volume is one of the main control parameters within the LOAM app. Silence as absence has been considered as a powerful metonymic device.

Soundwalks and deep listening are essential tools used in preparation for any ambulant locative experience both as a way of understanding the sonic context and as research towards field recording sites. The soundwalk complements the psychogeographical *dérive*, but the chosen site may be explored by pursuing interesting soundscapes rather than the less definable ambiances of Debord. The typology of different kinds of sounds put forward by Murray Schafer and developed by Smalley, among others is a useful device for improving listening skills and setting

source soundmarks within the prepared sound environment as spatio-temporal organisation fields.

Manipulation of voice is perhaps the most noticeable form of composerly intervention that might be made in a phonoscape. Reducing stories to fragments and grains is a powerful device that can provide a useful signal, indicating the proximity of larger voice pieces. Repetition of voice is also highly noticeable unless variation is included. repeated words and phrases, as with Miller's *Linked*, offers a way of emphasising elements within the narrative that may be deemed significant. Using chance procedures to move away from intended narratives is another tool to deploy in a polyvocal experience, allowing equal probabilities to samples drawn from all parts of the archive.

Regarding the organisation of sound, techniques and approaches from John Cage are considered useful in producing an indeterminate piece based on chance procedures that solves the high MPR. The audio is explored as material, and forms arise from direct engagement with locale. Field composition is to be taken forward as an appropriate method of construction based on a notion of time-space that rests upon a percipient-led exploration of the locale. The organisation of sounds then becomes the distribution of densities across the phonoscape.

The various parameters outlined in this chapter are developed and explored further in the following chapter concerning my sound art practice.

Chapter 7

Sound

Art Praxis

Introduction

In this chapter, I will outline the main methods and points of departure for creating the pilot phonoscape from the point of view of my sound art practice.

A work is the contact made by the score (or any of the possible kinds of musical structuring) and the sounds (and performers and actions) under the condition of a site. (Ninth thesis of Pisaro, 2006:9)

Within phonoscape the audience is also the performer and the composer may not know exactly what is playing at any given time or place within the site. The contingency of the existing environment, as heard through open headphones, is a fundamental part of the experience. The contingency encountered with the prepared audio within an audio walk, however, works within a predefined set of materials and preset probabilities, even where chance procedures are deployed. The densities of biophony and anthrophony operating in the environment alter according to the time of day, as with the dawn chorus or rush hour traffic. The densities within the phonoscape will depend upon the material gathered through interviewing and field recording together with the composer's choices regarding the range of probabilities governing the piece.

Before introducing the chapter contents it will be useful to summarise features available to audio walk composers, and outline the unique sonic features of the phonoscape approach. The simple playlist is an approach used by many audio tour and museum guides, comprising of a set of discrete audio files each related to a specific topic or location. It may be possible to manually pause or select another file in the list, but the files are intended to be listened through each in turn at specified listening points or areas. When content becomes more complex, using enactments, voice-overs, music and oral history, the playlist could be called a themed playlist. Here the listener listens through a whole series of audio files that have been combined along a route, or within a historical site. The audio files may also be composed as movements within a piece such as *Carrlands*. Although Toby Butler's pioneering memoryscapes combine elements of both simple and themed playlists, they are distinct in that they focus on located memory as revealed by oral history

material, and they extend the possibilities of the medium by incorporating sound art. Gallagher's *Audio Drift*, however, combines techniques from the above into a single, long-playing (48 minute), piece that the listener plays while roaming freely within a designated site (Gallagher, 2012). An advantage of this approach is that once it is set up, there is no need for the walker to attend to the device until the end of the piece, allowing the experience to be more immersive.

Building on these previous approaches, the pilot phonoscape incorporates several of their key features in the building of new, multi-layered locative experiences, combining the above approaches within LOAM.¹³⁴ Using chance procedures, and probability densities, each iteration of the piece is unique according to the walker/performer's movements. There will be no preferred start/stop point, in the full *Holbeck Phonoscape*, but for the purposes of the pilot a preferred route is suggested, although areas such as Holbeck Moor can be navigated freely.

Some of the sounds within the pilot phonoscape have been selected specifically for the purposes of demonstration, but others have been chosen by chance procedures, selecting from several possible candidates that are tied to the same GPS area, as with the Holbeck Moor sector.

The experience of site-specific oral testimony provides something unique and special that a conventional audio guide might not: strong linkage with site through powerful affect. Examples of this are evident throughout my interview material and manifest in specific selections within the pilot phonoscape, such as Sally Mottershaw's story relating her experience of the old workhouse, and Tony Harrison's performance of 'V' (Harrison, 1987). These recordings are both powerful in their own right, but when listened to on location they open up a realm of understanding that is unique to locative memory.

¹³⁴ The pilot phonoscape is necessarily restricted in order to demonstrate key features of the technology within a relatively short space of time. Each of these features will be expanded within the full *Holbeck Phonoscape*, where a more open approach to chance and duration is deployed.

As a whole, the phonoscape may be seen as a collection of found sounds and as such relates more closely to *musique concrète* than lattice-based forms of music. Themes, variations and rhythms can be worked through in terms of timbre, type of sound, or frequency, as well as their GPS coordinates and relationship located testimony, with the contingent, environmental soundscape bringing a level of unpredictability into the system.

The following sections constitute a report on my activities in the area in order to elucidate the sources and techniques used in creating the pilot phonoscape beyond the interview. I have retained some elements from my field notes in the text.

In the first section of this chapter I will introduce the basic elements of phonoscape as a solution to the locative delivery of the archaeology of the voice, followed by a section indicating how the LOAM app accommodates its requirements. In *Sound Recording and Deployment* I will outline the general approach and specific equipment I have taken to oral history interview and field recording, before going into some detail regarding two specialised approaches that extend conventional field recording: *EMF Divination* and *Impulse Response (IR)* recording. The next sections focus more specifically on the areas selected for the pilot phonoscape including a discussion of further recordings in a key heritage site in Holbeck: *Temple Works*. Moving across the M621 to the heterotopia of *Holbeck Cemetery*, I discuss a unique piece of located oral history in Tony Harrison's poem 'V'. The section *M621 and Holbeck Moor* sets out the main area for experimentation in the pilot phonoscape: an expanse of open green at the centre of residential Holbeck, transformed when the motorway was built near its southern end. I will then discuss approaches to recording and place with an account of my performance of Cage's *4'33"* (a recording of which is included in the pilot phonoscape) in the underpass under the M621. The final section, *Topographies of Chance*, touches briefly on the issue of chance in constructing the phonoscape.

7.1 The Phonoscape

The purpose of the pilot phonoscape included with the thesis is to demonstrate some of the key features that will ultimately be incorporated within the full *Holbeck Phonoscape*. Instead of drawing upon the whole *Holbeck Oral History Archive*, the pilot phonoscape covers a small section. The geographical area covered includes Holbeck Cemetery, Holbeck Moor, The Underpass and Workhouse, and Temple Works. Place memories with clarity and powerful affect have been given priority, but material from all the interviews has been eligible for inclusion, selected according to chance procedures. The pilot phonoscape utilises the main features of the LOAM app and provides mobile examples of some of the methods and techniques discussed in the previous chapter.¹³⁵

¹³⁵ A mobile phone with the pilot phonoscape app and instructions is available from the University of Huddersfield. The full *Holbeck Phonoscape* and *Holbeck Oral History Archive* will be published subsequently when the requisite funding is secured.

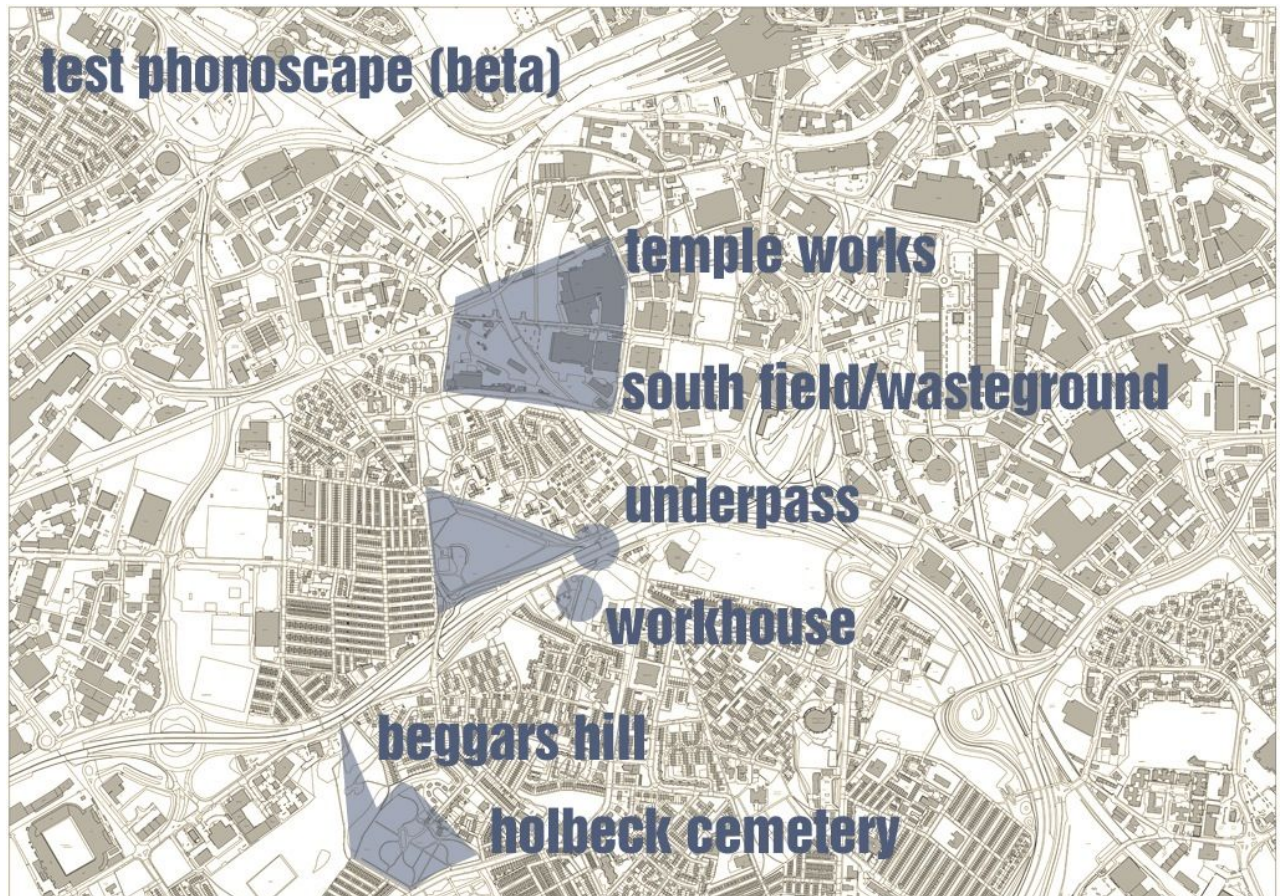


Figure 7.1 The active zones of the test phonoscape

What follows is an annotated list of the categories of sounds that the LOAM app can deploy within a full phonoscape. These may be organised into three main categories, voice, incidental/sound effects, and prepared environment sounds.

7.1.1 Voice

The voice-based sounds include:

Oral Testimony -- this includes all the utterances of the interviewees. The interview material may be divided into sub-categories narrations (including several stories), stories, phrases, words, non-verbal utterance, grains (sub-semantic particles extracted through granular synthesis). With the exception of grains, any or all of these sub-categories may be fragmented, thus a section from a story, phrase or word may be used.

Found voice -- this category includes passersby, crowd sounds, and public speaking or announcement.¹³⁶

Non-diegetic voice -- this includes voice used for information about the phonoscape itself, conventional guided tour voice-over such as information about people, architecture and/or dates, and instructions such as inviting the walker to look in a particular direction or pause.

7.1.2 Incidental/Sound Effects

These are usually short pieces or one-shots designed to emphasise specific features or situations encountered, they can work for or against the other sounds, depending upon chance conjunctions. Examples range from very short shocks such as a single car horn or firework, to longer pieces such as the mechanical closing of a shutter or the passing of a plane.

7.1.3 Prepared Environment

These sounds operate for relatively long durations within the phonoscape, and may be derived from single or layered soundscape recordings. They are deployed partly as *Hörspielstreifen*, in order to keep the listener within the experience, but also as subtle conditioners. Distinct psychoacoustic or psychogeographical zones within the phonoscape area are reinforced or disrupted by means of the prepared environmental soundscape. A good example of the disruptive aspect is the placing of binaurally recorded woodland birds in a claustrophobic urban lane at night, as with the first *Displacement Activities* performance.

¹³⁶ Andra McCartney has raised some ethical concerns about the use of this kind of material particularly where it may be possible for listeners to identify the speaker which is an issue for public versions of the phonoscape (McCartney, 2002).

7.2 The LOAM app

The LOAM app was designed specifically to deliver the archaeology of the voice via a phonoscape, but it has several further functions, providing scope for other approaches depending upon the requirements of the artist/oral historian. By utilising the app's three distinct layers (outlined above) the phonoscape may be organised to produce a continuous, experience throughout its specified site: 'Voice' for oral testimony and voice-over (assigned to channel 5/Narrative); 'Incidental' for sound effects and one-shots (assigned to channels 0-3/Environment); and 'Prepared Environment' for longer duration *Hörspielstreifen* and soundscapes (assigned to channel 6/Background).¹³⁷

Within the layers the following main parameters may be utilised:

'Spread' to control directionality relative to walked trajectory. This is used in the pilot phonoscape to place the Giotto Tower bell at Tower Works. It chimes at 15 minute intervals throughout the experience maintaining its directionality and getting quieter as it recedes into the distance. The issue of directionality works according to calculations based on the trajectory of the walker, it will not respond to head movements without the addition of a specialised headset.¹³⁸

'Range' this determines the distance of the trigger from the central point. In practice it is best not to go below 5 yards, taking into account GPS accuracy which is noticeably worse in the vicinity of tall buildings where it has a tendency to drift.

'Roll-off' this determines the kind of volume roll-off deployed by the trigger: linear, square, or cubic, this fades the sound in or out when the sound is triggered. There is

¹³⁷ A text file, LOAM Beta info March2015.txt, is included with the thesis that explains the parameters and functionality in more detail.

¹³⁸ The best way to achieve this at present would be to construct an Arduino based headset and use this to control panning parameters on the device according to the orientation of the user's head. Future work will experiment with this possibility.

also the option to set 'Shape' which is also a determinant of volume, available settings are 'sphere' or 'henge' which concentrates the maximum amplitude at the centre or the periphery of sound's area.

Finally, sound files may be selected from a list to be played at random for any given trigger, or in/out points specified within any given file so that only a section will play. Where there are more than one set of points or more than one file they may be played by random selection each time (meaning that the same file/section remains a possibility even after it has just played, or it remains out of the series until the whole series is played. By using silent files of different lengths and/or quantities together with an eliminative list, probability may be controlled which provides a way of altering the density of any given zone or field. For instance, a file assigned within a group of ten will have a 1 in 10 or 10% probability of playing when the walker enters the trigger zone. If five allocations are made for the same file, then it will have a 50% probability. Most files set within the pilot phonoscape are set to 100% probability, but the full *Holbeck Phonoscape*, will operate with far more material, and probabilities will be highly variable.

Sounds from distinct layers may overlap, but no two sounds from the same channel may do so. In practice, this means that 'Incidental' sounds must be used to transition between long duration and wide area 'Prepared Environments'. For example, I have used located EMF recordings in the route leading up to Holbeck Cemetery to fulfil this function in the test phonoscape.

In future versions, it will be possible to construct polygonal triggers allowing for much more flexibility in setting trigger zones, but for the pilot phonoscape the only option is to use circles with adjustable ranges.

7.3 Sound Recording and Deployment

7.3.1 Recording the voice

My practice with recording oral history interviews has evolved over the research period. The first recordings were made with a Maycom Handheld HII that incorporates a high quality mono Beyer-Dynamic omnidirectional electret condenser, and reasonably good pre-amp (Maycom, 2009). This seemed naturally biased to enhance voice clarity at around 5-6KHz, but with the danger of sometimes enhancing sibilance. Perhaps the main downside of this equipment is that it requires a caddy and external power source to run external microphones, and so is restricted to the onboard mono setup for most interview situations, and is not suitable for field recordings. Recording interviews from a table or desktop microphone has the advantage of capturing most of the testimony evenly, regardless of head and body movements of the interviewee, but because it must operate at a distance the omni mic tends to pick up room noise and table noise, particularly if the interviewee touches the table surface or moves objects. The way around this is to use a lavalier mic, clipped on the person's clothing, usually around the upper chest area, closer to the mouth. With this in mind, I started using a pair of DPA4060s and portable Sound Devices 702 recorder. The advantage of this setup is that it can be used in a variety of settings, interviews, binaural recording, and spaced-omni field recordings, as well as for close-micing purposes. The recorder can accommodate any professional microphone, and is able to sustain phantom power for over 4 hours in the field per charging.

My setup for interviewing is to place one microphone near the mouth, clipped to a piece of clothing, and one microphone on the table, using a cloth or bag to dampen vibration. This produces a good quality, clean recording of the voice, but also the option of moving to the more ambient recording if the speaker moves their head too much, or knocks the close microphone while gesticulating. This method also doubles the chance of producing usable material if something unexpected happens. At the mixing stage, the ambient source can be faded in and out either complimenting or

replacing the close source for added variation. This can be particularly effective when used to fade in/out edited files. The DPA4060 is capable of producing excellent recordings but sometimes the voice itself, the positioning, or an unfortunate combination can produce a flat, lifeless recording. In this case, the only recourse is to adjust the response by post-production EQ and/or compression.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, even with minimal changes of equipment throughout the project, very few of the 64 interviews have produced the same results. There are always new challenges to be met in the field and flexibility and adaptability is the key.

7.3.2 Voice in the phonoscape

The voice is a malleable entity in the studio, as the work and software of Trevor Wishart makes evident (see for example, Wishart, 2011). While Wishart is concerned to preserve the voice-like properties of his samples rather than treat them as purely acousmatic sound objects, he treads a fine line between sense and non-sense as far as individual sounds and phrases go. In *Encounters* (Wishart, 2010), he is careful to preserve the meaning of his participants on a macro-level, and the piece is made within his general socialist ethos, every voice deserves to be heard. But these aspects rely in part on their social context, and individual stories or tales are often so manipulated as to become something completely other in the course of the work. Wishart is well aware that his music might seem remote from the people it is gathered from, but assures us that they have listened to it and are generally happy with the results. Wishart's manipulations are far more extreme than Miller's *Linked* loops and fragments which seem like relatively straightforward narratives in comparison. Butler's memoryscapes, for example *Drifting*, present a far less radical approach to oral history material, offering whole and nearly whole stories within non-linear framings. My approach with phonoscape attempts to strike a line between these methods within the time available.

My method has been first to collate a selection of full stories attached to their appropriate locations. The locations themselves have arisen through the course of interviewing. While some areas have been recurring themes, such as Holbeck Moor or the M621, others may have been unique to an individual. For instance, several

accounts refer to Holbeck Moor, these stories may be either spread around the area or stacked up around a single trigger. With a stack of stories any one may be selected randomly with equal probability. With the insertion of 'silent stories', or spacers, into the equation, it becomes necessary to adjust the probabilities according to how many spacers are inserted. This adjustment of probability may be seen as a density controller to be operated throughout the phonoscape. From the listener's point of view, when they trigger a blank they might simply walk on without realising that dwelling in that zone would eventually result in a story being triggered. Density is a crucial parameter in field composition (see Sound Art chapter, ref). The ratio of silence to sound is fundamental, as is the ratio of signal and noise. I have used the technique of a sound to silence density ratio to determine the overall distribution of story fragments in the phonoscape.

Using the example of Tony Harrison's 'V' (see Holbeck cemetery in Fig.7.1 above), I worked outwards in a series of concentric circles (triggers). I have clustered the voice samples depending upon chance procedures and probability density in three concentric circles as follows:

1. Zero-point (centre): full story/poem/performance will trigger within a range of n yards from the centre. This always takes precedence regardless of what else is playing, any prepared environmental layer will be reduced in volume as with sidechain compression, or ducking, common in radio voiceovers.
2. $nx2$ yards (primary circle): phrases/story fragments may be encountered,
3. 40 yards (second circle): words/phrase fragments (as above).
4. $nx3$ yards (secondary circle): non-verbal spacers/word fragments

Rather than treat grains in this way, I have deployed granulised samples by chance or design within the prepared environmental layers as well as for specific sound effects. I have used apeSOFT's Density/Pulsaret to produce asynchronous granular synthesis of voice samples. The other voice edits are carried out manually within the interview content or using DAW features such as Logic's 'strip silence' function which automates the cutting up of speech into parts, according to amplitude threshold and specified durations.

7.3.3 Field recording

There is not space for a detailed account of all the approaches I have experimented with here, so a brief overview will lead the way to selected examples of how I have made and used field recordings. The individual sections on Impulse Response, Temple Works, and M621/Holbeck Moor will illustrate most of the key techniques

The main research technique has been to begin with extensive soundwalking throughout the area, in different weathers, different times of day, and at different speeds. This has enabled me to build up a sense of the varying ambiences in the neighbourhood. The impressions that soundwalking provides blur the boundaries between objective measurement and subjective affect, and fall within the ambit of psychogeography. This process is similar to the method of deep mapping, and involves 'getting a feel' for the area. Sociohistorically, the area is divided according to the three main zones I have identified, but other currents striate these divisions, and they are only found through systematic walking. Through this process, I identified likely areas to do pilot recordings and then work proceeded through trial and error.

The most useful method of field recording has been binaural, either walking or static. For this I used ear-mounted DPA4060s/SD 702, but I also used Soundman OKM II/Edirol R-09. There may be slight variations between different human heads and heights, but my experience of this method by practitioners such as Cardiff and Butler, and the testimony of others who have experienced some of my recordings, is sufficient for me to adopt the method. Headphone composition is an excellent way of capturing a 3D soundscape.¹³⁹ The in-ear method has the advantage of being discrete, which is useful for solo recording in deprived urban areas such as Holbeck, where it is not always advisable to draw attention to the fact that you are carrying around extremely expensive equipment. I use small, black Rycote windjammers, which may look a little strange, but nobody has commented on them even when I have stopped for conversation. This lack of attention may be due in part to ubiquitous portable listening devices. The, often surprising, realism of this recording

¹³⁹ For installations, binaural recording does cause problems due to phasing issues, 'the 'hole in the middle', but this can be overcome by careful attention. Installations are not part of my current output.

method means that the results are usable for both prepared environmental layer soundscapes, and sound effects.

I have experimented with other setups (Spaced omni, ORTF, X/Y, M/S) for static field recordings with a range of DPA mics and Schoeps with good results, but for headphone pieces designed to be listened to in noisy urban contexts these recordings provide details that may be missed outside of a quiet, gallery installation setting. I have also experimented with Audio-Technica AT-BP4025 X/Y stereo field recording microphone in a Rode blimp. Using this setup on a pole is a useful addition to my kit providing good, consistent recordings and enabling me to extend my ears further into the soundscape.

7.4 EMF Divination

My first encounter with located audio as an art installation delivered via headphones, was with Christina Kubisch's *Music for a Concrete Jungle* (Kubisch, 2000). While the locative aspect of this work is of importance to the thesis as a whole, it is the method of delivery that concerns me here. Kubisch had been experimenting with the potentialities of electromagnetism since around 1980, and the *Sonic Boom* piece was based on the simple, but no less magical, properties of the induction loop. Continuing this interest, Kubisch began to produce her *Electrical Walks* in 2004. These walks used the same basic technology as the previous work but here the induction coils were set to pick up and amplify the found electromagnetic sounds of the city (Kubisch, 2004). Kubisch guided people around cityscapes following electromagnetic currents, providing a completely different way of experiencing their environments. Searching and following electromagnetic lines and sounds of interest defies both conventional sonographies and cartographies. The environment becomes a new playground where the slightest turn of the head, or step forward may produce a radically different set of sounds and rhythms. Intrigued by the possibilities of this method of exploration I felt that an EMF exploration of Holbeck would be a useful additional tool to the ambulatory exploration I had already undertaken which tracked more subjective experiences and psychogeographic resonances. Any material gathered from this realm existing alongside and inside our everyday experience would necessarily be relevant to the phonoscape. Furthermore, the method of rendering audible EMF was intrinsically a method of the fourth order of displacement, re-tuning the frequencies but preserving their live relationships and rhythms, and so offered further opportunity to expand the core ideas of *Displacement Activities*.

Given the historical nature of the phonoscape, it would not be necessary to add a special live processor or Arduino module to deliver this in realtime, what would be required would be mapping the EMF landscape during a series of walks, using a detector that operated along the lines of Kubisch's headphone coil systems. The recorded audio could then be included in the piece as a sound layer, either as a

general field or as a set of localised points corresponding to the locations at which they were detected.

At this point in the research I met up with Martin Howse, writer, performer, explorer and founder of xxxxx (this is the actual name of his operation), who had been working in 'psychogeophysics' for some time.¹⁴⁰ Together we explored the Main Space at Temple Works, the Wasteground (Temple Works, South Field Site), and other sites around Holbeck tracking the intricate layers and subtle meanderings of the EMF world.¹⁴¹ It was an inspiring ear-opener to this hidden realm, and as a result of this collaboration, I acquired two detectors. One being the 'detektor' (Howse, 2013) which enables full spectrum exploration of the electromagnetic environment operating between 100 MHz and 3 GHz. The second piece of equipment, a wide area electrical field detector, translates the electrical output of devices or objects such as computers or fences without shifting the frequency, it simply amplifies the sound bringing it within the range of human hearing. Both these pieces of equipment could be hooked up to recording equipment and listened to on location as I explored the area anew.

Immediately, one of the key attributes of Miller's *Linked*, the realm of 'wholemeal radio waves', was made available to locative media, and on an enhanced basis. Using the detektor, the sense of coming in and out of reception according to your GPS coordinates, that worked effectively with Miller's piece, was made a possibility without resorting to the artifice of adding arbitrary radio waves or contriving breakdowns in signal. The EMF soundscape achieves this by itself. Whilst head-orientation control would have to await a later iteration, the phonoscape could now include a mapping of the material circumstances of recording. No sound manipulation would be necessary beyond the direct frequency and amplitude displacements required to bring that material within the audible range. Using steep

¹⁴⁰ Howse defines psychogeophysics as: 'a series of interdisciplinary public experiments and workshops excavating the spectral city and examining the precise effects of geophysical/spectral ecologies on the individual through pseudo-scientific measurement and mapping, algorithmic walking and the construction of (experimental) situations' (Howse, 2010)

¹⁴¹ Howse included some of these recordings in a subsequent radio broadcast (Howse, 2013).

volume fades, localised EMF frequencies could be inserted into the experience in the incidental layer (channels 0-3) encouraging the listener to approach or retreat from focused zones. Similarly, attention could now be drawn to liminal zones between soundscapes based on field recordings, voice recordings and the existing environment. The movement of the listener/performer could now be choreographed according to another dimension that was still part of Holbeck.

Another consideration with making EMF recordings is that the process of recording itself is one of careful exploration. Selection of radically different sounds through small bodily movements and orientations offers the recordist a fine-tuned instrument that compares with binaural recording. One advantage over binaural recording is that the signals reaching the ear are enhanced and often unexpected, encouraging unusual transit patterns as you explore a world predominantly without visible reference.

I have made several recordings of Holbeck using this technique some of which are included in the pilot phonoscape. The hi/lo frequency recordings of the detektor are split into two channels which may be listened to together or separately. The electrical field detector has only one setting and is more suited to the exploration of stationary objects or machines. EMF recordings add a sense of artificiality drawing attention to the medium, or method, of delivery, with sounds that appear to be more noise than signal. This is ironic to a great degree since much of the noise is in fact signal, with a sizeable proportion of it being by and for the mobile phone, which in this instance could arguably be listening to itself.

7.5 Impulse Response

Taking impulse response (IR) readings in a space provides a way of capturing its sonic signature as a reverberant chamber, whether natural or architectural. The resulting sound files can then be convolved with other sounds using one of the many convolution reverb systems now widely available.¹⁴² Convolution as a form of filtering is particularly apt for the phonoscape as it offers a way of bringing together the interviewee's voice with the space referred to (if it still exists). Also convolution of spaces within the research zone allows for another archaeological dimension to be explored, bringing the materiality of present architecture onto the sound artist's palette. Another site-specific advantage lies in being able to alleviate the dry flatness produced by close Lavalier micing of voices, adding environmental reverb that is materially tied to the location rather than by simply applying a reverb preset.

In a place with a rich industrial heritage undergoing regenerative change, such as Holbeck, there is always a danger that significant architectural spaces with unique acoustic signatures might be irreparably altered or even demolished. Here the locative oral historian/sound artist ventures into the realm of acoustic archaeology (see Till, 2009) finding ways to retrieve and re-present the acoustic past. Whilst visual maps, plans, architectural drawings and documents provide valuable resources, IRs open another important avenue for data collection. Given that much of Holbeck's industrial heritage had already been destroyed, I decided to undertake an IR project on a major building that was under threat both structurally and possibly strategically.

Temple Works had already undergone a structural failure and, while this had been stabilised, there were plans afoot to demolish parts of the roof of the Main Space. At the time (2013) the owners had to consider desperate measures to preserve most of the building and its iconic façade. Aside from the acoustic properties of the space (I

¹⁴² LA Convolver is a free plug-in that provides basic functionality, or Space Designer in the Logic DAW is another possibility.

had already made several field recordings there), the issue of acoustic heritage loomed, preserving IR records of vanishing places.

A simple method of collecting IR readings involves setting up a microphone in the space and activating its sonic properties by causing a loud bang or clap. The two main variables, microphone and sound source, may be placed anywhere in the space. But as the indirect sound is what is sought, placing the source next to the microphone would not necessarily yield the best results: the loud attack might interfere with the recording of the early part of the reverb tail. With trial and error in mind, I set out with sound artist Phill Harding to capture IRs of the Main Space. I used large balloons and a pair of DPA4006 spaced omnis which we moved around in the space; unfortunately, due to the compromised structural integrity of the room, we were restricted to a small area in the centre and were not allowed to set up near corners, pillars or walls. The results were reasonably good, and certainly usable for the phonoscape, but there was also a lot missing. The balloon is capable of activating the sonic environment, but does not cover the full frequency range. Also a pair of spaced omnis seemed quite limited too. A more complex approach would be necessary, particularly if the results were to be used beyond the phonoscape and provide a heritage object for future generations should the integrity of such an important space be irreparably ruptured.

Together with Dr Alex Harker, composer and creative programmer, who had experience in the field, and sound artist Phill Harding, I conducted a more comprehensive set of IR measurements. We used customised software to record an 18-channel IR using a complex array of microphones including most of the common spatial recording setups (ORTF, Binaural, Soundfield, Double M/S, and Spaced Omnis. In order to produce a full and uniform response we set up a 20Hz-20KHz sine sweep impulse played through a Genelec 1037 set at varying distances from the microphone array. We recorded 25 takes, ensuring that all configurations were covered. The results were generally very good despite the water drips and pigeon activity, and now I have 50 L/R pairs of IR wav files of the Temple Works Main space. Any or all of these may be convolved in future phonoscape work.

Since this project was carried out (April 2013) the future of Temple Works looks more promising and the Main Space may no longer be under threat of partial demolition. Whatever happens in the longer term, these recordings capture a particular moment when, the space was almost completely empty, providing a useful archive resource for future projects and the sonic heritage of Temple Works.

Useful resources to consult when working with IR and convolution are Alex Harker's overview published as part of the HISSToolkit (Harker & Tremblay, 2012) and Pierre Tremblay's video tutorial (Tremblay, 2012). Varun Nair has written a useful online blog outlining the main issues and techniques surrounding this kind of work (Nair, 2012). Apple's Logic provides a serviceable 'Logic Impulse Response Utility' that enables the user to perform a full sine sweep and record the IR. Logic also ships with the Logic Space Designer plug-in which provides a wide range of high quality convolution options (White, 2003) including being able to add your own impulse files. For more detailed discussions of IR and Convolution, see Curtis Roads' *The Computer Music Tutorial* (Roads, 1996).

7.6 Temple Works

From a recording point of view Temple Works is an endless source of inspiration, and the brief series I have made over the course of the research period can merely hint at its sonic potential.

I have already noted the building's importance in the history of Holbeck, and many interviewees recall its days as a thriving workplace when it hosted Kays catalogue. To date, I have interviewed four people with a direct connection with the building: the manager of the current holding operation, Susan Williamson (AoV-T201-11-2-13-Williamson); Martyn White (AoV-T239-26-3-13-White) who worked there as a driver until Kays closed down; Phil Kirby (HAW-27-7-10-Kirby-015a), writer in residence, who remembers it as a child growing up in the area; and Dr Ron Fitzgerald (AoV-T0252-3-4-13-Fitzgerald), an industrial archaeologist who has investigated the building. Clearly the wealth of detail provided by these people and others requires further contextualisation which lies beyond the scope of the pilot phonoscape, but will provide a major focus for the full *Holbeck Phonoscape*.

I worked out clear and distinct zones throughout the site, then made field recordings that could be displaced to accessible areas in the phonoscape surrounding the building complex. In this way, walkers can hear soundscapes recorded from within the buildings as they walk past. A brief summary of the recordings follows.

7.6.1 Temple Complex

The four main interviews focused on Temple Works were all made in the main building. Its sonorous acoustics, together with noisy staff banging doors and the like, have made their mark on the recordings with the exception of Susan Williamson, whose office was relatively quiet. Provided they do not obscure what is being said, ambient sounds can bring something of the life of the building to the listener. It is not necessary to add any ambience via convolution for the Phil Kirby interview, for instance, because it is already there. Since Martyn White knew the functions and

stories of many of the buildings in the Temple Complex, to complement the sedentary interview, I conducted a walking interview with him using binaural (Soundman/Edirol) and X/Y (Zoom H4) recordings which activate some of the other spaces around the site.

Together with the interviews, I made several recordings in the Main Space, ranging from binaural, to spaced omni (DPA4006), and X/Y (DPA4006), including an hour long piece that included the occasional pigeon and the random patter of dripping water. I also found that an impromptu guitar and voice concert by local singer/songwriter 'Jenny' which activated the reverberant acoustics exceptionally well.

Perhaps one of the most striking series was on the roof of the Main Space where the cityscape of Leeds comes to life in surprisingly detailed and varied ways. For this I used the AT-BP4025 setup. The active train lines to and from Leeds City Station provide endless gentle squeals and squeaks of metal wheels on curved track. These recordings are particularly useful for the environmental layers of areas surrounding Temple Works and beyond. Being able to augment the soundscape you are walking through with sounds from a nearby roof is a strange experience, and a good illustration of the principles of displacement and (dis)orientation.

7.6.2 1952 Building

I managed to make a single recording in this semi-derelict building that is part of the Temple Works complex. I walked every space with the DPA4060 binaural setup. Some parts of the recording are reminiscent of Peter Cusack's recordings of walking around in derelict buildings in the Chernobyl site (Cusack, 2012). As I walked inside the gloomy, empty workless spaces due for demolition, across swathes of broken glass, looking out at the abandoned post-industrial landscape, feelings of melancholy and menace mingled in the twilight. Again, this material has a special relevance and poignancy for the phonoscape as walker/performers who, listening to footsteps on broken glass might look up at the sorry state of the building with its old sign still

legible: 'Reality'.¹⁴³ Even when the building is gone, and replaced with shining new regenerated offices or apartments, the phonoscape sounds of breaking glass will remain to haunt them.

7.6.3 Wasteground/South Field

Finally, I made several recordings of the area I called 'The Wasteground', centre-piece of the *Displacement Activities* (2011) performance, a further part of the Temple Works complex.. The performance and its sound world were discussed in the *Displacement Activities* chapter, but here I note particular recordings made with Schoeps M/S setup. These extend the train recordings since the active train line cuts past the south side of the area. Also of note is a recording I made in the one remaining hut on the site. It had a creaking door that the wind was moving occasionally, the door itself opened away from the 2 acre rubble site of the demolished Kays Distribution Depot and towards Marshall Street, behind the security railings. It is a particularly bleak view, even for Holbeck, and as I looked out the occasional car passed by, its approach and retreat partially occluded by the walls of the hut. As I listened and waited, I looked around the dismal, dusty interior with its piles of detritus heaped up. I am in a box, with a lid, I thought.

¹⁴³ 'Reality' happens to be the name of the previous owners Reality Group Ltd who specialise in road haulage and transport..

7.7 Holbeck Cemetery

The Holbeck Cemetery section is a good example of sharing authority through the phonoscape where participants in the interview process can have an ongoing impact upon the delivered content beyond the interview. Recurring themes of historical displacement, liminality or contested space, memorialisation and heterotopia also come into play to warrant its inclusion.

Holbeck Cemetery is included as an element of the pilot phonoscape primarily as a result of an interview with founder member of the Friends of Holbeck Cemetery, and local historian, Eve Tidswell (AoV-T0143_2-20-12-12-ETidswell). Eve told me how the Friends of Holbeck Cemetery was formed in response to the bad state the cemetery had been allowed to fall into in the 1990s; she also introduced me Tony Harrison's 'V' (Harrison, 1985), a poem that had almost become synonymous with it since it was published.

After I had seen Harrison's performance of 'V' on an old VHS tape that Eve leant me, we both agreed that it would be a great addition to the phonoscape, and she put me in touch with Harrison who gladly gave permission to use it.¹⁴⁴ The Friends of Holbeck Cemetery are keen to help me gain funding for the public version. 'V' caused quite a furore when Harrison performed it for the Channel 4 broadcast in 1987, when it was described as a 'torrent of filth' (Wheeler, 2013). Harrison used several strong expletives in the poem in which he expressed his palpable and eloquent anger at his discovery that youths had desecrated his parents' grave.

Also several emerging threads of the research, each discussed elsewhere in the thesis, converged in Holbeck Cemetery. In brief, *Displacement Activities*, heterotopias and memorialisation came together with the exquisite psychogeography of the site and the exceptional view of the whole of Holbeck.

¹⁴⁴ Due to the content of the poem, the material would not be made available to under 16s in the *Holbeck Phonoscape*, and a warning would be included with the app information.

Surprisingly, Holbeck Cemetery appears to be in Beeston, and it transpires that when the Town Council was considering the site in 1854 the selected location also gave rise to feelings of surprise among the local population (Friends of Holbeck Cemetery, 2012). In the wake of the cholera epidemics of 1832 and 1849, the conditions in Leeds, particularly Holbeck, were becoming so bad that new burial sites had to be found outside the centre, and so the site at the top of Beggar's Hill was chosen. The displacement of cemeteries during the nineteenth century is discussed by Foucault as a particular form of heterotopia:

The cemeteries then came to constitute, no longer the sacred and immortal heart of the city, but the other city, where each family possesses its dark resting place. (Foucault, 1984:6)

Climbing the footpath from Elland Road (Holbeck) up Beggar's Hill towards the cemetery, it becomes clear that the site was well-chosen. The land is fairly level, reasonably easy to dig, and has a good view over Holbeck and most of Leeds. That the dead should rest in such an elevated spot seems fitting. At the time it was opened in 1857, the land was relatively cheap and did not encroach on valuable residential or manufacturing space in Holbeck itself, as the old graveyards had.

Looking down on Holbeck from the cemetery, it is plain to see that how the M621 has created a physical and sonic barrier between Holbeck and Beeston. Many interviewees recall how Elland Road once operated on a more modest scale where people could cross freely, sit on roadside benches, and frequent local shops, pubs and other amenities. Paradoxically, the M621 provides a high degree of connectivity on an inter-city scale, whereas on a local scale is it a place of both practical and conceptual division. Despite its apparent inclusion as part of Beeston, several interviewees including Hardinger Sagoo (AoV-T0248-27-3-13-SagooA) and Steve Johnston (AoV-T176-10-1-13-JohnstonA) made good cases for including the cemetery in the phonoscape since they considered it, together with routes down to Elland Road, as still an important part of Holbeck.

Finally, returning to Harrison's poem itself which forms the bulk of this part of the pilot phonoscape, I would like to point out two aspects of it that resonate strongly with locative sound art in general and with the phonoscape in particular. Firstly, Harrison's inspiration and theme was the graffiti that desecrated his family grave, a stubborn locative utterance that becomes constitutive of place until it is expunged or subsumed beneath a cacophony of tags. The poem is arranged like a series of snapshots touching and probing surfaces with an intense orality, shifting between heroic verse and the vernacular, In a word it is polyvocal, roving over a palimpsest of memories and instances. Being a poem, however, a single voice remains, tugging the obscenity, disparity and mess together within a singular vision. This brings me to my second observation, whereas the polyvocal graffiti produces a sideways riot, a rhizomic montage of images and memories, there is also a sense of downward layering towards the abyss, towards the Void, and, quite naturally for the location, death. Is 'V' a defiant two-fingered gesture, or is it an acknowledgement of the Void that will engulf us all? The cemetery is built over a 'worked-out pit', and is gradually sinking, collapsing into its past, hollowed out wealth and glory. This sense of depth provides another profound key for the soundscape.

The following fragments from Harrison's poem (Harrison, 1985) illustrate the gradual, and inevitable, collapse into the Void:

and we'll all be thrown together if the pit,

whose galleries once ran beneath this plot,
causes the distinguished dead to drop
into the rabblement of bone and rot,
shored slack, crushed shale, smashed prop.

...

This graveyard stands above a worked-out pit.
Subsidence makes the obelisks all list.

...

I've never feared the grave but what I fear's

that great worked-out black hollow under mine.

...

Beneath your feet's a poet, then a pit.

As with Cage's method of mesostics, a plum-line weighed through any text or narrative will produce a strand of sense and meaning to the attentive reader. This is even more palpable with the recorded voice. Scattering such pieces of 'V' down the slope of Beggar's Hill to greet the gradual progress of the aspiring locative listener might draw him or her closer to the Harrison grave above.

7.8 Motorway and Holbeck Moor

The M621 motorway provides a keynote sound in the soundscape of Holbeck. According to Murray Schafer, keynote sounds are

heard by a particular society continuously or frequently enough to form a background against which other sounds are perceived... keynote sounds are not consciously perceived, but act as conditioning agents in the perception of other sound signals. (Schafer, 1994:272)

This is similar to the effect of *asyndeton* (Augoyard & Torgue, 2005:26) in which elements of the soundscape are deleted. The continuous sound of the M621 falls into this category: its intensity will rise and fall according to time of day, week, or year. But it is an ever-present phenomenon that the phonoscape has to accommodate both as a contingent part of the walk, encroaching on the listener through open headphones, and as an important sound source to be recorded. As discussed previously, the M621 acts as a socio-historical barrier. Its construction resulted in the demolition of many dwellings and amenities, chopping off part of Holbeck and further isolating the main community from the adjacent neighbourhood of Beeston. The conflicting forces of connection and division permeate the psychogeographical significance of the motorway, and this is explored sonically within the phonoscape.

From the point of view of sonic composition, the available materials offer many possibilities for interplay between the three main factors:

- The oral testimony: several interviews include accounts of the motorway and its displacing effect on the neighbourhood.
- Environmental sounds: like a river, the keynote sound of the motorway provides a background sound to work with. The dominant frequency ranges alter depending upon proximity and architecture, and the pulses of individual vehicles become less distinct with distance, ebbing into a flat spectral density operating across the 20Hz-20KHz range of human hearing, akin to white noise. Low drone effects are particularly noticeable in the underpass.

- **Field recordings:** the motorway provides a wide range of potential sampling points, from very close (roadside), to overhead (Tilbury Bridge) and at varying distances until it recedes into the broader city soundscape. From a locational point of view, sound recording from within a vehicle passing through the area is also acceptable as a temporary part of Holbeck. These sounds can then be deployed to extend and/or match the expectations of the walker. The difference between environmental and prepared sounds is often unclear when in the vicinity of the motorway.

For the purposes of the phonoscape I have identified five distinct environments of Holbeck that can be psychogeographically associated with the motorway, each with a distinct soundscape. Although the motorway feature is linear, offering the possibility of a linear composition, the contingencies of the situation on the ground divide the feature up into these five zones readily accessible on foot:

- **Tilbury Road Pedestrian Bridge**, where the motorway is at its loudest. The open bridge is also exposed to the elements and the steep rise of Beggar's Hill on the Beeston side funnels the wind across the bridge. From here, you can see Leeds United's football stadium, Elland Road. Parts of the old Elland Road (that used to run past Holbeck Moor) still remain, but much of it has been displaced by the M621.
- **Holbeck Moor**, overlooked by St Matthews Church (community centre), the moor provides an equivalent of the traditional village green for the main residential part of Holbeck. It has not been built on substantially since the origins of the settlement, and has been the focus of many community events, such as the annual Feast and Holbeck Gala, as well as having historical resonance with many of my older interviewees. Being an open, easily accessible area that is visible to many and relatively safe from traffic, the moor provides an ideal setting for an extended sound piece, bringing together many of the sonic experiences of Holbeck.
- **The M621 Underpass**, provides a pedestrian connection between the moor and Hunslet/Beeston, a non-place that people pass through, but with a distinctive presence in its own right. This is roughly the site of a much-loved

(according to many interviewees) pub the Coach & Horses that was demolished to make way for the motorway.

- **The Workhouse**, is the site where the Holbeck Union Workhouse (South Lodge) once stood. This is strangely rural area, even though the soundscape is dominated by the motorway. The three bowling greens, several playing fields and many mature trees create a feeling of seclusion, a sense of something going on elsewhere, but not here. From the point of view of the oral testimony I gathered, the site is dominated by Sally Mottershaw's memories of the, now demolished, workhouse.
- **Cambrian Terrace**. Less protected by trees, this area bears the full brunt of the impact of the motorway on daily life. When the motorway replaced Elland Road, it prevented easy access to the moor for pedestrians, and the shops, pubs and amenities all vanished. Oral testimony here attests to the fact that Cambrian Terrace was due to be demolished in the 1970s, but was saved by a small but stubborn local campaign. In particular, the stories of Carole Bell (HAWBell-017a/b) bring this vividly to life.

I have made static and moving binaural recordings of all of these areas (DPA4060s), also static stereo recordings (AT-BP4025) of the motorway from the Tilbury Bridge, together with the 4'33" performance recordings, producing plenty of material for the pilot phonoscape to draw on. I have found the binaural recordings of fireworks are particularly useful for sonic spatialisation since the reports of the fireworks activate the properties of the surrounding architectures in lively and interesting ways.

Two binaural recordings of walking around Holbeck Gala (2012-13) provide an environmental layer for the Holbeck Moor area. Overlaying the two years makes for some interesting results and plays with the uncertainty of what is prepared and what is environmental, the prepared anthrophonies may or may not coincide with the contingent conditions.

Based on the assumption that the M621 is a keynote signal, and largely unnoticed by people in the vicinity once they have become accustomed to it, I decided to focus on it as a 'conditioning agent' of the phonoscape for this area. Bringing the keynote signal in and out of perception by various recording and presentational techniques,

since one of the main functions of the phonoscape is to encourage deeper and more experimental listening.

The basic techniques required for moving the motorway around the phonoscape are by *locational displacement*, *convergence*, *EQ filtering* and *volume* (explained in the following paragraphs). Also, drawing attention to the motorway through relevant oral testimony affects the focus of attention and can reduce the asyndeton effect.

Fontana's *locational displacements* (for example, Fontana, 1994; Fontana, 2011) use a live stream from an alternative environment to draw attention to both the existing and displaced soundscape. Bringing the sea or river sounds into a noisy traffic environment may have a peculiar effect on the listener and the similarities of sea and traffic can lead to a subtle feeling of disorientation, as I experienced with his *Primal Soundings* (Fontana, 2004) during rush hour traffic in Leeds. Locative media is suited to this form of displacement, and offers scope for subtle variations according to GPS position rather than the natural acoustics of the area. Also, at least in this version of the phonoscape, there is no live feed, although that could be incorporated in future versions along with live processing. A key aspect of the sonic illusion lies in the ability of the app to maintain the spatial orientation of the motorway according to the trajectory of the walker, and this is possible in the beta version, but as noted in previously, head movement alone cannot be accounted for without additional technology.

Convergence is where a similar yet quite different sound source can move in and take the place of the dominant existing sound. As with Fontana's installations, water is a very useful medium for paralleling and moving along with traffic that can, with appropriate filtering, merge with the traffic and eventually mask it to an extent, particularly when the roads are wet. Again, this interplay of wet and dry sounds (I mean as a combination with water rather than reverb here), provides plenty of room for experiment within a locative piece.

Following work by Westerkamp and Lane, for example, variation in the frequency spectrum (*EQ-filtering*) can provide a useful tool in creating movement and dynamics within fairly static sound sources such as continuous water. Manipulating the sounds of the motorway within the phonoscape can make the prepared sounds vie with the

environmental sounds creatively, either drawing attention to them or allowing them to settle within the existing soundscape unnoticed.

Volume is a major tool in the locative composer's toolbox, a simple but effective way of indicating presence. Simply increasing the volume of the motorway as the listener walks away from the entity itself has a major effect on the experience. Obviously, it is not possible to diminish the actual environmental volume, although perception may be conditioned by some of the techniques outlined above, but dips and rises can be exploited where the dominant sounds are occluded by buildings.

The above gives some indication of the techniques I have deployed in the construction of the phonoscape around the motorway and Holbeck Moor area. When these approaches are combined with simple manipulations of voice (next section), the result is a rich and immersive sonic tapestry that combines all of its elements in surprising ways according to its intended environment. Even within the limitations of the current app (no live processing or head-movement response), there is much to work with that is not available to the non-locative composer.

7.9 A performance of 4'33"

My performance of *John Cage 4'33" ~ M621 Underpass* took place at fifty three minutes past one on the 11th of December, 2012. It was devised as a memorial to the 20th anniversary of Cage's death, connecting Holbeck to many commemorative performances across the globe during that year.¹⁴⁵

There were several reasons why I chose to perform 4'33" where I did. The place has special significance in Holbeck. The location is particularly significant to those who remember Holbeck before the M621 was built, since the old Elland Road pulled people together with shops and amenities, not least of which was the Coach & Horses pub, mentioned previously. According to some of my interviewees (for instance Ann Hepburn HA-16-4-10AnnHepburn), the underpass is a place to avoid if possible, particularly at night, when it is considered unsafe. Although Holbeck extends both sides of the motorway here, this area is usually characterised as a 'no-man's land' between Holbeck, Beeston, and Hunslet. Another important reason for the location was the closure in November 2010 of the South Leeds Sports Centre in November 2010. The SPLASH (Campaign to save South Leeds Pool and Sports Hall) campaign, related to me by Steve Johnston (AoV-T176/86-10-1-13-JohnstonA/B), local activist, failed and it was eventually demolished in October 2013 leaving a huge absence. The underpass also leads to the site of the demolished Holbeck Union Workhouse discussed previously. The place is a Void in many senses.

Sonically, the location is extremely interesting. Relative to Holbeck Moor the Hunslet side feels more enclosed, there is more bird activity and the sounds of St Luke's School punctuate the day. Holbeck side has a very different ambience: Sporadic local traffic will be heard more often, especially since the demise of South Leeds Sports Centre, leaving the Hunslet *cul-de-sac* largely unfrequented. The

¹⁴⁵ A documentary record posted on Vimeo (Bradley, 2012b) provides evidence that the work was carried out, and establishes the performance as a public commodity.

predominant sound of the locale, ranging from the hiss of tyres to the low drone of engines, emanates from constant overhead traffic on the major arterial M621. Slight movements of position and orientation dramatically alter which frequencies dominate, and movement towards either the Holbeck or Hunslet side also affect what is heard. I chose a central position slightly closer to the Hunslet side to subdue the effects of local (Holbeck) traffic, and emphasise the effects of the underpass itself. I set up in a way to cause minimal disruption of pedestrians.

Regarding my sound art practice, the main motivations for the performance were part of my ongoing exploration of framing. On a technical level, I was concerned with how different microphone set-ups altered what was recorded. Not only the choice of microphone, but the arrangement (for two or more) and placing is crucial to what material you can extract from any given site. There is no 'correct' set-up, but technical choices provide plenty of opportunities for experiment. An underlying concern was the notion of the *sound in itself*, a concept often aired in discussions of Cage and in the context of phonographic field recordings. It seemed to me that sound was very little, if anything, 'in itself' and that it not only depends upon the listener, the technical apparatus and the material circumstance of topography and architecture, but perhaps most importantly the social context(s) of production and reception; it involves humans and choices, most obviously where we engage in (site-specific) performance.¹⁴⁶

A crucial issue with place-based locative oral history is to what extent the placing of testimony becomes a constitutive act of framing. By associating a particular memory with a place, the place becomes altered or loaded for subsequent encounters. The same goes for everyday acts such as walking to work, and also with public performances, each of these practices produces a heterotopia. The construction of heterotopias through site-specific performance parallels exploration with locative media where audience/performers share a hidden world layered upon the existing one. Given that each experience could be said to be a unique conjunction of

¹⁴⁶ This is not to say that the struggle to produce pristine recordings uncoloured by EQ bias or system noise is irrelevant, or that audio illusions/pseudo-realities created by binaural recordings played back via headphones in relatively noisy environments are impossible.

prepared and found material, to what extent can a performance be reduced to a single, unsharable experience?

It is with these concerns in mind that I decided to use a black box (internal dimensions W:14" x L:24" x H:10") I acquired in Holbeck as my auditorium, and to place the listener within that box by the use of mics (DPA4060s taped to the W sides), sound recorder (SD 702) and headphones (Sennheiser HD 280pro). Following David Tudor's world premiere of the piece with piano on August 29th, 1952, I would indicate the beginning of each of Cage's three movements by closing the lid. Between movements the lid would be open. The sound world available to the listener would be a combination of the environment together with the environmental sounds and their activation of the box. To minimise direct environmental sounds we used closed headphones and raised the volume as high as we could.¹⁴⁷ The lengths of the movements (I ~ 25", II ~ 157", III ~ 91") were determined by chance procedures based on two versions of Cage's original score (30/143/100 and 33/160/80).

The day was bitterly cold and still, the sounds were reflecting brightly from the surfaces of the underpass. Being a semi-enclosed area, the environmental sounds are affected dramatically by the architecture. My left ear was listening to Hunslet and my right to Holbeck while above the traffic rumbled. As a performer without headphones, my experience was a closer approximation to the expected hearing of an unmediated environment given by Cage's score. The listener had an altogether different experience modulated by the rising and falling lid.¹⁴⁸ The sound is much flatter within the box except for the incidental crossings of pedestrians and cyclists. This produces a paradoxical perception of the closeness of walking feet and cycle paws that removes the focus from the droning motorway traffic. The interplay of closed, open and moving lid made the piece sonically more interesting than it would

¹⁴⁷ A refinement would be to use noise-cancelling headphones such as the Bose QuietComfort 15 or the PSB M4U2, but even with these the level of environmental noise from the traffic on the M621 directly overhead might intrude through the structure.

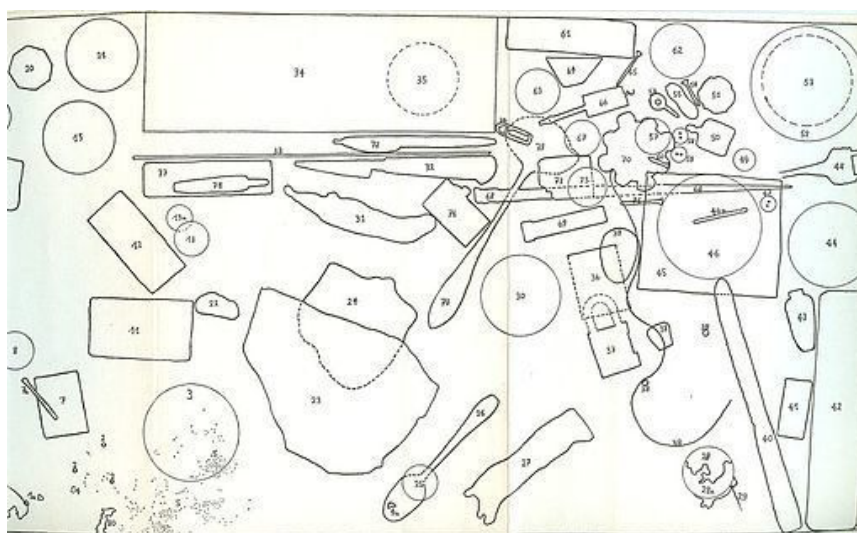
¹⁴⁸ When listening back to the audio, I realised that my careful closing of the lid made a huge sound to the listener, highlighting the asymmetry of the setup, and I resolved to modify future iterations in accordance with Cage's stipulations for the performer not to make a sound.

have been without it due to variation of the natural acoustic. It is reminiscent of Lucier's *Nothing is Real* (1991) piece where a section of recorded sound is played through a teapot and the score indicates how the performer manoeuvres the lid. Instead of the lid modulating emitted sound though, the box lid in my piece modulates the environmental sound. In an earlier piece, *Chambers* (1968), Lucier instructs the performer to collect or make 'large and small resonant environments' (Lucier & Simon, 1980:3) and play them in various ways. Consequently, the box might be considered as a small resonant environment. Some time after my performance I saw a documentary on Lucier's work (Rusche & Harder, 2013) and in it he talked about extending the teapot concept to the concert hall itself, allowing the performer to manipulate the roof as a lid. I felt as though, through different routes, we'd arrived at a similar place.

While this performance did not involve the mobile app, it was locative and site-specific, and enables the questioning of existing framings on many levels. The headphone auditorium within the box/auditorium within an underpass/auditorium within the Cagean/Kleinian auditorium of the open sky recording the intimate comings and goings of passersby beneath the endless river of anonymous intercity commuters provides a powerful illustration of the potentially infinite process of framing reframing within site-specific performance. I have taken the field recording forward to incorporate in the *Holbeck Phonoscape*, and it is included in the pilot version creating a sixth order of displacement. Listening to the recording of the 2012 performance in the underpass opens up a potentially fruitful avenue of enquiry extending performances, recordings and located documentations into an open series.

7.10 Topographies of Chance

In *An Anecdoted Topography of Chance* (1961), Daniel Spoerri makes a meticulous catalogue of the objects that happen to be on a table in his apartment. Being fully aware of the significance of this apparently banal act, he notes that: 'historians, after centuries, were able to reconstitute a whole epoch from the most famous fixation in history, Pompeii' (Spoerri,1995:23). We can assume that archaeologists were involved in this reconstitution, and Spoerri's drawing manifests the clarity and precision of an archaeological site plan.



Map of Spoerri's table, 17th October, 1961, 3:47 p.m.

Each of the 80 objects is associated with a set of memories, indexed and cross-referenced with other relevant objects. The assemblage of objects is one of chance, and arises out of contingent human activity. The archaeology of the voice being revealed by the *Holbeck Phonoscope* may be envisaged as a sonic analogue of this topography of chance. The people, buildings, memories and activities it reveals are not ordered in any particular way extending beyond their found state. In the way archaeological line drawings are designed to bring out essential details of potsherds, controlling the levels of frequencies by filtering can bring attention to certain details in the soundscape, but the basic process is one of minimal intervention in order to produce maximal room for contemplation and insight on behalf of the viewer/listener.

Instead of the single snapshot of Spoerri's topographical drawing, the *Holbeck Phonoscape* is more like an intermittent time-lapse recording of Holbeck that started at midday on February 18th 2010 with the first recorded interview, and extends until the final field recording. In the context of the history of Holbeck itself this remains a snapshot, and even within the courses of the lives of the interviewees, the one or two hours of recorded testimony is similarly a snapshot.

When you take up Spoerri's book to read, rather than finding an arbitrary index of disconnected fragments, which it is on the face of it, you find that as you read it begins to yield a fascinating and detailed insight into Spoerri's circle of friends, his comings and goings, his world. A snapshot of a chance assemblage, through our ability to find and forge meaningful connections, provides enduring insight into the lives and activities surrounding the objects. Archaeology operates in a similar way when it encounters chance assemblages preserved in the soil. Spoerri's route from 1 to 80 is far from linear, although it does have incidental clusters of sequential numbers, it is a series of the imagination and the eye rather than the feet or the grid. Similarly, the book is not necessarily to be read linearly, it may be dipped into and left off at any place, or object. What makes it compelling is the thoroughness and apparent honesty with which Spoerri has undertaken his task.

With the phonoscape, the walker is encouraged to enter and leave at any point, to dwell or return whenever they like. Over the course of time, this short time-lapse will deepen understanding of the area by being open to contingency, encouraging contemplation and listening to what is there (and isn't there), and embracing chance. Just as Spoerri reduced his material to the objects on a table, so the phonoscape reduces its materials to those of the extended site itself. Using chance procedures to curate the densities and clusters of sounds enables subtle adjustments across the field of composition to be made due to repeated walkings by the composer and/or feedback gained from listener/performers. The sonic traces of located memories, field recordings, EMF recordings, IR readings, performances together with the rise and fall of buildings are all products of chance and contingency, and it is appropriate that the construction of a phonoscape accepts this both as a resource and as an opportunity to develop and deepen our understanding of place. Ultimately this is an ongoing, generative process of adjustment.

In this brief overview, little has been said about silence, and yet it has been a major compositional resource throughout my approach. When I have been test-walking the app, a useful question has been: 'does that need to be there, is it adding anything important?'. I have tried to err on the side of less rather than more though since it is so important that the walker/listener/performer be given time to think for themselves in what for me has become a deeply familiar neighbourhood, but might be a completely new, strange and possibly menacing environment for others. Similarly, I am concerned that the Void of vanished industry, of the Wasteground, of the Main Space at Temple Works, of the 2008 recession, or that of Harrison's 'V', be given time to speak. The phonoscape is intended to be a gentle and occasionally surprising friend rather than a colleague who won't shut up. Once more I have recourse to Pisaro to sum up this approach.

In the silence, the stillness, there is room for anyone. The silence of the listener is the same as the silence of the composer or the performer: here we are on the same plain, experiencing what is most important by saying nothing at all. (Pisaro, 1997)

This chapter has provided a glimpse of some aspects of my sound art practice, but its main import lies in supplementing the phonoscape as an experience. The phonoscape speaks for itself.

Chapter 8

Thesis

Conclusion

This thesis forms a necessary part of a larger work in progress, the Holbeck Oral History Archive and the *Holbeck Phonoscape*. The argument for an archaeology of the voice based on the geo-positioning of oral testimony is a necessary, but not sufficient condition to achieve that goal. The initial archive of 64 interviews and field recordings together with the LOAM app provide the means to deliver that larger work as a public work of art. The foregoing chapters have placed this project within the context of a broad range of disciplines and practices surrounding oral history, sound art and locative media that are rapidly adapting to and shaping the mutating affordances of new technology in unpredictable ways. By introducing a new understanding of the concept of an archaeology of the voice and developing phonoscape as a way to deliver the preliminary findings, I have contributed something that was not there when research began. In addition, my engagement with deep mapping the local (one mile square of Holbeck) led to an unexpected development of *Displacement Activities* as an ongoing translocational site-specific performance practice that has opened a way of developing phonoscapes throughout the world situating them within an emerging set of dynamic ambulatory art forms centred around GPS-enabled smartphone technology.

By carrying out an unprecedented, extensive series of interviews in Holbeck, this thesis has contributed an invaluable resource to the heritage of an area undergoing rapid regeneration change that would not otherwise have been available. The resulting archive provides the impetus required for people to take their history into their own hands, an outcome that is unusual in many academic projects that depend upon interview material. Similarly, phonoscape technology will be available to the community to enable future phonoscapes to be constructed adding local history, educational, and other layers to the pilot developed here. Combined, these outputs represent a significant triumph for a methodology that encourages collaboration and sharing authority.

The archaeology of the voice as discussed in this thesis is a new concept that draws together oral history, locative media and sound art. Rather than being the result of sound art doing oral history, or oral history doing sound art, the phonoscape is a genuine attempt to move creatively between and beyond the confines of any single

approach. The work undertaken here is essential in clearing both conceptual and practical pathways to future innovations in making oral history archives available to the public and creating new forms of presentation that encourage participants to navigate areas through sound, drawing them towards living archives. The next step is towards further research and development along the lines of the COHDS approach combined with LOAM together with an interface that allows researchers to author phonoscapes intuitively and directly within an oral history database methodology. Accordingly, the GPS-enabled mobile archive should be able to mirror the institutional archive wherever it is mappable to place. How the material is then combined with environmental sounds gathered through field recordings will be contingent upon the compositional principles and techniques that are applied.

From the point of view of sound art, the importance of silence and composition by field, chance, and density distributions appropriate to an embodied hypertextual understanding of place has strengthened the case for the opening up of archives as locative sound material. Locative media offers a way of resolving the Material:Performance Ratio by providing random or semi-random access to large amounts of online material. Rather than the composer deciding whether a particular sound clip goes here or there, the initial choices arise through the content being attached to place of utterer or place referred to, the next level of editorial choices may arise out of chance operations and the choices of the participants as they navigate a site on foot. The size of edits may be determined by proximity to whole accounts ranging from grains to unedited interviews depending upon overall requirements. The craft of the composer is still appropriate in choosing densities according to the found environment and weighting testimony if desired. These decisions can be refined through soundwalking and deep mapping a site.

The archaeology of the voice encourages oral historians to extend their recording practices to include context, bringing them closer to the work of ethnographers and phonographers, while sound artists who work with oral history material are encouraged to make sure that their source material is ethically produced and made available in public archives where appropriate.

Displacement Activities offers an innovative, open and generative approach to setting the audio of oral history within a site-specific performance setting. In investigating issues of contiguity and metonymy, the research has drawn attention to the thread of presence that weaves through a range of methodologies from montage to memorial, and points the way to understanding the 'doubleness of presence' that occurs when listening to site-specific oral histories mediated by locative media. The *détourning* potential of *Displacement Activities* is yet to be realised, but a simple way forward with this research might be to explore an alternative form of global town or place twinning where displaced and minority communities might join together in performing creative oral histories, exchanging maps, learning about one another's situations.

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Appendix A – example interview summary

Project: Holbeck Audiowalk/Phonoscope

Interviewee: Sally Mottershaw

Interviewer: Simon Bradley

Date: 14.07.10

Location: 21, Cambrian Terrace, LS11 8JB

Ref: HAWMottershaw-019

Total length of interview: 1h 12' 57"

Interview - HAWMottershaw-019		
Time	Summary	Names places
0' 46"	Was 18 years old when mother bought this house – father had died when she was 7 – used to be Shaftsbury House where the flats are now – Leeds was very good for work and many workers came for B&B – mother started B&B business – Shaftsbury House had many problems after mother had died – moved at 18 from back to back in Hunslet – mother had a friend who lived in Carole's house (No. 24) so eventually moved here -	Shaftsbury House, Leeds, Hunslet, Carole Bell
4' 29"	Started work sewing for Marks and Spencers in Hunslet – mother had been a nurse, so Sally decided to be a nurse in teens – stayed a nurse until retirement – then did 19 years in Scope charity shop in Headrow -	Marks and Spencers, Scope, Headrow
6' 52"	Boundaries of Holbeck – down Elland Road come to bridge at the bottom is a pub – many back to backs around pub [Coach and Horses] – then came round to Bowling Green across the road from (Cambrian Terrace) – to a vinegar factory, this side of Elland Road –	Elland Road, Coach and Horses, Bowling Green, Cambrian Terrace
10' 11"	[Now using 1906 map] – The Mint was just before	The Mint

	you got to the vinegar works -	
11' 01"	'At the end of the street [Cambrian Terrace] was a Workhouse' [Holbeck Union Workhouse/South Lodge] – 'went to ask for a job' – terrible sights in the Workhouse - 'people walking about as if they were lost, they weren't clean, you've no idea' ***	Holbeck Workhouse 53°46'58.28"N 1°33'14.88"W
15' 00"	The Labour Rooms in 4 or 6 Cambrian Terrace, used for meetings, polling station -	The Cambrian Terrace Labour Rooms
16' 04"	Trains fixed in the engine shed (Nineveh Road) – railwaymen used to stay in her house – used to provide food for them but very difficult in the war – then took police in (B&B) – Picture House at top of Domestic Street turned into a bank – another Picture House at bottom of Domestic Street built out of a factory – now altered the names of many places and knocked them down – describes Library on Nineveh Bridge, near Kay's and Jack Lane -	Nineveh Road, Top Picture House, Domestic Street, Jack Lane
21' 15"	The area behind Cambrian Terrace was all houses and streets with flower names -	Cambrian Terrace
22' 22"	Used Hunslet railway station to get to Scarborough – used be a church at the top of Domestic Street – there were houses that were knocked down -	Scarborough
23' 35"	When motorway was built – 'it was terrible' – had a friend that lived in Tower Blocks 'lovely little flats' – went to dogs with Jack – used to go for picnics on a little bit of grass surrounded by roads* - used to be directly onto Holbeck Moor the other side of the Bowling Green - there was a good club – Liberal Club – Britannia Pub on Holbeck Moor	Holbeck Moor, Holbeck Towers, Holbeck Liberal Club, Britannia Pub
27' 00"	Soapy Joe's, soap factory - down Whitehall Road –	Soapy Joe's,

	it's not called that anymore	Whitehall Road
27' 36"	Went to the Queens Picture House down Jack Lane – 'had to behave yourself there' – same set up at Parkside Picture House on Dewsbury Road – tells a story about taking a pot of picalilli for Mrs Preston to get money to go the cinema – decided not to do it one day * -	Queens Picture House, Parkside Picture House, Dewsbury Road, Mrs Preston
30' 40"	[recorder jammed, so recapped beginning of interview in case first part lost – got several new pieces of information though] Sarah/Sally Mottershaw née Noble - 21 Cambrian Terrace = 42 Cambrian Street – flower names across the road Daffodil Street etc –	Cambrian Street, Daffodil Street
32' 04"	Worked at St Georges Hospital Rothwell, then Seacroft, St James's, then private nursing in Headingley for 'money people' -	St Georges Hospital Rothwell, Seacroft, St James's Infirmary
33' 27"	Re-traces boundary of Holbeck along [Cambrian Terrace side of] Elland Road, Bowling Green, bit of land, big house, 4 houses including off-licence, Vinegar Factory, Cemetary Hill, another factory top of Holbeck Moor, Greyhound Track, Cottingley Cemetary = end of Holbeck.	Holbeck Bowling Green, Cemetary Hill, Greyhound Track, Cottingley Cemetary
36' 16"	Going down the other side of Elland Road towards Domestic Street, shops, a chapel on Bottom Road, sewing factory, all houses looking onto Holbeck Moor, St Matthews still there – Holbeck Moor was flags – huge bonfire – 'pianos on fire and everything' * - a little park where you could play tennis – Co-op and big engineering works – people used to learn to drive on the wasteground down towards football ground which was small then – my	Bottom Road, St Matthews Church, Co-op

	daughter was taken down there to learn how to drive, but got frightened, never drove again 'to this day'* -	
43' 13"	Holbeck stops at the pub [demolished for motorway: Coach and Horses] at the bottom of Elland Road – [cut out repeated section]	Coach and Horses
43' 20"	Earning money cleaning steps and flags – paid 3d a time – father died in action WW1 when – married a Sheffield miner and moved to Sheffield – hated it – had a dog 'Blackie' – cantankerous father-in-law who had 3 daughters and 4 sons but only allowed Sally to help him – then Sally's mother died – husband advised 'never work in a pit in water', he took the advice and decided to work in a mill – moved back to Leeds - father-in-law died within a month, Sally got the blame – recalls how she looked after him – he needed 'tormenting – to get him to laugh' – Baiton(?) now part of Sheffield, was Derbyshire	Sheffield, Baiton(?), Derbyshire
48' 50"	After 7 years in Sheffield, came back to the house in Leeds – 'it were heaven!' – Jack tried to get job in Tetley's but they employed a 'coloured' person – so tried Cambrian Engineering Works at bottom of Elland Road, got a labouring job -	Tetley's, Cambrian Engineering Works
50' 40"	Building the motorway – 'we used to run across when they were building it'* - builders very thoughtful – supplied paint for the houses – 'sommert for nowt' – missed Workhouse when it was knocked down – used to be a chapel facing onto Beeston Road – drapery, butchers and food shop -	Beeston Road M621 Workhouse

53' 47"	In 14 or 13 Cambrian Terrace there was a fire – young girl died* - about 8 years ago – never knew them -	Cambrian Terrace
55' 16"	Norma (daughter) used to go to the chapel facing Beeston Road – got picked for beauty queen but wouldn't do it -	Norma Mottershaw Beeston Road
55' 59"	Sally gets 'short tongued' (can't talk anymore) -	
56' 43"	Talks about when Cambrian Terrace was under threat of demolition – 'we both played pop, Carole and me' – the four trees on the green slope were put up for Sally by the men of the Bowling Green* - wrote a letter about plans for housing – used to see drug dealing outside Carole's – got a letter saying that demolition halted for the terrace – concerned about other demolitions in the area –	Cambrian Terrace Carole Bell
1hr 03' 10"	When Sally moved into house aged 18, everybody knew everybody – not so now – knows Carole, John and Carol, another Carol (3 Carols), No 1 used to be full of gypsies, now just one person there – doesn't know anybody else – used to be family houses -	21 Cambrian Terrace
1hr 06' 10"	Recalls being offered 'good money' for the house – threatened to set the dog on them – 'dog has been dead I don't know how many years' -	
1hr 08' 05"	Somebody broke into the coalhouse* – nothing in there apart from security wood propped up – didn't realise burglary at the time - never used to have policeman around – advised to move out into a bungalow – but 'they'll have to carry me out feet first'	
End of interview HAWMottershaw-019		

Appendix B – Interview Archive

Name	Duration	Category	Description/Notes	Date(s)	Wav file
Ball, Sue	00:46:07	Arts	Cultural Broker MAAP Ways of Hearing	02/07/10	HAW-2-7-10-Ball-023
Bell, Carole	01:06:02	Resident	Cambrian Terrace Resident Singer M621	12/07/10	HAWBell-017a
				14/07/10	HAWBell-020b
Bellwood, Maggie	01:12:37	Regeneration	LCC, Regeneration Manager, March for Peace	19/12/12	AoV-T136_1-19-12-12-Bellwood AoV-T136_2-19-12-12-Bellwood AoV-T137_1-19-12-12-Bellwood AoV-T137_2-19-12-12-Bellwood AoV-T138_1-19-12-12-Bellwood AoV-T138_2-19-12-12-Bellwood
Benn, Rt Hon Hilary	00:23:42	Council/Govt	MP for Beeston and Holbeck Ward	25/01/13	AoV-SM01-25-1-13-Benn
Bettison, Bruce	01:30:12	Property	Developer - owner Matthew Murray House	08/01/13	AoV-T0169-8-1-13-Bettison-A AoV-T0172-8-1-13-Bettison-B AoV-T0173-8-1-13-Bettison-C
Carlisle, Ed	01:26:24	Community	Project Manager Together for Peace - Lippy Films Ripples Out	18/02/13	AoV-T0214-18-2-13-Carlisle
Chilcott, Marie*	00:04:18	Sex Worker	Joanna Project- Short interview	16/05/13	AoV-T0274-16-5-13-xxxx
Court, Sharon*	00:22:49	Sex Worker	Joanna Project- Short interview	18/04/13	AoV-T0271-18-4-13-xxxx
Craighead, Edith	00:48:41	Resident	Resident of Holbeck in the 1930s - now in Hunslet retired	21/05/10	HA-21-5-10-EdithCraighead

Davies, Christine	01:30:12	Resident	Resident of Holbeck 1940s - Bath Row etc (retired)	29/03/10	HAWDavies-009
Diamond, Neil	01:01:10	Regeneration	Manager Aire Valley Homes - oversaw Holbeck Towers demolition	06/04/10	HA-6-4-10-NeilDiamond
Dunderdale, Martin	00:59:08	Business/Work	Manager David Street Café	06/02/13	AoV-T198-6-2-13-Dunderdale AoV-T199-6-2-13-Dunderdale
Fisher, Dave	00:36:20	Council/Govt	Holbeck Warden 12:00-13:00 The First Interview	18/02/10	HA-18-2-10-DaveFisher
Fitzgerald, Dr Ron	00:59:44	Business/Work	Industrial Archaeologist - Temple Works	03/04/13	AoV-T0252-3-4-13-Fitzgerald AoV-T0253-3-4-13-Fitzgerald Fitzgerald-mixdown
Gabriel, Angela	02:14:56	Council/Govt	LCC Councillor Holbeck and Beeston	15.02.13	AoV-T0207-15-12-13-Gabriel-A AoV-T0208-15-12-13-Gabriel-B
Graham, Claire	01:11:03	Minority	Social worker at GATE - Gypsy community	08/04/13	AoV-T0260-8-4-13-Graham AoV-T0261-8-4-13-Graham
Gray, Adrian	00:27:01	Leisure	Retired. Walked a girl home through Holbeck.	26/01/12	AoV-SM01-26-1-12-Gray
Griffiths, Lee	01:11:53	Community	Community worker and activist - Holbeck Gala and Holbeck Foods	17/04/13	T0269-17-4-13-Griffiths
Haigh, Derek	00:49:27	Resident	1950s Holbeck (retired)	07/09/11	HA-SM01-7-9-11-Haigh HA-SM02-7-9-11-Haigh HA-SM03-7-9-11-Haigh
Harding, Phill	00:57:10	Arts	Sound Artist worked on Displacement Activities - Last Interview	30/01/14	

Harvey, Kathleen	00:27:06	Resident	Born in Holbeck 1925 (retired)	16/04/10	HA-16-4-10-KathleenHarvey
Hebden, David	02:37:47	Community	Christian Activist in Holbeck	28/08/12	AoV-T0103_1-28-8-12-HebdenA
				15/11/12	AoV-T0103_2-28-8-12-HebdenA
					AoV-T0103_1-28-8-12-HebdenA
					AoV-T0104_1-28-8-12-HebdenA
					AoV-T0104_2-28-8-12-HebdenA
					AoV-T0121_1-15-11-12-HebdenB
					AoV-T0121_2-15-11-12-HebdenB
					AoV-T0122_1-15-11-12-HebdenB
					AoV-T0122_2-15-11-12-HebdenB
Hepburn, Ann	00:37:24	Resident	Resident and Neighbourhood Forum member	16/04/10	HA-16-4-10AnnHepburn
Hopper, Anne	01:44:41	Community	Runs Holbeck Elderly Aid lunch sessions at St Matthews	05/03/10	HAWHopper-005a
				18/05/10	HAWHopper-013b
Hubbard, Mark	01:08:10	Business/Work	Owner/manager of Chapel Studios	21/03/13	AoV-T236-21-3-13-Hubbard
					AoV-T237-21-3-13-Hubbard
Hyam, Toby	01:18:15	Business/Work	Round Foundry Business owner	31/01/13	AoV-T189-31-1-13-Hyam
Jenkinson, Christine	04:57:31	Resident	Extensive interviews – pre-WW2 childhood (retired)	17/01/13	AoV-T0180-17-1-13-JenkinsonA
				21/02/13	AoV-T0181-17-1-13-JenkinsonA
					AoV-T0182-17-1-13-JenkinsonA
					AoV-T0225-21-2-13-JenkinsonB

					AoV-T0226-21-213-JenkinsonB
					AoV-T0227-21-2-13-JenkinsonB
Johnston, Steve	01:55:36	Community	Community Activist - Health for All, SPLASH Including walking interview	10/01/13 29/01/13	AoV-T176-10-1-13-JohnstonA AoV-T177-10-1-13-JohnstonA AoV-T187-29-1-13-JohnstonB AoV-T188-29-1-13-JohnstonB
Kirby, Phil	01:30:17	Arts	Writer/ Temple Works	01/06/10 27/07/10	HAW-27-7-10-Kirby-015a HAW-27-7-10-Kirby-023b
Kitchen, Dennis	01:52:09	Community	Ex-resident, Holbeck Neighbourhood Forum, Holbeck WMC, Holbeck Gala, Holbeck in Bloom	09/01/13 22/01/13	AoV-T0174-9-1-13-KitchenA AoV-T0175-9-1-13-KitchenA AoV-T0183-22-1-13-KitchenB AoV-T0184-22-1-13-KitchenB AoV-T0185-22-1-13-KitchenB
Lane, Alan	01:03:31	Arts	Director Slung Low Theatre	05/07/13	AoV-T0229-5-7-13-Lane
Lowther, Eileen	01:00:53	Minority	Traveller - works at Leeds GATE	04/04/13	AoV-T0254-4-4-13-Lowther AoV-T0255-4-4-13-Lowther
Mackay, Ian	00:53:15	Council/Govt	Leeds City Council - regeneration manager	14/02/13	AoV-T0204-14-2-13-Mackay AoV-T0205-14-2-13-Mackay AoV-T0206-14-2-13-Mackay
Mason, Vi*	00:19:35	Sex Worker	Joanna Project - Short interview	18/04/13	AoV-T0270-18-4-13-xxxx
Megson, Betty	00:43:04	Resident	Married couple – individual and joint interviews mixed - Elderly residents (retired).	05/03/10	HA-5-3-10-Ron-BettyMegsonA
Megson, Ron	00:52:01	Resident	Married couple - individual and joint interviews mixed - Elderly residents (retired).	05/03/10	HA-5-3-10-Ron-BettyMegsonB

Morton, Jeremy	01:21:03	Community	Community Activist - runs South Leeds Life Blog	14/12/12	AoV-T133_1-14-12-12-Morton AoV-T133_2-14-12-12-Morton AoV-T134_1-14-12-12-Morton AoV-T134_2-14-12-12-Morton AoV-T135_1-14-12-12-Morton AoV-T135_2-14-12-12-Morton
Moss, Francesca	01:32:17	Resident	Resident	08/04/13	AoV-T0256-8-4-13-Moss AoV-T0257-8-4-13-Moss AoV-T0258-8-4-13-Moss AoV-T0259-8-4-13-Moss
Mottershaw, Sarah	01:12:57	Resident	Ex-Nurse, elderly resident (retired)	14/07/10	HAW-14-7-10-Mottershaw-019
Moxon, Bev*	00:18:59	Sex Worker	Joanna Project - sex worker Short interview	18/04/13	AoV-T0272-18-4-13-xxxx
Ogilvie, Adam	01:22:44	Council/Govt	Holbeck and Beeston Councillor At Leeds Civic Hall Cllr Ogilvie's position: Councillor for Beeston and Holbeck Area, and Executive Member for Leisure	05/09/11 16/12/13	AoV-SM02-5-9-11-Ogilvie-A AoV-T0304-16-12-13-Ogilvie-B
Pattison, Eileen	00:48:40	Resident	Resident - childhood in WW2 (retired)	26/02/10	HAW-26-2-10-Pattison-002
Peacock, George	01:46:50	Resident	Ex-Railway worker Holbeck recorded via Skype - consent via email scan	29/05/13	AoV-Skype-29-5-13-GPeacock-1-2

Peacock, Steve	01:28:24	Community	Resident - community activist - Holbeck Neighbourhood Forum, blogger Main contact in Holbeck - many visits - plus further interviews. working on Heritage trail	08/03/10 28/03/10	HAW-8-3-10-Peacock-006a HAW-28-3-10-Peacock-008b
Quarmby, Oliver	00:58:21	Property	Property Developer - Bridgewater Place	25/03/13	AoV-T217-25-3-13-Quarmby AoV-T218-25-3-13-Quarmby
Rowe, John	00:51:16	Business/Work	Landlord Grove Inn	19/07/10	HA-19-7-10-JohnRowe
Ryatt, Harvi	00:52:46	Minority	Pakistani resident - Temple Works chef	01/02/13	AoV-T193-1-2-13-Ryatt AoV-T194-1-2-13-Ryatt AoV-T195-1-2-13-Ryatt
Sackett, Joan	01:04:55	Resident	Elderly resident (retired)	02/03/10	HA-2-3-10-JoanSackett
Sagoo, Harjinder	04:13:52	Minority	Sikh resident and retired mechanic Extensive interviews	27/03/13 09/04/13	AoV-T0248-27-3-13-SagooA AoV-T0249-27-3-13-SagooA AoV-T0250-27-3-13-SagooA AoV-T0262-9-4-13-SagooB AoV-T0264-9-4-13-SagooB AoV-T0265-9-4-13-SagooB
Schofield, Mark	03:45:24	Resident	Resident - Labour Party activist druids' Extensive interviews Hall (retired)	14/01/13 18/03/13	AoV-T178-14-1-13-SchofieldA AoV-T215-18-3-13-SchofieldB AoV-T216-18-3-13-SchofieldB
Scordos, Rachel	00:24:50	Business/Work	Landlady Grove Inn	20/07/10	HAW-20-7-10-Scordos-022
Senior, Gordon	00:52:56	Resident	Ex-resident Holbeck Towers	13/07/10	HAW-Senior-018
Smith, Emily	01:20:54	Resident	Ex-resident – elderly see Mike Barber - (retired)	09/01/12	AoV-SM01-9-1-12-Smith AoV-SM02-9-1-12-Smith AoV-SM03-9-1-12-Smith

					AoV-SM04-9-1-12-Smith
					AoV-SM05-9-1-12-Smith
Stross, Roland	00:56:19	Property	Architect/Developer	02/04/13	AoV-T0251-2-4-13-Stross
Taggart, Laura	00:56:10	Arts	Educationalist/Holbeck walk	09/07/10	HA-9-7-10-LauraTaggart
Thompson, Leslie*	00:18:38	Sex Worker	Joanna Project - Short interview	16/05/13	AoV-T0275-16-5-13-xxxx
Tidswell, Eve	01:07:41	Community	Friends of Holbeck Cemetery founder	20/12/12	AoV-T0142_1-20-12-12-ETidswell AoV-T0143_1-20-12-12-ETidswell AoV-T0143_2-20-12-12-ETidswell AoV-T0144_1-20-12-12-ETidswell AoV-T0144_2-20-12-12-ETidswell ETidswell-mixdown
Tidswell, Ken	01:01:06	Resident	Ex-postal worker Holbeck and FHC (retired)	20/12/12	AoV-T139_1-20-12-12-KTidswell AoV-T139_2-20-12-12-KTidswell AoV-T140_1-20-12-12-KTidswell AoV-T140_2-20-12-12-KTidswell AoV-T141_1-20-12-12-KTidswell AoV-T141_2-20-12-12-KTidswell
White, Martyn	03:00:45	Business/Work	Driver for Kays at Temple Works Long-term worker - was there until the end (retired)	26/03/13	AoV-T239-26-3-13-White AoV-T240-26-3-13-White AoV-T241-26-3-13-White AoV-T242-26-3-13-White AoV-T243-26-3-13-White AoV-T244-26-3-13-White

					AoV-T245-26-3-13-White
					AoV-T246-26-3-13-White
					AoV-T247-26-3-13-White
Williamson, Susan	01:42:00	Arts	Manager of Cornerstone/Temple Works	11/02/13	AoV-T201-11-2-13-Williamson
					AoV-T203-11-2-13-Williamson
Wishart, Trevor	00:30:36	Arts	Sound artist/composer recalls his time in Holbeck and reflects on music of voices.	12/03/13	AoV-T224-12-3-13-Wishart
Wolfe, Rob	00:37:07	Regeneration	Regeneration Worker - Construction Leeds - Renew project	23/10/10	HA-23-10-10-RobWolfe
Wood, Eric	00:54:00	Resident	ex-resident (retired)	09/09/11	AoV-OH01-9-9-11-Wood
					AoV-OH02-9-9-11-Wood
					AoV-OH03-9-9-11-Wood
					AoV-OH04-9-9-11-Wood
					AoV-OH05-9-9-11-Wood
*Pseudonymised					
Total Duration	77:45:50				